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

*Address by Mr. Luis Echeverría Alvarez,
President of Mexico*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour of welcoming to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Luis Echeverría Alvarez, President of the United Mexican States. I invite him to address the General Assembly.
2. Mr. ECHEVERRÍA ALVAREZ (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I express to you, Mr. President, my most sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election to preside over our work. Nevertheless I feel that in these moments in world history we are not entitled to be complacent regarding good wishes but, rather, we must make an over-all and complete appeal for collective responsibility.
3. From this same rostrum four years ago I expressed the confidence of Mexico in our Organization.¹ At that time we ratified, and today we reiterate, our adherence to its animating purposes and principles.
4. We believe in the validity of dialogue in seeking areas of understanding among countries with different ideologies and also in establishing forms of co-operation among all people.
5. Despite the difficulties with which the United Nations has been faced, the combined efforts of the peoples who compose it make it possible for us to advance towards a more just and equitable international structure.
6. The aims which originally motivated its creation were all directed toward the maintenance of international peace and security, and they are still fully valid. But the same cannot be said of the methods conceived at that time for achieving those aims. The inequalities to be found among countries constantly threaten the continued existence of a very delicate balance and call for a constant reassessment of the situation and the adoption of new strategies.
7. In 1945, when 51 nations signed the Charter of the United Nations, the world population was a little over 2,000 million. With the exclusion of revolutionary

China, based on an arbitrary misunderstanding of the profound political changes of our day, our Organization at that time represented only about one half of the world's inhabitants.

8. But today, there are 141 Member States and they represent the immense majority of the world population. This, surely, is a new factor which is indicative of a fundamental geopolitical change. It also bespeaks the enormous challenge that confronts us and foreshadows the constant changes that the future will undoubtedly bring.

9. Almost all those peoples that form part of the great dispossessed of the world participate in the work of our Assembly today—those that 30 years ago were constrained to play a passive role in history, thanks to the banners that were raised over them, supported by the sword or economic dependency, by the one-time metropolitan countries.

10. This basic difference in the composition of the United Nations today has raised the possibility of our Organization directing its actions to benefit the great majority and truly and fully acting as a forum that will lead to the establishment of a true international democracy both politically and economically.

11. Thirty years ago a simplistic interpretation of the evolution of peoples and a mechanical assessment of events made it possible for the order that had been restored, considered to be a legacy and a new accumulation of power, to reproduce the military alliances and blocs that from that moment started vying for world hegemony.

12. The law of "might makes right" and the philosophy of domination once again played a decisive role in the conduct of world affairs. The cold war led to ideological persecutions which in every case constituted an assault on the freedom and full independence of nations and resulted in a long and tragic period of local wars which has still not come to an end.

13. This situation, which prevented most nations from exercising their historic rights and even forced them to fight for causes that were not their own, in turn made it impossible for the reorganization of international life to be undertaken with the necessary vigour and thoroughness and in accordance with the ideal of universal solidarity enshrining the rights of all peoples—of all on earth—to enjoy decent standards of living.

14. In order to achieve this goal we must have access to the immense treasure of the cultures which are today recovering their voice and the awareness of their lineage, and we must be strengthened by the presence of the millions of human beings who have emerged from their marginal position to become peoples who have found their identity and their sovereignty.

15. Now, for the first time, we can achieve true peace, not the peace that prolonged privileges and powers. I am referring to a peace based on a new mentality and on a new philosophic concept of history.

16. Today, peace is development. That is a concept which must be understood not only in its economic context but also as the constant social, cultural and civic betterment of all peoples in general and of every human being in particular. To ignore this fundamental truth means seeking refuge in empty rhetoric which, in avoiding commitment to action, ends by legitimizing, through conformity, injustice in international relations.

17. No single country or bloc of countries, no matter how strong, is capable of establishing the norms that are to govern international affairs; nor must any alliance of transnational corporations continue to benefit from the patrimony and the work of independent peoples.

18. We are still experiencing the old effects of a precarious peace because there are still those who strive to perpetuate an anachronistic concept of power whose ashes are now, quite justifiably, being dispersed by the winds of history.

19. Three quarters of mankind is now determined to participate in the organization of world power, not in a desire for revenge, as some would try to make us believe, but rather through strict adherence to the ideals of democracy.

20. If we are to achieve this purpose fully, the majority must not lose itself in the trivial dead-end trap of high-sounding trite phrases only to be left without any effective solution to existing contradictions. The new majority in the United Nations must, with full responsibility, be ready to take on the transfer of a large part of the rights and obligations that were formerly the domain of a minority that perpetuated the politics of force for its own benefit.

21. But this implies far more than the transient act of making speeches at meetings. It requires seriousness and consistency in analysing and presenting valid alternatives.

22. In this context, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] is an unquestionable advance. It was never irresponsibly conceived as an act designed to divide the wealthy countries and the developing countries into two factions. Such a view has nothing to do with the intentions of the nations and men who placed their will for change and their ideas at the service of that project.

23. From the first working hypothesis onwards, this Charter was designed to find a point of world agreement, a wide range of collective stands that would make it possible to establish a new world economic system.

24. Unanimous approval was desirable, but not at the cost of yielding points of vital importance. It was necessary to be firm on issues that were neither incidental nor debatable. That was the case with regard to the natural resources and national wealth of the peoples of the world and, by extension, with regard to ratification of the inalienable sovereignty of nations in relation to transnational corporations. The process of concentration and multiplication of these companies has turned them into enclaves of foreign domination

within other States which act against those States whenever an objective attempt is made to set up national and popular priorities. In these areas, I repeat, there was no possibility of concession.

25. The resolution that was adopted by the General Assembly is not directed against any particular nation. It is directed against the illegitimate interests of the supranational groups that are protected by certain States whose image is tarnished by those very corporations because of their identification with acts that go beyond the bounds of law and sovereignty. I must make it clear, therefore, that the Charter is open—and will be open in the future—to dialogue among nations, but it is firmly closed against any attempt at domination.

26. That is the truth underlying an instrument of universal scope which provides a regulatory framework and firm bases for the great world economic process of change that we have set in motion. Its text contains principles which, although at the outset not understood by some, will in time be proclaimed as evident truths in those very countries that voted against it a year ago.

27. Indeed, there is no force on earth capable of maintaining inequality, in the decades as an ideology of minority prosperity.

28. Contemporary history confirms the degree to which domination has been established through trade imbalances, the flow of capital, and the effect of influences determined by cultural dependency.

29. For these three key factors, no just or adequate solution has yet been found. Essentially, the measures adopted have met the interests and needs of the powerful countries. The same has been true of international assistance. Conceived as a system of support for the exports of the countries that are responsible for financing it, it does not fulfil its basic objective of lessening inequality among nations. On the contrary, it has brought about an increase in the foreign debts of the developing countries and thus made their subjection all the more severe.

30. For this reason we must establish financial machinery and instruments to deal with trade compatible with the level of certain societies that cannot survive in the intricacies of an international economic organization based on commercial and financial concentration.

31. At this time we acknowledge the support that the socialist countries have offered the peoples of the third world at various international meetings, and the significant role they are playing in the balancing correlation of world forces. But at the same time we must tell them with all sincerity that this attitude should always be reflected, with the same vigour, in the sphere of action.

