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*President: Mr. Gaston THORN*  
(Luxembourg).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MacEACHEN (Canada): Mr. President, let me express, at the outset of my remarks, the pleasure and confidence that the Government of Canada derives from the fact that you have been elected to preside over this session of the General Assembly. This session marks the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, and its proceedings could not be entrusted to more capable hands. We know that you will bring to the deliberations of this global Organization the judgement and wisdom of which the councils of Europe have been for so long the beneficiaries.

2. We are pleased to welcome among us the delegations from Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique following the accession of those States to membership in the United Nations. Their presence here represents a further important step by this Organization on the road towards universality of membership.

3. You are, Mr. President, taking office at a time when our Organization is at a decisive juncture in international affairs. Increasingly, our preoccupations are with global economic and social disparities and opportunities. These are also political questions of grave concern comparable, and indeed related in scope and importance, to those of international peace and security.

4. Last week, at our seventh special session on these very issues, we at last made some headway towards the reduction of these disparities. We agreed on steps necessary to move towards a new international economic order. We were able to agree because the time was ripe—indeed overripe—to move forward in a creative way on these complex issues.

5. We must now commit our attention and energies to sustaining this will and to implementing the deci-

sions that we have taken to reform our world economic system to reflect our interdependence. We must recognize, too, our respective peoples' need to be brought into these efforts. We have given undertakings on their behalf, undertakings to provide those of the world's peoples who constitute a majority—those who are in want—their full measure of social and economic justice.

6. I think we all appreciate the urgency of this fundamental task; otherwise, we would not have achieved the remarkable degree of co-operation which characterized our intense and most serious efforts during the special session. It is important that we pursue our objective—and we have only just begun—in the same spirit of co-operation and mutual respect. This is the most effective way for our Organization to work. This is also the most effective way to ensure that our peoples retain their confidence in our Organization's ability to solve our urgent and overriding problems.

7. We know clearly that there is a need to enhance the role and capacity of the United Nations in the economic and social fields and thus bring them into a better and more balanced relationship with the political objectives and functions of the Organization.

8. At its seventh special session the General Assembly established an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System to initiate a restructuring process of this very kind. One of the main documents before it will be the report of the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System, entitled *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation*.<sup>1</sup> The experts have correctly identified the main weaknesses of the United Nations system and have made a number of recommendations and suggestions which would improve the balance between the functional, sectoral and political elements in the system.

9. I should like to commend to the new intergovernmental committee as well the report of a group of experts convened by the member States of the Commonwealth entitled, "Towards a New International Economic Order", which has been circulated as a United Nations document.

10. Convinced as we are that the United Nations must be made more responsive to the needs and concerns of its Members, my Government intends to play an active and constructive part in the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization so that it may carry forward its programmes in working towards a new economic order.

11. The building of a new international economic order is but one of the many important preoccupations of the international community at the present time.

Population, food, human settlements and the law of the sea are other global problems that demand the attention of the United Nations. Of these many global problems, I should like now to speak about the law of the sea, in which Canada plays a particular role.

12. One of the most important but least recognized functions of the United Nations is the regular and persistent efforts it makes to contribute to a stable world order through the progressive development of international law. The law of the sea is a dynamic example.

13. We are developing new rules which reflect the growing awareness of the interdependence of nations and the need for preservation of the marine environment and the conservation of its resources. I have no hesitation in affirming the view of the Canadian Government that the viability of an increasingly interdependent world order rests on the creation of an international economic system which provides a more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities to all people. This principle must be reflected in the new law of the sea.

14. The role of the United Nations is central to the process of developing a new body of international law which will reflect broad recognition that the oceans of the world, which cover 70 per cent of the earth's surface, are vital to man's survival. Binding legal rules must be established. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has already achieved broad agreement on revolutionary new legal concepts, such as the economic zone and the common heritage of mankind, concepts which must form the basis of the constitution of the seas. The new law must lay down duties to go hand in hand with every new right recognized. It must be based on principles of equity rather than power.

15. The task is a formidable one and may prove to be beyond the reach of the United Nations. I think not. What is clear, however, is that without the United Nations the task would be impossible and the world would be involved in a series of conflicting claims and counter-claims which could produce serious threats to peace.

16. My Government is now preparing for the crucial fourth round of negotiations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea beginning here in New York next March. We do so knowing that to reach final agreement all participants must act responsibly, flexibly and, above all, with a real sense of urgency.

17. No Government is more committed than my own to achieving agreement on a viable and balanced global régime for the seas. But I would be less than candid if I did not state clearly that the Canadian Government, like many other Governments, cannot be expected to wait indefinitely for agreement. I hope our actions have demonstrated that the Canadian Government is conscious of its responsibilities to the international community. But the Canadian Government is also conscious of its responsibilities to the Canadian people. The economic and social survival of whole communities in certain coastal areas of Canada depends on the successful outcome of the Conference or, failing such success, some alternative course of action. It is because of these national and

international responsibilities that my Government is now engaged, as a matter of the utmost priority, in a series of talks with countries fishing off our coasts to prepare the way for an extension of our fisheries jurisdiction based upon the consensus emerging at the Conference.

18. I wish to reiterate the faith of the Canadian Government in the United Nations and the opportunity it offers to negotiate multilateral solutions to the complex problems of the law of the sea. A multilateral agreement would be of lasting benefit to this and future generations. Only if the multilateral approach fails—and at a certain point further delay or procrastination is failure—will my Government and, I assume, other Governments resort to other solutions to protect fundamental national interests. The Governments and peoples of the world are not prepared to wait much longer for the results of the Conference. We must act quickly and in concert. If we do—and I am convinced we can—we shall achieve what the Secretary-General has rightly called "one of the most important conventions ever devised by the international community".

19. In 1945 the founders of the United Nations, profoundly influenced by the holocaust of war, were determined that the central task of the international Organization would be the maintenance of international peace and security. They devised—so they believed—a system for the settlement of disputes between nations without recourse to the use of force. Thirty years later this fundamental problem still faces the United Nations. Two crucial aspects of this problem are disarmament and peace-keeping. These aspects of the problem were the principal themes of my address to the Assembly last year, but such is their importance that I make no apology for reverting to them.

20. Few issues before this Assembly give rise to aspirations so great or frustrations so deep as the question of disarmament. We aspire to agreements that will check the use of force, reduce tensions and free resources for productive social and economic purposes. But our hopes are frustrated by the relentless drive towards new heights of destructive power. Nuclear weapons exist in the tens of thousands and we are faced with the frightening possibility that they will spread to more countries. The advanced countries continue to spend enormous amounts of money on armaments of all kinds, and the military expenditures of some developing countries are rapidly increasing.

21. Is it any wonder that ordinary people everywhere, with deep unease and impatience, await real progress towards disarmament?

22. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have been of major importance in promoting a climate of strategic stability and political détente. But they have not halted the competition in nuclear armaments. Nor have they achieved steps of actual nuclear disarmament.

23. The problems involved are infinitely complex, but the need for solutions is pressing. We urge the United States and the Soviet Union to conclude their present negotiations and to proceed without delay to achieving steps of nuclear disarmament. We also urge

the nuclear-weapons Powers to re-examine the technical and political obstacles to an agreement to end nuclear-weapons testing.

24. Efforts to curb the proliferation of nuclear weapons must be accompanied by efforts to ensure that the further dissemination of nuclear technology is devoted solely to peaceful purposes. The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons reaffirmed the Treaty's vital role as the basic instrument of the non-proliferation system. It made clear that all parties, both nuclear-weapons States and non-nuclear-weapons States, must meet their obligations fully under the Treaty. This is essential if the dangers of proliferation are to be averted.

25. The Review Conference also reaffirmed the role of the Treaty as the basis for wider co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Canada will fulfil its obligations under the Treaty to facilitate, to the extent it is able, international co-operation in the exchange of nuclear technology and materials for peaceful purposes, particularly between the advanced and developing countries. The need for such co-operation has clearly been increased by the change in world energy costs.

26. However, I would at the same time stress that we have an obligation to ensure that the co-operation we enter into does not contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons or to the manufacture of nuclear explosive devices for whatever purposes.

27. Preoccupation with the dangers of nuclear weapons must not blind us to the growing threat from use of conventional force. Urgent and closer attention must now be given to the search for arms control and the reduction of forces in order to promote regional stability and mutual security. Now that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has been concluded, we look for substantial progress from the negotiations in Vienna on the reduction of forces in Central Europe.

28. The basic responsibility for reducing the dangers and burdens of armaments rests primarily with the major military Powers. But we must recognize the various constraints under which they operate if we wish effective arms limitation and disarmament agreements. Advances in military technology often complicate efforts to find the technical and military basis for agreement and satisfactory means of verifying commitments. Agreements must promote or be compatible with the security interests of participating States. Disarmament negotiations are unlikely to succeed unless political conditions are conducive to progress.

29. But that is no argument for inaction in this Assembly. It is no argument for accepting the present and totally unsatisfactory rate of progress in achieving disarmament measures. The General Assembly must continue as the forum of international concern and as a spur to action in the field of disarmament.

30. If our anxiety about the prospects for progress in disarmament continues unrelieved, we can draw some comfort from the recent movement towards peaceful settlement in the Middle East. No one who has the interests of world security at heart can fail to be encouraged by the statesmanlike conduct of the

leaders of Egypt and Israel, which produced the new interim Sinai agreement. We also recognize the dedication of the United States Secretary of State, whose tireless efforts have once again contributed towards a positive result. It is a fragile beginning, to be sure. By itself, it does little to settle the underlying issues; and these issues must be resolved if peace and security are to come to the Middle East. But we see in the agreement grounds for hope. We see the agreement as the first stage in a series of interlocking negotiations and agreements which would involve all the parties to the dispute and embrace all the fundamental issues, difficult though this will be. The end would be a just settlement which would enable the destructive passions of the past to be overcome and permit all peoples in the area to live as neighbours in peace and security.

31. For all those concerned about United Nations peace-keeping there is another reason for drawing satisfaction from the Sinai agreement. Peace-keeping is one of the few useful instruments that the international community has developed to help promote peaceful solutions to disputes. It is designed to assist the parties to a dispute to draw back from conflict when they recognize that this is in their best interests and to help create circumstances in which their differences can be settled by negotiation.

32. But all too often peace-keeping reduces the incentives of the disputants to move beyond the mere cessation of hostilities to a serious search for a political settlement. Consequently sceptics charge that United Nations peace-keeping does little more than perpetuate an uneasy *status quo*.

33. If peace-keeping is to be truly effective it must be accompanied by a parallel effort on the political level, especially by the parties most directly concerned, to convert the temporary peace that a peace-keeping force is asked to maintain, into something more durable.

34. Since the initial cease-fire agreement in the fall of 1973, the United Nations Emergency Force [UNEF] has fulfilled its task of providing a buffer between the disputants and of helping to produce a period of relative calm in which negotiations could be pursued. The parties concerned took full advantage of the peace-keeping operation: they negotiated and reached a new interim agreement. The significance of this for peace-keeping is that UNEF has not merely perpetuated the *status quo*; it will now go on to make the new agreement effective and to provide the basis for further steps in peace-keeping. In short, UNEF is doing the job for which it is intended, that is, helping to create the circumstances for a search, at the political level, for a solution to the Middle East problem.

35. The United Nations Disengagement Observer Force has also played its part in helping to create an atmosphere in which further negotiations can take place.

36. The question of Cyprus is once again before us at the thirtieth session. The problems are complex and will engage the attention of all delegations. Here again, the effectiveness of the peace-keeping force which has been carrying on its task on the ground in conditions of great difficulty will depend essentially on the co-operation and will of the parties directly concerned.

37. Peace-keeping can only continue, of course, if it has the full support of all Member States, including their practical support in the form of prompt payment of peace-keeping assessments and contributions. Without the necessary financial resources, neither the United Nations nor individual force contributors can be expected to carry the responsibilities they have been asked to assume.

38. I should like to comment now on one particular problem affecting the management of the affairs of our evolving Organization. Efforts have been made over the years to treat technical problems and political issues separately. The specialized agencies and technical conferences have been mainly devoted to their own immediate concerns, while political issues have been discussed primarily in those organs with the competence to deal with such matters—the Security Council and the General Assembly.

39. We well recognize that, even in technical conferences, Member States must take account of political realities, and that in some cases the line of separation between the political and technical cannot always be too rigidly drawn. But we shall do a serious disservice to our system of co-operation within the United Nations system if we fail to distinguish in a clear and unmistakable manner between, on the one hand, the authority and competence of the Security Council and the General Assembly in those political fields prescribed by the Charter, and, on the other, the competence and authority of technical conferences in their respective fields.

40. In the meantime, it is the hope of my Government that in the spirit of co-operation that has so happily characterized the deliberations of the seventh special session, we shall all voluntarily refrain from the introduction of unrelated political considerations into the proceedings of the specialized agencies as well as the organs that have been assigned specific responsibility for implementing the decisions of the special session. We should allow these bodies to get on with their technical work. That would surely be in the best interests of each United Nations Member and of the Organization as a whole.

41. The celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations prompts all of us to reflect upon the place of this Organization in the life of the international community. Its critics have been many and persistent; its supporters sometimes wavering. But, whatever its short-comings over the years, we must recognize the simple fact that, in our quest for peace and security and our search for solutions to the great economic and social issues of our time, this universal forum is irreplaceable, and is essential to each of the Governments and peoples we represent.

42. As the Secretary-General said in his report of 11 August 1975:

“It is widely acknowledged that in our present world there is no rational alternative in international relations to the principles and procedures of the United Nations. Discussion and compromise are the only known alternatives to oppression, conflict and bloodshed. Unilateral and bilateral diplomacy are no longer enough and must be supplemented by collective action and multilateral diplomacy. All this has been acknowledged in principle by

Governments of Member States through their adherence to the Charter. As each day passes, the force of circumstances also compels the Governments of the world to recognize their increasing interdependence. This too has been acknowledged in recent activities at the United Nations and is the clear theme of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly.” [A/10001/Add.1, Sect. XXI.]

I would also conclude by saying that it is also the clear theme of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

43. Mr. de la FLOR VALLE (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an honour for me to speak once again from this rostrum on behalf of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru, as well as in fulfilment of the mandate of the ministerial meeting of the non-aligned countries, held in Lima at the end of August of this year.

