

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



**2263rd
PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 9 October 1974,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Address by Mr. Long Boret, Prime Minister of the Khmer Republic	601
Agenda item 9: General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka)	606
Speech by Mr. Maghur (Libyan Arab Republic)	611
Speech by Mr. Kotsokoane (Lesotho)	614
Speech by Mr. Doralta (Chad)	616
Speech by Mr. Bellizzi (Malta)	619

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

In the absence of the President, Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany), Vice-President, took the Chair.

**Address by Mr. Long Boret,
Prime Minister of the Khmer Republic**

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I now have the honour of welcoming His Excellency Mr. Long Boret, Prime Minister of the Khmer Republic, and I invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. LONG BORET (*interpretation from French*): I am very happy to be able to associate myself with the previous speakers from this rostrum in conveying to the President, Mr. Bouteflika, my warmest congratulations on his unanimous election to the Presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Under his impartial direction and because of his distinguished statesmanlike qualities, our debates will certainly be conducted in the necessary atmosphere of tranquillity, thus enabling the Assembly at the present session to achieve its objective of bringing peace and stability to the world in keeping with the role of the Organization.

3. I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose tireless efforts for peace are familiar to everyone.

4. It is a particular pleasure for me to be able to repeat our feelings of profound admiration for Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who conducted our proceedings last year with such efficiency, such tried competence and total impartiality. His long experience in the United Nations and his warm-heartedness guaranteed the success of the work of the twenty-eighth session and the work of the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

5. Faithful to the principle of universality of the Organization, and thereby faithful to our fundamental

policy of maintaining friendly relations with all countries without any distinction as to régime or political ideology, my Government is happy to welcome the three countries just admitted to membership in the United Nations—Grenada, Bangladesh and Guinea-Bissau.

6. I am sure that you will permit me, as Prime Minister of the Khmer Republic, to deal exclusively today with a question which for me and for all the Khmer people is one of the highest priority, that of the representation of Cambodia in the United Nations.

7. A draft resolution introduced last year by 33 nations asks the Assembly

“to restore the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations, recognizing its representatives as the sole lawful representatives of Cambodia, and to expel the representatives of the Lon Nol group from the seat they illegally occupy in the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it.”¹

8. This draft resolution, which was not considered at the last session, will soon be discussed here. What the sponsors of the draft resolution in derogatory terms call “the Lon Nol group” is the Government of the Khmer Republic, which in 1970 succeeded what was then the Royal Government as a fully fledged Member of the United Nations, and, as everyone will acknowledge, it has fully complied with all the obligations of membership.

9. As we approach a debate unique in the annals of the Organization, a debate which may have incalculable consequences with regard to the credibility of the Organization and to the subsequent fate of other Member States, the Republican Government considers it its duty to draw the attention of all nations of good will to the extreme gravity of the decision which the Assembly will soon have to take.

10. Indeed, never has a State, because it has changed its régime—something which is a purely domestic affair—seen its representation in the United Nations come up for discussion. In recent years—in fact, in the last 12 months—régimes hitherto considered as legitimate have collapsed under the pressure of the people or of the army. Who in this Assembly has asked that representatives of new régimes be kept outside the United Nations and that representatives of outgoing régimes should be kept on or called back?

11. There are many Members of the United Nations, in all parts of the world, which have to confront attempts at armed subversion whose main instigators are living abroad. This is the case, in particular, of some of the sponsors of the draft resolution sponsored by 33 countries, which calls for the expulsion from the United Nations of the Khmer Republic. This is also the case of a number of other Governments which, having

recognized for many different reasons that we shall examine later the so-called "Royal Government of Cambodia", feel obliged to promote its entry into the Organization.

12. Do not the régimes which have taken this position realize that the precedent they are about to create may one day be used against them? If the United Nations were to reject a régime which, like ours, is in control of its capital, all the major and medium-sized towns, most of the economically important regions and much more than three fourths of the population of the country—and this for more than four years, in spite of all the pessimistic forecasts made out of malice or misinformation by the self-styled specialists—then what régime, I ask, even among those that criticize us, could be sure that, if in its turn it had to combat a substantial attempt at subversion, some heterogeneous coalition favourable to its enemies would not one day exclude it from the United Nations?

13. Would it not be playing with fire to deal such a blow to a Government which has been defending itself with ever-growing success against an unprovoked aggression and which is doing everything in its power, politically and diplomatically, to restore peace at home?

14. There has been no lack of warnings to this effect in the Assembly, the most significant perhaps coming from nations of South Asia, which understand the problems of the Khmer Republic better than most. All these friendly neighbouring countries have urged their colleagues not to try to impose a Government in exile on a State. To act in this way, they have argued, would be to jeopardize the very structure of the United Nations.

15. The reference made by these Powers to a Government in exile is perfectly valid in so far as concerns the so-called "Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia". It is true that a certain number of Khmer Marxist leaders, although in 1970 they were in the anti-Sihanouk camp, obtained without any difficulty from the deposed Prince, who was anxious for vengeance, the title of "Minister", and are living somewhere in Cambodian territory, in the shelter of the forests and moving around constantly in order to avoid discovery. Yet they have nothing more to fear than our very small national air force. They claim, in order to explain the absence of any fixed residence, that only Phnom Penh would be an appropriate capital for them. But perhaps to make an impression on the United Nations, they may very soon decide to set themselves up in a provisional capital which they will proceed to abandon as soon as the debate is over.

16. The so-called Royal Government cannot, for all that, avoid being described as a Government in exile, since its top leaders—at least according to their titles—continue to reside outside national territory. First and foremost, this is the case with its "head of State", Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who has been in Peking for over four years; in spite of his representations and claims, the Khmer Marxists have been obstinately refusing him the right to return and live permanently in his own country. This is also the case with its "Prime Minister", Mr. Penn Nouth, who, in order to explain why he is staying in the Chinese capital, is invoking "reasons of health". This is also the case with its "Foreign Minister", Mr. Sarinn

Chhak, and also the "Minister of State for Special Affairs", Mr. Chau Seng, and some others, who have never set foot in Cambodia since 1970.

17. You may recall that last year a spokesman for Governments in exile stated in the Assembly that, when a country is occupied by foreign troops, popular resistance is very often headed by a Government in exile. This representative obviously was thinking of the provisional Algerian Government which led the struggle against the French troops in Algeria from outside the country. However, one might point out, on the one hand, that the only foreign occupation forces in Cambodia since 1966 have been those of North Viet Nam and the Viet-Cong, and that, on the other hand, to our knowledge, Algeria was only admitted to membership in the United Nations after its Government had set itself up in Algiers pursuant to the agreements concluded with France.

18. In the case of the entry of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations—a case in which certain delegations sought a precedent which could be used against the Khmer Republic—we cannot but stress the fact that, when the People's Republic of China occupied the seat which up to that point had been occupied by the Nationalist régime of Taiwan, it had long been in occupation of all continental Chinese territory, including, of course, its capital, a situation which could not be more different from that of the so-called "Royal Government".

19. Among the nations which have recognized this "Government", some have done so out of ideological solidarity with the Khmer Communists, or because of great-Power ambitions with regard to Indo-China; others, again, out of sympathy towards a movement which, disguising its true nature, has awarded itself the resounding title of "non-aligned and anti-imperialist"; others, again, because their leaders had friendly personal relations with our former head of State, Prince Sihanouk. There are many critics from every side against the régime of a small country like ours! So many worries for a Prime Minister who, in spite of all the respect owed to the representatives here, would have preferred not to have had to leave his capital where so many urgent, even tragic, problems beset him every day!

20. And for a Khmer, that is to say, someone who is anxious for understanding, friendship, good and cordial relations with everyone—for a Khmer it is extremely painful to see his Government and people perpetually in the dock before the highest court of nations to which the unfortunate Khmer Republic has done no harm except perhaps in that it exists. It is true that in the international community our Republic does have many faithful friends, and we cannot express too much gratitude for their courage and their faith. We even have some in the third world itself, friends who have bravely resisted the pressures exerted upon them to abandon our defence. Unfortunately, we also have in the same third world enemies, some violent—verbally at least—the others much less heated, and who, I am convinced, would only come out against us reluctantly. Is there any need to remind you that among the sponsors of the draft resolution which would expel us from the United Nations there is only one Asian Power, precisely the one which is the protector,

the financier and the harbourer of the so-called "Royal Government"?

21. As to the other Governments which are against us, they know us, above all, through the very black portrait which the vast propaganda machine of our enemies has painted of our Republican régime. Beset by numerous difficulties, perhaps we have not done enough to try to create a better image of ourselves abroad. However, we do not underestimate the intense diplomatic activity which has been carried on abroad by our former head of State, who has, to the benefit of the so-called Royal Khmer Government—if only to show that he can still make himself useful—drawn on the capital of the connexions which 15 years of authority and international meetings enabled him to accumulate. Thus, last year, at the non-aligned conference at Algiers—a conference from which we were banned, of course—most of the participants voted, in spite of the reservations of our friends who were there, for a motion favourable to recognition of the so-called Royal Government. Some of the representatives to the conference told us later on that they would have much preferred not having to be involved in the Khmer dispute, but that somehow the heated spirit which prevails at major international meetings caused them to act as they did. We hope that, in the more tranquil atmosphere of the General Assembly, nations which are in that position will give more consideration to the fate of a people than to that of a single man.

22. The Khmer Republic has, as we said, been painted in very dark colours. In the eyes of Governments who have no observers on the spot, it has been described as a retrograde régime without any popular support and, of course, as a "lackey of the American imperialists". Furthermore, that régime has been pictured as being at the end of its tether militarily, incapable of defending what is claimed to be the small part of the national territory it has left against the irresistible assault of the so-called liberation forces. The latter description has succeeded in disturbing several Foreign Ministries, which, believing in the imminent victory of the "Khmers rouges", did not wish to be the last to recognize their "Government".

23. That caricature of the Khmer Republican régime has done it a great deal of harm. We should like here calmly to state the true position, and we shall start with the military situation.

24. The real difficulties we encountered up to the middle of 1973 have now been entirely overcome. Totally reorganized, better commanded, with an appreciable improvement in its material position, our national army has for more than a year now been repelling all the assaults of the enemy: Khmers and communist Vietnamese. In September 1973—one month after United States tactical air support had been discontinued—the Republican forces repelled, in hand-to-hand fighting, the major attack mounted by the Reds against the large economic centre of Kompong Cham.

25. This year, after having lost control for a short time of the large rural centre of Oudong—the former Royal capital—our forces, by means of a strong counter-attack, drove out the occupiers and re-entered the neighbouring regions. The violent attacks later mounted by the communists against other large centres—the port of Kampot, the provincial capital of Takeo

and the provincial capital of Kompong Chhnang—ended in resounding defeats for the aggressor. Around the capital and the provincial towns formerly under enemy pressure, the situation has greatly improved.

26. Unlike the Khmer communists, who imprudently boasted of crushing the Republic during the last dry season, we have no intention of setting a date, even an approximate one, for the complete liberation of our territory. There may still be some disappointments or failures here or there. But what is certain today is that it is no longer possible for the enemy to win a military victory. We believe that sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—the enemy will draw the necessary political conclusions.

27. We should like the United Nations, which for years now has been discussing the very complicated problem of disarmament, to undertake to encourage, by all its political and moral means, the disarming of minds in countries like our own where for years now the worst kinds of acts of violence have been committed. We are of course happy to note the Organization's interest in the events in the Middle East. But should it not be as vigilant and active in matters of concern to us? The Khmer people firmly believe that the United Nations can contribute to ending their troubles. Before I left for New York, I myself received a delegation of Khmer farmers, refugees, who said this to me: "When you are there"—that is, here at the United Nations—"tell those important people that all of our people are suffering; tell them that they must help us to make peace and, in the mean time, assist those who have lost everything".

28. The representatives of a large community, the Islamic Khmers, our countrymen of the Moslem faith, also spoke to me in moving terms. Refusing out of religious and moral conviction to espouse the cause of our enemies, they have suffered reprisals: their most beautiful mosques have been destroyed in five provinces and a large number of their hakims and imams have been murdered. Other mosques have been profaned by North Vietnamese troops, who sacrilegiously raised pigs there for food. Faced with the hostility of the Khmer Moslems, the communists have thrown old men into concentration camps, from which they have never returned. Healthy men and women have been subjected to a re-education programme in which atheism is taught. Daily public prayer has been banned.

29. The venerable Hadji, the leaders of the Islamic religion in the Khmer Republic, said to me: "Tell our brothers who represent the Moslem States in the United Nations about our deplorable plight". Well, the message has been delivered, and it has been delivered by the Khmer Republic, which has recognized the Islamic religion.

30. It goes without saying that our enemies have not spared the large number of Buddhist monks in our country, either, whenever those monks have refused to be used as instruments for propaganda among the masses. Many monks in all the provinces have been arrested, persecuted and sometimes executed; their pagodas have been burnt as an example to others. The Christian religion, although there are very few persons of that religion in our country, has not been treated any better. We view that offensive, sometimes underhanded, sometimes brutal, against all the reli-

gions represented in Cambodia as the result of the particularly evil influence of the North Vietnamese officials who are the mentors of the Khmer communists.