32. In building up growing trade among themselves, some industrialized countries have not only increased the difficulty of the situation in the peripheral nations, but have also failed to resolve their own economic crises, and it is those crises that in the last few years have led to world-wide inflation which has reached unusually serious levels in the developing countries. This situation exists because the importation of capital goods and manufactured products required by the

developing nations generates additional burdens that bring their economic and social programmes to a halt.

33. The adjustment that has been imposed on the prices of oil and certain raw materials has been defined by some as an arbitrary and monopolistic act on the part of the producer countries, but the industrialized countries seem to overlook the fact that, for the first time in centuries, they now have had to accept international prices for certain raw materials rather than imposing them themselves on the basis of their own economic, commercial and production interests. It is a well known fact that price-fixing in the past obeyed the rules of a system which considered raw materials and primary products as compulsory supplies from dependent colonial countries to the industrial countries, independently of the former nations' desires.

34. However, from the standpoint of the producer countries, today it is no longer possible, within the context of global interests, to repeat that earlier situation because it would create a crisis that would also affect the less-well-off nations.

35. We are bound to create the necessary historical conditions for a new world economic order in which production and prices will be adjusted to a blueprint geared to the overall interests of mankind.

36. The energy resources being exploited today are insufficient to maintain in all countries the levels of consumption prevalent in the most industrialized ones, but thus far that consumption has been based on the predominance of waste and irrationality in the very form of production.

37. For this reason that system can no longer be advocated as a viable model for mankind. Furthermore, and as a consequence of what I have just said, the basic resources that man will require in the future are being gradually exhausted. This being the case, it is obvious that the affluent nations must pay a fair price for raw materials, including oil—a fair price which they must consider not only in monetary terms but also in terms of inflation and the prices paid for manufactured goods.

38. The producing countries must not overlook two basic facts: first, the serious imbalance created for the non-oil-producing countries and, secondly, the fact that high prices, along with value added and new profits, will bring about a situation in which the industrialized countries will organize a scientific revolution in the field of energy. What is needed, historically speaking, is the creation of a true association within the framework of the new world order, based on fair prices, a renewal of technology for all and benefits that will be acceptable only if they are collective in nature and placed at the service of the masses of mankind.

39. Although we admit that the contribution made by the members of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries to the development of developing countries has reached levels that are beginning to surpass those of official development assistance given by the industrialized countries, we nevertheless feel that it could be increased still further, particularly by putting a stop to superfluous investments being made in the old metropolitan areas.

40. Oil is a basic input, not only for the industrialized nations, but also for the developing nations. Therefore we consider it imperative that a study and analysis be made of the measures necessary to prevent the countries of the third world which do not produce oil from suffering the consequences of an imbalance in price and to permit them to continue to pursue their economic and social development priorities.

41. Recent experience in marketing confirms our determination to improve and multiply the instruments for co-operation and defence of the small and medium-sized countries, which, through world-wide negotiations, will compensate for the abysmal imbalance of power prevalent in bilateral trade.

42. This fact further shows that it is not only necessary to negotiate jointly on raw materials and oil, but that we should so organize the new economic order as to include in the agreement manufactured products themselves.

43. For that reason we have proposed the establishment of an economic system for the development of the third world which, through effective co-ordination among producers, would facilitate the permanent protection of prices and the marketing of export products, define mutual support mechanisms in all sectors, further the establishment of multilateral enterprises and guarantee optimum levels for imports of goods, capital and technology.

44. That goal is provided for in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and to reach it would undoubtedly constitute one of the surest means of implementing that document. The system, designed to ensure the participation of the countries of the third world in the control of world trade and in decision-making acts that affect all, would be provided with two basic instruments: a financial fund specifically oriented towards the goals I have mentioned, and a data unit that would furnish the elements required for timely and precise action on trade and financial flows.

45. This project will considerably modify the balance of power and will foster the establishment of a world economy based on solidarity, a form of solidarity which should not be viewed as pure moralizing.

46. To arrange movements of goods and products only among affluent industrial enclaves would lead in the short and medium term not only to an explosion in the third world but also to urban violence and suicide in those very nations that believe it possible to isolate themselves in autarchy. On a regional level the creation of machinery such as the Latin American Economic System [SELA] proves that similar projects are viable the world over. Again I must point out that SELA, like the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, is an instrument intended to take us from today's unreasonable confrontations towards the historical negotiations that the world requires.

47. Within this type of organization an exhaustive study will have to be made of all the areas in which it will be possible to employ concerted action. Essential among those areas is the question of food, which affects most countries. It is for this reason that Mexico has advocated the establishment of a world food bank, and we are gratified that this idea, shared with many other countries, has begun to crystallize with the establishment of a fund for agricultural development that

exemplifies solidarity and will contribute in practical and immediate ways to solving one of the most acute problems of our time.

48. It will also be necessary to set up autonomous systems of communications and information that will not depend on the centres of world domination, since the latter ultimately make people look at themselves from the colonial standpoint, a standpoint which converts subjected cultures into mere anthropological repertoires, into mere collections of anecdotes, in exotic compilations of folklore which are even incorporated into the requirements and tastes flowing from the very scale of values of the dominating culture.

49. Today, peoples are regaining their own identities and their current differences, far from constituting an obstacle to solidarity, make it possible, through a dialogue between one civilization and another, to achieve a true universal form of authentic co-existence. Never before in the course of history has there been an age like this which permits so complete and vast an enrichment of man's vital, political and ideological experience. Man's awareness today is fed on the values inherited from the ancient cultures of the Orient and of Latin America, from the vigorous Negritude movement, and from all the mestizo contributions which, in its moral impotence, colonial authoritarianism had in the past rejected.

50. The imperative need to preserve and strengthen one's independence, however, must not be confused with isolationism. The latter does not derive from those peoples who are struggling to preserve their own identity, but from those who reject or despise any conduct which they themselves cannot control, or any thought which they themselves do not share.

51. Equality is based on the recognition of the right to enjoy diversity and the freedom to select one's own economic and social model. This means giving economic substance to political independence and giving the world's peoples the means that will allow them to take their own autonomous decisions.

52. Many nations which were formerly in a marginal position have inherited millenia of history and cultures with a high degree of spiritual development and, in addition, have themselves developed technologies appropriate to their own levels of development. Therefore, the medium-sized and small countries must diversify their exchanges in order to escape, in as many areas as possible, from the onerous transfer of technology and culture which constrains peoples to alien ways of life.

53. To facilitate this exchange, Mexico has undertaken the organization of an open university and a third-world economic and social research institute, which will begin operations early in 1976, and whose purpose will be to decolonize theories on development and to exchange among the poorer nations technologies appropriate to their own needs, without implying any type of link or ties.

54. We were honoured to see the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, preside over the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstones of these two institutions. May I take this opportunity of inviting the peoples represented at this Assembly to co-operate in the functioning of those two bodies and to participate in the fruits of their work.

55. A calm and objective analysis of the achievements by the United Nations, its successes and failures, nevertheless bespeaks the imperative need for this Organization to exist. But this does not conceal its flaws and limitations in certain fields, primarily with regard to the maintenance of peace, which again proves the urgent need to strengthen the Organization. But the idea of maintaining peace is closely linked to a world disarmament plan. To say so is nothing new, but, without falling into exaggeration, I believe that such a statement is in keeping with the highest aspirations of mankind.