44. I wish to express, Mr. President, my country's deep satisfaction upon your election to guide our proceedings during the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Luxembourg and Peru maintain cordial relations and I am confident that the eminent Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs will, with dignity and skill, guide our deliberations on the issues of transcendental importance which this Assembly has before it.

45. I wish also to express my most sincere appreciation to the Foreign Minister of Algeria, Mr. Bouteflika, whose diligent performance as President of the last session has raised the historic cause of the third world to a stature of renewed international vigour and influence.

46. I wish also to thank the Secretary-General for his visit to my country at the beginning of this year. On that occasion, he displayed for us a sample of the efforts which he devotes to the many international problems absorbing the attention of our Organization. I believe it appropriate on this occasion to wish him success in the delicate tasks before him in his office, a success we all hope for in the cause of the strengthening of peace and security.

47. A few weeks ago, I had the singular honour of being the spokesman for the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries in presenting to the seventh special session of the General Assembly the results of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975. On that occasion, I analysed the economic aspects contained in the Lima Programme of Mutual Assistance and Solidarity [see A/10217 and Corr.1, annex]. Essentially, I pointed out how the results reached at Lima constitute a clearly-defined strategy directed towards strengthening the autonomy of the development processes, as well as areas for concrete action in mutual co-operation and solidarity, in face of the collapse of the unjust international economic order, thus transforming the non-aligned and developing countries as a whole into a dynamic element of greatest coherence in the structuring of the new order.

48. In the political field, the Lima Programme spells out, as it does in the economic field, systems for consultation and solidarity for a common protection

against pressures, overt or covert, against our territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, as well as the machinery for mutual co-ordination designed to strengthen our negotiating capacity in international bodies. We defend today, as we always shall, the right of peoples to their political and economic independence, and to formulate their social and economic programmes in accordance with their own values. We defend, and shall give practical effect to, the right to convert the equality formally recognized in the Charter into specific rights with political content and weight. It is not through a wish for obstinacy or confrontation, but through the exercise of the weight of our voice and our vote that the discussions in this body will be marked, for in it we have a legitimate place and the full right to defend the interests of the peoples of the third world.

49. The Lima Conference reviewed the international situation and considered its most salient aspects in the light of the lofty aims of our movement. This review enabled us to confirm that non-alignment has become one of the truly significant factors in the international scene, and that it appears as an effective historical option for peoples aspiring to independence, equality, full development and peace. Furthermore, in the present circumstances, marked by a hardening of imperialist policies and a serious economic crisis, concerted policy and the action of countries rejecting the power politics of the Powers is imperative for the vast majority of peoples which seek only the peaceful promotion of their just aspirations and rights.

50. The non-aligned movement is basically an international anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist position, committed to action directed towards overcoming situations of conflict, and especially an international order based on keeping the majority of mankind at a subsistence level. Our struggle is not related to the present situation; rather, it challenges a whole system the historical validity of which is decreasing day by day as the forces of liberation advance.

51. I will not review the Lima agreements in detail. I shall simply underline the fact that our movement is determined to promote actively the implementation of those agreements, for they all conform with the letter and the spirit of the Charter of our Organization. Therefore, to those who would see in non-alignment a new bloc, we could answer that the things we are fighting are in fact power politics, hegemonic policies, the indefinite postponement of the aspirations of peoples which have contributed and still contribute to the well-being of others, the continuance of sources of tension, and the continuance of imperialist, colonialist and racist policies. These are the obstacles preventing men from living together as human beings and striving together to achieve everything that befits their higher nature.

52. Peru has reaffirmed its unshakeable commitment to the enlightened objectives of non-alignment. In this context I shall now turn to those matters which, as Foreign Minister of my country, I wish to put before this session of the Assembly.

53. The results of the seventh special session take their place within the context of the multidimensional long-term efforts to which the third world countries are deeply committed. The results of the special

session are not totally satisfactory to us. There still exists a wide gap between our just demands and the resolutions adopted in this hall some days ago. Therefore we must state that the third world will not abandon its just demands. The Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the sixth special session [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)], the principles and action programme agreed by the non-aligned countries at Algiers and Lima, and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] maintain for us their full validity and importance. Those documents are an integral part of the process which is questioning the very basis of the present unjust economic system, rejecting the paternalistic approach which seems to consider aid as a substitute for a just distribution of world wealth, and proposing as an alternative for the development of the third world, principles and measures aimed at radically altering international economic relations.

54. The thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, which we are now observing, takes place at a moment in which the vitality and creative richness of our Organization is being tested. Far removed from the solemn attitude that usually accompanies institutional decay, the opposing forces of today provide the vigour and energy necessary to face the challenges facing the United Nations in a world undergoing a far-reaching structural crisis.

55. The United Nations, which arose out of the Second World War, was obliged for many years to concern itself with security and with the ideological struggles of the great Powers; those were the circumstances in which the Organization was functioning. Those were the years of automatic majorities and the abuse of the veto. In those years the United Nations was nothing more than the most appropriate diplomatic instrument for gauging the desire for confrontation of those striving for global supremacy.

56. It was only in the middle of the 1950s, when new States were admitted, that the United Nations began to assume a responsibility consistent with future trends, and successfully dealt with the first serious anti-colonial crisis of Suez in 1956. From then on, and throughout the 1960s, the United Nations devoted itself with varying degrees of emphasis to the decolonization of Africa and Asia. This process was accelerated and complemented in the ever more systematic concern with the under-development of the newly independent peoples. Thus the United Nations began to detect the causes of under-development in the very situation of dependence in which the metropolitan Powers had maintained the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

57. The political decolonization sponsored and promoted by the United Nations is increasingly linked with the notion that a situation of dependence inhibits development.

58. Thus the United Nations is initiating a process of democratization in international economic relations, first through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and more recently through the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, on raw materials, development and co-operation, which set forth the overriding significance



of the concern of the United Nations with institutional problems, as it marks its thirtieth anniversary.

59. In this brief historical summary there is one constant theme: the gradual emergence of the developing world and the appearance of questions crucial to their internal and international interests, that is to say, the overriding and consistent pressure for the United Nations to confront, and not avoid, the problems facing the international community in the difficult relationship between countries which were until recently subjected, and the Powers which had exercised a dominating role which they still wish to perpetuate.

60. The prelude to and the apparent cause of the increase in tension between the developed world and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is the global economic crisis which has already produced a pattern of multiple isolation. As the economies of certain industrial Powers contract, they seem to become increasingly short-sighted, and the precarious political and economic order of developing countries has been weakened with the collusion of transnational corporations, through the reactionary activity of oligarchical minorities and the promotion of militarism, aimed at weakening progressive Governments. This new anti-historical offensive on the part of economic neo-colonialism and regressive forces only heralds the final liquidation of those very systems of dependence.

61. Thus we have seen, since the beginning of the year and since the last session of the General Assembly, the triumph of the peoples of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos. The year 1975 therefore constitutes an historic landmark on the road to the general liberation for which the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa are striving.

62. The last quarter of the century will witness the establishment of a process of economic and political liberation, a proliferation of victories in the anti-colonial struggle, which will embrace the full breadth of the Southern Hemisphere. Truly authentic régimes will be set up which are consonant with the real character of the peoples concerned, and which will lay aside those models which recent history has already proved inoperative in the modern world.

63. It is therefore particularly heartening for the Government and people of my country, wedded as they are to the common revolutionary process, to share the same vision of the international situation as that held by more than 80 non-aligned countries.

64. In another sphere, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe signed at Helsinki confirms in traditional terms the consolidation of the process of détente between the great Powers, providing the old European continent with the peace and tranquillity it has been denied for so long. It is significant that values such as non-intervention, guaranteed frontiers and free cultural exchange are reflected in this Agreement, which establishes the means for growing political understanding between East and West. Doubtless this will be followed by new steps in arms control and, it is to be hoped, will lead towards the as yet unattainable goal of general disarmament. However, the process of détente is progressing without embracing the third world. Our peoples are

absorbing the major impact of the economic crisis since the industrial Powers are transferring the inflationary spiral to us; and, while in the world centres the areas of peace and security are being consolidated, the tensions generated by the interests of the super-Powers are moving out into the less well-defined and more vulnerable zones in the developing countries.

65. We have witnessed the continuation of a critical situation in the Middle East, in which the agreement between Egypt and Israel is a new element. The key to a future prompt solution obviously resides in the criteria recognized by this Organization for years in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Those resolutions call for the total withdrawal of occupying forces from Arab territories to the 1967 borders and the legitimate recognition of the sovereign rights of the people of Palestine. These points are particularly urgent. Any mediation discounting these principles will only achieve precarious results. Therefore we will support any solution satisfying the interests of the parties directly concerned.

66. We view with concern the crisis in a non-aligned country—Cyprus, whose integrity and sovereignty must be preserved. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) are instruments which govern the negotiations carried out by both communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General. My Government hopes that these negotiations will be successful. In this connexion my country is highly appreciative of the confidence placed in the Peruvian Ambassador, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who has been appointed the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus.

67. In reiterating its full support to the struggle for freedom and against racism in Angola and all southern Africa, my Government warmly welcomes those peoples which have just achieved their independence in Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique and welcomes them to this Organization. We also express our satisfaction that Papua New Guinea and the Comoro Islands have achieved independence.

68. Peru deplores the resurgence of colonialist and racist practices in southern Africa. We have noted with concern that early independence for Angola may be thwarted and we expect concerted action in this Organization to facilitate self-determination of the Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples. We hope that the practice of *apartheid* in those Territories and in all of South Africa will soon be abolished.

69. My Government points out this resurgence of colonialism with real concern, for in our own continent situations threatening independence also persist. We thus support with deep conviction the anti-colonial and nationalist causes of the people of Latin America and reaffirm our unconditional backing of our sister nation of Panama with regard to the enclave existing in its territory, while condemning the vestiges of colonialism in many parts of the continent. This support is not, nor has it ever been, a mere additional expression of views. The reform of the international system itself proposed by my country three years ago includes a direct challenge to colonialist attitudes, as well as systematic support for the currents of liberation in our country. The most tangible and influential aspects of this anti-colonial policy have been and

continue to be the strengthening of sovereignty, the consolidation of practical machinery of control and the promotion of solidarity among our countries with regard to natural resources, which have traditionally been the object of colonial exploitation by transnational corporations and are now the source of Latin American hope for a new order once economic independence has been achieved. This is the perspective for the struggle and conviction that inspires our continent and it entails efforts for united action and will indicate new areas of co-operation among sister States.

70. Despite the existence of a positive evolution in trends towards liberation, only today are we able to understand that, beyond the inefficient and rational administration of social factors, there exists a greater and more serious historical constant of systematic exploitation: women. The concern and civil backwardness which this exploitation implies has led to a growing awareness and resulted in the World Conference of the International Women's Year held this year at Mexico City. The principles and plan of action adopted there to promote true equality of women and their integration in the process of development cannot be isolated from the general evolution of contemporary political currents.

71. On the contrary, those principles and goals, both politically and ethically, may generate trends towards liberation capable of breaking the standstill in the world situation. If the principles of equality and integration formally adopted by the women's Conference are truly implemented, mankind would be able to recover a new understanding of values which have been tenaciously repressed through violence and poverty. The quality of life that new generations will ask for will depend to a large extent upon the creativity, information and standards of behaviour which doubtless involve liberated women, either individually or as a future factor of history.

72. After the appearance of anti-hegemonic policies in various régimes of South-East Asia, and shortly after the victory of liberation movements in Indo-China, vast oceanic areas have become involved in movements and competition of a military nature. The reorganization of military bases as a consequence of changes in the strategic interests of the super-Powers, undermines the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] and also threatens the imminent creation of a zone of peace and co-operation in the South Pacific, as was agreed at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held in the capital of my country from 25 to 30 August 1975.

73. The establishment of zones of peace has been until now the only option left to the third world in seeking to protect itself from the soaring nuclear escalation and the consequent military imbalance which continues to prevail without any possible or feasible means of control.

74. Last May there was an opportunity to evaluate the first five years of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex]. This was a treaty which, since its opening for signature, had been hailed as an undeniable symbol of the march of mankind toward that other great United Nations cause: disarmament.

75. However, the collective renunciation of nuclear weapons made by the developing countries, and the simultaneous guarantee of a maintenance of a monopoly of atomic weapons on the part of the great Powers, was based on a clear and expressed countercommitment, that is to say the implementation of a process of general disarmament which would guarantee security for all. The facts are not encouraging. Not only has there not been a single effective step toward general disarmament, and even less toward nuclear disarmament, but rather the growth of arsenals and the increasing sophistication of instruments of mass destruction have been accompanied—with close co-ordination between the super-Powers—by an audacious disarmament rhetoric which attempts to convince world opinion that control measures reached thus far have been substantive and not simply psychological.

76. They would have us believe that measures as vague as the prohibition of biological and meteorological weapons, as well as the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and outer space, compensate for the continuation of nuclear weapons testing and the undeniable vertical proliferation of nuclear armaments. In the face of this fact, the moral obligation of non-nuclear countries deriving from the non-proliferation Treaty is seriously at stake.

77. It is in view of the sinister disarmament situation described above that developing countries are seeking a way to break the staminate of the nuclear *status quo*.

78. Peru's presence in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is a recent event, and it demonstrates our deep and genuine desire to divert the resources devoted to the tools of war to the pressing requirements required to develop peoples; at the same time we must not forsake a complex evaluation of this question. We must seek new opportunities to obtain the implementation of the principles of general and complete disarmament, long ago expressed in this body. We therefore hope that it will be possible to convene a world disarmament conference soon and with universal participation, and that it will be able to work effectively, transforming the present loosely-knit semi-rhetorical exercise into a political negotiation, capable of committing all parties to a cause in which there can be no losers. In order to reach that desired goal of true negotiation, my Government, together with the non-aligned countries, would look favourably upon the early convening of a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament.

79. This request of ours stems from the realistic conviction that the struggle against the arms race in Latin America does exist. Implementing an initiative of the Government of Peru on the limitation of the acquisition of weapons among States members of the Andean Group is a reality. It has left the stage of pure concepts and principles and is now moving towards a more difficult but more fruitful stage, in which problems and implementation are being spelt out. With the meetings already held in Lima and in Santiago and those scheduled for the future, it will be possible to move away from the momentary influence of an artificial climate of warmongering and tension, in which these interests combine with profit-

seeking transnational corporations connected with the media and the weapons industry.

