



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Brutus (Haiti)	413
Speech by Mr. Macovescu (Romania)	414
Speech by Mr. Seck (Senegal)	419
Speech by Mr. Moe (Barbados)	424
Agenda item 23:	
Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples	
Report of the Fourth Committee	426
Agenda item 37:	
Policies of <i>apartheid</i> of the Government of South Africa:	
(a) Reports of the Special Committee on <i>Apartheid</i> ;	
(b) Report of the Secretary-General	
Report of the Special Political Committee	426

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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Montiel Argüello (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BRUTUS (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly opened last year in an atmosphere of political *détente*. It was preparing to consider the economic and social objectives of the Charter in order to ensure for the world a dynamic balance when war broke out in the Middle East. We then witnessed the collapse of all hopes; we saw world-wide runaway inflation, upheaval in the international payments system and the resurgence of latent conflicts. Human society was shaken to its foundations and the twenty-eighth session, which had opened under promising auguries, ended in disappointment and disarray.

2. Those events suffice to show that the delegation of the Republic of Haiti justly appreciates the magnitude of the mission entrusted to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika in guiding the work of this twenty-ninth session. We wish to assure him of our co-operation and offer our warmest congratulations on the high mark of confidence shown him, which is furthermore a tribute to the tradition of struggle, courage and clear understanding of the valiant people of Algeria.

3. The events which overshadowed the term of office of the President of the twenty-eighth session, Mr. Leo-

poldo Benites, enabled him to confirm his reputation as a skilled diplomat, who guided the work of that session with competence and devotion. The delegation of Haiti offers him its most sincere compliments and renews the expression of our esteem and appreciation.

4. Despite the trepidation of the international community, the United Nations has nevertheless lost none of its vitality. The year 1974 will have been most fruitful in specialized conferences. After the sixth special session of the General Assembly on raw materials and development, Caracas and Bucharest came one after the other to draw the world's attention to the need for an international legal régime for the sea and for population problems. Soon delegations from all over the world will be going to Rome to consider the fundamental question of feeding people. That activity is the work of the Secretary-General, to whom the delegation of Haiti pays tribute.

5. All those activities undertaken within the framework of the Organization reflect an ever clearer awareness of the common destiny of peoples and the need for concerted solutions to the pressing problems of mankind. They have contributed to reducing the compartmentalization of ideologies. They have mitigated political antagonisms and shown the dangers of the gap between the industrialized and the developing countries and they have clearly indicated the elements of an exceptionally grave economic situation.

6. The warning was given by the United Nations itself when, on the occasion of the last special session, on raw materials and development, the Secretariat showed, in irrefutable documents, that the world economic prosperity registered in the course of the 1950s and 1960s, which was based on "a strong and stable demand", is declining to the point of placing mankind on the threshold of a crisis as acute as that of 1929. We discovered that the economic system of the period following the Second World War had not given sufficient importance to international social justice that could bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth among peoples.

7. In fact, sustained economic growth and the constant rise in the volume of international trade which characterized the last two decades benefited only industrialized countries, whose trade flow in 1970 was estimated at more than \$300 billion, whereas that of all the developed countries was barely \$50 billion, while their total indebtedness was close to \$80 billion.

8. To that overall inequality in the distribution of wealth, in which the seeds of division, disquiet and anxiety had already been sown, was added the resumption of hostilities in the Middle East in October 1973, which aggravated the discrepancy in the third world between the situation of the oil-producing countries and that of those lacking oil resources.

9. The moratorium on oil exports to the industrialized countries of the West followed by their reduction, as well as the rise in prices, certainly affected their economic expansion, accelerated their inflationary processes and disrupted their way of life; but the countries hardest hit by those measures are those of the third world, which are finding it extremely difficult to pay for their oil-based energy needs and, because of generalized inflation, even more difficult to purchase the capital goods they need.

10. All these facts indicate the interrelationship between political and economic questions and the interdependence of peoples. They impose the need for global co-operation in order to minimize the horrors of this generalized economic crisis and to satisfy the aspirations of all men for well-being, social justice and peace.

11. Besides these grave problems, which are essentially economic, conflicts and upheavals of every kind continue to endanger international security. The Government of Haiti, aware of the threat to mankind of these so-called localized tensions, renews its dedication to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, where it is always possible to find solutions to the questions on our agenda. We reaffirm our confidence in the wisdom and reason of representatives attending this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly and invite all parties concerned to negotiate with a view to removing the causes of their resentments and to settling their disputes.

12. Many no less serious political problems were satisfactorily solved, enabling this Assembly to welcome the delegations of Bangladesh, Grenada, and Guinea-Bissau, to whom we extend our warmest welcome. The delegation of Haiti especially welcomes the representatives of Grenada, and we transmit to them the wishes of the people and Government of Haiti for the prosperity and well-being of that new State now in a position to enhance the prospects for harmony in the Caribbean region.

13. My delegation is happy to express once again the sense of brotherhood and solidarity of the people and Government of Haiti for the people and Government of Guinea-Bissau, whose independence, acquired at the cost of great sacrifices, brings to mind—170 years later—the struggle waged by Africans to create the State of Haiti. The delegation of Haiti, in welcoming Guinea-Bissau, is naturally thinking of the destiny of the populations of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Rhodesia. We welcome with satisfaction the happy outcome of the situation in Mozambique, which will become independent in June 1975, and we hope that the same will occur with Angola.

14. As regards the populations of Namibia and Rhodesia, still the victims of neocolonialism and of racial discrimination, we convey to them the sympathies of the people and Government of Haiti, who are convinced that their courage and steadfastness will oust from their territory the last vestiges of an outmoded era.

15. It is a truism to say that international problems reflect the internal situation of States. Thus, the President for life of the Republic of Haiti, Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier, being aware of his national and international responsibilities, has adopted a series of

measures to guarantee both social peace and the harmonious development of the nation. In order to ensure control over the development of our natural resources, certain contracts are being revised; monopolies granted to private companies working in key sectors of the national economy are now being reconsidered whereas tax exemptions are granted to encourage agricultural production and the establishment of industrial units.

16. These reforms, which proved to be essential to economic recovery, will be followed by the establishment of new administrative structures now under consideration. These will bolster the efforts made in the economic and fiscal fields. In this vast undertaking, the Government of Haiti is happy to have received moral support and financial and technical assistance from many friendly Governments which have recognized the humanitarian nature of the political and economic changes brought about to promote the social well-being of the people of Haiti.

17. It remains for us to hope that international financing organizations will manage to simplify their procedures for granting assistance so as to give practical effect to the resolutions adopted for the benefit of the economically least endowed countries in the world. For now more than ever before, as the Secretary-General has stated, the international community faces difficulties that are so complex that "no nations, however rich or powerful, can remain immune, and which no nation can hope to confront and resolve successfully on its own." [See A/9601/Add.1, sect. 1.]

18. The appeal of the Secretary-General for agreement and co-operation deserves to be heard and borne in mind so that mankind may be able to face present problems successfully and ensure its future. This is the hope of the delegation of Haiti on the occasion of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

19. Mr. MACOVESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The unanimous election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly of Mr. Bouteflika, the distinguished representative of Algeria, a country with which Romania entertains warm relations of friendship and co-operation, is for the Romanian delegation a source of deep satisfaction. In extending to him our most cordial congratulations, I express the firm conviction that, thanks to his qualities and to his country's international prestige, he will substantially contribute to the successful outcome of our proceedings and thus of this session.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.