56. The arms race, with the incredible sums devoted to the manufacture and sale of weapons, is at one and the same time an unjustifiable squandering of resources and proof of the moral crisis afflicting those countries which live off the industry of war and build the progress of key sectors of their economy on such an industry.

57. More than anything else, disarmament is a true attempt at liberation: liberation of energy, liberation of resources, liberation of goods, of scientists and of workers, and all of them could then be diverted to a fruitful programme of action, of study and work that would hasten social transformation.

58. The world is living amid violence, but the causes must be pinpointed. Many of them are the product of a form of development which, with its variants of abundance and excess, has produced an underdevelopment that is characterized by exploitation, marginalization and despoliation. And the result of this is the appearance of revolutionary violence which, even with all its excesses, bespeaks the disequilibrium in today's world. If the enormous sums today being wasted on armaments were channelled to the overall development of the world, much would be done then to eliminate the conflicts which today loom over the present and future of mankind.

59. May I, furthermore, add that disarmament not only provides those real possibilities, but also constitutes an indispensable factor overcoming the political, intellectual and scientific forms of authoritarianism, ideological disarticulation and falsification. This is so because the arms race must always, in order to be accepted morally by the peoples, lead to the most brutal and absolute stereotyping of the enemy in question, an enemy which serves as a pretext for organizing power as an end in itself.

60. These true facts should, I think, incite this Assembly to speed up its search for a rational alternative in this matter. There can be no possibility of true peace without disarmament. Yet, first we must establish the objective conditions which will pre-establish complete agreement in the field; and such an agreement can only be the result of our courage to make this project part of an overall scheme; that is, a concrete analytical blueprint in which the disarmament programme will develop in accordance with a change in the world economic reality.

61. Hundreds of thousands of scientists and technicians and millions of men in the great industrial countries are today engaged in the manufacture and sale of weapons. That is a fact. Because of the population explosion and under-development, the third world is suffering from a tragic and alarming level of unem-

ployment. In the industrial countries there are signs of very serious structural unemployment, which, although not comparable, calls for objective reflection. To put it as boldly as possible: it will be impossible to abolish rearmament, which today has become the backbone of the established order, unless it is through an integral economic project that will permit us to move from a war economy—the fruit of a restored and therefore fictitious peace—to an economy based on true peace.

62. Localized conflicts not only afford wide opportunities for the continuation of that arms race, but also, because of today's increasing interdependence, threaten the conditions on which world peace must rest.

63. A recent fact-finding trip through the Middle East has served to strengthen my conviction that there can be no firm foundation for peace in that area of the world without an overall agreement that will cover the departure of troops from all occupied territories, guarantee the borders of the States in the area, and accord historic recognition to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Such an agreement necessarily should and has to be achieved within the framework of the United Nations, which is the objective hope of the world, and go beyond partial negotiations which, despite the progress they may represent at a given moment, may nevertheless later create even graver problems and difficulties.

64. World peace will be endangered unless absolute respect is shown for the principle of the territorial integrity of States in the solution of other territorial conflicts. Mexico therefore supports the sister Republic of Panama in its just demand for the restoration of its sovereignty over the whole of its territory.

65. We rejoice at the triumph of the liberation movements in Africa and Asia. The new countries that have emerged into independent life after prolonged struggles in which they successfully confronted forces far superior to their own have demonstrated once again that man will resist, overcome and, in the end, destroy all despotism.

66. We moreover confirm our repudiation of *apartheid*, of the illegal occupation by South Africa of the Territory of Namibia and of the fact that the great majority of the population of Rhodesia is prevented from exercising its political rights.

67. With respect to the recent events in Spain, I wish, firmly and calmly, to support the message submitted to the Security Council by Mexico on 28 September 1975.² We are convinced that, both technically and politically, reason is on our side: technically, because this petition is in accordance with the terms of the Charter of the United Nations, which gives every Member State the right to denounce situations of this type before the Security Council; and politically, because the events we are dealing with not only constitute repeated violations of human rights, but, over and above all, are evidence of the systematic creation of a climate of violent confrontation that may easily lead to international friction and endanger the maintenance of peace in an area of the world where, because of its strategic importance, it could constitute a threat to world security. This has been demonstrated by the magnitude of the protest

which this case has aroused throughout the world. And, inevitably, history will prove it true.

68. Recent years have brought increasing awareness of the urgent need for substantial modernization of the law of the sea. In the negotiations now under way to approve a treaty of general application, the rule calling for an exclusive economic zone has won almost unanimous support.

69. Because of the existence of certain difficulties, which may well postpone adoption of this agreement for a considerable period of time, Mexico has decided to establish an exclusive economic zone extending to 200 nautical miles from its coasts, but not affecting navigation, overflight, or the laying of cables. This implies the affirmation of our full sovereignty over the resources of the entire Gulf of California.

70. My country has participated with constant interest in world conferences dealing with the principal problems affecting mankind. It was our signal honour to act as hosts, in our capital city, to the World Conference of the International Women's Year. That important event marked the beginning of a new era in our continuing struggle to enforce women's rights and to make women more active participants in the building of our future society.

71. Thus it was obvious that the struggle we were waging on behalf of the equality of women was part of the enormous task of achieving the liberation of mankind as a whole, which once again implies the transformation of the world economic order. Mexico will spare no effort to bring about unrestricted implementation of the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year, adopted at that Conference on the basis of the principles approved in the corresponding Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975.

72. The United Nations is today in the process of leaving behind the rule of the minority which characterized it for decades and of trying to achieve a structure more in accord with the changes that have occurred in our times; it is becoming a model of responsible and democratic power which, on the basis of consensus, will overcome contradictions, but which will not counterfeit that consensus by means of economic pressure or the force of arms.

73. Our Organization must rid itself of colonialist attitudes in order to become the contemporary forum of a new majority which excludes no one, and which unquestionably represents the voice of history. That majority is waging a responsible struggle to bring the sovereign will of the peoples of the world to the point of deciding, on the basis of law, to undertake that change of course which humanity yearns for and which must not be decided in an anti-democratic manner by the arbitrary imposition of the will of any minority.

74. The emerging nations want to assume their proper responsibilities within the community of nations. All nations, regardless of their size or strength, share the rights and obligations inherent in the building of a new order. Although it is true that the most powerful nations should contribute more than others to the aid of those who have the least, this certainly should not lead to a rebirth of paternalism or of economic hegemonies.

75. In reforming the United Nations we must act with maturity and adopt a thoroughly practical approach. First of all, we must reinforce the decision-making capacity of the General Assembly, whose functions are currently limited, in comparison with those of the Security Council, in matters in which this is no longer justifiable. The recent refusal to admit the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam as Member States, despite the majority support expressed by the General Assembly, is a negation of the most elementary principles of international democracy and should be cause for grave concern to us all.

76. Consequently, it would be appropriate to reduce the number of questions which are subject to veto, and also to extend the right of veto to one or more members of the third world in order to achieve a balance within the Security Council that is more in keeping with the true composition of the present-day world.

77. To want to improve the United Nations is to believe in it, for to resign ourselves to its recognized limitations in various fields would be tantamount to becoming accomplices of the established order, or to transforming this Organization into a forum for fictions—useful only for venting one's feelings—and to allowing the fundamental decisions of our time to be taken, with increasing frequency, behind its back.