31. The policy pursued by the Khmer Republic can be understood only if one bears constantly in mind the fact that, since 1966, its regions bordering Viet Nam—and, since 1970, the major part of the territory east of the Mekong—have been occupied by North Vietnamese and Viet-Cong forces; the number of such forces has varied, but it has never been less than several tens of thousands. Operating from the protection of our territory, those forces are mounting operations against the régime of the Republic of Viet Nam. A rather large part of our country has served and is still serving—this time against our will—as a rear base against a neighbouring country, and that is in violation of our neutrality. The occupiers, whose presence Sihanouk had tolerated and who were receiving from their friends military material through Cambodian ports, ended up by acting in our country as if they were conquerors, driving out our peasants whose presence hampered their activities and openly mocking our powerless provincial authorities. What independent nation, devoted to its sovereignty and anxious to remain truly neutral, could have accepted the perpetuation of this intolerable and constantly worsening situation?

32. Even before the overthrow of Sihanouk, who bears a great responsibility in this matter, the Khmer Government—which was then the Royal Government, but whose principal leaders were for the most part the same as they are today—warned the Vietnamese communists to withdraw from our territory without delay. They gave a very swift reply: they attacked our forces in several provinces in the east and south of the country. We had at that time no more than about 30,000 ill-equipped men under arms. However, this handful of fighters, swiftly reinforced by young patriotic volunteers, gave a good account of themselves against these Vietnamese communist forces which were superior in numbers and in armaments when they, immediately after 18 March 1970, spread throughout the country in an attempt to overthrow in the briefest time possible the Khmer Republic, which was guilty of refusing them "sanctuary".

33. Our national army, our citizen volunteers, and our peasants valiantly resisted for 43 days, absolutely alone, the worst attack that Cambodia has ever sustained in this century. It was only—and this is a date to remember—on 30 April that United States troops from South Viet Nam entered Cambodian territory to a depth of less than 30 kilometres, less to save our Government than to clear the frontier regions neighbouring on South Viet Nam, which was threatened. These troops remained for exactly one month in Cambodia, from 30 April to 1 June 1970. They never came back. This is the truth about the so-called occupation of Cambodia by foreign troops. For more than four years now there have been only Khmer troops in Khmer territory. We are harbouring no foreign force or military base, contrary to what certain malicious Powers, who are confusing our country with other countries, persist in claiming. The number of Americans in Cambodia, including the entire civilian and military personnel of their embassy in Phnom Penh, does not exceed 200. To put an end to the charges

made against us in this respect we are ready to receive in our country those of you who have in good faith been misled by the mendacious propaganda of our enemies. They can discover for themselves what the real situation is in our country, and we undertake, in advance, to facilitate the visit of United Nations envoys to any part of the territory controlled by the Khmer Republic, to open to them our military bases, our camps, without any reservation or limitation. They will be able to talk with whomever they like and to check on anything they consider important.

34. We would be curious to know if the other side is in a position to make such an offer of inspection by the United Nations. The so-called "Royal Government" has not, so far, allowed any foreigners to penetrate the zones which they claim to be liberating except, of course, for the North Vietnamese and Viet-Cong occupiers. The only foreign journalists there are those who have been captured when, side by side with our troops and at great risk to themselves, they were making an attempt to inform international public opinion honestly. About 20 of them disappeared in this way, and we are very worried about what has happened to them. It would, however, be interesting to see at first hand whether in the Khmer communist zones there are not any foreign troops or foreign bases. Our enemies will claim that they are being vilified when they hear me say such things. Well, they have an excellent opportunity to show their good faith by proposing, as we have done, an "open door" operation in their own territory, offering the same facilities to our Organization. Will they take this opportunity? If they do not, nations of good faith will be able to judge in what part of Cambodia there really are foreign troops.

35. It is true that until 15 August 1973 we enjoyed American tactical air support. It enabled our army to organize and to equip itself, and to grow to 250,000 men. It prevented the south of the Indo-China peninsula from falling to the Vietnamese communists. It is indeed clear that if a régime favourable to Hanoi had installed itself by force in Phnom Penh it would have assisted in every way that it could the communist forces operating in South Viet Nam as well as the subversive movement in Thailand. It was not cheerfully but out of harsh necessity that we accepted this air support, for those on the other side who were falling under these bombs were our own brothers. In the "red" zones there are many people who do not even know what Marxism is, and who wish for nothing so much as the end to inhuman fighting and the return to peace and a decent life. Among the so-called liberation armed forces, how many fighters have been press-ganged into service and feel closer to the Republicans, who are defending traditional Khmer ideals, than they do to the intolerant and fanatical officers commanding them? But, I am afraid, bombs do not discriminate among their victims.

36. Does the fact that we have accepted United States assistance make us their lackeys? The so-called "Royal Government" is very ill-placed to make this claim, being a "Government" which would not exist at all without the unconditional support and the "loans" that are really gifts from Peking; whose armed forces would be mere guerrillas hopelessly making sporadic raids if they did not regularly receive an abundance of arms, ammunition and modern

war *matériel* from certain socialist countries, primarily China.

37. The truth is that from the very depths of our heart we wish for nothing more than a rapid end to the conflict which is ruining our economy and destroying our villages, and which has created more than 2 million refugees; a conflict which has killed or crippled for four years now hundreds of thousands of our countrymen out of a total of 7 million. This blood bath, if it goes on, will finally wear out our country, which is so poor and weak that it would then inevitably become an unimportant satellite of either the East or the West, losing finally its very national identity. It is tragic to note that the predictions of all the Republican leaders are shared by our former head of State in Peking, where the press has taken up and reported words almost identical with our own just a few months ago. Surely it is paradoxical and tragic that the same man who so loudly approves the Khmer communists' rejection of any of our proposals to discuss the Khmer problem without conditions does not conceal from those around him that the "reds", as he calls them, are ready to fight for years longer to avoid a compromise solution that would prevent them from exercising power over all Cambodia.

38. It should be stressed that the obstinacy of the Khmer communists in rejecting any offer of talks with the Government of the Republic can be explained for more than a year, not by the prospect of an early military victory—which they now know to be beyond their grasp—but by the fact that they are waiting for a decision in their favour by the United Nations which will enable them, they believe, to win diplomatically a resounding victory that they can no longer win on the battlefield.

39. It is our duty to issue a solemn warning to the Powers which have an interest in Cambodia that, in such an event, as in the very worst moments we have been through in more than four years, our Government will never throw in its hand. On the contrary, with the support of its heroic armed forces and the vast majority of the patriotic people who do not want to see installed in their country a régime beholden to foreigners, it will strengthen its resistance. And not only will there be no return of peace, but for our unfortunate country there will open up the gloomy prospect of a cruel and interminable war—in the course of which, I should like to point out, we shall not lack friends on the international or regional level. And, however much we love peace, we will never give in.

40. In a speech which he is making on this very day to mark the fourth anniversary of the Republic, our President, Marshal Lon Nol, after having expressed his hatred of the war which has imposed so much sacrifice on our people, states:

"But let there be no doubt in the minds of our adversaries: we shall continue to fight, if necessary, to prevent ideas and concepts alien to our traditions being imposed upon us. In our struggle for our liberties, we enjoy the support and sympathy of many foreign countries."

41. Peace will be restored to Cambodia only through conciliation, never by force. That is why, in his speech, the President of our Republic repeated the govern-

mental appeal of 9 July "to all Khmers and to all countries that love justice and peace for a dialogue to be established which will put an end to this conflict". It must be possible, he added, "to agree on ideas, values and concepts which could guide the future of this country".

42. A just peace for Cambodia, that is the desire of the vast majority of the nations represented in this Assembly. There are few who really wish to impose upon it a régime that its population does not want. Many still believe, however, that the so-called "Royal Government of National Union", which they are reminded on every possible occasion is "headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk", is truly a broadly based Government, really headed by the Prince, and able, if it came to power, to pursue a policy of neutrality and of true non-alignment. That belief is particularly widespread among friendly nations in the third world, although they have nothing but good intentions towards the Khmer people.

43. But it is not just because we deem it to be unlawful that, in this statement, we have constantly described the enemy Government as "so-called". And certainly not just out of an attempt to demean it, which would be petty. It is because we have every proof that behind this lofty title there lurks a different reality, a reality which all friends of an independent Cambodia—beginning with statesmen who have some personal friendship for Sihanouk—must realize.

44. First of all, there is no longer, if there ever was, a "Royal Government". The only person who is royal in this is our former King and former head of State who was deposed in 1970. Now he, who remains the titular head of this Government, plays no other part than that of a surety for the Khmer Communists. Not only have they never authorized him, in spite of his claims, to come back and establish himself in his own country, but in fact they never take into account his views and recommendations. Thus, set aside and humiliated, under surveillance by his Chinese hosts, spied on by certain Khmer members of his entourage, he has made it known that he will no longer co-operate with those he calls the "Khmers rouges" after the end of this conflict, that he will never return to Cambodia and that he will end his days in a foreign country.

45. It suffices to read certain statements of the Prince to journalists who visited him—statements that he has never denied—to understand that everything I have just claimed is the strict truth. Sihanouk—and he knows it—is now a figure of the past. He has understood—but rather late in the day—that a "nationalist" Prince, even if he considers himself progressive, has no place in a "people's democracy". We shall leave it to history and to our compatriots, whose misfortunes he is prolonging, to be his judge. It will be noted, however, that he persists in promoting the accession to power, in his country, of a régime under which he himself would not be willing to live.

46. The Government-in-exile set up in opposition to us not only is not a royal Government, but is even less a Government of national union. How could this union exist when most of the population lives in the territory of the Republic, where they give their support to the national Government, and the self-styled "United National Front of Cambodia", dominated by the most extreme Marxists, is itself the best example of rivalry

and divisiveness? That is why, incidentally, most of the former supporters of the Prince, seeing that their former master cannot command respect, have abandoned the cause which he was no longer defending and have rejoined the ranks of those who are fighting to protect the national ideals of the Khmer Republic.

47. Such is the "Government" by which some people would like to replace us in Cambodia's seat in the United Nations, a "Government" which, in order to win as much sympathy as possible, has always concealed its true colours, thus gravely misleading all nations of good faith—in a word, a "Government" which could not represent the Cambodia of yesterday and today, a country which is open to all opinions, eager for knowledge of the outside world, and profoundly desirous of maintaining friendly relations with all nations—whatever their ideology or governmental system—provided they harbour the same desire in regard to us.

48. When our adversaries call us to war, we call them to peace. We know that in this way we are responding to the deeply seated aspirations of all our people, in whatever area the fighting has placed them. We also know that, on the other side, there are good brave men who do not want to fight for "another 10 years" for the triumph of an ideology, but who are weeping to see their country ruined and suffering. And there will be more and more of them in the future who will help us to bring about a peace where there will be no victors and no vanquished, but simply brothers who have been reunited.

49. The Government which I head undertakes to spare no effort, to pay whatever price is necessary, to bring an end to hostilities; in the coming months that is the wish of our nation and that is your own wish—so that, finally, our people, reconciled, can begin the long march towards the goal of repairing the tremendous damage inflicted on our country, as the only path to a better life for all.

50. We therefore call upon the United Nations to help us achieve this noble objective before hundreds of thousands more of our compatriots fall on the desolated soil of our ill-starred country.

51. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the Prime Minister of the Khmer Republic, Mr. Long Boret, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

52. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Sri Lanka): Rarely, if ever, in the history of the United Nations has a President of the General Assembly been elected unanimously and without the whimsical aberration of a vote cast in support of an imaginary candidate. Mr. Boutriflika has also perhaps achieved the record of being the youngest incumbent of this exalted and responsible office.

53. Through the delegation of Sri Lanka I offer to the President, on behalf of the Government and people of Sri Lanka, our warm felicitations and our best wishes for his success in the office which he has assumed. We salute him, not only as a true representative

of the continent of Africa and one who personifies the spirit of a people that fought valiantly to free itself from the bondage of political subjection and still carries on with indomitable perseverance the struggle to erase the last vestiges of external economic exploitation, but also as the Foreign Minister of the country which happens to be at the moment the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

54. Founded on the principle of detachment from great-Power rivalries, the Non-Aligned Movement is pledged to the principles of peaceful coexistence and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations; to the assertion and protection of fundamental human rights; to recognition of the equality of all races and of all nations, large and small; to abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country; and to the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means. Through fidelity to these principles and policies, the Non-Aligned Movement has consistently sought to provide that element of moderation in international affairs which could be the most vital contribution to relieving international tensions and thereby promoting peace and harmony throughout the world.

55. The non-aligned group is today more united, numerically stronger and better placed than it ever was to exert its influence on the course of international relations in the political, economic and social spheres and thereby to fortify the United Nations in all efforts directed towards the application and enforcement of the principles and purposes of the Charter. If we are to fulfil this high mission, we must be wary of besmirching our credentials by the least manifestation of partisanship. The non-aligned group must treat all nations as friends while dissociating itself from, and striving united to secure the abolition of, policies and practices repugnant to the ideals and objectives of non-alignment.

56. My delegation takes this opportunity of expressing its great admiration for the skill and ability with which Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador presided over the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His reputation as an eminent jurist, his vast experience as a diplomat and his penetrating knowledge of all aspects of United Nations activities, combined with his human qualities of courtesy, tact and patience, were fully manifested in his conduct of the twenty-eighth session.