20. I should also like to renew our tribute to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who, with tact and competence, presided over the work of the last regular session and the sixth special session of the Assembly.

21. May I from this rostrum discharge the pleasant duty of conveying once more to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our special thanks for his untiring efforts in the service of the United Nations dedicated to enhancing the contribution and effectiveness of the Organization in solving the complex problems of our time and to strengthening its prestige in the world. We are convinced that the lively dialogue between the leaders of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Secretary-General will proceed in

the context of concerted efforts aimed at strengthening the United Nations.

22. This session of the General Assembly can be proud that an important step has been taken towards achieving the universality of the Organization. I refer to the admission to membership in the United Nations of Guinea-Bissau, Bangladesh and Grenada. On behalf of the Romanian Government, I should like to extend to them our most sincere congratulations and our welcome to the Organization, and to pledge our full co-operation in the promotion of the aims and principles of the Charter.

23. The delegations of States Members of the United Nations are meeting this year for the twenty-ninth time in order to consider together the problems that confront mankind today, to analyse them in the light both of the specific information available to us at present and of the prospects for the future, and to find acceptable solutions to all. These solutions must be lasting, and must benefit both each individual nation and the international community as a whole.

24. This year is significant for the Romanian people in that we can see the good results of profound structural economic, social and political changes which have taken place over the 30 years since the liberation of our country from Fascist domination. Romania today is an industrial and agricultural State, with a vigorous industry developing at a rapid pace on the basis of the latest achievements of modern science and technology and a flourishing Socialist agriculture. Those achievements, without precedent in the ages-long history of the Romanian people, demonstrate its creative capacity to build up its own way of life freely, in accordance with its own desires and aspirations.

25. Romania's international activity, in full accord with the new historical realities, has taken on new outlines and new dimensions, the attributes of the policy of an independent and sovereign Socialist State. This activity expresses the aspirations and the fundamental hopes of the Romanian nation, which are in full harmony with the general interests of peace and progress, of understanding and close co-operation among all States in the world.

26. The dynamic character of Romania's foreign policy, the variety of the forms it takes and its resounding message are reflected in the number of States with which we have diplomatic relations, amounting now to 120. The Romanian people has never had as many friends as it has today. In our opinion, this is proof of the realism of the international policy of our State, and its harmony with the legitimate aspirations of all peoples to a life of freedom and dignity, to the establishment of a durable peace on our planet and the elimination of war and of force in general in international relations.

27. In this spirit, Romania is developing and expanding its relations with all Socialist States and is striving to expand its relations with all developing countries and with all States struggling for their independent development. Our State, in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence, is also working for the promotion of mutually advantageous co-operation with the developed capitalist countries.

28. Romania has firmly established its international relations on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and the non-use of force or the threat of force in relations among States.

29. The change in the balance of forces on the world scale resulting from the innovative ideas of socialism, the appearance on the international scene of many States vitally concerned to strengthen their independence and the rallying of new social and political forces to the flag of peace, democracy and progress has developed concurrently with, and is closely linked to, the technological and scientific revolution. This adds new factors to the international realities of today.

30. Events, wherever they take place, have rapid repercussions on international relations as a whole, and in one way or another affect every State. These are factual reasons which, in addition to the solid grounds of law, justify the growing concern of States with international questions and with their rights and obligations to participate and to make their own contribution to efforts aimed at settling international problems.

31. Nations wish to live in peace and tranquillity and to be complete masters of their own destiny, abolishing for ever imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the policy of force and the diktat. People wish to co-operate and not to destroy each other in devastating wars, which have never provided viable solutions to international problems. Nations wish to join their efforts in order to discover further mysteries of nature, to confront the difficulties that arise, to progress together with all speed, if possible during our own outstanding period of history, towards the summit of civilization.

32. Lately the international community has been giving more frequent and systematic consideration, in a spirit of co-operation, to the major problems of its present and its future. There have been a number of international conferences, and there will be more (and in this context I should like to stress the particular value of the United Nations, its Secretariat and its Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim), which have discussed, and will continue to discuss, such problems as energy, the environment, population, food, industrial development, the law of the sea, and science and technology. Fundamentally, these are aspects of a question which is on everyone's agenda, namely, development. Man and society are engaged in a development process which nobody can avoid. In order to cope with this process we must, on the one hand, eliminate obsolete situations and renounce methods and procedures that have prevented us from advancing rapidly, and, on the other, unite our efforts to find solutions to the major problems we face.

33. I have the privilege of reminding the General Assembly of the vibrant appeal of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu, at the session of the great National Assembly to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of Romania:

“We appeal to all Governments and to all peoples to act in concert and to co-operate actively in order to promote a policy of *détente* in the world

and to make the present international situations thoroughly democratic.

“We should co-operate intensively in order to find unanimously acceptable political solutions to all the problems confronting mankind today, to bring about the triumph of reason and equality in international relations, to avert new armed confrontations and forcefully to defend the free life and work of all peoples.”

34. It is true that, following profound transformations in international life, a new trend towards *détente* is making itself felt in the world. We must devote all our efforts to encouraging this tendency so that it may become the dominant and definitive trait in international relations. Unfortunately, however, the trend is not yet irreversible. The developments of these past few months remind us once more that in this world there are still forces opposed to peace, *détente* and co-operation. Consequently, we should continue to strive for the triumph of the policy of peace and understanding among peoples. It is certainly not an easy task; but, by relying on the will of peoples and by proving our sense of responsibility for the future of present generations and of those to come, we shall be able to overcome all the difficulties.

35. The protection of peace, the supreme good of all mankind, is inextricably linked to the achievement of general and complete disarmament and, above all, of nuclear disarmament. We cannot lose sight of the fact that, while negotiations on disarmament are under way in Geneva, the arms race, the increase in the number of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, as well as of other means of mass destruction, are a source of grave danger for the peace of and for civilization itself. The United Nations is in duty bound to take this state of affairs into consideration and to take relevant measures. Progressive forces and all peoples should unite their efforts and act with energy for the implementation of a truly new policy on disarmament.

36. The Romanian Government favours the adoption of specific measures aimed at putting an end to the arms race, the reduction of military budgets and troops, the dismantling of foreign military bases and the elimination of military blocs. We favour the acceptance by all States of solemn commitments to prevent all aggression or interference in the affairs of other States. In our opinion, the proliferation of atomic weapons can be halted only by putting an end to the production of nuclear weapons and by proceeding, on the basis of agreements, to the destruction of existing stocks.

37. During this last quarter of a century it will be the task of all the Members of the United Nations to take resolute steps towards the establishment of new relations among all peoples of the world and the building of a new economic and political order in accordance with international decisions. By acting in this manner, we shall be responding to the vital aspirations of all peoples for the total elimination of the old imperialist policy of force and diktat, of colonialism and neocolonialism, and of all forms of interference and pressure.

38. We should encourage the solution of disputes among States by political means, unconditionally

respecting the fundamental principles of contemporary international law. This law is itself subject to continuous changes reflecting the transformations that have taken place in society and in relations among States. Life shows that in our time the major problems confronting the international community can no longer be solved by a small group of States. The search for just and lasting solutions requires the participation, on a footing of equality, of all States concerned, thus strengthening the role of small and medium-sized countries in international life. It is only thus that we shall be able to find the solutions that most nearly correspond with the interests of all nations and fully serve the cause of peace.