78. We stand at an impressive moment in world history. This Assembly provides clear proof that the parliaments established on the basis of the minority power of one or more countries have now yielded pride of place and must henceforth be governed by the historic will of the majority. That was the original process that led to the organization of democratic régimes.

79. We here cannot be taken to task for the fact that the third world, together with the peoples of all the world, aspires to the creation of a democratic basis for world power. This implies a full responsibility on the part of the new United Nations majority and also the urgent need for a structural reform of this Organization that is in keeping with the changes which the world is now undergoing.

80. All this spells a political will for change and the restructuring of organizations along new lines in order to make that change possible.

81. Mexico will continue to contribute in every way possible to the starting of a new world economic order. I hereby officially reaffirm the autonomy of our institutions and the revolutionary and nationalist character of a régime which was created and has developed in freedom and which has invariably demanded as a rule of coexistence respect for the rights of others and for freedom and sovereignty.

82. From this world tribune I wish to express to you, as an augury and as an expression of hope, that if true peace and not imposed peace is to be achieved it will be done here or not at all. That is the moral legacy of the new majorities of the world represented in this Organization.

83. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank

His Excellency the President of the United Mexican States for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

84. Mr. ARYAL (Nepal): Mr. President, it is my privilege to convey to you and, through you, to the representatives assembled here, the greetings of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Birenda Bir Bikram Shah Deva, and his best wishes for the success of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

85. I should like to convey, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the high office of the presidency of this General Assembly. My delegation pledges to you, Mr. President, its fullest co-operation and support in the discharge of your heavy responsibilities.

86. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation of the services rendered by the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

87. My delegation feels that there have been some positive developments this year in the field of international relationship. Many international initiatives have been carried out with a view to finding out solutions to some of the very important and outstanding problems of the world, the most important of which is the recently concluded seventh special session of the General Assembly, which considered the problem of development and international economic co-operation. The session convincingly proved that it is co-operation along with political will, and not confrontation, which is essential for alleviating the constantly deteriorating international economic situation.

88. The policy of détente has continued to be the main feature of international relations, with a promise for co-operation among major Powers.

89. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki, ended successfully with the signing of a Final Act by 35 nations, which is a genuine example of determination on the part of European countries to try to solve their problems peacefully among themselves and to live in an atmosphere of co-operation. We believe that the Conference will help further the cause of détente and brighten the prospect of peace in Europe. My Government has welcomed the Final Act of the Conference and has expressed its hope that the process of détente would be extended to all parts of the world.

90. Among the various existing crisis spots in the world, the hotbed of war in the Middle East, by its dimensions and possible consequences for international peace and security, must be viewed as the most dangerous source of tension in the world today. Nepal has always been in favour of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. We continue to believe that the various relevant resolutions, including Security Council resolution 242 (1967), still provide a viable framework for the just and durable solution of the Middle East situation. Nepal's sincere desire to contribute to the peaceful settlement of disputes was amply demonstrated by its participation in the United Nations

Emergency Force with a contingent of the Royal Nepalese Army.

91. Nepal believes that the recently concluded Sinai agreement on disengagement, in so far as it stimulates and accelerates the reaching of a lasting, just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis, could constitute a significant step in the process of seeking peace for this dangerous hotbed of war. The wisdom and statesmanship shown by the leaders of both the countries in reaching this agreement is, no doubt, admirable. My delegation, however, is of the opinion that the recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine is an essential element for the settlement of the Middle East question.
92. In South-East Asia, the problems of Viet Nam and Cambodia have now come to an end. And having victoriously freed themselves from foreign intervention and domination, these countries are now engaged in the task of national reconstruction. We believe that assistance and co-operation from the United Nations and its other specialized agencies will be able to contribute to their task of national recovery and reconstruction.
93. My delegation expresses its conviction that the establishment of peace in Indo-China will lead to the stabilization of the situation in the broader area and to the assertion of principles of non-alignment. Similarly, we also hope that the efforts of the countries of south Asia towards seeking solutions for outstanding problems and the initiated process of normalization of mutual relations between the countries of this region will be continued.
94. The problem of Korea, which is still unresolved, is a source of tension. No permanent peace in the region is possible unless this question is settled to the satisfaction of both parties. We note that Members are taking this up as a matter of urgent attention of this session. My country hopes that both North and South Korea will reopen their dialogue in the spirit of the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972³ with a view to achieving the peaceful reunification of Korea. At the same time, the deliberations of this Assembly should contribute towards the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the aforementioned objective. Nepal will support any moves which will lead towards this goal.
95. Cyprus has been a scene of disturbance to peace and security in the area. There is a pressing need for an agreed settlement of the Cyprus question. My country appreciates the personal initiatives taken by the Secretary-General in trying to find a solution to this complex problem through arrangements of various inter-communal consultations and negotiations between the parties under the auspices of the United Nations. We hope that the Cyprus question will be settled within the framework of respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus through the full implementation of the United Nations resolutions.
96. In addition, my delegation wishes to express its grave concern at the continuing tense situation brought about by the arms race. There is, therefore, an urgent need that more concrete international measures be taken in the field of disarmament. There have been certain encouraging initiatives and developments in recent years in this field but progress has been extremely slow.
97. Nepal has always supported all moves and international initiatives which aim at contributing directly or indirectly to the objective of disarmament. It has always raised its voice against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and all kinds of nuclear tests, in whatever form or environment they may be carried out.
98. Nepal, being a peace-loving nation, is deeply committed to the cause of peace through disarmament. The General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session adopted almost 20 resolutions on various aspects of disarmament ranging from the creation of nuclear-free zones and the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace to the regulation of peaceful nuclear explosions and the convening of a world disarmament conference. All of those resolutions were supported by Nepal.
99. There have been two major events this year in the field of disarmament. Three depositary Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom and the USSR—simultaneously deposited in March 1975 their instruments of ratification, which made possible the immediate entry into force of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*]. This Convention, which has been ratified by 40 nations, is the first real disarmament measure, since it calls for the destruction of stockpiles. The same kind of convention on chemical weapons has not yet, unfortunately, followed that course.
100. The second important event has been the convening of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held at Geneva in May of this year, in which my country had the privilege to participate as one of the few countries of Asia which is a party to the non-proliferation Treaty. Though the Conference could not reach any agreement, it adopted a Final Declaration [*A/C.1/1068, annex I*], presented by the President of the Conference, which I think is quite significant.
101. At that Review Conference, Nepal laid stress on the importance of the strengthening of the security system of non-nuclear-weapon States and the promotion of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear technology. It emphasized the urgent need to conclude a comprehensive test-ban treaty, covering underground explosives, because, in our view, it is an important step towards nuclear disarmament. We have, however, made our viewpoints clear on the necessity to make an exemption under the comprehensive test-ban treaty for peaceful nuclear explosions under the supervision and control of an international body—possibly the International Atomic Energy Agency—so that the legitimate concerns of these States that have seen the great potential benefits in peaceful nuclear explosions may be adequately met.
102. We are of the opinion that there should be a sufficient guarantee of security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the threat and use of nuclear weapons. We believe that it is the responsibility of the nuclear-weapon States to meet this obligation because it ultimately lies in a pledge by nuclear-weapon States not to use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear-

weapon States and against one another. We hope that some definite progress can be achieved in the foregoing areas by the time another review conference takes place, in 1980.