57. The delegation of Sri Lanka extends a fervent welcome to the three new Members which have been admitted to the United Nations during this session: the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. We offer them our cordial congratulations and best wishes. We have the utmost confidence in their capacity and willingness to make an effective and constructive contribution towards the attainment of the aims and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

58. The admission of Grenada and Guinea-Bissau marks yet another milestone in the progress towards self-determination of subject peoples and their liberation from foreign rule, as well as the attainment of universality of representation of the peoples of the world in the Organization.

59. The admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh brings to a close a poignant episode in the

history of the subcontinent to which that country belongs. The malevolence of nature has inflicted on it the severest tribulations at the very moment when it was making a desperate effort to revive its shattered economy. We sincerely hope that the nations of the world will help it generously to recover speedily from the indescribable devastation and suffering which it has experienced.

60. As in the case of Bangladesh, natural disaster has wrought widespread havoc in the territory of another Member nation—Honduras. My delegation extends to the Government and people of Honduras our profound sympathy over the loss of life and the destruction resulting from the hurricane that recently struck it and trusts that it too will receive from the interational community all the help that it needs to repair the damage to its economy.

61. The year that has elapsed since the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly has been marked by several momentous developments, each of a distinctive character, whether it be epoch-making, or pregnant with promise for the future, or even deeply disquieting.

62. The change of government in Portugal has happily resulted in a final renunciation of the former Government's anachronistic policy of colonial repression. The new Government's recognition of the right of its colonies to self-determination, beginning with Guinea-Bissau, and to be extended before long, we hope, to Mozambique and Angola, is a supreme act of redemption which merits universal approbation.

63. There remain only two racist régimes which have yet to abandon their obnoxious and inhuman policy of *apartheid* and to accord to the black African majorities, whom they dominate and persecute, their birth-right of self-determination and freedom in their homeland. The United Nations cannot tolerate any longer the pursuit of these policies which are an affront and a disgrace to modern civilization. Portugal's example is the light at the end of the tunnel. It will not be long before reason, humanity and self-interest prevail over perversity and racial arrogance and a peaceful settlement is found which results in the total emancipation of the black majorities and the coloured communities of South Africa and Rhodesia and in the establishment of democratic rule on the principle of the equality of all races in those regions, thereby enabling them to live and work together in peace and good will in their mutual interest and for the greater good of all Africa.

64. When I spoke of developments that offered some hope for the future, I had in mind the changes in the Middle East situation after the October 1973 war, and particularly the disengagement agreements relating to the Sinai-Suez front and the Golan Heights. The Secretary of State of the United States wrought a miraculous change through his whirlwind diplomacy and his imaginative statesmanship. We should neither exaggerate nor belittle his achievement. But the future of the Middle East does not depend on one single individual, however talented, resourceful and indefatigable he may be.

65. The changed situation provides a slight impetus to peace, but it must be sustained by a display of self-restraint and moderation on all sides. The only

answer to the indiscriminate violence that erupts from time to time is the elimination of the factors and circumstances that drive individuals and organizations, out of frustration, despair and disillusionment, into a state of dementia in which intimidation proves more alluring than negotiation.

66. The agreements on the disengagement of forces in the Sinai-Suez front and the Golan Heights must not be regarded as anything more than a brief respite. Disengagement could be a mirage, unless it is accepted by all sides as only the first stage of a complex and difficult process leading ultimately to the full implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. This resolution presents the best hope of a fair settlement, despite some of the ambiguities that have conveniently been detected in it and exploited to prevent and defer a final settlement while lands and territories conquered in war are being systematically incorporated into the territory of the occupying Power in contempt of the United Nations and the principles of its Charter.

67. The essential elements in the proposed settlement must be recognized and accepted without equivocation by one and all. Chief among them is the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. In accordance with this principle, Israel must withdraw its armed forces from the territories occupied by it as a result of war. If this principle is rejected, the Charter becomes a dead letter. The second element is the acknowledgement, not merely in words but in policy and practice as well, of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area, including Israel, and of the right of every State in the Middle East, including the State of Israel, to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or use of force. The third element is the guarantee of freedom of navigation through international waters in the area. Finally, and most important of all, there is the need for a just settlement of the refugee problem, which is a piece of circumlocution and a euphemistic synonym for the restoration of the right to self-determination of the peoples of Palestine which would give them a separate Arab Palestinian State as provided for and endorsed by the United Nations in the Partition Plan of 1947 [*resolution 181 (II)*]. It is only by ensuring for the Palestinians the exercise of their right of self-determination that the United Nations can terminate the grim ordeal of a people who have for more than 25 years been compelled to lead a life bereft of hope, dependent on the charity of the international community, betrayed, as no other people in the world has been betrayed, by the very Organization that helped create the State of Israel. It is not by raining death and destruction on the defenceless women and children in the Palestinian Arab refugee camps and by enveloping them in a constant nightmare of fear and terror that a solution can be found. This derelict mass of displaced humanity must be given a home and a State in which they can live in honour and dignity without being left to languish and decay in humiliation and desolation.

68. The principle of a separate Palestine State was an integral feature of the partition. The United Nations must accept it and make it a reality. It is an impudent challenge to the authority of the United Nations, the creator of Israel, and miserable travesty of the very

principle of justice which the United Nations sought to apply, even if under intimidation and pressure, by creating the State of Israel, for Israeli leaders to have the temerity to state that "they"—meaning the Palestinians—"did not exist", or to proclaim slogans of intransigence such as "Jerusalem Never". These slogans and these tendentious distortions of history do not provide the material out of which the edifice of peace can be built. They are irresponsible, inflammatory, uncompromising and unacceptable. By the same token, the United Nations cannot, even by implication, acquiesce in the proposition or offer any support to the idea that Israel does not exist or that its social and political structure should be so radically altered as to obliterate the separate identity which it seeks.

69. Likewise, Security Council resolution 242 (1967), in which the Council affirmed that every State in the Middle East has a right to live within secure and recognized boundaries, cannot be interpreted as conferring on the State of Israel the unique prerogative, totally incompatible with international law and the principles of the Charter, of determining for itself and by itself where its boundaries should run in order to ensure its security. If that right were extended to all and sundry, the outcome would be universal anarchy. The question of safe and secure boundaries is a matter for negotiation, but it cannot be divorced from the recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a State and from the repudiation of belligerency. The time has come for all parties to eschew intemperance and extremism and to display restraint and moderation. Peace alone makes boundaries secure.

70. As one who has during the last four years been deeply involved in the Middle East problem in the unenviable capacity of Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, and as the representative of a country that recognized the State of Israel at an early stage and maintained diplomatic relations with it until 1970—when we decided that the only means open to us of recording our disapproval of a Member State's defiance of the Charter was the suspension of relations with Israel until it relinquished its conquests of 1967 or until a solution acceptable to the Arab people of the Middle East was reached—I can claim that our credentials and our impartiality cannot be impugned by anyone with the least pretension to objectivity or detachment.

71. We earnestly wish to see an end to the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours, as we are convinced that the talents and technology of the people of Israel in partnership with the human and material resources of the Arab peoples of the Middle East could transform that entire area from a battlefield into a domain of concord, peaceful co-operation and prosperity. We hope the debate on the question of Palestine will not be used as an occasion for an exchange of acrimonious charges and counter-charges, but for a sober analysis of the causes of the present situation in the search for a compact that, by securing justice for all, will offer a guarantee of enduring peace for all.

72. The crisis in Cyprus has exposed once more the tragic shortcomings of the United Nations. Despite

numerous resolutions of the Security Council calling for the withdrawal from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements, recording its formal disapproval of the unilateral military actions undertaken against the Republic of Cyprus, and subscribing to the principle of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the island, little or no progress has been made towards the full restoration of constitutional government in Cyprus.

73. There is much more involved in Cyprus than a bitter internecine conflict between two ethnic communities. We are all involved in Cyprus and not least of all the members of the non-aligned movement. The Government of Cyprus was one of the first to declare its policy of non-alignment. The agony of Cyprus is the agony of the non-aligned movement; the deliverance of Cyprus is the deliverance of non-alignment; the betrayal and abandonment of Cyprus is the betrayal and abandonment of the principles of the Charter. It is for this reason that, on the commendable initiative of the President of Yugoslavia, the non-aligned group has sought, through the appointment of a Good Offices Committee, to intervene in order to achieve a peaceful composition of the differences between the parties involved, Governments and communities alike, the withdrawal of all foreign military forces, and the complete restoration of constitutional government in Cyprus as the only means by which its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity can be preserved free from external influence and machination. There can be no partition, no enosis, no foreign occupation, but there can be a large measure of local autonomy for the two communities which would not be open to exploitation in a manner prejudicial to the survival of Cyprus as a sovereign, united and independent State.

74. This is the justification for the inclusion of the item "The question of Cyprus" in the agenda of the General Assembly as an urgent matter despite the fact that the situation created by the ouster of Archbishop Makarios, whom we recognize as the President of the Republic of Cyprus, and the subsequent events came within the purview of the Security Council's responsibility. This is not a matter that concerns only the five "bishops" of the Security Council and their 10 temporary "coadjutors". It is the responsibility of the entire "synod" because the issues involved are ecumenical in their reach and implications. The moving words of John Donne have been quoted here. To adapt them, I would say that we should not seek to ask for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for us all, nations great and small, powerful and weak, but chiefly for small defenceless countries and particularly those who, reposing their faith in non-alignment and in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, disavow military alliances. But the bell tolls loudest of all for the only institution that can bring us together in the pursuit of peace, justice and fraternity within the international community, the United Nations.

75. My delegation takes this opportunity of paying homage to those members of UNFICYP who volunteered to serve the cause of international peace and humanity and gave their lives to that cause, and also to those who have been wounded in the line of

duty. To the families of those who were killed and to the Governments that dispatched them on their sublime mission, my delegation offers its heartfelt sympathy. At the same time we express the hope that those who have been injured may soon recover from their wounds and be restored to active life.

76. Permit me at this stage to pay a well-deserved tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the zeal and speed with which he has acted, both in the Middle East and in Cyprus, in the cause of peace and humanity. He has not spared himself in the process and has set a shining example of conspicuous devotion to duty.

77. In the general debate now coming to a close, almost all participants have voiced loudly and clearly their anxiety over the future of our world in all its manifold preoccupations—economic, social, political and legal. We have heard many references to *détente*, inflation, energy, population, food and the international law of the sea. There have been feverish negotiations and intense United Nations activity over many of these problems.

78. In the economic sphere, the historic sixth special session on raw materials and development occupies a position of pre-eminent importance along with the forthcoming World Food Conference shortly to be held at Rome.

79. In the social sphere, the World Population Conference held at Bucharest first brought together the nations of the world into open discussion of one of the most baffling problems of our time.

80. As regards the political sphere, I have already referred to the developments in the Middle East and in Cyprus.

81. In the legal sphere, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at its second session, held at Caracas from 20 June to 29 August 1974, completed its general discussion of the issues before it and decided to meet again in March and April of next year to begin the process of negotiation. This decision awaits approval by the General Assembly during the present session.

82. All those problems—economic, social, political and legal—imperiously demand our attention.

83. The threatened recession and the instability of the international monetary system, which have been linked with the energy crisis and the pricing policies of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], have figured prominently in many statements, chiefly in those of representatives of certain developed countries. Many of the speakers who sought to condemn the members of OPEC and their pricing policies and indict them for precipitating a world-wide recession and wrecking the international monetary system have short memories and elastic economic theories doctored to suit their particular predicament and to absolve themselves. The OPEC members have been made to appear the villains of the piece. Even the problem of inflation has been laid at their door. It would be much closer to the truth to admit that a reduction in the astronomical expenditures on armaments, which create incomes without a corresponding increase in goods on which those incomes could be spent, could significantly ease the problem of inflation. The arguments advanced in criticism of the OPEC

members are founded on the premise that the international trading system and the international monetary system must depend for their durability on the industrialized nations controlling the overwhelming proportion of the world's monetary reserves.

84. The increase in the price of oil has been condemned as arbitrary and totally unrelated to the economic determinants of pricing. The world has been asked to forget that, long before the oil-exporting countries realized, even belatedly, the value of their product and the fact that for years they had been denied anything resembling the market value or the strategic value of their product, the international monetary system had been placed in grave peril by the soaring price of gold and the nervous breakdown which the dollar had suffered.

85. According to these economic theorists, it is a law of nature, unquestionable and sacrosanct, that the prices paid for the products of the developing world should be determined by the importing developed industrialized countries without regard to the conditions of poverty and privation under which the producers live, while the manufactured goods sold to the impoverished world make full provision to satisfy the limitless and insatiable demands of the peoples of the developed world for the material things of life.

86. The policy of curtailing crude-oil production in order to ensure fair prices has been criticized as almost a form of economic aggression by those who justify the curtailment of acreages under food grains for the purpose of maintaining fair prices for their farmers. What sort of economic theory or moral philosophy is it that could justify the curtailment in food production at a time when many millions throughout the world are undernourished and millions die of starvation because of a lack of food or the inability to afford the soaring prices while at the same time, in regard to another essential commodity, condemning a price increase that does not threaten human survival?

87. Lest we be accused of ingratitude, my delegation would like to acknowledge, with thanks and appreciation, the economic aid given by the developed world to the developing nations, and especially the handsome contributions made by the developed world to humanitarian programmes for the relief of famine and other forms of distress whenever the occasion demanded. But aid must not be regarded as an act of altruism. It is an investment that "blesseth him that gives and him that takes", like the quality of mercy.