39. The establishment of truly democratic and equitable relations in the world and mankind's advance along the path of progress are inextricably linked to the establishment of a new international economic order. The experience of history shows that there is a close dialectical correspondence between the development of an independent economy and the realization of true national sovereignty. It is a truth, proved in practice everywhere in the world, that to ensure real independence it is essential to forge a powerful independent economy.

40. The work of each nation has always been and will remain the main determinant of the development of its material production and its social and economic progress. The manner in which each people by its labour successfully exploits its national resources plays a decisive role here. At the same time, more rapid progress on the part of the developing countries requires firmer action to strengthen relations between developed and developing countries on the basis of just principles that will further their own efforts for economic and social progress. It is high time—and we should realize this fully—for us to act forcefully to close the vast gap between the economies of various States and to bring their levels of development closer together.

41. The elimination of discriminatory measures hampering economic exchanges and a broader access for all States to the achievements of science and technology of our time are other important requirements for the reorganization, on new bases, of international economic relations.

42. Romania, which is itself a developing country, is broadening and diversifying its economic relations with the other developing States. Those ties are an expression of its solidarity with those States in their efforts towards economic, social and national emancipation. The political actions of the leaders of our State, the many visits made by President Nicolae Ceaușescu to developing countries everywhere and the economic agreements that have been concluded in recent years have highlighted the better utilization of the material and human resources both of Romania and of those other countries. Such undertakings make it possible to contribute to the training of officials in the countries concerned and to meet the mutual interest in the development of industry, agriculture and other economic sectors, with a view to the accelerated economic and social progress of those countries.

43. The establishment of that new kind of international economic and political relationship requires

a perfecting of the system of participation and action of States in international life. An ever more important role must be played by the United Nations.

44. Romania wishes to make a positive contribution to the full use of the possibilities and means of the United Nations in the solution of international problems and the encouragement of co-operation and understanding among States, and it has therefore proposed that the General Assembly study the possibility of strengthening the Organization's capacity for effective action,¹ so that that action will truly reflect the new social and political facts of the present-day world and conform to the trends towards making international life more democratic. The Romanian Government bases itself on the concept that the primary interest of all nations in finding just and viable solutions to the great problems facing mankind necessitates the creation of conditions in which the United Nations will be truly able to carry out the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter.

45. We think that the Organization has a considerable number of means for more energetic and effective action on all the situations arising in international relations. Many of the Charter provisions have been rarely or insufficiently used; others have not been applied at all. Still others have been interpreted in such a way that they have proved to be unusable or impossible to apply.

46. The General Assembly has the duty to study responsibly and with the greatest attention all the means that would ensure the application of the Charter provisions and the use of the methods made available to us by the Charter—in particular, those provisions concerning the prevention and peaceful settlement of disputes, the confirmation of the process of the democratization of international relations, and the development of wider and more equal co-operation among all nations.

47. We view that study as a process in which the General Assembly will give constant attention to the question of strengthening the role of the United Nations and will periodically evaluate the efforts made, the progress achieved and the measures to be taken in the future. At the same time, we believe that other United Nations bodies should also, within the limits of their competence, study and put into effect proposals and suggestions by States designed to improve the activities of those bodies and thereby strengthen the role of the Organization in the world.

48. Of course, the ability of the United Nations to deal with the questions it must solve depends in the final analysis on the political will of its Member States—I would even say on their commitment to finding acceptable solutions in the interests of all the peoples and putting into effect the obligations they have assumed under the Charter and other international instruments, as well as the undertakings and actions to which they have subscribed under various United Nations resolutions.

49. The Romanian delegation is pleased with the way the General Assembly's sixth special session devoted to raw materials and development worked and the results it achieved. We are in favour of the implementation in relations among all the States of the

principles laid down in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] and of the Programme of Action [resolution 3202 (S-VI)].

50. In the Romanian delegation's opinion, the specific study and effective implementation by international bodies within the United Nations system and by other international organizations of measures which were envisaged by the special session and which fall within their competence are very urgent tasks. The adoption during this session of the draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States,² elaborated on the proposal of the President of Mexico, Mr. Luis Echeverría, will be a further step towards the preparation of a whole body of principles governing economic relations among States.

51. We have similar views regarding the recent World Population Conference, which was organized by the United Nations and to which the Romanian people had the honour of playing host. In our opinion, resolution V, entitled "For a more just world",³ adopted by that Conference, has particular significance. The document once again makes clear the international community's attachment to the ideals of a new and better world. We are convinced that the constructive way in which the representatives co-operated at that Conference and the fact that they succeeded in defining, on the basis of a consensus, the directions that action in that field should take—action closely linked to the broad efforts of States to achieve economic and social progress—create a very good basis for the continuation and improvement of such activities in the future.

52. Convinced of the role that modern science and technology play in the process of development, the Romanian Government is in favour of the organization by the United Nations of a conference on science and technology. We intend to propose some practical actions in that respect.

53. An important role in the strengthening of the process of *détente* in the world is played by the efforts to achieve security and co-operation in Europe. The Romanian Government believes that the results achieved so far by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe have created conditions for the successful preparation of documents and for the convening in the very near future of the third phase of the Conference, at the highest level. The documents that will be adopted at that time should lead to the definition of new principles governing relations among the European States and to the opening of the path towards peaceful multilateral co-operation among all the States of the continent. They should also provide guarantees to each nation against any use or threat of the use of force and any interference in its internal affairs; they should provide also the possibility for each State to develop freely and as it wishes, without any impediments.

54. Romania, as is known, has actively participated in the Conference. It has made and will continue to make a specific contribution to the process of defining measures aimed at rendering the non-use of force in inter-European relations effective and at defining the context and the objectives of the institutional consequences of this first political forum of European States. We believe that the States which have par-

anticipated in the Conference should now, in a constructive spirit of mutual understanding, devote all their efforts to speeding up and successfully concluding the work in Geneva, and to agreeing unanimously on measures so long awaited by the peoples of our continent and capable of strengthening security and the development of co-operation on the European continent.

55. Within the context of this process of reorganization on a new basis of relations among European States, Romania will continue to work for multilateral co-operation among the Balkan States so that the Balkans may become a zone free from nuclear weapons and from foreign military bases, an area of peace and co-operation. We are also in favour of the Mediterranean becoming a zone of peace and international co-operation. We support the proposal of the Soviet Union aimed at achieving the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of all Soviet and United States ships and submarines carrying nuclear weapons.

56. It is with satisfaction that we note that a qualitatively new element has intervened in the struggle to remove the remaining vestiges of the system of colonial domination. Southern Africa, a bastion of colonialism, has begun to crumble under the pressure of the struggles of peoples for freedom. We have welcomed the accession to independence of Guinea-Bissau and we believe that we should resolutely continue this process so that the peoples of Angola and Mozambique may freely decide on their own destinies.

57. In the spirit of its own traditions of struggling for freedom and justice, Romania will resolutely oppose all forms of colonialism and neocolonialism and foreign domination. We firmly support the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, and we call for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. The Romanian people, to whom racism and chauvinism is alien and who reject them, strongly condemn the outmoded minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, as well as the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

58. In the opinion of the Romanian Government, the present session of the General Assembly and the United Nations in general are called upon to adopt firm and effective measures, making use of all the means provided by the Charter in order to force South Africa to put an end without delay to the illegal occupation of Namibia, so that the people of that country may preside freely over its own destinies, in keeping with its national aspirations.