103. The ultimate objective of all these efforts and initiatives should be general and complete disarmament, because it is only through general and complete disarmament that international peace and security, which is one of the main objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, can be achieved. We have therefore been in favour of the convening of a world disarmament conference in which all nations, whether big or small, developed or developing, nuclear or non-nuclear, could participate. It is a matter of regret that the *Ad Hoc* Committee established by resolution 3183 (XXVIII) has not yet been able to reach a consensus on such a vital question, but we hope that the Committee will be able to convince all the countries concerned, so that a constructive world public opinion can be formed towards the pursuance of this sacred goal.

104. In the field of decolonization, there have been a number of welcome developments in Africa. With the exception of Angola, where the transition to independence has been marred by internal dissension, all the former Portuguese colonial Territories, such as Mozambique and the islands of Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, have achieved their independence. We very much hope that Angolan leaders too will be able to reconcile their differences peacefully through negotiations and facilitate an early transition to full-fledged independence and thus help complete the decolonization process of all the former Portuguese colonial Territories.

105. The constant refusal of the white minority régime of Southern Rhodesia to accept the just "one man, one vote" principle has been preventing the fulfilment of the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. It has denied the right of self-determination, freedom and independence to the people of Zimbabwe and has been consolidating its racist régime in total disregard of world public opinion; and in defiance of all the United Nations decisions.

106. My delegation notes with concern the continuation of the racist régime in South Africa, which, because of its aggressive character, constitutes a source of danger to peace and security in the world. It has illegally continued to occupy the United Nations Territory of Namibia against the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.⁴ The decision of the General Assembly last year⁵ barring the delegation of South Africa from taking part in its work was designed to convince the racist Government of South Africa that its inhuman policy of *apartheid* was unacceptable to the international community. And yet South Africa has not only continued to deny the fundamental rights of human freedom and adamantly to pursue its racist policy of suppression of its people, in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but also has been making a mockery of all United Nations decisions. More concrete international action should be taken to put an end to this deplorable situation for ever in South Africa.

107. My delegation would like to congratulate Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe on their achievement of independence. We welcome

them into this comity of nations as new Members of this Organization. We hope that their admission to the United Nations will add to the strength of the Organization in dealing with the issues facing the world community today.

108. There is an urgent need of international co-operation and understanding among nations, not only for the maintenance of peace and international security, but also for the solution of many social and economic problems of the world. The initiative of the United Nations in this respect could prove very useful and effective.

109. The past year has seen the continuation of a series of United Nations conferences on global problems, including population, food, the law of the sea, industrialization, the World Conference of the International Women's Year, and so on. My country participated in all those conferences.

110. As we are one of the least developed among the developing countries whose economy is based on agriculture, the conferences on problems of food and population were vital to us. The Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [UNIDO], held at Lima from 12 to 26 March 1975, was also significant for us because we look to the prospect of industrialization for our rapid economic development. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was of great importance to us because of our land-locked character and also because of the fact that the right of free and unrestricted access to and from the sea would not only promote economic development by facilitating trade and industrialization but would also help us partake of the sea resources. The World Conference of the International Women's Year sought a new and comprehensive approach to the solution of the problems that women face in their respective societies. All those conferences—except the one on the law of the sea—have come out with comprehensive plans of action and various recommendations.

111. The third session of the Conference on the Law of the Sea recently held at Geneva could not reach a consensus, but the informal single negotiating text⁶ brought out by it will serve as a basis for the forthcoming conference, to be held in March here in New York. As the decision of that conference affects all nations, land-locked and coastal, it is hoped that the final convention will incorporate in it all reasonable concerns and claims of different interest groups.

112. The present international situation is characterized by persistently deteriorating economic conditions in spite of the efforts made through international organizations. Given the complex and wide nature of the issues and problems involved, the real danger of economic turmoil without precedent is imminent, unless a more concerted and realistic approach in searching for solutions to all these problems is adopted.

113. The turning-point in the present international economic activities was the sixth special session of the General Assembly, which adopted 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 set in motion a process in international relations. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, as approved by the twenty-

ninth session of the General Assembly, was also a recommendation of the sixth special session. All those efforts made in long and arduous consultations and negotiations among nations will not bear any fruit unless all nations concerned show a spirit of co-operation and willingness.

114. The recently concluded seventh special session, which had development and international economic co-operation as its theme, has amply demonstrated the seriousness and magnitude of the problem. It was encouraging to see that all nations, developed and developing, in spite of their differences, were willing to make efforts in trying to find a solution acceptable to all. The session has further proved that the interests of the developed and the developing countries cannot be isolated from each other and that there exists interdependence between the prosperity of the developed countries and the economic progress of the developing nations.

115. It is a recognized fact that the economic progress of the developing countries depends primarily on the co-operation and understanding of the developed countries. The developing countries will never be able to prosper until the artificial restrictions of tariff and non-tariff barriers to the export of their primary goods are eliminated and an effective arrangement of international stocking and price stabilization and indexation has evolved, until the transfer of real resources from developed to developing countries is ensured and until a change in the present international monetary system is effected. The efforts of the seventh special session in these directions should be continuously pursued in order to bring about a speedy recovery from present economic ills and promote a healthy growth under a new atmosphere of international economic relationship.

116. It is regrettable to note that the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product envisaged to be forthcoming from industrial nations as their official development assistance to the developing countries, as set forth in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], has not so far been achieved. It would have substantially increased the amount of aid for the developing countries and greatly contributed to their economic uplift. It was against that background that during the seventh special session [*2334th meeting, para. 123*] I made an appeal to the effect that development aid should no longer be viewed as an act of generosity on the part of the donor countries but should be treated as an obligation towards the economic development of the developing countries. With this in view, I suggested—and I repeat here—that this should be devised and developed as a concept of a sort of “international taxation” whereby the developed countries would have a sense of obligation to contribute to a certain extent to the development of developing countries.

117. A challenge to all the international efforts and initiatives for economic development is posed by the economic situation of the least developed among the developing countries. My country, which is a mountainous agricultural country, falls within this category. The situation is further aggravated by its land-locked character. The land-locked countries are facing a double burden in their development efforts as the

problem of heavy and additional transport costs, among many others, makes their development more expensive and, at the same time, offsets whatever meagre benefit they may get from their development.

118. It is therefore essential that adequate measures are taken for the economic uplift of these countries before their conditions deteriorate further, so that the objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade may be achieved and the ever-widening economic disparity between nations be narrowed.

119. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the international community, both within and outside the United Nations, has started to give recognition to the needs and aspirations of the least developed and land-locked countries. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, adopted by the twenty-ninth session last year, recognizes the free access to and from the sea by land-locked countries as one of the fundamental principles of international economic relations.

120. The recommendations of the Conference of the Developing Countries on Raw Materials held at Dakar in February of this year certainly emphasized the need to grant favourable terms of trade to the least developed countries, recognized the right of land-locked countries to free access to and from the sea and urged the adoption of special measures to offset the disadvantages of their geographical position,⁷ including the establishment of a special fund for relieving the burden of their additional transportation costs. The UNCTAD Intergovernmental Group on the Transfer of Technology has also recently come out with some suggestions for special measures in favour of those countries.⁸ The Second General Conference of UNIDO this year also adopted a resolution urging special measures for the industrialization of the least developed and land-locked countries [*see A/10112, para. 287*].