88. It was exhilarating to hear the statements of the Foreign Ministers of France [2238th meeting], the Netherlands [2252nd meeting] and the United Kingdom [2240th meeting], and of the Prime Minister of Australia [2249th meeting], who did not succumb to emotionalism in their analysis of the world economic situation but showed a readiness to deal with it in a realistic manner. The shift of approximately \$75,000 million of reserves from the industrialized countries to the oil-exporting countries cannot be regarded as a global calamity. One solution that has been suggested, that the oil producers should lend these amounts back to the industrialized countries so that the latter could have effective control over them and keep their industries in full production, took no heed of the consequences of such a course of action for those developing countries that do not produce oil. The only

equitable solution lies in the joint association of the revenues of the oil-exporting countries with the technology of the industrialized nations and the human resources of the developing world. There is no denying that, if a world-wide recession is to be avoided, the revenues of the oil-exporting countries must be invested in a judicious manner, but they must be so invested as to sustain the productive capacity of the industrialized world and to increase progressively the purchasing power of the developing world. This requires a policy of planned and co-ordinated investment of those revenues in a manner which will wrest from the small coterie of industrialized countries their industrial oligopoly and create in the developing continents of the world—Africa, Asia and Latin America—a pattern of industrialization which would complement the productive capacity of the industrialized nations, thereby ensuring a rational division of labour and a more equitable distribution of world income.

89. At the sixth special session on raw materials and development the Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the related Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*], section X of which contained the Special Programme of emergency measures to mitigate the difficulties of the developing countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis.

90. The most unexceptionable declarations are, however, by themselves, not sufficient, and emergency measures are only a palliative. What we need is a new international economic order which would ensure an effective international scheme for the regulation of primary products and the stabilization of the prices of raw materials and primary products at reasonable levels, coupled with an assurance of steady supplies. There should be a permanent mechanism to ensure a proper equilibrium and balance between the prices received by developing countries for their exports and the prices paid by them for their imports from the developed world, so as to enable the developing countries to maintain their balance of payments and their terms of trade in conditions of stability which would permit the steady and orderly execution of their economic development programmes. The economic growth process of developing countries must not be hampered by uncertainties, sharp price fluctuations and the vagaries of the market. There is yet no clear evidence that the will to produce the results contemplated in resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) exists where it has most to be demonstrated. Although Sri Lanka is one of the countries most seriously affected by the present economic crisis, we are not prepared to join the chorus of denunciation of the OPEC members or lean against the wailing wall.

91. The creation of the new international economic order would require patient negotiation and unremitting effort. It cannot materialize overnight. Meanwhile we would appeal to those who have at their disposal wealth beyond the dreams of Croesus to spare a thought for the developing countries which are faced with ruin and disaster and to help them in their predicament and to grant this help on terms which they can afford. If I may borrow a thought from Thucydides taken from the funeral oration of Pericles: "Wealth is not just material for vainglory but an opportunity for achievement". The Latin maxim "*Bis dat qui cito*

dat"—"He gives twice as much who gives promptly"—is most apposite in this context. The social and political fabric of the most seriously affected developing countries could be rent apart in the absence of immediate relief. It certainly cannot be kept intact with the promise and distant vision of a new economic order.

92. The second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea did not and could not secure final agreement on a treaty but it did, through an exhaustive examination of the principal issues, lay the foundation for the international covenant that we all so fervently desire. As I stated in Caracas, we must not let historians say, in the words of Simón Bolívar, that "we ploughed the seas"; let us rather by our joint efforts and through the display of mutual understanding, co-operation, tolerance and good will permit history to record that we helped future generations to garner the wealth of the oceans for the benefit of all mankind, with special regard to the interests and needs of developing nations, and that we bequeathed to them to be held in trust for all time the common heritage of mankind to be shared and enjoyed in a spirit of fraternity and in complete peace and tranquillity. This is the task that confronts us when we next meet.

93. I should like to take this opportunity of suggesting that when the item is taken up in plenary meeting we avoid general statements and confine our attention to matters of procedure, not the least of which should be a realistic appraisal of the possibility of completing our work in one more session, or of the need for providing for the contingency of yet another session to be held in 1975 at which we should conclude our deliberations and reach agreement.

94. I must not let this occasion pass without expressing in the Assembly my most sincere thanks to the Government of Venezuela for the excellent arrangements and facilities provided by it for the Conference and for the courtesy, kindness and gracious hospitality of the people of Venezuela, who emulated the example set by their President, Mr. Andrés Pérez, and their Foreign Minister, Efraín Schacht Arísteguieta.

95. The report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean [*A/9629 and Add.1*] has to be presented to the present session of the General Assembly in accordance with resolution 3080 (XXVIII). We have no illusions as to the prospects for giving practical shape and form to what might appear to be an ideal concept. The great Powers, excluding China which is a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, have not shown the amount of interest that we might have expected of them. We hope that the much-talked-of *détente* is not just idle chatter and that its attainment will help them exclude the Indian Ocean from their policy of competitive expansion of armaments in that area in the not-too-distant future. I refer to the Powers involved in that talked-of *détente*.

96. The realization of the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is not the responsibility, however, of the great Powers alone. We of the littoral and hinterland States have the primary responsibility of composing our own differences, settling our disputes by peaceful means and resisting the temptation of repeating the mistakes which we impute to the great Powers. The major maritime Powers and all those who

depend on the unrestricted passage of commercial traffic through the Indian Ocean may be assured that such passage will be granted to them in any arrangements to give effect to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. The lines of communication across the Indian Ocean must be kept open for vessels and aircraft of all kinds and of all nations subject only to the condition that their passage across and over the Indian Ocean does not constitute a threat to the peace, good order, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the littoral and hinterland States.

97. In the general debate hardly any mention is made of the heart and soul of the Organization, the Secretariat, on which we have to rely so heavily for the smooth conduct of our work and our activities and the execution of our policies. We have been fortunate all these years in having a staff of men and women of marked competence and devotion who have served us with steadfast loyalty. On rare occasions sections of the staff have reacted adversely. The blame rests not with them but with us. If we are to count on their loyalty and their zeal in the performance of their work and if we are to expect discipline of them, we have a duty first to discipline ourselves and to avoid making impossible demands of them and of straining that loyalty beyond all reasonable limits. Civil service must not be construed as civil servitude. Too many of us too often pay too little regard to the value of a proper employer-staff relationship. Mutual respect, mutual tolerance and mutual trust are the foundation of a sound relationship between any organization and its staff. The delegation of Sri Lanka takes this opportunity of extending its warmest thanks to all ranks of the Secretariat for the high quality and standard of the service they continue to render us.

98. As we approach the last quarter of the twentieth century and look back on nearly 30 years of effort within the framework of the United Nations, we will realize that, although there are many political issues that still pose a deadly threat to international peace and stability, the portents should not discourage or perturb us. In the future, while the inner circle of powerful nations grapples with the dilemmas of disarmament, it is economic problems and economic relationships that will be our principal preoccupation, as they rightly should be.

99. It is incumbent on us to fashion in the new law of the sea and the proposed Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States acceptable, viable and effective instruments of international social justice which would set the tone and standard of a more enlightened international economic order and serve as an inspiring code of international morality.

100. Mr. MAGHUR (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is fitting first of all to note that the current session of the General Assembly represents a turning-point in the history of the Organization. The events which coincided with the session and the conditions under which it is being held reveal a major change in the movement of world history. Concepts have changed; some of the characteristic traits of the old world have collapsed. New signs have appeared that, if taken seriously, might indicate a new course for man in international life.

101. May I be permitted to congratulate the General Assembly on electing Mr. Bouteflika as President of the current session. The Algerian struggle represents a historic attainment for Africa and the peoples of the world in general. When Mr. Bouteflika, in the name of Algeria and Africa, assumed leadership of the General Assembly at its current session, we took it as recognition of the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the sake of the freedom of their country and the dignity of man.

102. Only one year after the last session, the President declared the admission of a struggling people to the United Nations, a people that, until a few months earlier, was labelled a band of terrorists. Does not the President agree with me that a new concept has arisen and that the voices that have been trying to prevent the freedom fighters from reaching this forum must inevitably be silenced for ever? The admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations and the election of its representative as Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee at this very session reaffirm the facts I have mentioned. Now, let us devote this session to redeeming those who are still under the yoke of colonialism, *apartheid*, racial discrimination and foreign domination.

103. Another significant characteristic of the last session was the presidency of Mr. Leopoldo Benites. His appreciation of the heritage of man, his deep comprehension of world history and his far-sightedness inspired us to appreciate the turn of events we witness today. We recognize with appreciation, *inter alia*, his contribution to the adoption of the Arabic language as an official and working language of the United Nations, a language imbued with a rich cultural heritage and human values, and I should like to emphasize here that his frequent praise of this language was an important factor in introducing it. It would not have been easy for anyone else to have assumed such leadership during recent developments. We note with appreciation the positive developments in the relationships between the old world, whose civilization has paved the way for the discovery of the new world, and that part of the new world from which Mr. Benites comes, and where emigrants to Latin America, while preserving their heritage, worked out a blend of the old and the new.

104. Those were two positive aspects. However, we cannot escape the fact that a negative aspect has accompanied and will accompany this new course. When his country called for a special session of the General Assembly, Mr. Bouteflika noticed, as did Mr. Benites while presiding over that session, that there were those who sought to impede the reconsideration of international relations in such a manner as to assert the rights of the majority. The dominant Powers of the old system tried to put the blame on the third world by fabricating imaginary crises, by sowing the seeds of disagreement among the countries of the third world, by threatening to ban shipments of food and clothing, by promoting wars, espionage, subversion and *coups d'état*, and by taking advantage of certain rights given them during the period of their might and dominance, thus obstructing the adoption of resolutions.

105. The sixth special session provided a precious opportunity to test the extent of the dominant Powers'

readiness to adjust to the new order. Members may have noticed their disregard for the demands of the third-world countries and their attempts to obstruct any understanding on a new international economic system. When they realized that they could not prevent the adoption of such a system, they all registered their reservations. Could such an attitude be a prelude towards mutual understanding and international interdependence?

106. This Assembly, presided over by Mr. Bouteflika, and with the participation of the progressive forces of the world, cannot be used as a rostrum to invite us to dissension and threats. Discordant voices have tried to exploit this rostrum to prevent our session from considering the genuine problems facing us. There have been many arbitrary stands, but those who use threats must accept the responsibility for their attitude. It is high time that we unveiled the motives behind those voices.

107. We are happy today at the admission of Guinea-Bissau; yet we are not going to forget that the imperialist Powers have never lent a hand in support of the struggle of its people and have attacked the liberation movements by providing assistance to the former Government of Lisbon. We cannot be expected to forgive that shameful attitude simply because they did not oppose the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations. We must not forget the shameful attitude of the imperialist Powers in ignoring the African liberation movement. Through assistance rendered to the former despotic régime in Lisbon, they stabbed it in the back. The new reality has been brought about despite their stubbornness and their opposition. We are ready to let our wounds heal, but we are not willing to weave glorious banners for them out of our blood.

108. The African liberation movement has rendered a service to the peoples of colonialist Powers, not only by ridding them of their dishonourable wars against freedom fighters in Africa, but also by giving them the opportunity to get rid of their corrupt and tyrannical régimes. The freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola have struggled for the cause of man as a whole. Their victory helped the people of Portugal to put an end to years of tyranny and suppression. If anybody deserves gratitude for this development, it is the people of Guinea-Bissau, led by the late Amílcar Cabral, and the peoples of Angola and Mozambique with their respective revolutionary leaders.

Mr. Banda (Zambia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

109. This development should have been received in the General Assembly with the admission by the imperialist Powers of the failure of their former policies and of the decline of their political and economic empires. Yet, some of them deemed it appropriate to use this forum as a vehicle to talk about tightening belts, about using food and natural resources as a political weapon, and about the rights of the minority *vis-à-vis* the majority. They should instead pay the price of the well-being they enjoy at the expense of those who perished of starvation, those who have no schools, those who have no medicine, and those who have nowhere to live.

110. The extravagances of these countries were perpetrated at the expense of all those we have mentioned. Those who request co-operation could have paid the price for such opulence. They could have made unconditional sacrifices, but, on the contrary, they insisted on maintaining this high standard of extravagance and, moreover, they demanded that others make more sacrifices either voluntarily or under duress.

111. In the chaotic conditions created by the imperialist Powers, the so-called rights of the minority must be looked on as only a continuation of the privileges of the minority enjoyed at the expense of the suppressed and deprived majority. This minority would convince us that the future of the world depends on this continued exploitation of the world's resources. This is totally unacceptable. The call for democracy within the international community is being blocked by the refusal of the minority to fit into the new reality. This can be achieved only if the minority yields to the view of the majority, and if the majority takes part in formulating the decisions which determine the future of international relations. Slandering the policies of the oil-producing countries for fixing prices should not be taken at face value. At most, it reveals the anxiety of the industrialized countries in so far as that measure might lead to other actions by the developing countries which produce raw materials, because the industrial countries have established their economies on the basis of obtaining raw materials at the cheapest prices and selling their manufactures at the highest prices. Obviously, as shown by their spokesmen, they are not willing to alter this formula, hence their campaign of slander.