80. Just as the results of the recent special session on development must lead to the establishment of a new and more just international economic order so will the disarmament meeting which we advocate contribute to the democratization of international political relations. Both trends would converge in the achievement of collective security at the world level, solidly based upon an equitable economic redistribution and mutual political tolerance, as required by the next phase of international construction.

81. It is clear that, just as security is the essence of the concern of developed Powers and the key to their deepest political process, in the third world the priority goal of Governments is solidarity and reciprocal co-operation in order to guarantee economic independence. Importance has naturally been attached to the Helsinki Conference as it responds to the central interest of the developed world while, at the same time, the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima, is a clear demonstration of the historic trend towards unity and a common economic strategy shared by countries of the third world. These two Conferences, these two trends, would seem to diverge because the areas in which they coincide are still minimal and therefore the possibility for *rapprochement* between these two areas, which still define their own interests with their backs to one another, is also minimal.

82. Until the circumstances or the institutions can be directed to seek, preferably, areas of convergence, these two trends may evolve, dangerously, in opposite directions. Future negotiations, therefore, must be focused upon the most pressing problems with regard to unity and the global perspective, that is to say, they must encompass development as well as disarmament, because world security and historical evolution of mankind is involved in both dimensions.

83. Therefore, drawing from the spirit of the Helsinki and Lima Conferences we must strive to solve problems relating to security and to development so that they may be dealt with in two great world conferences, one on disarmament and one, which we propose, and we invite the Assembly to consider, would be devoted to the just restructuring of the economic and social order of relations among States.

84. We firmly believe that we shall thus be taking fundamental steps to establish a new world coexistence on the basis of the link between three great problems affecting mankind: peace, security and development. The relationship between security and development is most obvious, since the greater expenditure on weapons, in the name of apparent security, the more the world becomes insecure. Fewer resources are devoted to the development of mankind and the satisfaction of the needs of peoples, and thus situations of poverty, oppression and injustice, generating insecurity for all, are maintained and even aggravated.

85. The progress made at the last session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, at Geneva earlier this year, has led to increased recognition of the sovereign rights of coastal States within zones of national jurisdiction not exceeding 200 miles with the exception of continental shelves

extending beyond that distance, and without prejudice to the interests of all States in international communications. At the same time, the foundations have been laid for the establishment of an international authority charged with the administration of the area of the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, as the common heritage of mankind.

86. My country, together with others of the region, has sustained in a firm and worthy manner for over a quarter of a century the thesis that the defence of sovereignty and jurisdiction over the sea, its soil and subsoil up to 200 miles is a substantive element of the new legal order and the recognition of a cause which is inexorably linked to the security, welfare and development of peoples.

87. Nevertheless, we can see on the part of some Powers an effort to weaken the nature of national jurisdiction and the areas over which it would extend and at the same time to favour the unrestricted exploitation of the international area, in order to allow those selfsame Powers to maintain their economic, political and military hegemony.

88. However, due to the action of the third world countries, a new international law of the sea is being formulated which will regulate the use and exploitation of the seas and contribute to the promotion of development and security of peoples as inseparable requirements and conditions for justice and peace among nations.

89. It is not untimely now to point out how deeply our people shares this Organization's mission of peace. Peru has until very recently contributed troops to the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, and has always lent its support to all United Nations efforts. May I take this occasion to pay a heartfelt tribute to those soldiers from my country who unselfishly spilled their blood upon the hot sands of the Sinai desert in the cause of maintaining peace in that region. My country today confirms its boundless commitment to the principles of the Charter, adopted at San Francisco, which are still at the heart of this already mature institution. In this perspective, it is fitting to consider the reforms of the organs of the United Nations which are appropriate to this new phase, including voting reforms, in order to ensure an effective democratization of political decision-making at the international level, particularly in the Security Council and with regard to the anachronistic institution of the veto.

90. What we seek—and to this the vast majority of countries which comprise the non-aligned movement are devoted—is that the discussions which are central to mankind, in order to define the parameters of its immediate future, should genuinely take place in this body; that a scheme for total disarmament be negotiated at last; that practical stages and areas of agreement will be reached so that the integrated development of the third world can complement and vitalize the new international economic order; that the establishment of standards of behaviour for transnational corporations be speeded up; and that problems which impede the final liberation of women and the related problems of the future quality of life should be moved from the desks of academia and brought here before the United Nations.



91. Within this context, the agreements reached at the meetings of the ministers of the non-aligned countries acquire special significance because they are designed to ensure that the legitimate aspirations and postulates of the third world reach world public opinion without being distorted. It is therefore imperative to reorganize the present mass media channels, which are the heritage of an antiquated colonial system, so that they will not be an obstacle to the free and truthful flow of information among the developing countries, and thus ensure that understanding and co-operation among the peoples of the world will not suffer.

92. The concerns which I have summarized on the international situation indicate, as I am sure is apparent, a certain optimism which would seem difficult to reconcile with the overburdened agenda of this session.

93. Our vision is optimistic because it is born of the intimate experience of a vast complex of problems at the national level. The Revolutionary Government of Peru is preparing to deepen and consolidate, in this great second phase, under the guidance of its President, General Francisco Morales Bermúdez, the initial achievements of the early years of the Peruvian revolution.

94. Peru is a country in which Government and people are united in an endless struggle against the structural situation of under-development. It is a country in revolution which has raised the banners of social justice and independent, self-sustained development. Our revolution, with the renewed urgency of its ideological postulates, is inscribed within a Latin American, third world and non-aligned context, which defines the meaning and direction of our foreign policy.

95. I would reiterate what I confirmed two weeks ago in this very Hall: the Peruvian revolution of today is the same as that which began to make history in my country on 3 October 1968. It is the same because it holds the same titles to revolutionary legitimacy: a yearning for liberty and justice and for the structural changes which will bring about a new Peruvian society predicated on the principle of social democracy based on full participation, the bases of which are a political system of participation for the Peruvian people, a pluralistic economic system with a priority sector of social property; and a social system founded on moral conduct and values which underscore justice, liberty, solidarity, creativity and respect for the dignity of the human being.

96. Just as the change in Peru's internal structure has been deep-rooted in order that its people may share in the process and benefits of change, the future international order must be structured in such a way that the interests of the third world can be promoted through its effective presence and participation in the decisions and implementation measures which will make it endure.

97. Mr. CISSOKHO (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, in electing you to the presidency of this thirtieth session, our Assembly wished to pay a tribute to your eminent statesmanlike qualities and, above all, to your country's constant support of the United Nations. Mali, which enjoys relations of friendship

and co-operation with Luxembourg on the bilateral level as well as through the European Economic Community, can only rejoice at this choice. My delegation therefore extends to you its most heartfelt congratulations on this token of trust in you which has been manifested by the Assembly, and we wish to assure you of our frank and loyal co-operation. These congratulations go also to the Vice-Presidents and the other officers.

98. May I be allowed to take this happy occasion to congratulate once again my brother and friend, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, and President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, as well as of the seventh special session. Thanks to his integrity and personal efforts, a new dynamic spirit characterized the work of the General Assembly.

99. Among other important decisions to the credit of the twenty-ninth session were the suspension of the rebel State of South Africa and the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to a homeland. Those are revealing signs of the changes that have been emerging within our Organization recently. Indeed, those decisions are unique in the annals of the United Nations, which has always been subjugated by private interests contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Charter.

100. As to the just-concluded seventh special session, although it did not reach all its objectives, the results it did achieve are far from being negative; and in spite of the differences which exist among the parties and despite the tendentious comments, the session was, in our view, a success, in that it allowed us to renew the dialogue between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres—a dialogue which had been interrupted during the sixth special session.

101. My delegation welcomes the presence among us of the worthy representatives of the brotherly peoples of Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands and of Sao Tome and Principe, which have achieved their independence after bitter struggle. We pay a pious tribute to the memory of all those who have fallen while fighting for the triumph of the sacred cause of freedom in those countries. This tribute is also paid to the valiant Portuguese people, who in April 1974 joined hands with the oppressed people of Africa in fighting the Fascist and colonialist régime in Lisbon, thus opening up wide breaches on both flanks of the bastion of white power in southern Africa. My delegation has no doubt that these new States will make a valuable contribution to our work.

102. My delegation also addresses warm congratulations to the people of Papua New Guinea, which acceded to independence on the very day of the opening of this session.

103. Now the authentic representatives of the Khmer people have returned to us, and once more occupy the seats that are theirs, which for five years were occupied by puppets and traitors to the Cambodian nation in the service of international imperialism. The debacle of the forces of aggression in Indo-China last March and April once again showed that the people are indomitable and that no material force in the world, however strong, can overcome their determination to live free and independent.

104. Today, the cliques of Thieu, Ky, Lon Nol and others, who have in so cowardly a fashion fled their countries, live in golden exile in Taiwan or somewhere on the American continent. Where now are the voices that were raised at the twenty-ninth session to contest the representative nature of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and the Front of National Union of Kampuchea? In delaying for four months the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations they deliberately prolonged the sufferings of the Khmer people and lengthened the list of victims of the murderous war imposed by the supporters of reaction.

105. In fact, from December 1974 until March 1975, more than 200,000 persons were killed or wounded in the fighting between the patriots and the usurpers. That was the heavy price exacted from the Khmer people by the prevarications and the weakness of our Assembly in settling the Cambodian crisis. My delegation hopes that our Organization will always remember that, and bear it very much in mind in its future discussions on whatever problems of peace and international security it may have to deal with. Mali, which from the very beginning took the side of the Cambodian revolution, considers the victory of the heroic Khmer people as that of all the progressive forces throughout the world. My delegation therefore salutes the true representatives of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia present here and assures them of its fraternal and militant co-operation.

106. My delegation also wishes to express its satisfaction to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, for his ceaseless and untiring efforts both in New York and throughout the world in reinforcing the role of the United Nations in respect of the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

107. This year we celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations. Rather than drawing up a balance-sheet, my delegation would like to review its actions during its first 30 years of existence.

108. Although created, as the Charter proclaims, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and to promote social progress and better standards of life, it is none the less true that at the outset the United Nations was concerned only with the problems of the coexistence of the two blocs which emerged in Europe at the end of the Second World War. Allied to combat the Axis forces which threatened the very existence of both blocs, they were nevertheless bitterly opposed at the ideological level. Their only common ground in creating the United Nations was the fear of a renewal of Hitler's fascism. The safeguarding of international security was at that time envisaged for Europe alone. The concept of peace was obviously less universal in character than it is today.

109. That is why the United Nations remained indifferent to the colonial and imperialist wars that ravaged the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The socialist countries were the only ones to give their diplomatic and material support.

110. That was also why in 1950 the United Nations became involved in Korea, in violation of the principles of the Charter, in what the doctrinaires of the

cold war called the "digging-in of communism in South East Asia".

111. That was why the tragic problem of *apartheid*, which was denounced in the United Nations in 1947 by India and other Member States, continued to rage in southern Africa, with the active support and complicity of the Western bloc, which dominated the Organization through the large number of its Members. All decisions were oriented towards the interests of that camp, and the third world occupied only a very marginal place. At the same time the cold war was continuing between the two blocs, and each tried to spread its sphere of influence or its hegemony throughout the world. Thus the arms race heated up in the two camps.

112. The appearance on the international scene of the nations of the third world, freed from colonial domination, was a determining factor in the development of the United Nations. The Organization, which consisted originally of 51 States, now has more than 140 Member States representing 95 per cent of the total population of the world.

113. Refusing to submit to the manoeuvres of the two blocs that were sharing the world, the new States organized themselves, on the basis of their common destiny, into independent political forces. Thus the movement of the non-aligned countries, the Organization of African Unity and the Group of 77 came into being. Their participation in international life was to make a radical change in the balance of power within our Organization. Since then the goals of the Charter have taken on real meaning for Member States. Peace is no longer the privilege of Europe alone, which at the beginning was the centre of interest for the concerns of the majority of founding Members. But unhappily this development has been halted, if not destroyed, by the reluctance and lack of goodwill on the part of those same Powers which enjoy excessive rights in our Organization.

114. By an irony of fate has not the United States just used, on some pretext of universality, its right of veto in the Security Council to block the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations?

115. Whether it is a question of problems of peace, decolonization, economic development or human rights, our decisions continue to come up against the contempt and obstinacy of those Powers wishing to safeguard their privileges of yore which have nothing in common with the lofty ideals of the Charter.

116. The United Nations, its action blocked through the inertia of those Powers, sits passively by, watching flagrant violations of peace in the African, Asian and Latin American continents, and the steady worsening of the international situation. The destabilization policy embraced by some of those Powers continues to create insecurity in several regions of the world.

117. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to which we subscribe fully, cannot make us forget the odious policy of *apartheid*, which still poisons South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, while in Asia Korea remains divided with our complicity; Tel-Aviv persists in defying us in the Middle East despite all the relevant

resolutions of our Organization on the tragic Arab-Israeli crisis; and the transnational companies continue constantly to undermine nationalist and progressive Governments.

118. Furthermore, in spite of the international disarmament agreements that have been concluded the arms race continues both horizontally and vertically. Every year \$300,000 million are thrown away on arms, to the detriment of the economic, social and cultural development of mankind.

119. Clearly, the détente that is emerging in Europe cannot reassure us about the future of mankind. Peace is all-inclusive; it cannot apply merely to a certain region, still less to one group of States. It is global or it is nothing.

120. Thus the détente in Europe, although essential to international security, is only one of its constituent elements. It must take its place as such within the framework of our general offensive in favour of universal peace. We must, of course, make every effort to bring it about and consolidate it. Political détente is uncertain as long as it is not accompanied by military détente.

121. The continued strengthening of the awesome arsenals of the major nuclear Powers and the proliferation of bases of death throughout the world are not likely to create between States the climate of confidence that is indispensable for the establishment of a true dialogue on the general, complete and controlled disarmament for which we hope.

122. That is why the international agreements concluded thus far on this question do not bear on the substance of the problem but rather on its secondary aspects, thus permitting the vertical proliferation of this deadly weapon.

123. The freeze of the negotiations on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Central Europe is also the result of the insecurity prevailing in the world.

124. The severe crises which persist in the Mediterranean region and in Asia—more precisely in Cyprus, the Middle East and Korea—are the detonators which could at any moment precipitate the holocaust which threatens mankind.