121. Mention may also be made of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima in August, which adopted an Economic Declaration containing provisions for special measures in favour of the land-locked and the least developed countries [*see A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, p. 34*].

122. At the seventh special session, the General Assembly, on taking note in resolution 3362 (S-VII) of the special problems of those countries, recommended a series of measures in their favour. It also recommended that developed and developing countries in a position to do so should undertake special measures to assist in the structural transformation of the economies of the least developed and the land-locked developing countries.

123. In the field of the transfer of resources, developed countries are called upon to include in their terms and conditions of assistance a preponderant grant element for the least developed and the land-locked developing countries.

124. Regarding industrialization, the Assembly at its seventh special session emphasized that special attention should be paid to the problems of the least developed and the land-locked developing countries in order to enable them to play their due role in the

world economy as warranted by their human and material resources.

125. At that special session the Assembly also recommended transmission to this regular session of the report of the Secretary-General regarding special measures in favour of the land-locked developing countries with a view to the immediate establishment of a special fund to offset the additional transportation costs of those countries. My delegation strongly urges that at this session we consider this urgent question and decide to establish such a fund, which should go a long way towards relieving the hardship of the land-locked developing countries.

126. Since it represents one of the least developed and land-locked countries, my delegation is aware that all these proposals are very, very important. Further effective international actions should, however, be taken for the speedy implementation of all these proposals so that the aspirations of those nations may soon be realized.

127. At a time when the present international economic crisis is causing additional hardship through the spiralling rising prices of all imports, the scarcity of necessary developmental goods, monetary instability and all adverse balances of payment, which are in turn causing the speedy depletion of the financial resources at our disposal, we are left with no alternative but to look towards international assistance and co-operation. The Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the special measures contained therein, adopted in favour of the most seriously affected countries, are of immense importance to a country such as ours. But, to our great concern and disappointment, my country has not so far been included in the list of those countries, despite the fact that we fulfil all the criteria laid for such inclusion. I have already appealed to this body, during the recently concluded special session [2334th meeting, para. 136], and I now repeat my appeal that Nepal be included in the list of most seriously affected countries.

128. My sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra, recently said that Nepal's quest for peace stems from our basic belief in the inseparability of peace and economic prospects. In that sense Nepal believes there is no alternative to the world Organization, not only because it has successfully survived for 30 years and has been largely instrumental in the maintenance of peace and security by sparing mankind from a third global war, but also because it has increasingly been making remarkable strides towards the solution of economic, social and various other problems of a global nature, such as those of trade, economic development, the environment, food, population and the sea, which certainly require global solutions.

129. Nepal's faith in the United Nations and its dedication to the principles of its Charter are total and complete. We shall always endeavour to our utmost and contribute to our maximum capacity in order to ensure that this international arsenal of peace is further strengthened and preserved for the welfare and prosperity of mankind as a whole.

130. Mr. LARAKI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to address to you the warmest congratulations of my delegation

on the responsible mission the General Assembly has unanimously entrusted to you by electing you to the presidency of its thirtieth session. This choice is a proof of the esteem which the States Members of our Organization have for you. It is also the expression of a tribute they have sought through you to pay to the dynamic and constructive policies of your country in favour of international co-operation. At the same time, for us it constitutes the guarantee that our deliberations will take place in the best possible conditions of effectiveness because of your talent and your competence, and in particular because of the political open-mindedness that has always characterized your actions.

131. My congratulations also go to your predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, to whom it is a great pleasure for me to pay a tribute for the actions he undertook in order to ensure the success of our work during the last regular and special sessions.

132. I hope the Secretary-General will be kind enough to accept our great appreciation of and our gratitude for the tireless action he has undertaken to ensure the triumph of the principles of the United Nations in order to promote lasting peace throughout the world.

133. We extend a warm welcome to the new Members, whose admission to our Organization is the result of the long struggle they have courageously and heroically waged against colonialism. It is a matter of great satisfaction for us to welcome the delegations of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. My country intends to develop with those fraternal States the most extensive co-operation and the closest relations possible.

134. In the past year progress has been achieved in the establishment of a new era of peace in the world. I would refer first and foremost to the restoration of peace in South-East Asia, thanks to which the peoples of Viet Nam and Cambodia will finally be able to devote themselves to achieving the exalting work of national reconstruction. My country, which is fully aware of the long suffering which has been endured by these peoples, will continue to give them all necessary support in their development and reconstruction efforts.

135. The African continent has also scored new successes on the path to liberation through the accession of new countries to independence and national sovereignty.

136. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki last July, represents a step towards the strengthening of peace throughout the world. Its effects, however, will not make themselves fully felt in international relations unless the States signing the Final Act resolve to apply the principles adopted, not only in their mutual relations, but also in the relations which they entertain with the rest of the world.

137. In the Middle East, praiseworthy efforts have been made to restore peace. But we must confess that peace is still a long way off because the real problems have not been tackled, particularly the question of recognizing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

138. The situation is equally disquieting in Africa and, although colonialism has given ground, foreign domination persists over vast areas of territory, and racism remains one of the fundamental principles of the governments of certain States.

139. In the field of economic and social development, we believe that the efforts made by the international community to establish a new economic order, and the results obtained, particularly during the seventh special session of the General Assembly, constitute an important step towards the establishment of this new international economic order.

140. The seventh special session of the General Assembly has just concluded its work in an atmosphere of mutual understanding which, we venture to hope, will be a red-letter day in the history of relations among peoples. As a result, the sterility of a series of monologues has given way to the fruitful exchange of a genuinely constructive dialogue.

141. Thus, new prospects are now opening up before mankind of banishing confrontations from the international scene and devoting ourselves to broader co-operation in all fields of economic and social activity. This is the only way to achieve progressive elimination of the injustices and the inequalities which have hitherto hampered the advent of an equitable economic order that would guarantee peoples throughout the world an era of progress, peace and prosperity.

142. This special session has thus made it possible to presage the advent of a new international economic order by means of the collective definition of specific steps all aimed at bringing about an economic institutional restructuring of international life, in order to ensure stable and equitable incomes for the developing countries, to safeguard and improve the terms of trade, to stimulate the transfer of science and technology, to stem inflation, and to inject a new morality into the international monetary system.

143. Consequently, it is important that the dynamic process born of the spirit of the seventh special session, as well as the political will and desire for co-operation and understanding which was characteristic of its work, should be channelled towards serving the interests and the welfare of our peoples, by means of our continuing and persistent efforts.

144. Definition of this new co-operation and strategy, it must be noted, was possible only because of the new spirit of mutual understanding and of compromise which allowed us to arrive at a broad consensus. We hardly need to stress that it cannot be implemented without other meetings to discuss formulas which will make it possible to reconcile differing viewpoints and which will help to concert interests that can hardly be regarded as conflicting.

145. Morocco, while affirming its total adherence to the principles contained in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, hopes, in the spirit of constructive dialogue which now prevails among the members of the international community, that the misgivings expressed by certain developed countries in connexion with that Charter will be dispelled, so that the principles contained therein can be implemented in the interests of all parties.

146. The situation in the Middle East is still fraught with increasingly serious threats to world peace, despite the progress which has been recently accomplished. Israel continues to occupy vast territories belonging to three States Members of our Organization, despite the unanimous condemnation of the international community which was reflected in the numerous resolutions adopted by both regional organizations and international bodies, and in particular by the United Nations. In spite of universal disapproval, Israel continues its murderous raids against Arab countries and does not balk at using the most destructive type of weapons even against civilian populations.