112. Can we then attach our future to the desires of countries which, although they are in a minority, are only interested in protecting their own rights without acknowledging their duties? The discussions of the Working Group drafting the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States are a striking example of the unwillingness of the imperialist Powers to give up the gains they obtained illegally when they were in control of the world's destiny. In defaming their policies, those countries only considered the future of their own economies. None of them cared to discuss the political and economic future of the world. Nor did they admit the failure of the economic and monetary policies which they had imposed upon the world. They did not deplore the looting and plunder practised by their multinational companies which sought to obtain the lion's share of economic revenues for their share of the products of the third world. They said nothing about their intentions to lessen the gap between their advanced economies and the economies of other countries. Nor did they render any assistance in the field of technology. They did not extend a hand to the freedom fighters struggling for the realization of their right to self-determination and control over their natural resources. All they offered was lip service. They demanded that the third-world countries continue to sell their supplies at the lowest possible price lest the world economic order collapse. This is a false theory, as if scores of years of accumulated errors, plunder and looting to which the peoples of the world were subjected were not sufficient for the major developed Powers. They would have the third world remain a political colony or, at least, remain

economically dominated, offering all it had at the lowest price for the sake of helping the imperialistic Powers to maintain their grip on its economy and destiny. We believe that it has become obvious that this political practice is a deceit; it is even an absurd deceit which we can no longer overlook.

113. Those who trade in wheat and use it as a means to interfere in the internal affairs of States are the most unfair and the greatest violators of the international code of ethics, and they cannot presume to lecture other States on human conduct.

114. The Arab countries which applied an embargo on the United States have done so as a reaction to an act of aggression initiated by this imperialistic Power and still being perpetrated against our peoples. Can any sensible individual expect us to provide energy to the hand that stabs us daily, by means of its Zionist agents, for the sake of satisfying their greed in dominating the world and its destiny? The United States has thus far offered only deceit to the peoples struggling for their freedom. On the other hand, they provide weapons and means of destruction to the racists in order to enable them to continue their domination of the peoples of the world. We are not willing to supply this war machinery with the fuel it needs to perpetuate itself. Putting these facts in their proper perspective exposes the ugly face of the elements that are trying to display their concern over the fate of the world. The worth of the military equipment supplied at one time to the Zionists would have been sufficient to feed millions of people who are dying of starvation in the Sahara, and yet the United States offered only empty promises, and conditional ones at that, to those dying of hunger.

115. The true problem resides in the re-establishment of an economic balance of power in the world and in the restructuring of a new world economic order in accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly which was adopted at its sixth special session, to which the industrial countries, led by the United States of America, entered reservations because it did not meet their desires.

116. May I draw your attention to a positive indicator which characterizes this session. It has become possible for us now to discuss the issues in their proper context. No longer are we afraid of talking openly. Palestine is the very issue that concerns the world as a whole, and there is no reason why we should not employ its right name. The issue is not the truce, nor is it the Middle East problem; it is not the disengagement of forces; it is not a matter for compromises. It is not any of that nonsense. The issue, in fact, is that of a sacred land which has been flagrantly usurped, the rights of whose people have been trampled upon. Those people have lived homeless for more than a quarter of a century.

117. Thus, the imperialist and colonialist Powers and their subversive agents have sought to prevent the discussion of this issue on an international level. Yet that transformation, witnessed by the world today, has made it possible for this item to be listed on the agenda and will, in turn, make it possible for an appropriate solution to be found. The world, and especially this Assembly, has been warned against any solution based on compromises or shortcuts or bargaining. We must not ignore the facts, such as they

are. We have been warned against failure to acknowledge realities and against any partition schemes contradictory to the spirit of the Charter. Today, we warn against any solutions propagated by the so-called miracle makers. Miracles can only be made by the struggling peoples, and thus no one but the Palestinian people themselves can bring about a solution. We must invite the legitimate representatives of the Palestinians to participate in the debate, as this will make the consideration of the item serious and genuine. It will further silence those who seek to smear the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

118. Those who have tried to obstruct the inscription of the item, and those who have tried to label the Palestinians and their representatives as subversives and terrorists ignore the history of the United Nations and the history of the struggle of peoples. Most of those participating in this discussion and representing the third-world countries were once labelled as terrorists. Yet when their peoples' struggle triumphed, they became the true representatives of their people at the United Nations.

119. The situation in Cyprus has a bearing upon the security and safety of the area. It has an effect upon our humane and emotional feelings. The imperialist Powers have tried to follow the same policy they have followed in other situations by fabricating solutions and devising compromises. We deem it the duty of the General Assembly to recall that the United Kingdom bears the greatest responsibility in creating the tragedy of Cyprus. This country has never abandoned an area that had been blighted with its colonialism without leaving behind a problem or the seeds of a problem. It is high time that the plot was exposed. The influence of the United Kingdom, its bases and its allies should be isolated rather than be allowed to poison international relations. Let us leave the affairs of Cyprus to the Cypriots, whether Turk or Greek. The promotion of mutual relations between the two communities and the protection of the rights of each will pave the road to a peaceful solution which will restore independence and non-alignment to the island, making it free of bases of the imperialist Powers and of their allies.

120. The Mediterranean is full of military fleets belonging to Powers distant from its shores, and which have no connexion with it. The continuation of the presence of the Sixth Fleet and the attempt of NATO to gain a foothold on the island of Cyprus constitute a threat to the security and safety of the population as a whole. It is our duty seriously to endeavour to make of the Mediterranean a lake of peace and civilization, free of rivalries and spheres of influence.

121. In this statement my delegation will not dwell upon the other items on the agenda. These will be dealt with in due course in the committees. Yet we are concerned about the fate of the world because certain issues have been kept on the agenda for a quarter of a century without ever having been resolved. We realize that the decision concerning those items rests with the determination of the peoples involved, for the Charter makes special provisions for the peoples and disregards imperialistic régimes.

122. Our numbers have risen at this session with the admission of Guinea-Bissau, Bangladesh and Grenada. We welcome them whole-heartedly. However, we are

still waiting for the day to come when the representatives of the racist minorities will be replaced by the true representatives of Palestine and South Africa, and when we can welcome the true representatives of Zimbabwe. Then we shall be able to say that the provisions of the Charter and the universality of the Organization have been realized.

123. The decision of the General Assembly [*resolution 3207 (XXIX)*] to refer the question of the relationship between the racist régime of South Africa and the United Nations to the Security Council is a new step that should be followed by others in order to make the representation at the General Assembly consistent with the provisions of the Charter. How could the Assembly admit into its membership those who daily violate the provisions of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? The argument that this matter should be looked upon in a legal or procedural context sacrifices human dignity for the sake of abiding by technicalities. The reference of this matter to the Security Council exposes the imperialistic intentions of certain Powers and unveils the organic relationship between them and the racist régime in South Africa. That, however, has not prevented the Assembly from stating its view with regard to this matter—which is in itself a good start.

124. As we await the completion of the liquidation of colonialism in the Portuguese colonies, we are concerned about a neighbour of Portugal which still occupies and dominates an African-Arab Territory. Spain's obstinate position regarding Sakiet Al-Hamra and Río de Oro places that country on the list of the last of the old imperialistic Powers that have not yet come around to understanding the movement of history. Spain's insistence on adhering to that position is in contradiction to that movement. Any argument presented by Spain in defence of its presence in that region is nothing but a colonialist argument. The inhabitants of the region and their Arab brethren are capable of achieving their freedom and well-being; they are in no need of Spanish trusteeship or aid.

125. A new world is emerging today. There can be no escape from the formulation of new bases comparable with this new beginning. The United Nations must become an effective instrument for the realization of its Charter. We the majority—and we are proud of being a majority—have the duty to lay new foundations for the course of the Organization. We shall not be intimidated by the stubborn attitude of the old Powers. Our interrelationships will not be affected by any wilful mischief. In fact, we are terminating our relations with the old racist Powers in an effort to expel them from the Assembly Hall, while we welcome new delegations representing friendly countries.

126. The new economic Powers have made continued sacrifices for the benefit of the world. They have never exploited the world. The old Powers, on the other hand, have failed to do anything to alleviate the calamities that befall the peoples of the world whom they continue to exploit. The peoples of the third world have never wilfully destroyed their raw materials as did those advanced countries that burnt their grains at a time when people were perishing from starvation. The oil-producing countries have not consumed one third of the total production of the world's

energy supply in extravagant and sophisticated luxuries as the privileged few have done. Rather, they produce their materials, export them and make them available for the world, and whatever revenues they get in return, they use for their own development. Whatever surplus remains, they share with fairness and dignity. It has not been couched in deceit or given as a bribe or used by their intelligence apparatus to topple legitimate Governments. The aid has been designed to give a hand to liberation movements, with an eye to ridding man of the scourge of colonialism, suppression and *apartheid*.

127. The 80 per cent of the world's population that is the legitimate owner of most of the world's natural resources also has the legitimate right to discuss and administer its affairs. Now the road is clear, and we must march on despite the opposition of others.

128. Mr. KOTSOKOANE (Lesotho): On behalf of my Government and my delegation I wish to join previous speakers in congratulating Mr. Bouteflika, a courageous and illustrious son of Africa, on his unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of this Assembly. His country, under the inspired leadership of President Houari Boumediène, has played no mean role in the affairs of our continent, and indeed in the affairs of the world. We assure him of our co-operation in the discharge of his onerous responsibilities.

129. It gives us special pleasure, as a small country, to welcome the new Members of the Organization—Grenada, Bangladesh and Guinea-Bissau—each of which will, we are sure, contribute positively to our search for peace and social justice. Their different and varied social and political backgrounds will add to the sum total of our knowledge and understanding of the problems that beset our world. Their presence will not only increase the number but augment the voice of the world's small countries in their fight against all forms of neo-colonialism.

130. Previous speakers have spoken succinctly and eloquently about the world's political and economic problems, to which we shall therefore allude only briefly. In Africa, we intend to underscore some of the problems of economic underdevelopment, and the implications, in terms of human relationships, of colonialism and racism. In this regard, we wish to support the informative and authoritative statement made this morning [*2262nd meeting*] by General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Somali Democratic Republic, whose voice is the voice of the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] and which we request this Assembly to heed.

131. While we appreciate the steps taken by the super-Powers to reach understanding on various international issues, we do not—I repeat, we do not—believe that only they are capable of bringing peace and security to the world. In fact, we are suspicious and fearful of discussions and agreements reached outside the ambit of the United Nations because the interests of the super-Powers are not necessarily the interests of mankind.

132. In our opinion, only the United Nations can safeguard the interests of the many small countries that have no political, economic or military ambitions. It is only through the United Nations that the hopes

and fears of the majority of the world's inhabitants can be expressed. In other words, *détente* between the super-Powers is meaningless because it guarantees neither peace nor security, as witness the failure of disarmament talks, the continuing wars in Indo-China, and the tensions in the Middle East. To us, super-Power *détente* looks like mutual accommodation rather than a search for permanent peace.

133. The situation in the Middle East remains volatile because the super-Powers are using Israel and some Arab countries as pawns in the international power game. There can be no peace in the area until Israel abandons all occupied Arab lands and recognizes the legitimate rights of the Palestinians who should be involved in all discussions and negotiations. This, we believe, can be done without prejudice to Israel's existence as a State. Israel cannot claim to exist at the expense of the Palestinian people.

134. The people of Indo-China should be encouraged to work out their own destinies through dialogue. Political interference or military intervention by outsiders can only aggravate the situation and prolong division and strife in Korea, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Wherever and whenever possible, only the United Nations should be allowed to mediate or intervene, because, as we have indicated, those who intervene as individual nations do not necessarily have the interests of the whole area at heart, and we therefore feel that the United Nations is the only body that can represent the small Powers, which are often used as tools by the great Powers.

135. The violation of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, a member of the non-aligned movement, can only be viewed with anxiety and fear for the existence of small countries that refuse to be drawn into existing power blocs. Interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign, independent State, under whatever pretext, cannot be condoned or accepted. All concerned are therefore requested, in the name of peace, to accept the decision of the Security Council on this matter and to restore the legitimate constitutional rights of Cyprus.

136. The international economic situation can only be described as perilous. Inflation has gone out of control and threatens the economies of all countries—industrialized and non-industrialized, capitalist and socialist. Coupled with inflation is the unstable international monetary system, and both factors have a deleterious effect on international trade. The Western economic system based on free enterprise has become a Frankenstein monster, consuming not only its creators but all who are associated with it. No remedy seems to be in sight. The economies of small countries are being threatened as a result of the actions of the world's major trading partners and the moguls of the international monetary system.

137. There is as yet no evidence that the sixth special session has produced any change in the attitudes and methods of the major trading countries of the world. In complete disregard of the signs of the times, die-hard capitalists are clinging to the old economic order with its inequities and iniquities. The poor people of the world, ruthlessly exploited for generations, are asking for a fair share of the world's economic cake. If their appeal for justice and equity goes unheeded for long, then they should seek their salvation

through their own devices and, if necessary, through new economic alliances. We do not understand why the 80 per cent of the world's population who control the major resources of the world keep on moaning about bad treatment by the few and, in the mean time, allow themselves to be oppressed. It is our view that the developing countries of the world should reject economic exploitation just as unequivocally as they have rejected political oppression and subjugation.

138. We participated fully at the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Caracas, and are pleased that the international community has accepted the principle that the seas and the resources therein are the common heritage of mankind. We hope this will prevent the colonization of the seas by those who have the technology and the financial power to do this. It is our hope that the next session of the Conference on the Law of the Sea will reach agreement on draft articles of an international convention that not only will guarantee to land-locked States the right of free access to the sea but also will ensure that the seas and the oceans are protected and exploited for the benefit of all mankind.