59. To achieve the objective of the total elimination of colonialism, we believe that it is particularly urgent and timely to intensify efforts in order to bring about a broader recognition of national liberation movements and to secure the participation of their representatives in all the activities of our Organization which are of concern to them. From this rostrum, I should like to reaffirm the militant solidarity of the Romanian Government and people with the just struggle of national liberation movements, to whom we provide multilateral diplomatic and material support.

60. The frequent meetings and the fruitful discussions held by President Nicolae Ceaușescu with the

leaders of the national liberation movements, by the recognized value of direct contacts at the summit level, have enshrined in international relations the lasting nature and depth of the sentiments of solidarity of the Romanian people with their just struggle for national independence.

61. The changes that have taken place in the Middle East and the military disengagement agreements concluded, which the Romanian Government has welcomed as a first major step towards the settlement of the conflict, strengthen our conviction that we should now take further action to establish peace in that region.

62. In the opinion of the Romanian Government, a just and lasting solution in the Middle East requires, as a first step, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories, recognition of the right to existence and independent development of all States in the area, the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian State, and its recognition by the international community, bearing in mind the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations. Moreover, as the Romanian Government has often stressed, we cannot achieve a lasting settlement of the situation in the Middle East without a proper solution of the Palestinian question. Certainly, in order to finalize this process, it is necessary to make unremitting efforts and to resume as soon as possible the Geneva negotiations under United Nations auspices, with the participation of all States concerned, of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and of all other States which wish to contribute to the implementation of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

63. The overriding interests of the peoples of that region, as well as the interests of international peace and security, require that all States strive resolutely to put an end to the conflict and to achieve a just and lasting peace.

64. The situation arising from developments in Cyprus is a cause of legitimate concern for international peace and security. As a country situated in the same geographical region, Romania is keenly interested in the evolution of the situation on that island and strongly supports respect for the independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Cyprus, the withdrawal of foreign troops, primarily of Greek and Turkish troops, and the settlement of those questions by political means, not by arms or force.

65. In the solution of the problem of Cyprus, based on the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, a decisive role must be played by the Cypriot people. Direct contacts and discussion between the two communities, as well as the immediate and specific consideration of all those questions, should lead to lasting agreements ensuring peaceful coexistence on the basis of full equality before the law of all the citizens of the Cypriot State. The prolongation of the present situation can have grave consequences for the Cypriot State and for international peace and security.

66. As regards the Korean question, the United Nations, in our view, has a moral obligation to help further the positive process begun through the political initiatives and persevering efforts of the Demo-

cratic People's Republic of Korea. Consequently, an end should be put without delay to all those institutions which, against the national interests of the Korean people, have functioned as barriers on the road towards realization of that people's aspirations to peaceful and independent unification.

67. The General Assembly has already taken a first step in that direction by deciding at its last session to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea.⁴ It is therefore incumbent upon the Assembly to continue courageously along this path, and to work for the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

68. Romania stands firmly by the side of the Cambodian people in its just struggle for national liberation and independent development in accordance with its national aspirations, without any outside interference. We believe that the United Nations has a duty to take into account the realities of the situation in that country, the *de jure* and *de facto* situation in Cambodia, and to proceed at once to the restoration in the United Nations of the legitimate rights of the Royal Government of National Unity, under the leadership of the Cambodian Head of State, Norodom Sihanouk.

69. In full solidarity with the just cause of the Viet Nameese people, the people and Government of my country have always given their support in a variety of ways to the heroic struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam, and welcomed with satisfaction the end of the war and the conclusion of the Paris peace agreements. It is now the duty of all peace-loving States to exert positive pressure for the implementation of those agreements, thus contributing to the defence of the freedom and independence of the Viet Nameese people, and to support for its efforts for peaceful rehabilitation.

70. In keeping with the same position of principle, the Romanian Government welcomed the conclusion of the agreement re-establishing peace and national harmony in Laos, and the moves to put the agreed arrangements into effect.

71. At the beginning of my statement I mentioned the fact that the representatives of Member States are holding their twenty-ninth session. The United Nations now has a past history of almost three decades. This year we have a new opportunity to prove to the entire world that the United Nations is an international forum capable of keeping step with the processes of innovation now going on in the world, with the unprecedented changes that characterize our time.

72. It is incumbent upon us, the representatives of the Member States, to devote all our efforts to ensuring that the present session will represent, in the history of the United Nations, an important step forward in seeking solutions to the problems confronting us, especially in eliminating the use of force or the threat of force, and banishing war from the international scene. Situations of tension and military confrontation must make way for understanding and co-operation among peoples. Let us join our forces, let us do everything in our power to ensure that peace reigns

in the world, and that all peoples go forward ever more speedily towards the summits of civilization. It is thus that the United Nations will succeed in justifying the confidence placed in it by all peoples almost three decades ago.

73. Mr. SECK (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I particularly welcome this opportunity of associating myself with the speakers who preceded me to this rostrum to extend our congratulations and express our satisfaction on seeing you preside over the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I do this all the more willingly since you are the worthy representative of a country whose militant faith in defending the causes of the third world deserves to be mentioned as an example. Knowing your great ability and your sense of duty, I have no doubt as to the success of this session.

74. I also wish to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, of Ecuador, who had the signal honour of presiding over two sessions of our Assembly.

75. I must not forget to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, most sincerely for all the efforts he has made and the success he has achieved for our Organization in his struggle to bring about a world based on peace and justice.

76. I would also wish to avail myself of this memorable occasion to welcome, on behalf of the Government and the people of Senegal, the admission to the United Nations of the sister Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the homeland of the late lamented Amílcar Cabral, to whom even today we pay a moving tribute for his sacrifice in the cause of African independence and freedom. I rejoice at the admission of Guinea-Bissau all the more as Senegal has the honour of being one of the African countries which most assisted that sister State in its long and glorious struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

77. I am also pleased to welcome the admission to this Assembly of the courageous People's Republic of Bangladesh, which has again been sorely tried by natural calamities, and Grenada, whose independence puts an end to 320 years of colonial rule.

78. Allow me, at the outset, to express the very high consideration in which my country holds the United Nations. The Organization is, indeed, the bulwark of the small countries, enabling them to become aware of their full and complete existence on an equal footing with the great Powers. It endeavours to be the conscience of the world and, as such, to prevail on all—large and small—by the standards which it defines. My country will do everything it can to help it.

79. However, the Organization, which is in the process of attaining its profound goal, is far from having recorded only successes, particularly in all the major questions which concern us. In this connexion my delegation is bound to note that at the opening of the twenty-ninth session major problems, which are among those which condition our very existence, particularly those relating to international peace and security, disarmament and development, remain without solution, even though in the past year some progress has been registered.

80. But can one reasonably speak of solutions when the arms race continues ceaselessly? Indeed, the military expenditures of the great Powers, far from

decreasing, rose by almost 50 per cent, from \$200,000 million to \$300,000 million in the course of a single year. This is ironic when one considers the recommendation of the General Assembly requesting the permanent members of the Security Council to reduce their military budgets by 10 per cent and to use part of the resources thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries [*resolution 3093 (XXVIII)*]. This being so, how can one not bitterly deplore the attitude of the atomic Powers, which continue to strengthen their military arsenals and to carry out nuclear tests in the atmosphere and underground, thus causing the disappearance from our dreams of the idea of a peaceful world?