125. We are thus perfectly aware of the grave danger to the world caused by these abscesses on the flanks of Europe and Asia.

126. In regard to Cyprus, the Secretary-General must continue to offer his good offices to the parties, for the United Nations constitutes the most appropriate framework for the intercommunal talks which can only be successful if they are free from outside interference.

127. The sovereignty of the State, the territorial integrity of the island and the policy of non-alignment of its Government must at all costs be safeguarded.

128. It is under these conditions, and only under these conditions, that the people of Cyprus will achieve the peace it needs.

129. Regarding the Middle East crisis, its settlement is dependent upon the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the restoration to the Palestinian people of its homeland, which has been usurped by international zionism.

130. After having recognized in 1974 the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, our Assembly must in the course of this session take the decisive step of implementing that decision. That is the only possible reply to the challenge which the Government of Tel Aviv has continued to present to the international community for 27 years.

131. A return to peace in that region requires a global solution.

132. The state of "neither war nor peace" which has prevailed in the Middle East since the October 1975 war carries within itself the seeds of a conflagration which could one day engulf the region.

133. The year 1975 has certainly been a most eventful year. Its first half was marked particularly by the debacle of the aggressive forces in Indo-China.

134. The longest and most murderous war of our time thus ended with the victory of the heroic Indo-Chinese peoples, who defended inch by inch the sacred soil of their homeland. The myth of material superiority has crumbled. The whole world has hailed the victory of the Vietnamese peoples as its own victory.

135. Having now regained their liberty and independence, the latter are getting ready for the task of national reconstruction and the peaceful reunification of their homeland. The last wishes of the Father of the Nation, the great Ho Chi Minh, to whose memory my delegation pays a solemn tribute, have thus been realized.

136. The United States of America, which has not yet recovered from its defeat in Indo-China, has thought of nothing better than to use its veto in the Security Council to block the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam to the United Nations, to the surprise of all.

137. The international climate today does not lend itself to "package deals", that impudent bargaining, a relic of the cold war, which it offers us.

138. Moreover, the Seoul administration, which is maintaining itself by repressing democratic and popular forces, is not a Government representative of the southern part of Korea. It cannot therefore aspire to the same treatment as that accorded to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam, which are independent and sovereign States according to international law.

139. Korea remains for the United Nations a country divided against the will of its people. All the resolutions which it has adopted on the question guarantee the unified character of the State and preserve its territorial integrity.

140. Thus a United Nations Commission for the Reconstruction and Peaceful Reunification of Korea was established by one of the first decisions of our Organization on the crisis.

141. Thus for our Organization to recognize that the Seoul administration meets the criteria for becoming a Member of the Organization, without the prior agreement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, would be to violate its own resolutions.

142. There remains, in any case, a jurisprudence which is authoritative in the field and which has been applied recently.

143. The fate of the puppet cliques of Seoul could not possibly be linked to that of the legal Governments of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam.

144. As a guarantor of the territorial integrity of Korea, our Organization could not in conscience decide on its partition without denying itself, because that is in fact what is asked of it.

145. The so-called universality invoked by the United States to justify its bargaining has not deceived anyone.

146. Recognition of the Seoul administration as having the character of a Member of our Organization will certainly not resolve the Korean crisis, as some would have us believe. The solution is essentially to be found in the withdrawal of the United Nations from that country and the transformation of the armistice into a true peace agreement. That is exactly what is proposed in the draft resolution which was submitted for the Assembly's consideration by a certain number of countries, including my own [*see A/10191 and Add.1-3*].

147. I should not like to close this part of my statement on the problems of peace and war without evoking the problem of colonialism, which constitutes one of the main factors of insecurity in Africa. This anachronistic phenomenon, after having suffered a certain setback in the 1960s, seemed to have become stabilized at the beginning of this decade.

148. But with the overthrow of the Fascist and colonialist régime of Lisbon in April 1974, decolonization has taken a certain turn in Africa.

149. Indeed, of four Territories under Portuguese domination, three have acceded to the status of sovereign State and are today full Members of our Organization. As to the fourth, Angola, the proclamation of whose independence has been set for 11 November, the situation is more and more alarming.

150. The subtle play of foreign interference, which my Government deplores and condemns, has led to the radicalization of positions within the country and to the deterioration of the internal situation. In order to stop the continuing civil war, my delegation urgently appeals to the national liberation movements of Angola to transcend their differences and establish unity of action before the date fixed for the accession to independence of the country. Furthermore, it calls upon all States Members of our Organization to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of this country and to respect its territorial integrity. There is no doubt that the Angolan people, which has paid dearly for its independence and liberty, during 14 years of struggle against the colonialist régimes of Salazar and Caetano, will be able to reconcile its differences and achieve unity in order to assume its responsibilities, on 11 November 1975.

151. The independent State of the Comoros has been a member of the Organization of African Unity since the twelfth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government held at Kampala last July. Our Organization must take this fully into account

and guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of that country.

152. Despite some reasons for satisfaction in the field of decolonization, the African continent remains under occupation, in particular in the southern part by segregationist and colonialist régimes.

153. In Azania and in Southern Rhodesia, the white minorities stubbornly pursue their policy of separate development, while in Namibia, a Territory under United Nations trusteeship, the racist régime of Pretoria organizes a masquerade of consultations in order to institutionalize the policy of *apartheid* and accelerate the process of annexation of the country to the segregationist State of South Africa.

154. The United Nations must put an end to this situation and accept its responsibilities, in the face of these rebel régimes which openly flout the principles of the Charter.

155. The delegation of Mali for its part reaffirms its unreserved support for the national liberation movements struggling throughout the world for the independence of their countries.

156. The insecurity which characterizes the international situation is unfortunately also a feature of world economic policy. In fact, because of the injustice of the principles that govern economic relations among States, the world tends more and more to be divided in two—the world of the poor and that of the wealthy. However, the latest energy and raw materials crisis revealed in good time the interdependence of States.

157. No country, be it rich or poor, has escaped inflation or the consequent recession. The established order seems to be cracking under the pressure of the injustices and contradictions that characterize it.

158. A special session was convened to save the world from the chaos which threatens it. That session concluded that it was necessary to establish a new international economic order which would be based on the equitable distribution of the world's income. I am speaking about the sixth special session which was convened here in 1974 on the initiative of the non-aligned countries.

159. The Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted during that rescue session have been rejected by the industrialized market-economy countries which are trying to preserve the privileges they inherited from the old order.

160. The seventh special session gave us an opportunity to explain our points of view on the problems of development and co-operation. My delegation voluntarily is quite willing not to reopen the debate on those questions as they have already been thoroughly examined.

161. I shall simply limit myself then to mentioning here that after long and laborious negotiations, the seventh special session made possible the resumption of the dialogue between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres on the establishment of a new international economic order.

162. The United Nations of 1975 with its tendency towards universality is not the United Nations of the 1950s. Today it cannot be content with arrangements that safeguard the interests of some of the Member

States to the detriment of the great majority of the international community.

163. Confrontation has only narrowly been avoided. The thirtieth session gives us an opportunity to continue the dialogue and to envisage broader international negotiations which should allow us to lay the foundations of a new international economic order. We must be able to overcome our limitations in order to control and direct events and to assume full responsibility for the evolution of our society.

164. Thirty years for a man, just as for an organization like ours, is the threshold of maturity. At that age the errors of adolescence can no longer be permitted. That is what we proved at the seventh special session. Our Organization will have to approach a new phase of its existence with the same spirit of joint responsibility if we really wish to meet the challenges the world is facing at this decisive phase of its evolution. That is, at any rate, the price of our salvation. It is up to the Assembly to speak.

165. Mr. BANDA (Zambia): Mr. President, speaking on the first day of the general debate, my delegation is privileged to be among the very first to congratulate you warmly on your election. I pledge to you, Sir, the full co-operation of my delegation as you conduct the deliberations of this august Assembly to what we hope will be a fruitful conclusion.

166. I take this opportunity to reiterate the admiration of my delegation for the manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, served our Organization at the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

167. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts, together with those of his staff, in the quest for world peace.

168. It is with the greatest pleasure that I extend greetings and welcome, on behalf of my delegation, to the representatives of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. The independence of these countries, after a long and valiant struggle, is a landmark in the process of decolonization. Their admission to the United Nations, which demonstrates commitment to the Charter of the United Nations, should inspire us all to render greater support to those of our fellow men subjugated by racist and minority régimes.

169. This session of the General Assembly is following hard upon the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima in August. That Conference was devoted to a comprehensive and candid assessment of the international situation, in both its political and economic aspects. Important and specific areas of action in the search for a new world order were identified. The Lima Conference was, therefore, a further contribution by the non-aligned countries to the cause which they have always championed, that of justice, security, peace, and economic and social development for all.

170. My delegation is confident that our work at this session will be greatly facilitated by the positive and important decisions adopted by the non-aligned countries at Lima. This is indeed as it should be, not only

because the non-aligned movement represents the vast majority of countries and peoples but, equally importantly, because it stands for the very principles, ideals and purposes of this Organization. The non-aligned movement is therefore the greatest defender of this vital international Organization.

171. The seventh special session, on development and international economic co-operation, was concluded only a few days ago. That session was devoted to the consideration of a crucial and urgent issue in contemporary international life. Like the sixth special session, it was convened at the initiative of the non-aligned countries, and attests to the persistent search, on the part of those countries, for imaginative ways and means of resolving international problems through co-operation and consultation.

172. At the Lima Conference, my delegation expressed its view that the seventh special session would realistically be expected to constitute an important step in a lengthy and painstaking endeavour to establish a new international economic order.

173. In this respect, the significant results of the Lima Conference represent one important facet of that common endeavour to achieve an equitable distribution of the world's resources and amenities. The Conference was marked by a serious effort to strengthen genuine solidarity and collective self-reliance among developing countries, as a pre-condition to the elimination of their individual vulnerability. The other facet of that common endeavour has rightly been the major preoccupation of recent international conferences. The intent and purpose of such conferences and special sessions is to eliminate the prevailing relationship of excessive imbalance, dependence and inequality in the international economic system, on the basis of a new and neutral set of rules to govern international conduct.

174. Following the conclusion of the seventh special session, we have all been engaged in an effort to examine in earnest the outcome of the intensive negotiations conducted over a period of 15 days. On the basis of a preliminary assessment, it could be asserted that those negotiations were satisfactory. In particular, the spirit which permeated those negotiations, a spirit of constructive, positive and candid dialogue could, if maintained and sharpened, strengthen the moral authority of the United Nations in the fulfilment of its noble tasks.

175. We are able to discern in this most recent phase of international negotiations strong signs on the part of some of our privileged partners of a long overdue perception of the world as a unit; a world in which opulence and power monopoly, on the one hand, could not securely coexist with poverty and exploitation on the other; a world the nature of whose problems demand a global and integrated response involving all States, on the basis of equality and with full respect for sovereignty.

176. Any such positive indication of a change of heart is a welcome gesture of goodwill. It heralds the beginning of a new era of serious negotiations on the basis of genuine partnership. It now remains to be translated into concrete actions in all the fields concerned.

177. My delegation welcomes the emphasis being placed on special measures relating to the particular



needs of the most seriously affected among developing countries as well as of those which, like my own country, Zambia, are seriously handicapped by their geographical and geo-political location. In the case of the latter, as a follow-up to the decision of this Assembly at its seventh special session, my delegation would urge that this session accord due consideration to the relevant report of the Secretary-General on the establishment of a special fund for subsidizing the additional transport costs of the land-locked developing countries.

178. My delegation is hopeful that the spirit of the seventh special session will obtain equally in the continuing and projected negotiations on other issues of global concern, in appropriate international forums. In this regard we are mindful, *inter alia*, of current negotiations within the framework of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. In particular, my delegation recognizes the urgent need to reconcile the diverse legitimate interests of the land-locked and the coastal States. We hold the view that the critical issue relating to access to the sea as well as the question of ensuring the equitable distribution of the benefits accruing from both the exploitation of the resources of the sea and the sea-bed, and from other uses of mankind's common heritage, should command priority attention.

179. Allow me to make a brief comment on the subject of International Women's Year, to whose objectives we are fully committed. In a world in which millions live in dire poverty, suffering from the evils of underdevelopment, in which world peace is constantly threatened and millions still labour under the yoke of *apartheid* and foreign domination, we need to utilize all the human resources available. We cannot afford to exclude more than half of the world's population—women—from full and effective participation. In our efforts to create and foster a new equitable international economic order, social development and peace, we should involve equally every man and every woman. My delegation trusts that this session will map out a meaningful implementation of the World Plan of Action adopted at the Conference at Mexico City.

180. The international situation today is characterized by significantly positive and negative trends. Our Organization can feel relieved and gratified that the long and costly war in Indo-China has ended; that Portuguese colonialism in Africa is almost a thing of the past, thanks to the valiant armed struggle waged by the liberation movements; and that serious efforts are being undertaken to resolve the problems of the Middle East and Cyprus. Moreover, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has at last been held. All these are positive developments which should contribute to the strengthening of international security. But, clearly, a lot remains to be done.

181. The international community has a duty to assist the people of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam in their arduous task of national reconstruction. The Korean questions must be resolved. The process of decolonization in southern Africa must be completed. Just and permanent solutions must be found to the problems of the Middle East and Cyprus. The arms race must stop.

182. My delegation takes this opportunity to declare its warm admiration for the peoples of Viet Nam,

Cambodia and Laos and to congratulate them heartily upon their victories. We welcome the presence in our midst of the representatives of the lawful Government of Cambodia. In this regard, it is a matter of regret to us in Zambia that the United States saw fit to veto the applications of North Viet Nam and South Viet Nam for admission into the United Nations. This was clearly a vindictive act. It is all the more deplorable since, regardless of the immense suffering imposed on them for decades, North and South Viet Nam do not feel any bitterness towards the United States and have, in an admirable and exemplary manner, expressed themselves in favour of reconciliation. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the United States will, during the reconsideration of the two applications by the Security Council, seize the opportunity also to demonstrate a spirit of reconciliation. As demonstrated beyond doubt last Friday, the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations is in favour of the immediate admission of North and South Viet Nam into the United Nations.