139. We have already indicated that the President of the Democratic Republic of Somalia has spoken authoritatively on the problems of Africa. We shall therefore allude to only a few.

140. The social, economic and political problems of Africa are due to many causes. But first and foremost is the shortage of food, in both quality and quantity, due to ignorance and lack of funds, in that order. Time, effort and money should be spent on the education and training of African farmers in the basic principles and techniques of crop and livestock production.

141. Those of us who know Africa know that large areas of that continent are ecologically suitable for the production of high-quality livestock and crop products. What we lack is the technical know-how. But the techniques required are profoundly simple. It is not the machinery that we need; it is simply the devotion and self-application of our people that will enable us to produce our own food and stop going cap in hand, complaining about the destruction of crops by those who use their own crops as methods and means of twisting the arms of those that we should control.

142. In many parts of Africa agricultural production could be appreciably increased through the application of approved methods and techniques. The availability of funds for the purchase of such agricultural inputs as fertilizers, seeds and insecticides will not by itself result in increased production. What is necessary is knowledge and a new outlook based on hard work and self-reliance, which has been repeated time without number by African leaders who have tried to urge their people to go back to the land and produce the food they require. Rural development in the agricultural sector should aim first at self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs, for only when people are happy and healthy can they become productive and receptive to new ideas.

143. In accordance with the Declaration on Economic and Technical Co-operation, adopted by OAU last year at Addis Ababa at the tenth anniversary of

OAU, African States should strive to accumulate their own food reserves and encourage trade among themselves—and this is possible. Only in this way could they reduce their dependence on uncertain supplies from foreign countries which are themselves experiencing serious shortages of grains and livestock products, or which are using their food surpluses as political weapons. We hope African delegations to the forthcoming World Food Conference at Rome will give serious consideration to these issues and stop complaining that Africa is not being given food by those who do not want to give it food.

144. On the political front, Africa has registered some progress but much still remains to be done before the continent is finally rid of all vestiges of colonialism and racism.

145. The successful struggle and independence of Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC] gave impetus to the events in Mozambique where there is now a transitional Government led by the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO]. Just a week ago, we visited Lourenço Marques for the purpose of expressing solidarity with and giving encouragement to the forces of liberation there. In the context of southern Africa, this was not a mere gesture but visible support for Prime Minister Chissano and his colleagues, who are living and working in an atmosphere poisoned by centuries of racial oppression and discrimination. For this is a disease of southern Africa—racial oppression, racial discrimination, racial exploitation—and those who live there know what it means to live in our own continent where we are oppressed by minority régimes. We were impressed by the happy working relationship between the FRELIMO Government and the Portuguese High Commissioner, but vigilance is necessary to thwart the nefarious activities of reactionaries within and outside Mozambique. In fact, in Rhodesia and South Africa, the talk is that the Portuguese have let the side down. This is the attitude that the racist minority régimes are adopting instead of facing facts as they are and changing their policies.

146. As far as Namibia is concerned, we associate ourselves unreservedly with the decisions of the Organization. The people of the Territory must be allowed to determine their own destiny on the basis of one man, one vote, and not on the basis of "population groups", which is another name for *apartheid*. Let us not be fooled by the stratagem that has come from the Pretoria régime that the people of South-West Africa will be called together to decide their own destiny. The idea is that they should meet as populations rather than as individuals in a free country, and the basis of *apartheid* is population division.

147. With the imminent independence of Mozambique and, we also hope, of Angola, the days of the rebel racist régime in Salisbury are numbered. To continue to resist progressive change is to court disaster, for no degree of oppression and brutality will discourage or deter the people of Zimbabwe from their determination to become free men in their own country. With the moral and material support of the international community they are bound to win.

148. I turn now to *apartheid*, which is one of the perennial problems facing the United Nations. Our

opposition to *apartheid* derives from our belief in fundamental rights as enunciated and understood by the international community—not from a hatred of white people. As the Chairman of OAU indicated this morning [2262nd meeting], Africans are not vindictive, and, after 300 years of white habitation in southern Africa, we do not believe anybody is thinking of forcing the white man out of southern Africa; he is being simply asked to allow other people to live their own lives without let or hindrance and not to arrogate to himself the political and economic power to decide the destinies of a majority of people. We have never believed in the superiority of one race over another and, as Christians, we believe in the worth of the human person. *Apartheid* is unacceptable because it is based on fear and is therefore unjust. It degrades and brutalizes both its protagonists and its victims. We live cheek by jowl with the system and cannot, therefore, be accused of speaking from ignorance or malice. It is a vicious system, and to cite just one little example when we tell you that it degrades even those who apply it: recently, three white men, whose ages range from 18 to 48, murdered an African woman by forcing methylated spirits down her throat. Now, these are the degradations of *apartheid*.

149. Unless and until South Africa shifts from its rigid position on racial matters, there can be no constructive dialogue between it and most independent African States. The longer it delays in making such a move, the greater is the danger of a racial conflagration in southern Africa and, as its closest neighbours, we cannot look at such a prospect with equanimity. We speak, not because we hate South Africa, but because we are surrounded by South Africa. We live next to South Africa, and if there is any confrontation of any kind—military, economic or otherwise—Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland cannot escape unscathed, and therefore we cannot keep quiet. In their relationship with the new progressive Portuguese Government, Africans have proved to the world that they are opposed not to white people as such but to injustice and oppression. Will South Africa learn from the Portuguese experience or will it continue to defy international opinion in the misguided belief that everybody is out of step except itself?

150. Mr. DORALTA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Chad welcomes the election of Mr. Bouteflika as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Chad, which has always had friendly and close relations with Algeria, is pleased at this happy event and expresses its sincere congratulations. Even though Mr. Bouteflika is young, he has for 12 years vigorously expressed in this Assembly and elsewhere his faith and ideal in the advent of a better world where peace, freedom and justice will triumph. His positions were just, even though they ruffled the feelings of some, and he has accumulated a store of experience which fully justifies his unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. We trust, therefore, that with his experience as an Algerian and a diplomat he will bring the work of the twenty-ninth session to a successful outcome. In particular, we hope that, if by way of compromise we often manage to adopt grandiose resolutions here, we will now find the ways and means to implement them.

151. I also wish to pay a special tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, for the devotion and competence with which he guided the work of our last session, as well as the sixth special session on raw materials and development.

152. We also express our congratulations to the Secretary-General and to his assistants. Mr. Kurt Waldheim has been outstanding in the discharge of his functions as a genuine apostle of peace. His name is closely linked to the liberation of Guinea-Bissau, to the end of fighting in Cyprus, to the beginning of a solution to a very difficult problem in the Middle East, not to mention his firm determination to come to the assistance of suffering and deprived peoples.

153. Finally, we joyfully welcome the admission of new States to our Organization: the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. The admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations is a brilliant victory for PAIGC and for the brave fighters who waged the sacred battle for independence under the high political command of the late Amílcar Cabral. We also wish to pay tribute to the memory of Mr. Eduardo Mondlane and all those who gave their lives in the struggle for African liberation.

154. The representatives who preceded me have eloquently spoken about all the problems before the international community, namely: decolonization, human rights, the emergence of the third world on the international economic scene, which so far has been dominated by a few privileged countries, the energy crisis, inflation, the law of the sea, population and food. The recalling of these problems by each of us simply confirms the need for all of us to find concrete solutions.

155. The delegation of Chad takes satisfaction in the recent statement by the Government of Portugal that it recognizes the right to independence of all the Territories which are still under its domination. Our satisfaction would be greater if Portugal's intentions were to be reflected in a concrete act enabling the Territories concerned to recover their freedom and sovereignty without delay and without conditions.

156. Spain, too, must liberate the Sahara in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in consultation with the neighbouring States which are directly concerned. We welcome the agreement between Mauritania and Morocco jointly to submit a request to the International Court of Justice to decide on their dispute with Spain.

157. Decolonization cannot be limited to Territories under Portuguese or Spanish domination. In fact, the situation in other occupied Territories does not leave us indifferent. My country, consistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of OAU, once again reaffirms that we shall firmly support every effort for the self-determination of peoples which are still under domination wherever they may be throughout the world.

158. But how can we recall these problems without deploring the situation in southern Africa? We note with bitterness that in Rhodesia and Namibia nothing has improved, while in South Africa the racist régime is still trying to perpetrate the policy of *apartheid*. Those oppressive régimes and their acolytes must face the fact that the march of history is irreversible

and that they must adjust to the new circumstances by exercising wisdom and reason.

159. The situation in the Middle East remains disquieting. The peace efforts that were made some time ago disintegrated rapidly because of Israel's persistence in its policy of aggression. Israel must withdraw its troops from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967 so that peace efforts can succeed. The distress of the Palestinian people is, naturally, of concern to us. This question cannot, in our opinion, be the subject of a just and lasting solution so long as the Palestinian people continue to live cut off from their brothers in the region, deprived of their national heritage.

160. We deplore the events in Cyprus which resulted in the death not only of countless Cypriots but also of messengers of peace who fell under the flag of the United Nations. This crisis, which developed because of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the island, threatens not only the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus but also international peace and security. We hope that the current negotiations between the representatives of the two communities will save the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the island where in the past Turks and Greeks lived together peacefully.

161. In South-East Asia men continue to die daily. In Viet Nam the continued violation of the Paris agreements keeps the situation tense. My delegation hopes that the integral application of those agreements will open up a way out of the deadlock.

162. With respect to Cambodia, the delegation of Chad recognizes the Royal Government of National Union presided over by Prince Sihanouk as the only representative of the Cambodian people for the good reason that it has the support of the entire Cambodian people and of more than 60 Members of the United Nations. The key to the restoration of peace in Cambodia can only be found in putting an end to foreign interference.

163. In the Far East, Korea cannot enjoy peace until the question of unification has been settled to the satisfaction of the two parties concerned. The decision of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea² was a positive step in the search for a just and equitable solution of the question. The delegation of Chad, which associated itself with that decision, declares itself ready to support any initiative that can contribute to creating conditions favourable to the peaceful reunification of Korea.

164. International security, which concerns us all, can be only an empty term until the disarmament of which we have spoken for years becomes effective. Every year resolutions adopted here recommend general and complete disarmament, yet the next year we are witnesses to underground or atmospheric nuclear tests, and mass deliveries of weapons of all kinds, with no assurance that any conflict that might arise in any part of the world would be prevented and still less that the danger of escalation, which would lead to a nuclear confrontation, would be averted. The delegation of Chad joins the delegations that preceded me to this rostrum in appealing to the conscience of

the Powers producing nuclear and conventional weapons to take effective disarmament measures.

165. The year which has passed since our last session has been a period of disturbance for the world economy. The war of October 1973 gave a glimpse of the manifestations of an economic process which until then had been camouflaged under the then prevailing international economic order. The builders and advocates of that system saw their economies flourishing to the detriment of the majority of the peoples of the globe. It was only when the producers of the "black gold" united that the world unanimously became disillusioned: there was widespread inflation, a notable decline in the economic growth rate, and disarray in international payments. In truth, the origins of these troubles are to be found in the unjust imbalances which have persisted in international economic relations since the Second World War, which led to an accelerated growth of the industrial countries through the transfer of raw materials at low prices.

166. When pillage attained its peak, the poor countries insistently appealed for economic interdependence and co-operation so that the imbalances and injustices could be corrected. The stabilization of the prices of raw materials, the increased transfer of real resources to developing countries, the better organization of the international financial markets—all these aspirations were unheeded by the rich countries, because it cost them nothing to ignore them, or to postpone them indefinitely. But now the time has come when the countries of the third world have become a reality. No nation can be proud of having a rich society in a world where poverty, famine and disease are rampant. The President of the World Bank has just declared at a meeting of the Bank that a thousand million human beings on our planet are condemned to death in the present economic circumstances.

167. Any one of the features of the present economic crisis—deterioration of the terms of trade, widespread, runaway inflation, increased oil prices, or decrease in the growth rate of certain countries—would alone have had serious repercussions on the developing countries. In combination they have led certain countries to the brink of disaster. The countries with a *per capita* income below \$200 have seen that income decline in real value. The amount of aid for development, which is already limited, is not increasing enough to offset the effects of inflation.

168. In this terrible situation my country, Chad, is feeling repercussions of the present crisis. Indeed, to imported inflation are added the various causes of higher domestic prices characteristic of developing economies, which are often linked to the structural shortcomings with regard to capital goods and technology. After the disturbing economic events of our time, we must jointly develop a co-operation that will reflect a permanent and reinforced policy of solidarity. In this connexion, the equitable and realistic solution would be to bring order to the world economy through the practical application of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

169. The Government of Chad would like to express its appreciation and gratitude to friendly and brother countries and to governmental and non-governmental

organizations whose moral and material support made it possible to limit the consequences and effects of the drought which struck our national territory. The Government of Chad appreciates in particular the efforts made by the United Nations to mobilize international opinion for the benefit of the countries that were struck by this natural disaster. In the face of this catastrophe, Mr. Kurt Waldheim expressed his fears by stating that in less than 50 years, perhaps by the end of the century, the continued encroachment of the desert might well wipe three or four African countries off the map.