81. Senegal of course welcomes the recent agreements signed between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic weapons. Moreover, my Government, which condemns the continuation of nuclear tests, welcomes the accession of the People's Republic of China and France to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), which prohibits nuclear tests in Latin America and the Antilles.

82. However, in order for these positive acts geared towards peace to be really significant, they must be copied by all States which are concerned with international peace and security. Similarly, the application of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] must also be marked by a condemnation of any militarization of that ocean. The great Powers, the coastal States, the land-locked countries and the other users of the Indian Ocean must enter into consultations in order to achieve the objectives of the Declaration.

83. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe now meeting in Geneva, should lead to the convening of a world disarmament conference, which my Government earnestly desires.

84. In such a context, it is not surprising that many flash-points of tension exist where war goes on or may break out at any moment.

85. In Viet Nam, where my country has recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam in order to promote the process of peace which was started by the Paris agreements, it is our wish that the United Nations intervene strongly to ensure strict compliance with the provisions of these agreements, particularly by the Saigon administration, whose aggressive attitude is based on I know not what encouragement.

86. As for Cambodia, my Government is more than ever convinced that peace depends solely on a return to the legitimacy represented by the Royal Government of National Union, which has already been recognized by more than 60 Member States of the Organization. In this connexion, my delegation particularly welcomes the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations" [*item 25*].

87. As regards Cyprus, my delegation expresses the inalienable rights of the people and the Government legitimately represented in the person of Archbishop Makarios and voices its constant concern for maintaining the integrity of the island, subject, of

course, to proper account being taken of the interest of all the communities on the island.

88. Similarly, in Korea the United Nations should create conditions conducive to acceleration of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. My Government, by maintaining diplomatic relations with the Governments of Pyongyang and Seoul, hopes to contribute to the reunification of Korea.

89. When one examines the burning problem of the Middle East, there are grounds for believing that the conditions for a lasting peace in that region can result only from the dialogue which might begin at the Peace Conference on the Middle East in Geneva. The disengagement agreements between Egypt and Israel on the Sinai and between Israel and Syria on the Golan Heights constitute important progress in that direction. We hope that the parties concerned will agree to implement strictly the relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which provide for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories and for the settlement of the Palestinian problem, as well as commitments that would give each State the right to live in peace within secure and recognized frontiers.

90. My Government wholly subscribes to these principles because such an attitude will undoubtedly assist the United Nations in giving a new impetus to the peace efforts. But our Organization must always bear in mind that this peace depends, too, on an active and sincere quest for solutions to the problems of survival and development which weigh on all the countries of the third world.

91. Indeed, the convening of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and development, showed the wealthier countries that the third world, now fully aware of the weight of its influence in international economic relations, is no longer prepared passively to accept the present economic order. The situation in most of these countries deteriorates from year to year as a result of the present state of affairs, compounded by the frequent occurrence of natural catastrophes of every kind.

92. No very effective procedure has been worked out by our Organization for providing speedy assistance to States Members which are victims of natural catastrophes. Thus, Bangladesh, having just emerged from war, has been almost entirely flooded; in India millions of men and women are likely dying of hunger as the result of a long unprecedented drought; and in Honduras hundreds of human lives have been lost, thousands are without shelter, and the economy has been hard hit by the passage of the latest hurricane. All these countries need immediate aid from the international community, channelled through the Organization.

93. My own country, as you know, belongs to a region that has been the victim of one of these natural disasters. May I be allowed to recall here that, in our battle against drought, Senegal has always made great efforts by giving the highest priority, particularly in its development plans to the construction of dams, which are the only means to make our agriculture proof against climatic changes. Furthermore, the Governments of the Sahelian States have jointly undertaken important hydro-agricultural projects for the

progressive transformation of ecological and meteorological conditions over the medium and the long term.

94. The conclusions reached at the last meetings of the organizations of the United Nations system for the development of the Senegal River prove, if that were necessary, how determined the Sahelian States are to eliminate the effect of the drought, which is a serious handicap to the economic and social development of their region.

95. As I had occasion to say from this rostrum last year [2132nd meeting], when we were faced with the disastrous effects of this scourge, African solidarity and international assistance were not lacking. The Government of Senegal again wishes to thank its brother States, all friendly countries, the United Nations and other international organizations for their invaluable assistance to the Sahelian countries facing difficulties due to natural disasters. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who by his official visit in February 1974 brought us convincing proof that our Organization is concerned for the fate of the most disadvantaged.

96. I am furthermore pleased to announce that, for the time being, the rainy season is almost normal throughout the Sahelian region, and that if there is sufficient rain in October, the harvest will be saved. However, two or three years of good rainy seasons will be needed for things to return to normal.

97. However, in the Sahelian region, a return to normal will not put an end to uncertainty. The need remains above all, to control nature through the implementation of our major projects, so that periods of drought are not followed, as is frequently the case, by equally catastrophic floods. I therefore invite all men of good will, within the framework of international co-operation, to participate in the gigantic task of rebuilding and equipping the Sahelian region.

98. Even more serious than natural disasters is the continuance of an economic order based on injustice and the exploitation of the least developed, whose progress is thus blocked, while the compensation measures provided for by the international community prove inadequate to improve that situation.

99. Indeed, it is no secret to anyone that the situation of the developing countries is deteriorating more and more because the measures provided for, as well as the commitments undertaken within the framework of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], have not been respected by the wealthy countries.

100. If we observe the present rate of official external assistance, we see that in 1976 it will barely amount to 0.35 per cent of the gross national product of the industrialized countries, while three fourths of mankind will continue to incur billions of dollars of debts.

101. According to data furnished by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], the aid given by the wealthy countries, in 1972, was only 0.30 per cent of their gross national products, a far cry from the 0.70 per cent set by the United Nations for official development assistance.

102. As for the net total of funds provided to the developing countries, it represented, for the same year, 0.78 per cent of the gross national product of the industrialized countries, whereas the United Nations target was—let us remember—1 per cent.

103. A widening of the gap between the "have" and "have-not" countries, where it results from this state of affairs, may be prejudicial to the cause of international peace and security. It is in the context of the efforts to prevent such a possibility that my delegation sincerely thanks the United Nations for having convened this year, under its auspices, two conferences of an unprecedented political scope: the sixth special session of the United Nations, on raw materials and development, and the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which met in Caracas from 29 June to 29 August 1974.

104. May I again express my gratitude to President Houari Boumediène of Algeria for having taken the initiative in convening the session of the Assembly on raw materials and development. That event, which had its origins in the fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers in 1973 and which challenged the system that today governs international relations, shows us clearly how non-alignment has found its *raison d'être* in defending just causes against all forms of political hegemony and economic domination.

105. To this end, my delegation believes that any real political desire to make a frontal attack on the problem of development should, in the first place, recognize the distribution of natural resources as a key question. The appropriation of those resources by the strong to the detriment of the weak constitutes the basis of the unequal and unjust economic order that we know today, and that calls for a radical transformation if we are to establish the new economic order that is a *sine qua non* for collective economic security. Indexation of the prices of raw materials in terms of the value of the goods manufactured by the developed countries might perhaps constitute a palliative measure against the deterioration in terms of trade which result from this situation.