183. This brings me to the question of Korea, a divided country. The Korean people are committed to the reunification of their country. As evidenced by the North-South joint communiqué of 4 July 1972,<sup>2</sup> they would prefer this much cherished and noble objective to be realized through peaceful means. Thousands of foreign troops are stationed in South Korea under United Nations cover. The United Nations cannot, in good conscience, stand aloof. It is, therefore, incumbent upon our Organization to facilitate the process for the peaceful reunification of Korea. This means we must act to put an end to the abuse of the United Nations flag by the foreign troops in South Korea and we must demand their immediate withdrawal. The reality of the situation is that the presence of foreign troops in South Korea is not conducive to the efforts for a peaceful reunification of Korea and is contrary to the spirit of the North-South joint communiqué of 4 July 1972.

184. I referred earlier to the regrettable decision of the United States to veto in the Security Council the application of North and South Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations. This was done on the pretext that the Security Council had applied double standards by refusing to consider a similar application by South Korea. My delegation can only interpret any attempt to seek the admission of South Korea to the United Nations as intended to perpetuate the division of Korea. North and South Viet Nam freely agreed between themselves to apply separately for United Nations membership. Yet, in the case of Korea, it is a well-known fact that North Korea is, for well-founded reasons, opposed to the separate, albeit simultaneous, admission of the two parts of Korea to the United Nations. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is tirelessly striving for the peaceful reunification of Korea, would rather see Korea join the United Nations as one united country.

185. The question of the Middle East has for many years been on the agenda of successive sessions of the General Assembly. It has also engaged the attention of the Security Council perhaps more than any other issue. In an attempt to resolve the problem, both the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted numerous resolutions. Yet, not only does the

problem persist, but today it constitutes one of the greatest threats to international peace and security.

186. It is quite obvious to my delegation that the problem of the Middle East will persist for as long as the basic question of the rights of the Palestinian people is not resolved. Moreover, Israel must withdraw from the occupied Arab territories. My delegation welcomes the recently concluded interim Sinai agreement between Egypt and Israel as a positive step to this end. In this respect, my delegation wishes to express its admiration and support for the tireless efforts made by Egypt in the search for a just solution to the problems of the Middle East.

187. We in Zambia continue to follow the developments regarding the problem of Cyprus. We have great sympathy for the people of Cyprus, who for many years have lived under a persistent threat to the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned policy of their country. It is obvious that there are important issues that will have to be resolved in order that the two communities in Cyprus may live in harmony with each other and work together for their national prosperity. In this regard, I cannot over-emphasize the importance we attach to the inter-communal talks taking place under United Nations auspices between Greek and Turkish Cypriot representatives. It is such a dialogue between the two communities which could settle whatever grievances one side may have against the other. My delegation, therefore, is opposed to any form of external pressure or interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus. Such interference, whether on ethnic pretexts or on so-called strategic considerations, in our view tends only to compound the problems of Cyprus and to perpetuate the misery of its people.

188. In the area of arms control and disarmament we do not have any cause for relief. On the contrary, we have every reason to feel distressed and gravely concerned, for the arms race not only persists but appears to be intensifying in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The nuclear arms race, with its inherent dreadful consequences, is particularly disquieting. The nuclear-weapon Powers appear decidedly to have turned a deaf ear to international public opinion, which is overwhelmingly against their trade.

189. We live in a world afflicted by hunger, ignorance and disease. The just concluded seventh special session of the General Assembly was an earnest endeavour to hasten the process of the social and economic development of the entire human race. It is now our common obligation to display political will and resolutely to commit ourselves to this end. The halting of the senseless arms race and the release of funds saved from disarmament for economic and social development, particularly that of the developing countries, would indeed be a significant contribution to this noble and worth-while cause.

190. It is equally regrettable that hardly any progress has been made towards the convening of a world disarmament conference. We in Zambia remain firmly convinced that a world disarmament conference should be convened as soon as possible. Indeed, as agreed by the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries at their recent conference in Lima, it will be desirable to convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament if a world disarmament

conference cannot be convened in the foreseeable future.

191. One of the problems of great concern to the United Nations today is the continued great-Power rivalry in the Indian Ocean. Despite the constant demands by this body for the full and immediate implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, the great Powers have continued to refuse with impunity to co-operate in this regard, particularly with the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean.

192. The rivalry has increased further, culminating in an even greater threat to international peace and security. We would urge the great Powers concerned to respect the wishes and aspirations of the littoral and hinterland States and in this regard to comply with relevant United Nations resolutions.

193. We in Zambia feel that an early convening of a conference of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, at the highest level possible, would contribute significantly towards the realization of our demand for the Indian Ocean to be transformed into a zone of peace.

194. The need to appraise critically both the functions and the structure of the United Nations has become more urgent. This should not be interpreted as detracting from the viability of our Organization, which has, over the years, proved itself quite capable of adapting itself to new situations and requirements. It is evident, however, that the present political, economic and social context in which our Organization operates has not only changed over the 30 years of its existence but has in fact changed radically.

195. It is therefore gratifying that Member States have recognized the urgent need for corresponding radical changes within our only universal instrument of peace, security and development. Accordingly, Zambia welcomed the recent convening of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. In the same spirit we welcomed the recent establishment by the General Assembly at its seventh special session of an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System.

196. The United Nations continues to serve as an indispensable forum for harmonizing diverse points of view, for conducting negotiations and for undertaking commitments. The number and variety of international discussions in recent and planned major conferences reflect the hopes and confidence which the world community continues to place in the United Nations. Such hopes and confidence in the Organization are also manifested in the desire of the newly independent States to accede to its membership.

197. The prerequisite for a revitalized United Nations lies in the overhaul of its power structure so as to make it conducive to the fulfilment of the purposes and objectives of our Organization. The force of the developing countries is now an indisputable reality, and is increasing rapidly. The contribution of those countries to the success of the Organization continues to be invaluable. Their hopes in the Organization are paramount. And yet their interests and preoccupa-

tions are denied complete fulfilment by an undemocratic and anachronistic structure.

198. The necessary structural changes within the United Nations are, of course, possible. However, the ultimate achievement of such changes will depend on the political commitment of Member States, for an organization is what its members wish it to be. For its part, Zambia would like to reiterate its continued commitment to the lofty ideals of the United Nations and to pledge its usual support in the implementation of our common decisions for the good of mankind.

199. I referred earlier to the admission of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe to this Organization. I expressed the great pleasure of my delegation that they have now joined this family of nations as a result of the successful struggle they waged to liberate themselves from foreign domination. Our Organization is closer today to realizing the proclaimed principle of universality. But the principle of universality of membership of our Organization will not be fully implemented until all the people living in countries still under foreign domination and oppression achieve their legitimate right to self-determination and complete independence. It is in this spirit that I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the situation in southern Africa. The *status quo* of racist and minority exploitation and oppression of the majority in this area, which in itself constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security, is not from any aspect in the interests of this Organization.

200. As Members of this Organization, we therefore have a joint and solemn responsibility to support the struggle in southern Africa for majority rule and independence. Numerous resolutions on the question of decolonization and independence under majority rule in southern Africa have been adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. They have gone unheeded not only by the racist minority régimes of southern Africa but also by a number of Members of our Organization. In particular, certain Western Powers are known to be persistently indulging in economic and military activities which have the effect of sustaining the racist minority régimes in our part of the world. Their economic and military collaboration with the racist minority régimes contradicts their publicly professed desire to see change in southern Africa in favour of the majority population.

201. Zambia is committed to the total liberation of Africa. In the context of southern Africa this means an end to the white minority and racist domination and the realization of majority rule. The means to this inevitable end will either be peaceful or through an armed struggle by the liberation movements. Both options are open and it is up to the racist minority régimes to choose either. Our position in this regard is clearly reaffirmed in the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa.<sup>3</sup>

202. The independence of Mozambique last June and that of Angola scheduled for this November have dramatically altered the situation in southern Africa. No sane person can any longer be in doubt as to the outcome of the armed struggle for the liberation of the rest of southern Africa. The racist minority régimes cannot now survive an onslaught by the liberation movements. But being the die-hards that

they are, they will stop at nothing in their desperate and futile attempt to resist majority rule. We are, therefore, at a cross-roads in the situation in southern Africa; the inevitable change comes either by peaceful means or through a heavy toll on human and material resources that an armed struggle entails.

203. In recent months, independent Africa in cooperation with the African National Council of Zimbabwe, has made serious efforts to bring about majority rule in Zimbabwe by peaceful means. These efforts are, in both letter and spirit, in accordance with the Dar es Salaam Declaration of the Organization of African Unity. We are seeking black majority rule, whose time is long overdue. It cannot be postponed indefinitely. We shall, therefore, not permit the Smith régime to buy time in these efforts and thereby abuse the patience and goodwill of the nationalists of Zimbabwe to negotiate a peaceful transfer of power. The racist minority régime has frustrated the efforts for peaceful change. It must therefore bear the consequences.

204. I wish to make it perfectly clear that, should armed struggle become inevitable in Zimbabwe as a result of the intransigence of the racist minority régime, my country, Zambia, as in the past, will not be found wanting. We shall continue to render our full support to the liberation movement in its just struggle for independence. We have demonstrated this in the past and we shall not hesitate to do so again. Our commitment to the fundamental principles of liberty and justice, as enshrined in the Charter of our Organization, makes this imperative.

205. In this regard, I wish to express the hope of my delegation that the African leaders of Zimbabwe will resolve their differences in the interest of unity. To allow division in the ranks of the nationalist movement is to play into the hands of the enemy. Nothing could please the Smith régime better. Unity is imperative, whether it is for the purpose of conducting peaceful negotiations or for waging an armed struggle.

206. Southern Rhodesia will now be a test case as to whether majority rule in the rest of the countries of southern Africa which are not yet independent will be realized through peaceful means or on the battlefield. Time and again one hears of the Western countries' abhorrence of violence as a means for effecting change. Yet the reality of the situation in southern Africa is that the racist minority régimes persist because of the support, overt and covert, they enjoy from a number of powerful Western countries. If these Western countries genuinely believe in the right of the subjugated people of southern Africa to self-determination and independence, they must desist forthwith from all forms of collaboration with the racist minority régimes. It is totally unrealistic and untenable for them to abhor violent change and yet do nothing practical to foster peaceful change. Such a policy, based on economic greed, so-called strategic military considerations and "kith and kin" attitudes, in fact preserves the *status quo*.

207. The problem of Namibia cannot but be of particular interest to the United Nations. In persisting in its illegal occupation of Namibia, South Africa poses a direct challenge to the authority of our Organization. The apparent inability of the United Nations to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia,

an international Territory, has done a lot to erode the prestige of the United Nations. Yet it could not be said that the United Nations lacks power to do so. For it is a fact that the stringent powers vested in the Security Council which could be utilized have not yet been put to a test in this case. Efforts to get the Security Council to take meaningful punitive measures against South Africa have been frustrated by the United States, the United Kingdom and France, the three Western permanent members of that organ which have twice deemed it necessary to exercise jointly their right of veto for the purpose of protecting South Africa. My delegation condemns unreservedly such irresponsible behaviour on the part of those Powers which, while exposing their connivance with the South Africa racist régime in its oppression of the people of Namibia, also does tremendous harm to the cause of justice and peace.

208. Our Organization must redouble its efforts to force South Africa out of Namibia. South Africa's terrorist and racist activities in Namibia are on the increase. Moreover, it is shamelessly making strides in the much detested policy of bantustanization of Namibia, a policy of "divide and rule". In short, all the evils of *apartheid* are today rampant in Namibia.

209. In an effort to hoodwink and confuse the international community, South Africa recently sponsored what it called constitutional talks in Namibia. Those so-called constitutional talks, which excluded the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the authentic voice of the people of Namibia, were clearly intended to divide and create antagonism among the people of Namibia and thus to promote strife.

210. It is futile for South Africa to disregard SWAPO and to refuse to recognize the authority of the United Nations over Namibia. South Africa must agree to deal with SWAPO and the United Nations Council for Namibia. It must show seriousness by agreeing to free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations for the purpose of electing a constituent assembly for the whole territory of Namibia as one political entity. It is only such a constituent assembly, elected by the people of Namibia in proper elections under United Nations supervision and control, that will have any authority to prepare a constitution for the sovereign and independent state of Namibia. The sooner South Africa is prepared to accept the United Nations decisions on the question of Namibia, the sooner it will be possible to organize the peaceful and orderly transfer of power from South Africa to the people of Namibia.

211. The Decree on the Natural Resources of Namibia,<sup>4</sup> adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, represents an important measure in the interests of the people of that Territory. Its acceptance and the co-operation of all States Members of the United Nations in its enforcement would be a practical demonstration of the seriousness with which we ought to take the United Nations responsibility for Namibia.

212. The situation in South Africa itself cannot escape mention. The South African régime must know that it will never command respect and win acceptance internationally as long as it remains committed to the abhorrent policy of *apartheid*. It must abandon this evil policy and desist from fostering so-called

homelands the sole purpose of which is to perpetuate the exploitation, oppression and repression of the black majority. Moreover, the South African Government must immediately and unconditionally release the leaders of South African nationalist movements currently in detention or under restriction. It must permit free political activity in South Africa and agree to deal with the nationalist movements as the authentic representatives of the black majority and not the leaders of the so-called homelands.

213. I cannot conclude my remarks on southern Africa without referring to the question of Angola. My delegation urges all the leaders of Angola to sink their differences and together work for the welfare of their people in a united Angola. No country or group of countries should take advantage of the present situation in that country. There must be absolutely no interference in the internal affairs of Angola, and its territorial integrity must be preserved. We in Zambia look forward to the independence of Angola, as scheduled, on 11 November this year. We are confident that the Portuguese Government will, as it must, honour the agreement in this regard.

214. In conclusion, I would like to reaffirm Zambia's determination to continue to support and implement the United Nations economic sanctions against the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia. The enormous economic burden which Zambia is squarely shouldering is a result of this policy. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to reiterate the expression of its gratitude to all those countries which have offered us assistance to alleviate our economic difficulties. It is the hope of my delegation that the international community will be more forthcoming in supporting us materially to enable us to meet this challenge more effectively.

*Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

215. Mr. WALDING (New Zealand): I am glad indeed to have this early opportunity to congratulate Mr. Thorn on behalf of New Zealand on his election as President. New Zealand's relationship with Western Europe is of great importance historically and because of our close trade links, which we intend to preserve. We have been involved in negotiations with the European Economic Community which are basic to the well-being of our people. For the spirit of friendly understanding in which these negotiations have been conducted, New Zealand owes a great deal to him personally. We are confident that the same competence and understanding will distinguish Mr. Thorn's present term of high office. He can be assured of our fullest co-operation in his difficult task.