147. While our Organization has been equal to its responsibilities in condemning such criminal acts, we see with indignation that the resolutions adopted in this connexion have remained ineffectual, and have merely been added to the many previous resolutions that have been passed since 1948.

148. The occupation of the holy city of Jerusalem, the east bank of the Jordan, the Golan Heights, and the major part of the Sinai peninsula constitutes a telling illustration of Israel's policies of annexation and expansionism.

149. Morocco supports all the efforts which are being made to achieve a global, just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem. We would reiterate that such a solution cannot consist only of the total evacuation of the occupied territories and the holy city of Jerusalem, but necessarily implies the unequivocal recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

150. Recent initiatives in the Middle East undoubtedly introduce a new element into the efforts made to bring about the evacuation of occupied Arab territories. But we are disturbed to see that, despite long and arduous negotiations, and despite the good faith and positive attitude of the victim of the aggression, Israel continues to occupy approximately 90 per cent of the Sinai.

151. And if such a limited result has required eight years of difficult and lengthy negotiations from the mission of Mr. Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, right up to the numerous trips made by Mr. Kissinger, the Secretary of State of the United States, this would seem to indicate that the Middle East will continue under the threat of an explosive situation, endangering international peace and security in a way involving incalculable political, economic, and human consequences.

152. We must, therefore, remain vigilant. This is the price of peace. It is our duty to give full effect to the resolutions adopted by our Organization.

153. Morocco and the international community cannot be indifferent to the tragedy of the Palestinian people, who, for approximately 30 years now, have been victims of international zionism and who live scattered throughout the world. Israel stops at nothing in its attempts to destroy that people both physically and politically. But the determination of our Palestinian brothers to recover their national rights, the heroism and the abnegation they have displayed, have led to a world-wide awareness of the realities of the Palestine situation.

154. Resolution 3237 (XXIX) in which the General Assembly called upon the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] to participate in all its work and at all international conferences held under its aegis, and General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) reaffirming the inalienable right of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including their right to independence and sovereignty, are both of profound political significance. They have made it possible for the Palestinian question to be transferred from the realm of charitable or humanitarian considerations to the realm to which it really belongs, that of an acute political problem which threatens international peace and security and requires of us an urgent solution.

155. Morocco, faithful to the resolution of the seventh Conference of Arab Heads of State or Government, held at Rabat in October 1974, would here solemnly restate its view that there can be no global and final solution to the question of the Middle East unless an independent Palestinian national authority is set up under the aegis of the PLO.

156. The tragedy which has been visited upon our brothers in Lebanon is only a consequence of the pernicious and diabolical Israeli designs to disrupt the unity of the Lebanese nation and to sow hatred and discord among the citizens of the same country. That is why Israel is seeking to destroy the structures of the Lebanese State, since it symbolizes understanding and harmonious and peaceful coexistence among communities professing different creeds. In so doing, the Zionist State is attempting to give the impression that even the concept of coexistence in Palestine would lack realism and objectivity. Thus, the covert action and treacherous manoeuvres which have been instigated by Israel in Lebanon are quite evidently further proof of the unsavoury role played by Israel in the Middle East.

157. The Israeli-Arab conflict, unfortunately, is not the only source of tension in the Mediterranean. The situation in Cyprus continues to divide two communities which common sense and mutual interests would prompt to a peaceful and harmonious coexistence. Morocco expresses the hope that the inter-communal talks, initiated under the auspices of the Secretary-General, may continue until a just and final solution to this painful conflict can be found.

158. Acting on the premise that security in Europe and the restoration of peace in the Mediterranean are indivisible, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe sought, to a certain point, to take due account of the concerns expressed by the non-participating Mediterranean countries.

159. We regret, however, that the Conference did not include the coastal Mediterranean countries, which, quite obviously, are vitally concerned by most of the problems which it discussed.

160. Nevertheless, we took note of the fact that the participant States proclaimed their intention to maintain and to broaden the dialogue which has been started with the other coastal countries in order to contribute to peace, to the reduction of armed forces in the area, and to the broadening of co-operation. Thus, the Conference recognized that the cultural and economic ties and the imperative need for security on both sides of the Mediterranean legitimized the

interest of Morocco and other coastal countries in security and the development of good relations throughout the region.

161. The changes occurring in Portugal have brought about a noteworthy acceleration of the process of decolonization in Africa. But it is intolerable that other Territories are still subject to colonialism or still endure the odious system of racism and *apartheid*. The continuation of this situation involves the grave risks of tension and conflict in our continent and constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

162. The Kingdom of Morocco is resolved to pursue its action in order to bring about the total liberation of Africa and to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination from that continent. I should like here to express our regret that a number of countries continue to co-operate with racist régimes, thus helping to consolidate their economies and their capacity to repress indigenous populations.

163. In referring to the problems of our continent, I should like to express the deep distress which we experience in learning each day of the events which afflict Angola at a time when it is on the eve of its accession to independence. My country urgently appeals to the national movements, each one of which is aware of the patriotic spirit and sacrifices made during their liberation struggle, to put an end to their internecine quarrels.

164. The time has come for all to turn this gloomy page of history marked by fratricidal struggle and to turn boldly towards the future and fully shoulder the new responsibilities incumbent upon them in order to build a stable State with a prosperous economy for the benefit of their peoples. The Kingdom of Morocco is fully prepared to make its contribution to the effort of national reconstruction which will have to be immediately undertaken in Angola.

165. I referred just now to Territories still under colonial domination. The Western Sahara is precisely a part of those Territories.

166. Since its partial decolonization in 1956, the Kingdom of Morocco has constantly worked beside all the liberation movements which are struggling against colonialism and has been actively involved in the work of the liberation committee of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

167. May I recall that the OAU has had fresh life breathed into it since the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU held at Rabat from 12 to 15 June 1972; furthermore, it has now become commonplace to speak of the "spirit of Rabat".

168. Faithful as it is to the same policy, Morocco is supporting the efforts of the third-world countries to strengthen their sovereignty and to defend their integrity against any attempts at disintegration or divisiveness.

169. This policy must be seen as part and parcel of the principles and declarations of our Organization. The principles of national unity and territorial integrity are an integral part of the binding law which is the very foundation of the actions of the United Nations and the agencies affiliated with it. This, in particular, makes it possible for us to thwart all manoeuvres

aimed at perpetuating direct or indirect domination on the part of the colonial Powers.

170. The peoples of Zaire, Nigeria and Indonesia were able to triumph precisely over these manoeuvres by seeking, through struggle and great sacrifice, to ensure their right to national unity and territorial integrity. In so doing they received the effective support of both the OAU and our Organization.

171. In these circumstances, Morocco can justifiably request the support of the international community to help it achieve its own territorial integrity in the context of the application of these self-same principles.

172. In this connexion, we are indeed grateful to those States which unequivocally supported the just claims of Morocco in connexion with its Territories in the north still under Spanish domination: the towns of Ceuta and Melilla, the Jaafarines Islands and the Rocks of Velez and Alhoceima.

173. We would express our thanks to the Islamic Conference, the OAU and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, which, in the course of this year, have given their unanimous and complete support to the just claims of my country.