106. The fact that the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted, at its sixth special session, a Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order shows that the countries of the third world are fully determined to claim something more than a back seat on the international scene. The Programme of Action, intended to ensure the implementation of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted at the same session, will enable our Organization to deal better with questions relating to the fundamental problems of raw materials in relation to trade and development; the reform of the international monetary system and the financing of development; industrialization and the transfer of technology; and, lastly, the regulation and control of transnational corporations, not forgetting the sacrosanct principle of nationalization, which is an expression of the sovereign right of each country to safeguard its natural resources. The seriousness of the problems raised by the countries of the third world at the sixth special session makes clear the importance that must be attached to them.

107. Furthermore, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which it has not been possible to finish drafting thus far because of the lack of political will of some of the developed countries, must be based on the fundamental principles adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and development.

108. Furthermore, my delegation fully appreciates the launching of the Special Programme under the Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order to provide emergency relief and development assistance to the countries most seriously affected by the present crisis.

109. Seeking a solution to those problems of economic and social development necessarily implies consideration of questions relating to a new law of the sea. The convening by the United Nations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, even though that Conference did not fulfil all the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries, may be regarded as the beginnings of justice in that field.

110. The fact that the United Nations has for years been interested in the law of the sea within the framework of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction shows the importance it attaches to that problem, which is basic to the development of the countries concerned.

111. We all know that it was due to the developing countries that that Committee extended its discussions to cover the whole of the law of the sea, and finally agreed on the need to hold a Third Conference on the Law of the Sea at Caracas. My delegation shares the view of most African delegations which participated in the Caracas session, and believes we must abandon the traditional doctrines of the law of the sea in favour of a new concept, that of the common heritage of mankind, which implies free access by all to the riches of the sea, and an equitable distribution among all of the income obtained from the exploitation of its resources. In that connexion, Senegal supports the establishment of a new international organization to administer matters relating to the high seas, the common heritage of mankind, the resources of which would be used mainly in the fight against underdevelopment. Hundreds of millions of dollars might thus be devoted every year to that noble cause.

112. My delegation, aware of the importance of the Caracas Conference, unreservedly confirms its support of the position taken by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which can be summarized as follows.

113. First, we must recognize the right of all coastal States to establish, beyond their territorial seas, an exclusive economic zone, which should not in any case exceed 200 nautical miles. Within that zone coastal States would exercise permanent sovereignty over the biological and mineral resources therein, without jeopardizing other legitimate uses of the sea, in particular freedom of navigation and overflight, the laying of submarine cables or pipelines, and so forth.

114. Secondly, we must recognize the right of landlocked and other geographically disadvantaged countries to participate in the exploitation of the biological resources of the economic zones on an equal footing with the coastal States.

115. Thirdly, the biological resources must be protected against the inroads of pollution and intensive fishing. It is therefore necessary to set up adequate institutions and establish an international authority which will see to it that the principles of defence against such inroads are respected.

116. In this field, Senegal, like OAU, advocates the establishment of a treaty governing the international zone so as to protect the ocean spaces and their living and mineral resources. The relevant machinery should have substantial and far-reaching powers. Its role should be to exploit resources and regulate the activities in the zone, and to reduce to the utmost the harmful repercussions of civilization, and the fluctuations of raw material prices.

117. Those two great conferences, which should have left their mark on the Second United Nations Development Decade, unfortunately proved to be disappointing, partly because of their somewhat hasty preparation, but above all because of the lack of political will on the part of certain Members of our Organization, especially the industrialized countries.

118. On the other hand, my delegation expresses its satisfaction with the holding in Bucharest of the World Population Conference, and of the forthcoming World Food Conference sponsored jointly by FAO and UNCTAD at Rome. We affirm that the long-term problem of world food can be resolved only by a strategy which combines the target of increased productivity with that of equitable distribution. The Conference must consider a world food policy as a consistent whole, and include the questions of food aid and the best arrangements for emergencies, as well as the price stabilization and the balancing of supply and demand. Such a policy cannot, however, be formulated and executed without the support and co-operation of the developed countries, which must accept their responsibilities in this area, since international peace and security will always be threatened if the developing countries cannot improve their food situation.

119. In the realm of peace, there is one sector where our Organization has made definite progress, which leads us to hope for a speedy solution of the problems concerned: decolonization and the fight against *apartheid*. My delegation rejoices at the overthrow of the Caetano régime; it welcomes Portugal's return to democracy and the recognition by the new Government of Portugal of the inalienable right of the African peoples to self-determination and independence. The recognition of the *de jure* independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau by Portugal and that Republic's admission to the United Nations are a source of satisfaction and reassurance to us, because those acts are directed towards the attainment of the universality of our Organization, which we all earnestly hope for. The meeting at Dakar between Mr. Aristide Pereira and Mr. Mario Soares, followed by meetings in London and Algiers, helped to hasten Portugal's recognition of the independent State of Guinea-Bissau. My Government will spare no effort to assist that brother State firmly to take its place within the family of free and independent nations.

120. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Cape Verde islands will soon join Guinea-Bissau in achieving independence and unity, and that Mozambique, where

an important step has just been taken with the establishment of a Provisional Government of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe will shortly attain freedom and international sovereignty, in the interests of their peoples.

121. The declaration adopted at the eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at Mogadiscio called upon all States members of the Organization and on friendly countries not to restore diplomatic relations with Portugal until such time as it had recognized the right of its colonies to independence, started negotiations with liberation movements with a view to the transfer of power, and recognized the State of Guinea-Bissau.

122. It must be acknowledged that Portugal was then in the initial phase of its internal revolution, a stage, we must admit, of sometimes contradictory declarations and attitudes. But today, when the independence of Guinea-Bissau is recognized *de jure*, when FRELIMO, after the Lusaka agreements, heads a government of transition, when the transfer of authority has been properly carried out by the two countries, and finally, today, when Portugal declares that it is only waiting for a genuine representative before it decolonizes Angola, and solemnly proclaims that it will do the same for its other colonies, no one can deny that the requirements of the OAU have been fully met.

123. The Portugal of today deserves to be encouraged and helped. Recent events in Mozambique which have led to close co-operation between the FRELIMO and Portuguese armies, as well as the latest changes that have occurred in Portugal, illustrate this proposition clearly.

124. Senegal for its part, being fully aware of its African responsibilities, has decided to re-establish diplomatic relations with Portugal. In so doing we are conscious of aiding both Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, which already have important relations with Portugal as well as with other Territories that remain to be decolonized.

125. Senegal, which has been watchful and ready immediately to revise its position if Portugal were not to comply with its commitments, believes that it would be to the honour of Africa to pay a tribute and to do justice to the new Portugal.

126. As for Sahara under Spanish domination, the Government of Senegal, consistent with the position which we have always defended in the United Nations, considers the decolonization of that country to be an imperative necessity. But, as has been indicated by the heads of the delegations of Mauritania and Morocco, there may be a special form of decolonization. There is a legal dispute between the African States concerned and the colonial Power. It therefore seems most desirable that the General Assembly, before considering this question, should request the opinion of the International Court of Justice. In this connexion, Sahara under Spanish domination reminds us a little of Namibia. The reason is that when South Africa set itself up in Namibia there was a lawful claimant to the Territory (the League of Nations and later the United Nations) which subsequently claimed its rights before the International Court of Justice, whose opinion is known.