216. This thirtieth year of the existence of the United Nations has been a year of unprecedented economic and social activity. It has been a year when more than half of the world's population, that half which consists of women, has been reasserting its unanswerable claim to equal status and opportunity with men. For far too long women have been forced to carry an undue burden of the world's poverty and prejudice. And for them, quite rightly, words are no longer enough.

217. It has been a year also in which the poorer developing nations have been pursuing with great



vigour their unanswerable claims to fairer terms of trade to enable them to earn a better life for their own people. And for them, quite rightly also, words are no longer enough.

218. The shocks and economic pains of the last two years have shown as never before the urgent necessity for practical steps to achieve change. Nations which for long have called for a new economic order are now at last being joined by others which are realizing that change is in their interests also. The growing interdependence of all nations is more apparent. We welcomed the general political commitment to change firmly and unanimously adopted at the seventh special session. We welcomed the new spirit of conciliation and compromise. Even more, we welcomed the obvious strong determination to go beyond words and votes and get down to practical action. The effectiveness of the United Nations will be judged not by its words, votes or hopes, but by its practical achievements in helping to bring about a better life. The record of words and resolutions of 30 years of United Nations existence would fill many warehouses; but the practical achievements can be quickly listed. So we must achieve a better balance, a balance that would provide new life to the United Nations and justifiable new hope to the peoples of the world.

219. The next steps are crucial. We now have a map showing the possible roads to the objective of a new world economic order. But the new rules of the road must be worked out and agreed upon to ensure that fast travellers do not monopolize the highways. Those who started late and those who wish to travel more slowly must have their fair share of the road also. They must be given the right of way at times so that they, too, can reach the destination that they desire for themselves. Difficult economic and political decisions will have to be made by developing and developed countries alike. It will take a new political will assisted by popular backing for the measures that are necessary in the wider interest. A task as far-reaching as this will never be easy; it never has been, nor will it ever be so. But, at least, we are committed to try.

220. Last year, on behalf of my Government, I stressed the folly of squandering vast resources on the armaments race, which is now estimated to cost \$300,000 million a year—over \$75 for every man, woman and child living on this earth. This is a frightening thought, when we know that over 1,000 million people have less than \$200 a year to live on. It is an appalling waste of resources considering the desperate need to use all the skill and capital investment available for developing new sources of energy to help provide the increasing supply of food that is urgently needed to prevent much of the world's population growing up with stunted bodies and minds.

221. The ever-growing trade in arms is another intensely disturbing development. Arms must not be treated as a normal means of earning money for the export trade. Those nations which contribute to the \$20,000 million total of the world's arms trade surely bear a heavy responsibility to review their arms sales policies. This needs to be done on a joint basis, for at present we find countries sheltering behind the sad argument that if they do not supply arms some competitor will.

222. My country views with special concern the constant growth of nuclear weaponry, with all its unthinkable consequences. And now as never before we require urgent agreement on a comprehensive test-ban treaty, a treaty that will put an end for all time to the further development and testing of new and even more terrible methods of mass destruction. But, beyond that, we need measures that will actually stop and reverse the build-up of nuclear weapons.

223. The New Zealand Government acknowledges with satisfaction the decision taken by the French Government a year ago to end its programme of testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, of which due note was taken by the International Court of Justice in its decision last year. We, the Government of New Zealand, acknowledge with satisfaction the decision of the French Government at that time. At the same time, let it be clear that New Zealand regrets that all nuclear-weapon States continue to test nuclear weapons, whether in the atmosphere or underground.

224. We regret that a number of States with the capacity to develop nuclear weapons have not yet signed the non-proliferation Treaty. We regret the unwillingness of some countries to agree to international control and supervision of peaceful nuclear explosions.

225. We believe we must have a comprehensive test-ban treaty. We believe that all countries must ratify and carry out the non-proliferation Treaty. Each day that passes when those steps are not achieved, more and more people view the continued piling up of nuclear arms with fear and horror. But if those steps were taken, it would help create the confidence on which greater measures of disarmament would be built.

226. As long as there is no comprehensive test-ban agreement, as long as there is no visible sign of progress towards such an agreement, it is natural that groups of like-minded neighbouring States should try to reduce the legitimate anxieties of their peoples. New Zealand is attempting to do this by approaching the problem of nuclear disarmament on a partial and regional basis.

227. A remarkable feature of the disarmament debate at the twenty-ninth session was the upsurge of interest in nuclear-free zones. At the Review Conference to the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons held at Geneva last May the value of this approach was fully recognized in the Conference's Final Declaration [A/C.1/1068, annex I]. The Secretary-General, in an important passage in the introduction to his report this year, emphasized that nuclear-weapon free zones provide the best and easiest means by which those States which neither possess nor want to possess these weapons can, by their own initiative, interest and effort, ensure the total absence of nuclear weapons from their territories and enhance their mutual security [A/1000/Add.1, sect. VIII].

228. As the Secretary-General pointed out, the Latin American countries have already made substantial progress towards this objective in a large and populated part of the globe [*ibid.*]. For some years my Government has believed that the independent and self-governing nations of the South Pacific might



emulate the example of their Latin American neighbours in an adjoining area. Although the South Pacific contains a vast expanse of ocean, it also comprises many islands and the inhabitants of these islands are deeply concerned about the nuclear threat. Last July, the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free zone was discussed further at the South Pacific Forum by the Heads of Government of Australia, the Cook Islands, Fiji, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Tonga, Western Samoa and Papua New Guinea, whose independence and forthcoming membership in this Organization we greatly welcome. These nine South Pacific countries agreed unanimously that the concept of a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific should be studied further and that, as a first step, the General Assembly should be asked to endorse the concept of such a zone. Accordingly, two members of the Forum which are also Members of the United Nations, Fiji and New Zealand, have proposed for this session an item on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific [item 120]. We appreciate that it is a complex question, and we are, of course, anxious to consult all countries which might be affected by the proposal. This process of consultation has already begun.

229. We hope that Members will recognize this proposal as a positive response to a widespread desire to extend the application of the nuclear-weapon-free zone concept, and we ask you to accept this action as a contribution to nuclear disarmament and the strengthening of peace. It is on that basis that I ask with confidence for the support of all Members of this Organization.

230. The house of peace will be constructed from many building blocks. The great Powers have offered us no final blueprint. Sometimes we have no choice but to start building, setting some blocks in place without knowing precisely what the final structure will look like. But we do believe that all who can must start building those blocks now, in the knowledge that they will ultimately be used to build the house of peace that we all seek. My Government, for its part, will support any constructive proposal which offers the prospect of early progress towards disarmament.

231. My Government regrets that the question of the admission of new Members to the United Nations has again become a matter of controversy. The early history of this matter was an unhappy one: for many years, well qualified applicants were denied admission through the use—or, rather, the abuse—of the veto power. Eventually, a large number of long-standing applicants were admitted together, in what was described at the time as a “package deal”. What was done then strained the provisions of the Charter, but my country actively worked for a positive result, believing that it was intolerable to exclude qualified applicants indefinitely and that exceptional measures were required to solve the problem.

232. After the log-jam was broken in 1955, applications, for the most part, were dealt with promptly and on their individual merits; a large number of new Members were admitted without difficulty. The divided States—Germany, Korea and Viet Nam—were the main exceptions, and they were recognized as a special problem. Then, just two years ago, the two Germanys were admitted simultaneously. We hoped that this welcome development would be

followed by agreed solutions in respect of Korea and, following a peace settlement, in respect of Viet Nam. Unhappily, this has not proved possible. On the contrary, a situation has arisen which seems likely to provoke more controversy and bitterness and which could delay for a long time the admission of several countries which should be Members.

233. I wish therefore to describe my Government's general attitude towards the question of membership in the present situation. We believe that applications should be dealt with in accordance with the principle of universality. It is true that the present membership provisions of the Charter do not reflect that principle as clearly as we believe they should. In our view, membership in the United Nations is primarily a duty. Membership imposes important obligations, and no sovereign, independent State should be prevented from assuming them.

234. That is not the only consideration. Membership also exposes countries to the cross-currents of international opinion; it can help to reconcile different views, or at least moderate them; and the benefits of all this can not be lightly disregarded.

235. My Government therefore favours the admission of North Viet Nam, South Viet Nam, North Korea and South Korea, even though reunification may remain the ultimate objective or even a priority objective in those countries. We recognize that North Korea is not at present pressing its application, which it first submitted some 25 years ago. But that is not a valid reason, we believe, for not admitting South Korea. There has been criticism of one of the permanent members of the Security Council for linking the application of South Korea with those of North and South Viet Nam. But if that approach is to be deprecated, then equally so is the attitude of those who insist that an application from South Korea can be considered only in conjunction with an application from North Korea—in other words, that both States must apply together. If linking is wrong in the one case, it is equally wrong in the other. My Government regrets that the Security Council did not approve the applications of North and South Viet Nam. We hope it will reconsider their applications and consider that of South Korea as well at an early date.

236. My Government believes that in order to bring about universality the Charter provisions concerning admission should be simplified. In our view, the unanimity rule should not be applicable to membership applications in the Security Council and should be replaced by a suitable qualified majority. The criteria for admission should be the generally accepted criteria of independent statehood.

237. There is a further consequence of our philosophy of universality, and this concerns Members which do not live up to their Charter obligations. In my country's view, the philosophy of universality is opposed to the tendency which has recently become evident to invoke the expulsion provision in Article 6 of the Charter. We regard expulsion as a last resort, and one of doubtful practical value. It would be a substantial improvement if provision could be made for a variety of sanctions against a Member which persistently violated the Charter, including suspension from the exercise of some or all of the rights and privileges of

membership. The Member which is subjected to these measures should not, however, be relieved of the obligations of membership. In our view, that is a serious drawback to the present expulsion provision.

238. New Zealand is a firm supporter of the process of decolonization and of the principles of racial equality enshrined in the Charter. During the past year we have followed the developments in southern Africa with close concern. My Prime Minister welcomed the opportunity to discuss the situation in southern Africa with the Heads of Government of the African countries which are members of the Commonwealth when the Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Kingston in May. New Zealand fully subscribed to the views expressed by Commonwealth Prime Ministers, including those relating to sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and on the question of aid to the many indigenous peoples of southern Africa.

239. In southern Africa there has been since last year's session of the Assembly encouraging progress in some areas, but disquieting developments in other areas, and in still other areas a disheartening lack of forward movement.

240. Following the admission to the United Nations a year ago of the first Portuguese colony to be liberated, Guinea-Bissau, three more newly independent African States which were formerly under Portuguese rule have now taken their place among us. I take this opportunity to say a special word of welcome to the representatives of those countries. My country is conscious of the special problems which these new Governments face after a long period of struggle for their freedom and independence.

241. The decolonization of Portugal's African colonies has brought about a fundamental shift in the balance of forces in southern Africa. With this change has come new hope for a solution of the problems of southern Rhodesia and Namibia. In Southern Rhodesia the goal of independence on the basis of majority rule has at times during the year seemed closer. It remains the earnest hope of my Government that this goal will be achieved quickly and peacefully. We trust that the Smith régime will take full advantage of what may well be the last opportunity to achieve a negotiated settlement. As the Commonwealth Heads of Government pointed out at Kingston, if peaceful avenues are blocked by the Smith régime, a stepping-up of armed struggle seems inevitable.

242. Towards the end of 1974 the Prime Minister of South Africa asked that his Government be given six months to demonstrate its determination to make progress on the issues which caused the Assembly to reject the credentials of the South African delegation at the twenty-ninth session. Those six months have elapsed, and the United Nations is entitled to ask what progress has in fact been made. On the positive side, let us acknowledge that the South African Government played a constructive role in bringing Mr. Smith to the conference table with the leaders of the liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia. On the negative side, I think we must acknowledge that there has been little indication of any intention on the part of the South African Government to abandon its intolerable policy of *apartheid*. For the non-white majority of its people, South Africa continues to be a police State in which racial discrimina-

tion is not simply a matter of ignorance and prejudice but a fundamental doctrine embedded in the basic political and legal system.

243. South Africa's position in regard to Namibia is equally indefensible. South Africa has no legal claim to the Territory. The situation is a simple one, where the people of Namibia as a whole should be given the opportunity to exercise the right of self-determination as soon as possible under United Nations supervision. In the absence of a change of heart on these issues, South Africa cannot expect to resume its rightful place in the international community.

244. Since east and south-east Asia is an area of prime concern to New Zealand, I cannot conclude without commenting briefly on some of the important events that have taken place in this region during the past year.

245. In Indo-China the prolonged military struggle is over. Political power there is in new hands, and whatever views we may hold about this we must all be grateful that the conflict has ended. There are lessons to be learned from the Indo-China experience if we, the international community, are prepared to heed them. It is not recrimination which is called for now, but a spirit of reconciliation and a readiness to help with the task of reconstruction. Some of the international agencies have already been engaged in this task, and their support has been invaluable. My Government is playing its part. We are willing, if so requested, to help with development programmes here as elsewhere without considerations of ideology.

246. Elsewhere in South-East Asia the changes may not have been as dramatic as they have been in Indo-China. But developments are under way which promise to be just as significant for the region's future. We have been heartened above all by the growth of a genuine regional spirit. This is best seen in the progress of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. The five members of the Association have displayed a sense of cohesion and common purpose in seeking new solutions to old problems. New Zealand has been pleased to offer support, in practical ways, for their collective efforts. We look forward to the day when—with them, and with the countries of Indo-China—we will work together as a partnership in a wider scheme of regional co-operation, for this is the way ahead.

247. My Government finds the trends in Asia encouraging. The situation in Korea, however, remains a source of serious concern. The continuing tension there, to which accusation and counter-accusation, threat and counter-threat, contribute, is a relic of another era.

248. The Korean question has been on the Assembly's agenda for a quarter century. Korea may seem remote to some countries and the history of events there may be growing dim. But in considering this item it would be folly to forget that the interests of many Powers are involved. It has been the scene of a terrible war. With irresponsible handling it could be the scene of another. The supreme interest of the United Nations is peace. It is our duty to make decisions that contribute to peace and reconciliation rather than to insecurity and continued bitterness. It is my Government's earnest hope that this year a solution will be found that is acceptable to all parties

and particularly, of course, to the two Korean States. If such a solution requires that the United Nations Command be dissolved, then we have a responsibility to ensure that adequate arrangements remain to safeguard peace and the well-being of the Korean people.