170. Furthermore, an English scientist, Dr. Derek Winstanley, on the basis of past cycles of rain in the United Kingdom, concluded that the drought would inexorably continue its progression until the year 2030. Does this mean that in less than a generation no more will be heard of certain countries of the Sahel? That is a frightening prospect, and Mr. Boerma, Director of FAO, in discussing a solution, said, "essential donations are only a short-term solution; what is needed is a permanent plan to supply the desert with water and allow the planting of forests".

171. There is no lack of water in the Sahelian region. The problem is how rationally to exploit the rains and the rivers, as well as the underground sources of water. For the disinherited people of the Sahelian region, the solidarity and backing of Governments and international institutions with respect to adequate financial and technical aid are indispensable to conquer the desert. We cannot speak of these natural disasters without recalling the calamities that struck Honduras and Peru. We present our deep condolences to those delegations.

172. As against the many problems which the poor countries face, we note that not only has public aid declined by one third in proportion to the gross national product, but it is now confined to financing quick short-term operations.

173. The delegation of Chad believes that it is time to attack the structural problems of these countries, in particular the road, water and agricultural infrastructures. Going a little further, our President, our great compatriot N'Garta Tombalbaye, launched an urgent appeal from this rostrum at the commemorative session of the General Assembly on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. He said:

"... If mankind is an ocean of poverty, it is because it suffers from a lack of brotherhood; it is because, to repeat, everything is not geared to man. The day when man is brother to man, the attitude of one group towards another, the attitude of one nation towards another will be fundamentally different. It will no longer be a matter of understanding a people in order to exploit it, but of satisfying global needs, of seeking to harness technology and to institute modes of relations and trade which will bring into being the brotherhood of man."³

174. I should not like to conclude my statement without speaking of the recent change in our national policy following the creation on 27 August 1973 of the National Movement for the Cultural and Social Revolution under the leadership of our great compatriot N'Garta Tombalbaye, the founding Secretary-General.

175. The National Movement for the Cultural and Social Revolution is a movement for liberation which unites all the living forces of the nation, all the people of Chad without distinction of social rank, tribe or religion, in a single body and mobilizes them to struggle against underdevelopment and against moral and intellectual slavery. This movement is centred on the man of Chad, and some of its objectives are: to reconcile the citizens of Chad with themselves, enhance the value of their natural culture and return to the source to discover their real and profound identity; to continue to consolidate national unity; and to guarantee democratic freedoms.

176. The movement encourages co-operation with all friendly countries on the condition that this co-operation be based on the principle of equality, and that it respect the independence and sovereignty of the State of Chad. It proclaims that non-alignment and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States constitute two cardinal principles of our foreign policy.

177. After all the eminent speakers who preceded me, I cannot speak further of the problems which concern us. To conclude, I believe that it is all a question of the conscience of each of us and, above all, of our faith in the future of the Organization.

178. Mr. BELLIZZI (Malta): Mr. President, may I, first of all, be permitted to extend to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika the warmest congratulations of the delegation of Malta on his unanimous election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. As the representative of a country with which Malta shares not only the influences and concerns deriving from our common Mediterranean heritage, but also the principles and ideals of non-alignment, my delegation is doubly happy to see Mr. Bouteflika presiding over our deliberations during the current session.

179. I should also wish to express the appreciation of my delegation for the admirable manner in which Leopoldo Benites conducted the business of the Assembly during the past year.

180. It is likewise with the greatest pleasure that I avail myself of this opportunity to welcome the presence amongst us of the representatives of the three States, Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau, whose recent accession to membership in the Organization has brought the goal of universality so much nearer.

181. At a time when the value of the United Nations is being questioned in certain quarters, it is a source of encouragement that new Members should still be found knocking on the doors of the Organization. But as the Organization becomes more universal, the question inevitably arises whether it is also becoming more effective. As the Secretary-General remarked in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization last year:

“the United Nations would be a far more effective Organization if Member States developed the habit of consistently responding to and respecting the decisions and findings of the main organs; if, rather than using the United Nations to promote short-term national interests, they would pursue long-term international aims and provide leadership in the pursuit of those aims; and if there was a general

recognition, in deeds as well as in words, that present conditions of life on our planet demand much more of international co-operation than the mere protection of national interests.”⁴

182. These are indeed challenging words whose timeliness remains undimmed, and I am sure that none here would contest the Secretary-General's conclusion repeated again in this year's introduction to his annual report [A/9601/Add.1, sect. I] that on the international community's ability to rise to this challenge the future survival of mankind may very well depend.

183. Fortunately, there are encouraging signs that this oft-repeated warning is not being entirely unheeded. The spirit of *détente* between the great Powers appears to have acquired a certain dynamic momentum, and although we share some of the misgivings of those who fear that an undue reliance on bilateral, or even regional, negotiations in such fundamental areas as disarmament and the search for a genuine peace and security might tend to relegate the United Nations to the role of a bystander, we cannot but welcome the important contribution towards relaxing international tensions that several bilateral initiatives, notably involving the great Powers, have made in recent times. As with the positive results achieved in negotiating disengagement and withdrawal from Arab lands in the Middle East, such bilateral initiatives can be most effective when they complement, not supplant, the efforts of multilateral diplomacy. As the Secretary-General reminds us elsewhere in the introduction to the report on the work of the Organization:

“If the beneficial effects of *détente* are to extend to conflict situations not involving in the first instance the nuclear Powers, the multilateral diplomacy of the United Nations will have to be more strongly supported and resorted to at an earlier stage.” [Ibid., sect. II.]

184. Writing on the same theme last year, the Secretary-General similarly emphasized the complementary nature of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, and observed that “there is no single road to peace—we must try them all”.⁵

185. It is in this spirit that my Government has actively participated in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe since its inception. Although regional in its composition there is no need to stress the global implications of this historic Conference. Europe, both the source and inspiration of so much that is positive in today's world, was also responsible for centuries of colonial oppression, and within the span of a single generation has inflicted upon the world the horror of two world wars. The search for lasting peace in Europe, and, beyond that, for active co-operation in husbanding its fruits, is therefore an event of the utmost significance.

186. However, the problems besetting the world can no longer be treated in strict isolation and, just as security in Europe cannot fail to generate security outside its geographical confines, so will conditions of insecurity outside Europe continue to eat at the foundations of peace in that continent. This is especially so when those conditions of instability are allowed to persist on the very doorstep of Europe, in such a vital area as the Mediterranean. Fully aware of this danger, Malta did not fail to raise its voice. From the

very beginning of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Malta tenaciously held the view that European security and co-operation could not meaningfully be discussed if the problems of the Mediterranean were to be ignored. We are accordingly gratified that, as a result of our efforts and those of others who shared our views, the voices of several non-European Mediterranean States have been heard in Geneva at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It remains for that Conference to take adequate heed of these concerned voices and to ensure that the perspectives they bring to the problem of security on Europe's southern flank are fully reflected in the eventual decisions reached.

187. Malta has also taken the initiative, during that same Conference, to express certain misgivings about the confidence-building measures being recommended in that forum. Addressing itself to the question of prior notification of movements of forces, my Government has expressed the opinion that the recommended measures will not appreciably strengthen security in the Mediterranean and in Europe. To the small unarmed States of that region, prior notification can only be of value in so far as it enhances confidence amongst larger States which are capable of defending themselves. It cannot of itself provide security to weak and small States. For such States, other confidence-building measures must be sought.

188. In looking at the contemporary situation in Europe, what stands out conspicuously is that the majority of European States have sought their security within one or the other of the two military alliances on that continent. These two blocs have until very lately relied entirely for their security on the deterrent provided by their respective massive armaments. But the massing of more and more military hardware, together with the rivalry for influence in the Mediterranean on the part of the two leading members of the opposing blocs, brought about the realization that the whole structure of peace in the area was being undermined, hence the attempt to seek other solutions through the Conference on Security and Co-operation. Having grudgingly conceded that European security is intimately linked with Mediterranean security, the Conference has still to accept another and equally undeniable fact, namely, that a genuine peace in Europe cannot be achieved and maintained without the emergence of an independent Europe free to assert its own identity and to provide an effective buffer between the two super-Powers. It is in the interest of all, not least of those same super-Powers, to promote this new political dynamism.

189. There are those who believe that the European Economic Community may yet assume this role; but it is hardly realistic to expect that the Europe of the Nine will alone be able in the foreseeable future to do so effectively. In the light of these considerations, my Government has warmly welcomed the dialogue that has been initiated between the nine of the European Community and the 20 members of the League of Arab States, and we express the hope that that dialogue will eventually be extended to include other States bordering on the Mediterranean and the Gulf. Such a historic process could provide a unique stimulus not only to the prospects for economic co-operation but also to the search for peace. By building mutual

understanding, it could lead to concerted political action in the interest of peace in the entire area, and it could gradually lead to the voluntary withdrawal by the super-Powers of their forces from the Mediterranean region.

190. In speaking of the problems of peace and security in the Mediterranean, one is inevitably reminded of that intractable threat to peace and security in that area, the Middle East conflict. The traumatic events of last year's October war have dramatically driven home the point that an overall solution to this problem can no longer be delayed. Happily, following that tragic reminder, there have been encouraging signs of movement, notably the troop disengagement agreements reached between Israel and Egypt, and Israel and Syria. But the momentum towards peace appears to have slackened in recent months, and if the lessons of the past 25 years have taught us anything it is that the situation in the Middle East will not remain static.

191. It is in the interests of all parties and of the entire international community to build upon what has been achieved and to move forward towards peace. That is why my country, together with a large number of others, has supported the inclusion of the new item in our agenda entitled "Question of Palestine". There can be no peace in the Middle East without a prior solution of the crux of the problem, which is the Palestine question; and there can be no solution to the Palestine question unless the rights and interests of the Palestinian people, including their inalienable right to self-determination, which this Assembly has repeatedly reaffirmed, are duly upheld. Once again my delegation expresses the hope that the Organization, and particularly those of its Members with special responsibilities under the Charter, will explore every possible avenue towards helping the parties directly concerned to find the road to an honourable settlement. It goes without saying that such a settlement can only be reached within the parameter of the essential principles involved: the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by means of force, respect for the territorial integrity of all States, the inalienable right to self-determination of all peoples, including the Palestinian people, and the right of every State to recognition and to security within its territorial boundaries.

192. Our deep concern over the situation in the Middle East has been compounded by the recent tragic events which have occurred in Cyprus. Despite all the soothing words of *détente*, despite the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, a small unarmed State which has been participating actively in that Conference finds itself a victim, in 1974, of inadmissible foreign interference in internal affairs and of the use of armed force. It is our fervent hope that the judicious combination of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy which has proved its effectiveness elsewhere will not fail to find a solution that will safeguard for Cyprus its territorial integrity, unity, independence and non-alignment. Such a solution, in conformity with the lofty principles of the Organization, must above all provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the return of the refugees to their homes and properties, so as to promote the requisite preconditions in which fruitful negotiations can be held, involving the representatives of both ethnic com-

munities and aimed at a lasting and equitable constitutional arrangement.

193. Despite the balmy winds of *détente*, conflict and tension, fear and insecurity, also persist in other parts of the world. In South-East Asia, notwithstanding the formal cessation of the war in Viet Nam and the conclusion of the Paris agreements—events which we all welcomed—the situation is still far from satisfactory. The bitter struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people against the forces of reaction and imperialism must still pursue its arduous path. If peace is to dawn over that ravaged land, it is essential that the Paris agreements are scrupulously observed by all sides, and that the efforts of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam to achieve the strict implementation of those agreements are no longer frustrated.

194. In neighbouring Cambodia, the Lon Nol régime, bolstered by foreign support, continues to defy the Cambodian people and to cling to power in the diminishing areas still remaining to it. The time has surely come for dispassionate consideration by the General Assembly of the representation of Cambodia in the United Nations, bearing in mind that the Royal Government of National Union under Prince Norodom Sihanouk controls much the larger part of the national territory and enjoys the support of the vast majority of the Cambodian people. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries which met last year at Algiers indicated the only honourable path which this Assembly should follow.

195. Another area of the world where peace has still to be consolidated is Korea. Following the modest step forward taken last year, the General Assembly will again during this session have an opportunity to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful reunification of that country. My Government is convinced that the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations is the essential first step leading towards meaningful bilateral negotiations and the attainment of peaceful reunification.

196. In Africa the day appears at long last to be at hand when the final vestiges of colonialism will have disappeared. We are happy to express our heartfelt satisfaction at the very welcome change which has occurred in Portugal's African policies and which has restored to Portugal its revered place in the international community. The unanimous admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the Organization is perhaps the first tangible fruit of that positive transformation, and we look forward to the rapid and peaceful decolonization of the other African Territories under Portuguese administration and their admission to the Organization.

197. But these heartening prospects have also served to highlight still more starkly the depressing and inhuman conditions under which millions of other Africans continue to groan. Upon these millions and upon the conscience of the world, the yoke of *apartheid* and oppression in South Africa, in Namibia and in Zimbabwe weighs ever more heavily. At this eleventh hour, we still appeal to the Government of South Africa to heed the voice of humanity. The writing has long been on the wall for the colonialists. Now that the wall itself has begun to crumble, it is impe-

rative that the policy of *apartheid* be allowed to do likewise. As for the illegal régime in Zimbabwe, we must all redouble our efforts to strengthen the policy of sanctions and to ensure that it is universally enforced.