127. In the present case, those who had rights before the colonial period of so-called Spanish Sahara, called on the same Court, an organ of the United Nations in which they had confidence, to state the legal position before our Assembly was seized of the problem. It seems to me to be wise and equitable to accede to this request, which I hope will enjoy the unanimous support of Africa, a continent primarily interested in decolonization. At any rate the sole concern of my delegation in this case is the rapid attainment of decolonization of the Territory by peaceful means.

128. Our Organization has a special responsibility, that of helping the populations of Southern Rhodesia to attain their independence on the basis of equality of rights for all. Despite the efforts made by most Members of the United Nations, the minority régimes that are in power in Namibia and in Southern Rhodesia continue to base their retrograde policy on racism, segregation and discrimination.

129. In Southern Rhodesia, the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith consolidates itself from year to year despite the sanctions taken against it, sanctions, which, we must confess, are largely ignored by certain Members of the Organization, some of which are permanent members of the Security Council. It is obvious that the illegal Ian Smith régime ostentatiously thwarts every United Nations decision regarding the establishment of equality and justice in that country, where the minority, which imposes itself by force, constantly provokes neighbouring Zambia at the same time.

130. Zambia has encountered great difficulties because of the unilateral decision of the illegal Ian Smith régime to seal off the common frontier. In this connexion my Government reiterates its full support for every positive measure taken by the world community to preserve the independence and dignity of the people of Zambia.

131. With regard to South Africa, my Government, which would have wished that South Africa's decision not to intervene in the recent events in Mozambique marked the beginning of a radical change in its internal policy, cannot for the time being do other than continue to condemn its policy which is based essentially on total contempt for the non-white races.

132. For us the point is not so much of including black members in a delegation than of having South Africa admit the elementary principle that a man is a man, whatever his colour, religion or degree of evolution; and that a man is only a man whether he is an atomic scientist, a philosopher, an eminent Head of State, or whatever. As long as this is not recognized that country cannot find an honourable place in the international community.

133. In the meantime, South Africa must immediately liberate Namibia because, as it had failed to discharge its obligations as mandatory Power, the General Assembly, on 27 October 1966, was compelled to decide [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] that the Mandate of South Africa was ended and that henceforth the rights of the League of Nations would be exercised by the United Nations. That was confirmed, we know, by the opinion given on 21 June 1971 by the International Court of Justice.⁵ The Security Council, by its resolution 269 (1969), confirmed the termination of South

Africa's Mandate over Namibia and called for its withdrawal from the Territory. That order should have been scrupulously complied with.

134. It is in the framework of this struggle to restore the rights to self-determination of the people of Namibia, which has always refused to become a feudal part of South Africa, that my Government fully associates itself with the measures adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session inviting the Security Council to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, and calling on the United Nations Council for Namibia to participate fully in the various activities of the subsidiary organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations [*resolution 3111 (XXVIII)*].

135. My delegation calls for the continuation, in the greater interest of the Namibian people, of the close co-operation between the United Nations Council for Namibia and the South West Africa People's Organization, which the General Assembly has recognized [*ibid.*] as the genuine representative of the Namibian people and which my country has authorized to open a permanent office at Dakar.

136. And yet, despite the well-known obstinacy of the leaders of South Africa and of Rhodesia, my delegation ventures to hope that the emancipation movements which are liberating entire countries in southern Africa, together with the growing pressure of world reprobation, will lead them to a better understanding of history.

137. It seems proper, at a time when resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on decolonization is making notable progress, giving greater credit to the principles of universality of the United Nations, that our Organization be closely associated with the settlement of all international problems.

138. It is, indeed, necessary, to avoid frustrations and imbalances that can only serve the interests of the great Powers, to give the United Nations full responsibility and the necessary authority in problems of international peace and security to which are linked the progress of the developing nations. The small and medium-sized Powers must no longer be kept out of the settlement of problems of world interests because peaceful coexistence among the great Powers alone is no longer sufficient to create conditions for a real peace, prior to the emergence of an era of collective economic security, which we so earnestly desire.

139. In conclusion it only remains for me to express the deeply felt wish that this session may be that of the realization of the legitimate aspirations of all peoples to freedom and economic and social justice in newly found international peace and security.

140. Mr. MOE (Barbados): Mr. President, I am happy to join those who preceded me in paying tribute to you on your election to the presidency of this, the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We recall with satisfaction the initiative taken by the President of Algeria which led to the convening of the sixth special session of the General Assembly to deal with a matter of immediate concern to all nations. At this time when our preoccupation must be the need to forge a new international economic order, we can think of no better tribute to you and your coun-

try than that the honour of presiding over the deliberations of this session should be bestowed upon so illustrious a representative.

141. I wish also to place on record our deep appreciation of your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, whose wise and efficient guidance of our deliberations during the twenty-eighth regular session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly not only earned him the respect of the international community but also brought credit to his country and all of Latin America.

142. I should also like, on behalf of my delegation, to pay due tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the untiring efforts he continues to devote to the service of the United Nations.

143. Today we greet three new Members of this Organization. My delegation has great pleasure in being able on this occasion to extend a cordial welcome to our sister Caribbean State of Grenada, which has long-established links with the English-speaking States of the Caribbean, links which are the result of a common historical experience. We are indeed happy to share with Grenada the stirring challenges that face this body.

144. As one of the first States to recognize the sovereignty of the people of Bangladesh, we take particular satisfaction, too, in welcoming a delegation from the People's Republic of Bangladesh and would reiterate to them our sympathy concerning the recent natural disasters which so cruelly struck this new nation. Our condolences also go to the Government and people of Honduras on the suffering which that sister Latin American State now experiences after the grave tragedy which befell it on the eve of this Assembly session.

145. These calamities must serve as forcible reminders of the obvious responsibility this Organization must seek to discharge in providing assistance in cases of natural disaster.

146. We must welcome, too, the fact that the Portuguese people have found a new leadership persuaded to end the vicious wars which that country has waged in Africa for over a decade. The presence of a delegation from Guinea-Bissau in this Assembly is a welcome indication that the Portuguese Government accepts the inalienable right of a people to govern itself. We look forward to being able by the next session to welcome delegations from the other Territories which, until recently, formed part of the Portuguese empire.

147. The universality of membership of this Organization will provide the possibility of greater contentment and, it may be hoped, easier dispersal of the suspicions and frustrations of its Member States. But the admission of any new Member State reminds us that Belize, a member of our Caribbean community, has yet to achieve its independence, not because the metropolitan Power has refused to surrender its control, but because it fears possible assaults upon its territorial integrity. We believe it to be the responsibility not only of States like mine that share a common destiny with Belize but also of this forum to be continually seized of the problem and to work towards a solution that will help to ensure the ultimate goal of independence for that Territory.

148. We regret to note, too, that in southern Africa the indigenous peoples are yet struggling to attain the human status which the Members of this Organization are committed to guarantee to all peoples of this world. It would be difficult to justify in any human terms the oppression meted out to the African populations of Namibia and Rhodesia and the abominable repudiation of human values practised under the system of *apartheid* in South Africa.

149. My Government has time and again emphasized its abhorrence of the malevolent system of *apartheid* and will continue to condemn the South African Government for its criminal imposition of this system on the peoples of southern Africa, for its refusal to hand over Namibia to its legitimate rulers and for its support of Rhodesia's illegal Government—all in defiance of the United Nations and its Charter.