249. In conclusion, the general debate with which we open each session of the General Assembly gives each Member—small or large, poor or rich—an equal opportunity to speak out honestly and frankly on matters it regards of vital concern. Indeed, it is more than an opportunity; it is a right and a responsibility. Each Member equally has a responsibility to help solve the problems facing the United Nations, and to contribute a share of the needed resources in proportion to its means. New Zealand has spoken out on the issues of most concern to us. I renew our pledge to play our part in finding fair and constructive solutions.

250. Mr. BORGONOVO POHL (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a particular pleasure for me to begin my statement by extending to Mr. Thorn, on behalf of the Government of El Salvador and of my delegation, and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations for having been unanimously elected to serve as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. His broad intellectual capabilities and his brilliant political and diplomatic career are a guarantee that the duties entrusted to this important forum will be carried out successfully.

251. It is also a pleasure for me to take this opportunity to express a well-earned acknowledgement to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, for the obvious achievements made in his difficult task of presiding over the General Assembly at its previous session, during which he demonstrated his outstanding talent for leadership and his undeniable devotion to peace and progress.

252. It is a particular satisfaction for El Salvador to express its warmest greetings to the States of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique upon their admission to the United Nations, which will contribute to the strengthening of the Organization, for one of its aims is to become a forum of true universality.

253. This session marks 30 years of work in the United Nations. This event is an excellent opportunity to analyse the results of the difficult tasks it has accomplished. The world has changed so much during these 30 years that it is fitting to adapt the Charter of the United Nations to new realities and to reorganize and perfect available instruments with a view to translating into fact the principles of coexistence and co-operation as they have developed over 30 years. On the other hand, the promising results of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, devoted to the establishment of a new international economic order, should be given priority in this stage of turning theory into practice and aims into action.

254. This anniversary should promote the desire of Member countries to widen the search for formulas capable of solving the serious problems affecting the world community.

255. In recent years the statements made by the delegation of El Salvador in the Assembly have been primarily devoted to expressing the country's position

with regard to the major topics before the Assembly for discussion.

256. This time, in view of the present political détente and the persistent world economic crisis, we should like to take a general approach and to appeal to the spirit of co-operation that must prevail in order for understanding among peoples and regions to be effective, and to make it possible to deal with today's problems.

257. The present world political pattern is characterized by increased efforts to achieve peace and development. This can be seen in the degree of understanding among the great Powers, which has surely made it possible to achieve a rather high measure of harmony in international political life.

258. This rapprochement among the great Powers is in the interest of all the peoples of the world. Therefore, we must all combine our efforts to ensure the maintenance of this understanding and respect and to remove from international relations those factors of conflict which can at any given time provoke a world conflagration. The continuation of the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and the various forms of discrimination and exploitation which still persist as centres of international friction is therefore of singular importance. This struggle will persist as long as oppressive forms of domination continue to exist, because an essential part of man is his adherence to the ideals of liberty, justice and respect of his own dignity.

259. We were pleased to see the action taken by the third world countries and, in particular, that of the group of non-aligned countries, to secure these values. Also, we should like to emphasize the important role that the United Nations has played with the same end in view.

260. With regard to the socio-economic crisis, we should like to indicate that the increasing requests of the developing countries have finally been sympathetically received, as can be seen from the important statements made by the representatives of highly developed countries. We welcome with satisfaction the submission of new formulas for international co-operation, and in view of those new possibilities I will merely say that El Salvador is ready to participate in the proposed systems of co-operation, as long as they are based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence and common interest.

261. Understanding and co-operation founded on a fair basis will make possible higher standards of living in developing countries and a better life in the developed countries. They are therefore mutually beneficial.

262. The real implementation of those new formulas might contribute to lessening the gap between the developed and the developing countries and to improving the inhuman living conditions now endured by millions of human beings. None the less, if words are not translated into deeds, the scourge of hunger, which now looms over so many countries, either frequently or continuously, may reach even the doors of those nations which at present consider themselves free of that threat.

263. El Salvador is one of the countries most seriously affected by the present world economic crisis. It would be absurd to deny that. However, we are working to overcome our difficulties with the means

available to us, despite the fact that sometimes the resources available limit our efforts.

264. El Salvador therefore believes that, without the support of international co-operation and a substantial improvement in the terms of trade, it will be impossible to achieve the proposed goals. That is why my Government views with satisfaction the acceptance by the highly developed countries of the idea of establishing a new system of international economic relations. The results of the seventh special session and the machinery for co-operation and dialogue mentioned in its declarations give us good hope that the measures recommended will be implemented.

265. This is a historic moment, when international détente, the economic crisis and political will expressed in formulas of co-operation must lead to the strengthening of peace and development. This moment must not be allowed to slip by. All are in duty bound to participate, in a spirit of solidarity, in this international co-operation in order to ensure for all the technological and capital resources that are lacking.

266. That would make possible for both the industrialized countries and countries of the third world to continue along the path of economic and social development in accordance with the particular circumstances of each nation, following the road freely chosen in exercise of their own sovereignty.

267. This international effort must accordingly be part of an integral long-term programme, since improvisation and the adoption of isolated short-term measures will lead to distortions, and to a senseless waste of efforts and goodwill. In this necessary long-range planning the United Nations must play a primary role, thereby achieving harmony between the universal approach and the domestic political guidelines of the various countries.

268. Within the broad programme of co-operation appropriate attention should be given to the agricultural needs and to food for the planet, with special consideration for the serious problems of the developing countries. Accordingly, there should be still further change in the present structure of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to encourage it to act as the co-ordinating agency for a more dynamic and genuine international co-operation in its own sphere of competence within the framework of the new international economic order.

269. Another aspect to which we attach particular importance is the use of financial surpluses and, in broader terms, to the increasing world wealth.

270. We believe that financial surpluses accumulated by a few States should be placed in credit programmes to make it possible for the majority of countries to overcome the obstacles which have impeded their economic growth.

271. It is important that there should be a study on redistributing the world's wealth, because some countries have achieved levels of capital growth which they are unable to use in domestic development programmes.

272. It would therefore be mutually advantageous to establish a system to redistribute world income by establishing fair terms of trade and making the financial surpluses available to the under-developed

countries. The programme should include access to markets in industrialized countries. Here serious thought should be given to a rational, international division of labour and, therefore, complementarity between regions, so that each country may produce efficiently the items it is best equipped to produce.

273. Another important proposal which we also support is for the establishment of a financial fund to help meet the need of the developing countries to maintain reserves to stabilize the prices of their major export products.

274. A suitable formula for co-operation and the co-ordination of economic policies has been found in the establishment of regional bodies which carry out multinational programmes, designed to make possible the better utilization of the natural and technological resources of Member countries, and to plan machinery for integration and mutual development. Such bodies should, of course, take into account the specific characteristics of the relatively least economically developed countries, so that they may be given favourable treatment and can thus, by means of their participation in those bodies, improve their economic conditions. That is why El Salvador has given firm support to the initiative for the establishment of a Latin American Economic System in the spirit of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

275. The establishment of a new juridical order for the seas is of vital importance to the future of mankind. Thus, it would surely be regarded as one of the greatest examples of international co-operation ever seen. The designation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the national jurisdiction of States as the common heritage of mankind, together with the establishment of a world authority to administer that zone for the benefit of all the peoples of the planet, would be one of the greatest legacies that this generation could leave to succeeding generations.

276. Another advance which we wish to mention is the recognition by the great majority of States of an adjacent zone of the sea of 200 marine miles, as a zone over which the jurisdiction of the coastal State would extend, and over which it would exercise sovereign rights in the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable natural resources found there. We believe that the reaching of such an agreement, regardless of the name given to the zone, would facilitate agreement on the other points. The signing and successful implementation of the Convention on the Law of the Sea would be the most important juridical event of our era and its tremendous impact on peace and the well-being of mankind would be beyond imagination.

277. Therefore all the countries involved in this difficult negotiation must bend their efforts for the common good and the general interest so that this great undertaking is brought to a successful conclusion.

278. My Government would like to emphasize the fact that some regions are not sufficiently represented in the executive posts in the specialized agencies of the United Nations family. That is because the principle of equitable geographical distribution has not

been sufficiently recognized or implemented. Respect for that principle is necessary to maintain a fair balance in the world Organization's structure. Disregard of that principle runs counter to the right held by the different regions of the world to participate, on an equal footing, in the high administrative posts of the specialized agencies and, therefore, restricts their impact and their participation in studying and solving the most important international problems. Therefore, we appeal to all Members of the United Nations to give full support to this principle which is so important for the maintenance of harmony and a fair balance within this Organization.

279. The positions and views expressed by my country today are a reflection of our determination to participate dynamically and effectively in the world effort to achieve peace and progress. This is a crucial moment which may lead to an era of well-being if we give due support to international co-operation to complement the efforts of each nation to achieve its own development.

280. Mr. NCHAMA (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In speaking for the first time at this session, I should like first of all to express, on behalf of my delegation and in my own name, our sincere congratulations to Mr. Thorn on his unanimous election to the presidency of this session. We believe, and we are convinced, that under his wise guidance, thanks to his high qualities and his talents as an eminent diplomat and politician and the experience he has had, our deliberations will be guided objectively and will meet with success which will give concrete shape to the efforts undertaken by the Organization since its foundation in 1945, for the benefit of true peace and security and the well-being of all mankind.

281. We also pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for the very dynamic and effective manner in which he conducted the work of the twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session. From this rostrum we extend to him our sincere wishes for personal well-being and future success.

282. In a similar way, and through him, we also convey our congratulations to all the other officers of the Assembly on their election. We trust that their joint efforts, together with ours, will contribute to the taking of fair decisions which will give this session a place in history in view of the very serious political, economic and social crises which are now assailing our world, each of which requires a just, decisive and relevant intervention by the international community.

283. Although the efforts made by our Organization and the successes obtained by it over the past 30 years are doubtless many, it is true that the present situation in the world still continues to require more intensive action by the United Nations which is a body for peace. Indeed, in the area of decolonization and since its establishment the United Nations has made unflagging efforts which culminated in the accession to independence of the new States of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Today we celebrate the accession to independence of the new States of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, the Comoros and Papua New Guinea; we greet these heroic peoples, who have come to join the community of free, independent and sovereign States. My delegation harbours

the hope that the international community will fulfil its duty to give them both the moral and the material support they require for the task of national reconstruction which entails even greater sacrifices.

284. We welcome the efforts made by these new States which, with courage and strength, have achieved the independence of which they had been deprived by the colonial and imperialist Powers throughout many centuries. Their accession to independence and the admission of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe to the great family of the United Nations is one more reason and incentive to peoples who are struggling for their full emancipation. My delegation pays a tribute to the new Member States which have just won their place in this great family, making even more effective the universal character of our Organization. We are convinced that their participation in our work and their political maturity will serve as an encouragement which will strengthen the action which the United Nations is called upon to take. We welcome them and we express the hope that they will find here the warmth which they did not enjoy over the centuries.

285. None the less, despite all these achievements which tend to crystallize the purpose and objectives of the United Nations, there are still many obstacles to overcome in order to achieve decolonization effectively and fully. The dignity we attribute to the human race can never be effective until it is accompanied by full political and economic independence. On the other hand, independence in only one part of the earth and the fact that there are even today Territories living under the colonial and neo-colonial yoke are an affront to our expressed declarations of independence and universal human rights.

286. We regret to see in our day, when the concepts of independence, equality, sovereignty, dignity and democracy are universally accepted, the colonial Powers continue to maintain, under régimes of oppression, exploitation and sabotage, colonial Territories acquired more than four centuries ago for the sole purpose of maintaining their power of domination and exploitation.

287. This is the position in which the colonial Territories of Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Western Sahara, Djibouti, and others find themselves, situations which have never been ignored by the international community but which, nonetheless, the arrogance and obsessive despotism of the colonial administering Powers try to disguise, thus publicly defying the world community.

288. It is a pity that, when we are celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, when we are congratulating each other on the successes obtained for the benefit of mankind, the situation in southern Africa remains unchanged.

289. Namibia, an African Territory under the legal administration of the United Nations, which is the only authority recognized by the international community, continues to be occupied illegally and by force by the minority racist régime of South Africa, which arrogantly continues to flout each and every one of the many resolutions that have been adopted in this world body.



290. The situation in this African Territory is as clear as it is well known to all. We profoundly regret that countries of our Organization which have such high aspirations for freedom and such profound ideals of democracy, deny the most elementary rights to millions of human beings in order to protect their own selfish economic interests by respecting a small group of so-called South Africans which they hypocritically condemn daily before the international community. Despite that, the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea remains convinced that, by the unanimous stand of all the Members of our Organization, the Security Council will take on the role which it is called upon to play and will discharge its responsibilities by adopting against the racist South African régime appropriate measures already provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, which we so highly value and respect because, among other things, it is the only legal document that should also prevail in the Namibian Territory in order to respond and to give satisfaction to the people of Namibia, to the SWAPO front, to the family of the United Nations, and to all those of us who are aware of the illegal presence of the so-called South African Government.

291. At the same time and equally important, the relations between the South African and Rhodesian racists are growing ever closer, thus complicating still further the problem of Zimbabwe. We are very sorry to note that the diabolical manoeuvres of the minority racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, with the complicity of a good number of countries that claim to be peace-loving and freedom-loving, are yielding results that are most unfavourable to a just and equitable solution of the Rhodesian problem. We appeal to the brave people of Zimbabwe and say to them that to abandon the principle of unity would be tantamount to abandoning the ideals of freedom, and consequently would perpetuate the racist policy of Ian Smith.

292. With the passing of the years, the increase in the number of resolutions of the General Assembly, and the earnest efforts both bilateral and multilateral carried out by each and every one of the freedom-loving and peace-loving countries have served only to entrench further the policy of *apartheid* of the racist South African régime to prevent by all means the exercise of power by the African majority in that part of the world, basing themselves on the irrational concept of a superiority of colour, and with the support of a small number of countries that are fictitious prototypes of independence, freedom, peace, justice and democracy, which allows them not only consistently to defy world public opinion but also to fatten themselves on the blood of millions of human beings who are claiming what is rightfully theirs.