198. On other occasions from this rostrum, the representative of Malta had outlined briefly the foreign policy of my Government. The cornerstone of that policy was and remains one of aloofness from military blocs and confrontation and of positive friendship towards all. Last year at Algiers, my country gained formal admission to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, thus proclaiming anew its dedication to neutrality and its solidarity with other developing countries in their quest for a better life.

199. If the cold-war confrontation under which the concept of non-alignment was born has moved towards a welcome thaw, that is not to say that non-alignment has lost its significance. The reality of big-Power rivalry is still there, complicated perhaps by the emergence of new centres of power, while the existence of spheres of influence is still very much a reality. The aspirations of mankind as a whole towards securing the immediate necessities of life and advancing from there towards the enjoyment of improved standards of living are still as far as ever from being realized. It is those factors, more than any other, which have ensured the steady growth of the non-aligned movement.

200. Speaking at Lusaka in 1970, President Tito said of the movement: "We are not against the big Powers, we are only against power politics". This is as significant today as it was then and succinctly captures the spirit of non-alignment. There are some who view the growing strength of the non-aligned movement with certain suspicion. In all frankness we are puzzled by such criticism. For it seems to us that to question the principles of non-alignment is to take issue with the fundamental purposes of the United Nations. The non-aligned countries are unanimous in their dedication to strengthening the United Nations and to making the Organization a more effective instrument for peace and co-operation, and in this we are all here completely aligned.

201. Malta's espousal of non-alignment is not a new development. Since 1971, when my Government was elected to office, Malta has practised a policy of non-alignment. It has striven hard, at great risk and sacrifice to its people, to make a valid and concrete contribution towards peace in the Mediterranean. In an overpopulated little island with no natural resources and which for centuries has known no source of livelihood other than catering to the military needs of the occupying Power, we have taken the bold step of declaring our firm intention to bring to an end within a few years the economic contributions deriving from this surviving relic of the colonial era.

202. Once again this year the General Assembly will be taking up the issue of disarmament without much progress on the part of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. It is no criticism of the members of that hard-working body to emphasize that the world has grown impatient over their inability to agree on such long-standing goals as a comprehensive test-ban treaty and a ban on chemical weapons. If no visible progress has been registered on such modest

goals, how are we to view the prospects for the goal of general and complete disarmament, which indeed seems to recede further every year?

203. We in Malta have welcomed both the easier relations and the significant agreements reached between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the field of disarmament, notably the agreement last year on the prevention of nuclear war, and their announced intention to conclude a permanent agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. Likewise, we are encouraged by their more recent agreement to halt, as from March 1976, underground nuclear-weapon tests above a certain magnitude. These are encouraging steps, but they can only be viewed as first steps on the road to real disarmament.

204. Meanwhile, however, world opinion is discouraged by the continuation and, in some areas, increasing momentum of the armaments race. Nuclear testing, for instance, continues apace and evokes widespread indignation. We are opposed to all forms of nuclear-weapon testing, whether in the atmosphere or underground, and this in keeping with our commitment to general and complete disarmament. At the same time, however, as we deplore such testing, we cannot fail equally to deplore the fact that, 10 years after the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water,⁶ which solemnly proclaimed the intention of the parties to achieve a comprehensive test ban, this goal is still beyond our reach.

205. When those that have amassed the frightful capacity to destroy all life on this planet many times over continue to develop still more weapons to add to their armoury, it is not surprising that there are some who question an order of priority which seeks first to prevent others from developing their own weapons. A more rational order of priority would seem to be for all the nuclear Powers to heed the anguished demands for total prohibition of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, the dismantling and destruction of existing stocks of such armaments, accompanied by the progressive reduction of conventional weapons, and the discontinuance of nuclear tests in all environments.

206. One of the ways in which the cause of peace and disarmament can be advanced is by the creation of zones of peace and zones from which nuclear weapons are banned. The proposal before the Assembly for such a zone in the region of the Middle East [A/C.1/L.700] affects my country closely, and we support it whole-heartedly.

207. One of the most significant events in the history of the United Nations during the past year has undoubtedly been the convening of the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. My delegation has witnessed with satisfaction the growing realization on the part of the international community that new concepts, replacing the worn-out system of domination and dependence, must be worked out to govern mankind's increasingly varied activities on and under the seas. It was in 1967 that the delegation of Malta first launched the initiative⁷ which eventually led to the establishment first of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National

Jurisdiction and later to the convening of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

208. The proposals submitted by Malta in 1967 included two interconnected propositions, namely, that the sea-bed and the ocean floor and their resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be declared the common heritage of mankind, and that an international régime governing the area and its resources and including appropriate international machinery should be established. These two principles were later incorporated in the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, adopted by the General Assembly in 1970 [resolution 2749 (XXV)].

209. The progress achieved by the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held at Caracas this summer leads the Government of Malta to believe that such a régime and machinery, which will take account of the needs and interests of the developing countries, will in fact be created. In the light of this assessment, my Government feels that it is no longer premature to consider the location of the proposed International Sea-Bed Authority, and it has accordingly made known its decision to offer Malta as the site for the Authority's headquarters. In announcing this offer, my Government believes that many members of the international community would like to associate Malta in the most appropriate way with the tangible and lasting results which will have emerged from the Maltese initiative of 1967.

210. In talking of the United Nations and its achievements during the past 29 years, it has become habitual to make a distinction between, on the one hand, the Organization's record in the political and security sphere—where, albeit considerable, its successes are not usually regarded as having matched the hopes reposed in it by its founders—and, on the other hand, its much more substantial record in the field of economic and social co-operation. The argument continues that lack of, or only partial, success in the political and security issues invariably receives spectacular but negative coverage in the mass media, whereas important progress in alleviating the lot of humanity in its everyday life often goes unnoticed. There is certainly much truth in this, but, unfortunately, such arguments suggest that all is well with the performance of the Organization in the economic field and may give grounds for complacency. Despite the real and solid achievements of the Economic and Social Council and the specialized agencies, the stark fact remains that the gap between rich and poor nations, far from being bridged, continues to grow apace. The first United Nations Development Decade raised more hopes than it could satisfy. Almost midway through the Second United Nations Development Decade, it is clear that its objectives are likely to remain a mirage.

211. If this was already evident last year, the economic crisis into which the world has since then been plunged has not failed to sharpen our vision. Never was there more need for genuine co-operation among nations in their economic affairs. The energy crisis, in particular, has produced tensions that must be resolved equitably and amicably. The dire alternative

of economic confrontation is too fearsome to ponder. In any trial of strength between the powerful, it is the weak bystanders who suffer the most. For those small countries which are exporters neither of technology nor of raw materials, the prospects would be grim indeed. For them, it would seem that they could at best expect nothing but ever higher prices to pay not only for manufactures but also for raw materials, food and fuel, all of which they must obtain from abroad. Such a double squeeze could only depress their terms of trade to intolerable levels and force a drastic reduction in living standards, which, in many cases, are already at a perilous level. It is therefore urgently necessary that the hopes generated by the sixth special session of the General Assembly should be speedily fulfilled. The urgent demands for immediate and effective machinery to translate into action the consensus achieved during that session are still awaiting implementation. We are grateful to the Secretary-General and to all those who are striving to give early effect to the decisions taken at that historic special session, particularly the Special Programme established under the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] and its call for emergency relief measures, and we venture to hope that these measures will be put into operation without further delay. It is also our hope that the beneficiaries of these special measures will not be identified solely on the basis of a purely mechanical formula that ignores fundamental differences in the structure of national economies. Sources of income which derive from transient, artificial and non-economic factors must be recognized for what they are, and their distorting effect on national income statistics must be isolated and corrected.

212. I should like to conclude, as I began, on a note of optimism with regard to the difficult challenges facing the United Nations. If, in taking stock of the current situation, one is bound to acknowledge that the Organization has yet to arrive at satisfactory solutions to many of the world's pressing problems, this is not to belittle its achievements. There is no doubt that the world would be in far worse shape without the United Nations. As for the future, signs of encouragement are not lacking. For if it is true that the first step towards solving a problem is to be aware of its challenge then one can take comfort from the fact that, under the impetus of technology, the world community is increasingly forced to face previously unrecognized problems as well as new dimensions to old ones.

213. It is also becoming a tenet of conventional wisdom that the successful handling of global problems requires a measure of active international co-operation far beyond the concepts of mere *détente* and peaceful coexistence. This is certainly true of such global challenges as those posed by, amongst others, the current economic crisis, the equitable formulation of the law of the sea, the search for equilibrium between mankind's development activities and the preservation of his environment, the peaceful uses of outer space, the impact of fast-growing population, and the need to augment and to share the world's food resources. The same internationalist approach must also guide the way towards the establishment of a new international economic order, as called for at the sixth

special session [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*]. Whilst the need for international assistance has never been greater than during these difficult times, it is of the utmost importance for the developing countries to redouble their own efforts towards mutual co-operation in tackling their common problems. In this context, particular significance must be attached to the self-help programme, including the solidarity fund for financing economic and social development projects, which the non-aligned countries have moved to establish.

214. The Government of Malta is fully aware of the importance of the principle of self-help for developing countries. In our own economic development, we have spared no effort to encourage our people to mobilize our entire national resources, both human and material, in order to participate fully in, and to share the eventual rewards deriving from, the successful accomplishment of the challenging task of transforming our nation's economy from its pre-independence role of catering to foreign military interests into one based on peace and co-operation with all.

215. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Pakistan who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

216. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): I shall make a very brief statement arising from certain observations made here on 7 October by the Deputy Foreign Minister of Afghanistan [*2258th meeting*].

217. Speaking here less than a fortnight ago, the leader of the Pakistan delegation, Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs, Mr. Aziz Ahmed [*2247th meeting*], reaffirmed the settled policy of my Government of establishing the best possible relations with Afghanistan. In response, on 7 October, the leader of the Afghan delegation expressed his Government's willingness to negotiate with Pakistan with a view to removing what he called the one political difference between the two countries.

218. My country has always been willing to discuss with Afghanistan any matter which has a bearing on the relations between the two countries. But it would not be right if I did not restate Pakistan's position on relations with Afghanistan without equivocation and in the clearest possible manner.

219. The Deputy Foreign Minister of Afghanistan left us with the unfortunate impression that Afghanistan has a claim over certain territories of Pakistan, when he declared that his country had the "right to reclaim its usurped land" [*2258th meeting, para. 62*].

220. The border between Pakistan and Afghanistan is clearly defined, physically demarcated on the ground, and internationally recognized. The Agreement of 1893 which fixed this border was reaffirmed repeatedly by successive Afghan Governments. The last occasion on which they did so was as recent as 1930.

221. On behalf of my Government, I wish to make it absolutely clear that Pakistan does not include any part of Afghan territory, nor will it part with any of its own territory under any circumstances whatsoever.

222. The emergence of Pakistan as an independent sovereign State, in 1947, was the culmination of a long struggle by the Muslims of British India to establish

a homeland of their own in areas where they were in a majority. Thus, Pakistan came into existence through the exercise of the right of self-determination of the peoples of all parts of Pakistan, including the North-West Frontier province. In this connexion, I should mention that a referendum was held in the North-West Frontier province, which borders on Afghanistan, in order to determine the wishes of the people. A referendum became necessary in that area not because it is inhabited by the Pakhtun people, but because the provincial Government at that time was headed by the Indian National Congress Party, which was opposed to the creation of Pakistan and wanted the area to become a part of India. Despite this opposition, over 99 per cent of the votes cast were in favour of Pakistan. That the people of the North-West Frontier province have made manifest their choice, in the most democratic manner possible, is an established, historical fact.

223. The Deputy Foreign Minister of Afghanistan alleged that there is oppression, and so forth, in certain parts of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan, and he attempted to justify this interference in Pakistan's internal affairs by claiming a racial affinity with the people in those parts. The fact of the matter is that, far from oppressing its people, the Government of Pakistan, acting under the Constitution, is engaged in liberating certain backward tribes from centuries of neglect and the shackles of a feudal system based on the arbitrary authority of tribal chieftains. The Government's approach is to transform the situation by modernizing the social structure, by increasing economic prosperity and by bringing the benefits of modern communications, education, industry and improved agriculture to those areas in the same measure as in other parts of the country. These measures are meeting resistance from tribal chieftains who resent the threat to their vested interests.

224. The Government would be failing in its constitutional duty if it did not take appropriate action to meet such a situation and to maintain law and order. It is not the Government's intention to pursue its aims by the use of force against its own people, except to the extent made necessary by violence on the part of certain dissident elements—violence made possible by the supply of arms and infiltration of trained guerrillas from across the border.

225. After the establishment of a republic in Afghanistan, its people were promised democracy and social reform. We in Pakistan, engaged as we are in consolidating democracy in the country, would be happy to see democratic institutions, political freedoms, fundamental human rights and the rule of law take root in Afghanistan. Pakistan cherishes nothing but the friendliest of feelings for the people of Afghanistan.

226. I should like to conclude by recalling what the leader of my delegation said here the other day:

“ . . . 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.”
[2247th meeting, para. 94.]

227. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Afghanistan.

228. Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan): We have heard the statement just made by the representative of Pakistan. To clarify certain points and to correct the distortion of certain facts we should like to exercise our right of reply. For that purpose I reserve my delegation's right to make a statement at a later meeting of the Assembly.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/L.714.

² *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, item 41.

³ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1882nd meeting, para. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, sect. VII.

⁵ *Ibid.*, sect. IV.

⁶ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes*, agenda item 92, document A/6695.