150. But while we display eagerness for every people to enjoy its inalienable right to political freedom and would share in their joy of newly gained independence, we must reflect whether the attainment of sovereignty is not threatened by the political and economic instability of today's world. Barbados is pleased to note the continuation of the very positive steps which some countries have taken during the past year further to resolve their differences. The widening and deepening of *détente* between the super-Powers will no doubt save humanity from the ravages of another major war, and the poorer and weaker countries must applaud all efforts to strengthen peace and security in the world.

151. But it is with regret that we observe that no lasting settlement has yet been found for the conflict in the Middle East. There are few international problems which so clearly bring home to the small countries of the world how negligent the so-called great Powers have been. It was these Powers that sponsored the creation of the State of Israel. But their pursuit of shifting and contradictory policies and their use of the area as a stamping-ground have been largely to blame for the sorry and wasteful belligerence that has prevailed in the region since 1948 and the tragedy that has overtaken millions of Arab refugees.

152. We would applaud the tireless and concerted efforts which brought about disengagement in the region after last October's conflagration, but we feel it the moral responsibility of the same Powers to bring all parties to the long-standing conflict to the conference table, to have the problems of frontiers worked out and to have the problem of the wandering and buffeted Palestinians resolved—in short, not only to effect disengagement, but also to create a lasting and effective basis for peace in that part of the world. It would then be possible to ensure that the human and material resources now devoted to the waging of war in that area could be better deployed to the general fulfilment of all the legitimate goals of humanity within the Middle East.

153. My country also deplores the damage done to the political independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus during the past few months. Here is a case of a small, defenceless country ripped apart at the will of more powerful countries and made the battleground upon which the latter choose to settle their differences. This most recent experience is indeed a sad commentary on the achievements of this body

since the Second World War, for it again reminds us that our system of international peace-keeping is at best selective, at worst ineffective.

154. Another area of major concern must of necessity be the economic injustice suffered by the majority of States and peoples. At no time in the history of this Organization has the world economic outlook been as gloomy as it is today. Throughout the countries of the developing world there is a common denominator: life is poor in quality, poor in prospect. And yet it is not by divine inevitability that the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer.

155. As we approach the mid-point of the Second United Nations Development Decade, we might understandably extrapolate from our accumulated experience in international co-operation for development and ask whether that experience justifies faith in a future of fruitful action in this sphere. Unless we would proceed blindly in today's world of crises, inflation, disequilibrium and deepening poverty, we cannot escape the responsibility of examination and analysis of the factors underlying the frustration of our agreed goals and objectives.

156. Thirty years ago the Charter of the United Nations committed the international community to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and to ensuring a minimum standard of living consistent with human dignity through economic and social progress. The launching of the First and Second Development Decades marked attempts to give substance to this pledge and to adopt policies of international co-operation to achieve the agreed purpose. It was true then, and remains true today, that the scale of such co-operation should match the magnitude of the problem.

157. That the record of achievement of the stated goals has been less than satisfactory is a commonplace. That there is a probability of abandonment of the goals is now a common fear. So let us not forget that the crisis in energy is but the latest in a series of crises or setbacks that have characterized the international economy in recent times.

158. We all know that the widening gap between rich and poor countries predated the energy crisis. We all know that the phenomenon of international inflation—the export of inflation from the rich to the poor countries—predated the energy crisis. We all know that the spectre of global food shortages predated the energy crisis. We all know, too, that falling levels of development assistance predated the energy crisis. All this is known.

159. But the phenomenon of vastly increased prices for the world's main source of energy has aggravated these trends. For oil-importing developing countries the prospects are bleak indeed. The most affected among the developing countries can hardly afford to buy food any longer. For the rest, the disequilibrium of crippling external payments prevents the expansion in productive capacity that is a prerequisite to growth and improved living standards. In this period of international economic crisis the future prospects of the majority of the world's peoples will depend on how poor countries like Barbados, with fragile economies, are able to manage the immediate problem. The case for immediate emergency relief to the most affected

countries of the world is beyond dispute. The problem is survival today, or we may not reach the challenges of tomorrow.

160. The international community has in fact addressed itself to that problem. The elements for the mechanism of relief were agreed in the Special Programme contained in the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the Assembly. The dimensions of the problem and the magnitude of assistance needed have been outlined by the Secretary-General. But once again performance unhappily falls below requirements and expectations. And, if we must be frank, it falls below the collective ability of those able to assist. The world is treated to the spectacle of posturing by all but a few of the donor countries, while those in need remain uncertain of the fulfilment of the aims of the Special Programme and of the magnitude of the assistance they will receive, and are doubtful whether such assistance as is eventually rendered will reach them in time.

161. But let us not forget that development—not mere survival—remains the essential path to peace and justice. And let us not be fooled into believing that the improvement in the living standards of the vast majority of the world's peoples will necessarily be achieved by stop-gap measures, any more than it will be achieved by an exclusive concern with the survival of those on the brink of total disaster. Countries like mine, which previously received little by way of development assistance, can no longer view with equanimity either the absence of such assistance or its painfully slow rate of disbursement.

162. It has long been recognized that an essential ingredient of international co-operation for the achievement of a more equitable world order is the transfer of resources from the developed to the developing nations. In today's realities, oil-exporting countries can play a crucial role in making such transfers possible. Looked at in the longer term, what is doubtless needed is a restructuring of the productive capacity of the world—as distinct from the mere redistribution of its incomes. That, as we see it, is the essence of the new economic order called for by the sixth special session. The elements of the new order are already perceived. The courage for its implementation is yet to be demonstrated.

163. The demand for a new order of international economic justice has been nowhere louder than at the United Nations Conference recently convened in Caracas to work out a new régime for the control of the resources of the sea. My country put forward the view that the formulation of the principles of any régime governing the use of the sea may well depend on the willingness of the developed maritime countries to accept the fact that the rules of the traditional freedoms of the sea as at present interpreted by them have to give way to a new and revised order based on political and economic justice. Developing countries must exercise sovereignty and control over the marine resources within their national jurisdictions, while at the same time accepting responsibility for ensuring that the traditional interests of the community of nations in the areas of their sea are respected and protected. It is to be hoped that whenever the new régime that will govern the use of the sea is finally elaborated there will be an effective expression of political and

economic justice on the sea—justice which, regrettably, we cannot say now exists on land.

164. The Government and people of Barbados believe that we are here to bend our several efforts to the improvement of the human condition. If by our words and our deeds we fail to justify that belief, I must then ask, why are we here?

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/9765)

165. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has before it, in document A/9765, a report of the Fourth Committee on this item.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

166. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee in paragraph 3 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that recommendation appears in document A/9777. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the recommendation of the Fourth Committee?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 37

Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa: (a) Reports of the Special Committee on Apartheid; (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/9774)

167. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has before it a report of the Special Political Committee on this item [A/9774].

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Special Political Committee.

168. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now take a decision on the recommendation of the Special Political Committee in paragraph 5 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that recommendation appears in document A/9782. May I take it that the General Assembly approves the recommendation of the Special Political Committee?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 24, document A/8792.

² Subsequently adopted as resolution 3281 (XXIX).

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

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, agenda item 41.

⁵ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)*, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports, 1971, p. 16.