293. Despite the attitude of certain colonial Powers regarding the problem prevailing in southern Africa, we continue to believe that the presence of the Vorster régime in Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa is not only illegal but is all the more repugnant in the United Nations since the representatives of the various peoples are accredited in it. Consequently, we hope that the Security Council will re-examine the problem and will recommend forthwith the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations in response to its Charter and taking account of the fact that South Africa's participation is an insult to our Organization.

294. My Government has never ceased to condemn, and will go on condemning, the continued presence of colonialism in Africa and in other parts of the world, for the purpose of giving an appropriate response to the deplorable situations which I mentioned before, as was stated by the Head of State of Guinea, the great comrade Macías Nguema Biyogo Nogue Ndong, at the historical Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held recently at Kampala:

"The great colonial Portuguese empire in Africa, which lasted more than four centuries, has fallen, and we are confident that the white minorities which have seized power in southern Africa and in Rhodesia will disappear from the international scene even though they may be protected by the major Western colonial Powers defending their selfish economic interests in that African region and forgetting the African interests which are paramount. We are automatically opposed to any dialogue with the racist régime of southern Africa, . . . and we recommend to the liberation movements of the African peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe the intensification of the armed struggle, since regrettably there is no other alternative to attain independence and to safeguard their interests in that region."

295. We are happy to see that concrete solutions aimed at the restoration of peace and security are now under way in the Middle East. The Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea continues to express its solidarity with the Arab countries involved in that conflict, and will not be fully satisfied until there is an immediate and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, and until it can see the Palestinian people exercising its national rights under the direction of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Any negotiations which may take place on this matter should be based on the criteria to which we referred earlier.

296. Although the present world is marked by détente, co-operation and understanding among nations conducive to favourable conditions for the solution of problems raised by the cold war and military confrontation, it is all too well known that international peace and security are being constantly threatened in various parts of the world. This is so because the process of détente is restricted and precarious since it does not extend to all geographical areas of the world, in such a way as to foster an effective democratization of relations among States and play a part in the solution of the major problems and in the hotbeds of tension, in order to achieve a lasting and stable peace that may lead to the well-being of the world community.

297. In contrast with the policy of non-alignment advocated by the countries of the third world and other countries which love peace and freedom, there still exists a division among peoples based on their ideological convictions. There are confrontations and struggles to achieve a hegemony of power and influence, a situation of tension which has become aggravated owing to the arms race carried out by the major Powers. My delegation hopes that the international community will make every effort to solve the problems deriving from the cold war, as has already been done

by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. This will no doubt have a positive influence on easing those tensions.

298. The Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea understands international peace and security to mean not only the absence of hostilities among nations, but also the full exercise by all peoples of their fundamental rights and freedoms. Thus, situations threatening international peace and security are those created by colonialist, imperialist and racist régimes, the economic exploitation practised by economic powers over developing countries, the increasing presence of military bases of the major Powers scattered all over the world, as well as the proliferation of nuclear weapons for war purposes and the constant zeal shown by the Powers in perfecting their military technology.

299. My Government, which has no ambition to dominate nor is a producer or consumer of these nuclear devices and is out of sympathy with the idea of the installation of military bases, considers that the solution to this problem of disarmament is as simple as it appears complex, if, with goodwill, the major Powers concerned were only to co-ordinate their efforts and rationalize their policies in order to eliminate the causes which have given rise to this nuclear weapons race.

300. What is worse the same situation of an arms race threatening international peace and security has far more harmful effects on truly effective international peace and security. We feel that a goodly portion of the funds intended for budgets covering the manufacture and testing of these nuclear devices could be put to better use if allocated for the development plans of developing countries thus reducing the serious difficulties which these countries face in their attempts to improve their economies. My delegation believes that an orderly and comprehensive development of the world community and a scrupulous respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of the peoples of the whole world would constitute the best strategy to achieve lasting international peace and security.

301. In Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos, once again in the course of history justice has prevailed over force. Scarcely a year ago the reality of today appeared to be incredible when, from this very rostrum, it was said that we were dealing with an item concerning "a Government in exile which represented no one". That Government was the Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, to whose delegation we address our sincere congratulations for having recovered the place which was wrested from it by the colonialists, neo-colonialists and imperialists who were unable to do anything despite having so much material power.

302. In that same area, neo-colonialist and imperialist forces experienced an unprecedented and complete failure. In Viet Nam, the criminal effects produced by a hail of deadly bombs which destroyed thousands of human beings and the country itself, were not able to thwart the firm will and determination of the Vietnamese people in their pursuit of the ideals of freedom and independence. This victory should alert every freedom-seeking people to the fact that it will never be defeated as long as it has the support of the popular masses. And along the same lines, these

victories should serve as a lesson to everyone who believes in the use of force as a means of imposing his conditions to the detriment of the interests of the people.

303. This is why the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, as it has done previously, expresses its solidarity with the peoples of those countries, and it hopes to contribute, as far as its means will allow, to national reconstruction and the safeguarding of their national independence; and it also hopes that all peace- and freedom-loving countries will do the same.

304. With regard to the applications for admission submitted by the two Viet Nam, we believe that the cold war has gone out of fashion, and the fact that mistakes were made in the past in our Organization should command our attention so that we may do away with these mistakes by admitting the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam to our Organization. We hope that the Security Council will respond to the will of this Assembly by giving favourable consideration to the above-mentioned applications.

305. The United Nations is undergoing new experiences all the time. They happen so quickly that Members should give them their full attention. Those recent experiences take the form of the victories over colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism achieved by the people of Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos following long and bloody battles. The artificial and imperialist division of Korea still continues without any solution. Will it be necessary to resort to armaments once again to obtain the reunification of Korea, after wiping out its people, who have already expressed their determination to unify?

306. As is well known, the problem of Korea consists in the peaceful and independent reunification of the country, which the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea not only unreservedly supports, but also advocates the total and immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces which occupy the southern part of the country under the flag of the United Nations. Those forces are not only interfering in the internal affairs of Korea, but are also making it more difficult to start the negotiations planned for that purpose. We are convinced that the General Assembly will take the proper decisions on the understanding that this peace agreement must be maintained, thus creating favourable conditions for the achievement of a peaceful and independent reunification.

307. Similarly, the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea expresses its solidarity with the people and the Government of Cyprus in their struggle to retain their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We continue to believe, as in the past, that the immediate withdrawal of all foreign military forces, which hamper the restoration of peace in that part of the world and render difficult a dialogue between the two countries, would contribute to a rapid settlement of the problem.

308. The United Nations is essentially a democratic organization and, as such, its effectiveness is contingent on the democratic will of its Members, for which reason all decisions taken in this forum should be applied by all of its Members.

309. We believe that the signatories of the Charter of the United Nations, in providing for the veto of the major Powers, did not do so for the purpose of making it as an instrument for bargaining, or for opposing democracy within the Organization, as it is being used today by the Western Powers. Hence, the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea condemns the deplorable triple veto in the Security Council by the United States, France and the United Kingdom on the South African question. This improper behaviour by Members of the United Nations responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, has considerably undermined the effectiveness of our Organization.

310. Since the United Nations is a democratic Organization, as I have already pointed out, we believe, with reference to the specific case of the admission of a State which has been supported by more than 130 States that in view of the particular importance of the admission of new members, such admissions should not be the object of a veto on the part of any member of the Security Council. The capricious veto of this or that permanent member of the Security Council should not become an obstacle to the taking of important decisions such as the one we are dealing with now. In this respect, we believe that the Security Council has become a body in which the Western Powers impose with impunity the law of "might makes right", in their desire to maintain zones of hegemony and of influence in order to protect their selfish interests, thus endangering international peace and security.

311. The universality of the United Nations is a principle which should be paramount for our Organization, and we believe that the veto, or any other decision which opposes that principle and runs counter to the majority opinion of the General Assembly, also runs counter to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. A review of the Charter of this Organization is therefore imperative, since our Organization is not a mere instrument which has resulted from the will of one or two States, but rather it is the democratic outcome of the sovereign will of the 141 States which compose it. Yet, the obligations imposed upon us by the Charter have frequently been trampled upon by the Member States themselves, sheltered always by the veto in the Security Council, when it has come to taking possible reprisal measures. In that sense, an undisciplined Organization risks losing its effectiveness and the respect it should deserve.

312. An assessment of the situation and the evolution of the international economy clearly shows that the world is still governed by the formulas of an ancient economic system which is essentially discriminatory and whose structures reflect a society of past ages. This fact has led to the present economic crisis and logic demands that radical changes be made to adapt the system to the circumstances of today.

313. An economic system which does not take account of the sovereign rights of States freely to choose their political, economic and social system, and the principle of permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources and other economic activities, including nationalization and the raising of prices of products in order to obtain an equitable and

remunerative level, to ensure mutual and just benefits for all States, can only lead to strife and chaos in the field of international economic relations.

314. Economic imperialism practised by economic Powers has the same adverse consequences as political imperialism. These two practices have led to most of the poverty of mankind today. The Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea therefore not only advocates the political independence of peoples, but also their economic independence. This is our conception of the full sovereignty of States. To give concrete shape to this policy of economic liberalization in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea has brought down on us the attacks, insults and anti-government propaganda broadcast to the world by the press of the Western imperialist Powers. None the less, we are fully convinced that the objectives we pursue—and which are also pursued by the United Nations—can only be attained by granting political and economic independence to all peoples of the world.

315. This independence, according to the philosophy of revolutionary policy of my country, does not mean that countries cannot co-operate with each other and assist each other to their mutual benefit. The Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea firmly supports the struggle of the countries striving to achieve their economic independence. My delegation is convinced that the new international economic order, the world plan of action and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States already adopted by this Assembly, and their effective implementation by all States Members of this Organization, represent an essential factor for the normalization of world economic relations, since those instruments attempt to rationalize that economic policies of States in such a way as to arrive at a balance of power between developing and developed countries.

316. My delegation is also fully convinced that closer and more effective relations between the United Nations and national and regional economic organizations in the area of economic co-operation in all fields would greatly contribute to the harmonious economic development of those regions. On the other hand, developed countries have a duty to render all necessary assistance to the countries which are now being built up, instead of exploiting them and wanting to maintain economic and political supremacy over them. Close economic and technical co-operation between developed and developing countries would be a major contribution to a normalization of today's deteriorating economic relations.

317. The talk today is of an over-populated world and of the hunger which threatens the world population. We believe that, indeed, the world population is growing at a dizzy pace, whereas food production is diminishing because the interest of the developed countries in sincerely co-operating with the developing countries is nil. In fact, there would be no food problems if the developed countries, without undue conditions, transferred their agricultural, industrial and other technology, to the developing countries, whose potential for productivity is enormous. Consequently, the lack of food is governed by the absence of integral development by the world community.

318. In the Republic of Equatorial Guinea we have peace and order within the guidelines laid down by the

leader of the Guinean revolution, President-for-Life, Macías Nguema Biyogo, to the revolutionary people of Equatorial Guinea through the Partido Unico Nacional de Trabajadores. The revolutionary urban and rural masses are devoting all their efforts and carrying out every possible activity to build the country and to improve the economy affected both by inflation—which is besetting the whole world—and by the neo-colonialist manoeuvres designed to boycott its economy.

319. The progress we have made is shown by the increase in the number of schools and hospitals, in urban development, and in the expansion and modernization of a system of communications throughout the country as well as modern harbour installations which facilitate export and import operations. These are obvious realities which the neo-colonialist Western press had tried to ignore.

320. It is a pleasure to take this opportunity to emphasize once again that we are, by political choice, opposed to colonialism and imperialism. We reiterate our firm support of the Non-Aligned Movement since our only doctrine consists of our respect for human beings and for their fundamental freedoms, the protection of our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as the construction of our economic independence. The peaceful and revolutionary people of Equatorial Guinea is fully mobilized so as to achieve these goals.

321. The enemies of the Guinean revolution, together with the subversive Western press, have launched campaigns of insults to confuse international opinion by means of baseless claims that there are no consumer goods in Equatorial Guinea. Indeed, we think that the lack of some foreign manufactured products is quite normal since all countries of the world are both importers as well as exporters. Moreover, this lack of foreign manufactured goods in our country helps us to achieve the programme of self-sufficiency now being carried out under President-for-Life Macías Nguema Biyogo, in the sense that we are reducing harmful and unnecessary imports created by the colonialists. In spite of this, the people of Equatorial Guinea—down to the last corner of the national territory—has supplies of consumer and other essential goods, thanks to the very strict control established by the Government when it discovered that foreign enterprises were attempting to boycott our economy by unnecessarily excessive imports without having enough capital to underwrite such operations or, much less, to promote exports. This is the truth which the Western press does not dare publish.

322. The People's Revolutionary Government of Equatorial Guinea and its President-for-Life have faced criticism in the colonialist, imperialist press. This does not frighten us, and we understand that this is quite a normal thing. After the colonialists and

imperialists lost their political and economic interests in Equatorial Guinea, they had no other alternative but to resort to the imperialist press, thinking that, through it, they could put a stop to the revolutionary process already under way in Equatorial Guinea and that they could thus re-establish their colonial interests.

323. In their dark and desperate actions they have referred to situations as fictitious and purely imagined as the terror which is alleged to exist in Equatorial Guinea. These articles—without entering into details—which are entirely lacking in truth, merely underline the imaginary character of the situations they write about. Human rights and fundamental freedoms are scrupulously respected and guaranteed in Equatorial Guinea, but we do not believe that to ensure the security of our State and to defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity shows a lack of respect for human rights.

324. The Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, in respecting the sacred principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, cannot serve as a spring-board nor can it yield to subversion. As has been stated in other international forums anyone who wishes to see what is going on and wishes to experience the revolution in Guinea will find the doors open in Equatorial Guinea.

325. Before concluding I should like to extend our sincere congratulations to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his untiring efforts at the head of our Organization in the areas of decolonization, the maintenance of peace and security in different parts of the world, economic and social development, and finally of the countless problems which he faces. All we can do is to wish him the greatest success in the very difficult mission which the world community has entrusted to him.

326. To conclude, I should like to reiterate our fervent wish that the thirtieth session of the General Assembly may arrive at very fruitful conclusions for the well-being of all mankind.

*The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.7.

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex 1.*

<sup>3</sup> Adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its ninth extraordinary session held from 7 to 10 April 1975.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 24A*, para. 84.