174. The Political Declaration of Lima, which defined the strategy to strengthen international peace and security and to intensify solidarity and mutual assistance among non-aligned countries, states:

“Furthermore, considering the repressive acts committed by the Spanish authorities in the towns of Ceuta and Melilla, on the Jaafarines Islands and on the Rocks of Alhoceima and Velez under the Moroccan jurisdiction, the non-aligned countries express their full support for the claims of the Kingdom of Morocco to recover its territorial integrity over its towns, islands and enclaves and request Spain to enter into direct negotiations with Morocco to arrange for their immediate restitution.” [See A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, para. 43.]

175. The Government of His Majesty the King of Morocco reaffirms its rights of sovereignty over those Territories and, strengthened by the support of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of our Organization, declares itself prepared immediately to undertake negotiations with the Spanish Government. Spain cannot reject this dialogue, because it is precisely the same process which it is advocating to settle the question of Gibraltar.

176. For 10 years now the General Assembly has had before it the question of the decolonization of Western Sahara. Morocco, while supporting the initiatives taken by our Organization to bring about true decolonization, has constantly maintained that Western Sahara is a fundamental part of the Moroccan nation. For its part, the administering Power has remained heedless of all the resolutions which have been passed previously and has obstinately aimed at a thorough distortion of the necessary conditions for their implementation. All the delays that have occurred in the process of decolonization are therefore ascribable to Spain.

177. In fact, far from promoting the liberation of the colonized peoples, Spain has endeavoured to condition them by resorting particularly to the classic procedure

of so-called representative assemblies. At the same time it has stepped up its military and economic control. It has endeavoured to turn the referendum into a tool which it can fashion according to its whim and which it can use when and how it chooses in order to elicit a predetermined response. Of course, this so-called process of decolonization, which has furthermore been constantly deferred, has involved no negotiations with Morocco or Mauritania, parties directly concerned, and the United Nations itself has not been able to intervene, unless it be to give its blessing to decisions taken by the administering Power. It is this situation which the Moroccan and Mauritanian Governments, with the support of other Governments, forcefully denounced during the last session of the General Assembly.

178. In view of the specific character of Western Sahara, the General Assembly was induced during its last session to seek an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on certain legal aspects of the problem [*resolution 3292 (XXIX)*]. It will be up to our Assembly, in the light of the advisory opinion that will be handed down, to advocate specific political measures, while at the same time, however, respecting the fundamental right to territorial integrity of both Morocco and Mauritania.

179. His Majesty the King of Morocco was moved, furthermore, just before the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, to recall vividly how Morocco unanimously views the problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara. Spanish colonization did not involve an empty space which the colonizer settled or organized in any way. That colonization subjugated peoples who already had a political and social organization of a type which undoubtedly was appropriate to the region and the era in question and whose existence could in no wise be challenged. In other words, Western Sahara was never a *terra nullius*. Furthermore, the entire political and social organization which antedated the Spanish colonization showed that it was Moroccan soil that the colonizer had usurped. In point of fact, the geographical, ethnic and cultural unity of the liberated part of Morocco and that part of it still under Spanish domination is crystal clear. The same Teknas tribes live in both parts and have always been subject to Moroccan political and administrative organization. That organization itself acquired distinctive features by being exercised over widely scattered populations, who lived a nomadic life over vast expanses of desert.

180. Morocco is convinced that it has given the International Court of Justice clear evidence of the numerous ties which unite it with Western Sahara, despite the very difficult technical circumstances which it had to cope with. There can be no doubt that one of the effects of colonization is the confiscation of history. The negligent or wilful destruction of documents, their absorption into the archives of the administering Power, which, when it has to, produces only those which are favourable to it, undoubtedly do not help to serve the cause of those States which have been frustrated and are demanding compensation for that frustration.

181. Morocco, however, co-operated fully with the International Court of Justice in the performance of its mission. On the other hand, it was with some regret

that we viewed the negative attitude of the administering Power, which endeavoured to convince the Court not to give the General Assembly the assistance it had requested of it. It would be tedious to recall here how, by turns, the Spanish Government first sought to persuade the Court that the Assembly had submitted to it for its opinion a Spanish-Moroccan dispute, in other words a territorial dispute, and then argued that what was before the Court was purely academic and without interest. These technical legal points need not have been recalled here if, behind them, we did not glimpse the constant desire of using all means to reduce the process of decolonization to a sort of authoritarian monologue in which the administering Power itself asks the questions and gives the answers, seeks for no negotiation and brooks no discussion.

182. It is in the same spirit that, at the time when the case was being reviewed by the Court, the Spanish Government threatened to shed forthwith its responsibilities in Western Sahara, taking as a pretext a deterioration of the situation in the Territory. In this connexion it outlined certain prospects which quite clearly boiled down to a direct and arbitrary institution of a political authority in Western Sahara, a classic and convenient procedure whereby it could appear to give the impression of withdrawing while still remaining present through intermediaries.

183. It is in the same way that Spain has systematically refused for many years to receive the Visiting Mission that the General Assembly decided should be sent to Western Sahara. It was only this year that that Mission was finally able to discharge its functions and to visit the Territory. Thus, the Assembly is now furnished with and will shortly have before it the report of the Mission [A/10023, chap. XIII, annex], whose work we cannot over-praise for its moral integrity and its fidelity.

184. I should now particularly like to explain the state of mind in which the Moroccan Government will take up the discussion of the problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara.

185. Needless to say, Morocco considers that this decolonization involves not only areas bordering on its own territory. We would reaffirm that it is not only a question, as in the case of any process of decolonization, of rendering justice to the people who have been colonized themselves, but also, by the same token, of rendering justice to a nation which has been mutilated by the colonizers. The opinion of the International Court of Justice will indicate under what juridical heading we will have to place Western Sahara's ties with Morocco and Mauritania. But, over and above all categories and concepts, there is one certainty which every Moroccan, whatever be his station or his opinion, bears in his heart, and that is that there cannot be any true decolonization of the territory and population of Western Sahara as long as the rift created by the colonization persists.

186. I hardly need to remind this Assembly to what extent the new international law, the international law characterized by the liberation of colonized peoples, is inspired by a sense of national unity, and how often, in connexion with the question of respect for territorial integrity, the United Nations has paid a tribute to national unity. Nothing would be more unfair or more injurious to understanding among

nations than to carry out a process of decolonization without taking, first and foremost, due account of this desire to reunite what has been separated and to put together what has been broken into pieces.

187. Of course, at this stage of our discussion Morocco does not intend to submit any detailed procedure to the General Assembly. There will be adequate time to do so when our work has taken on a more technical turn, particularly in the Fourth Committee. For the time being, we cannot but ask the Assembly to pay due attention to two essential facts.

188. The first is that the process of decolonization of Western Sahara, as, furthermore, is demonstrated in the general terms of resolution 1514 (XV), is not something which can be decided by a sort of automatic machinery. We are faced here with a specific problem, in connexion with which all the necessary elements must be weighed and which cannot be fitted into a strait-jacket.

189. The second fact is that of the hope which my country cherishes. Few peoples have paid as heavy a price under colonization as the Moroccan people. For Morocco, colonization took the most cynical forms of division and mutilation, the very negation of national identity. The continuous struggle of the Moroccan people thus made it possible, in 1956, for an end to be put to the dual French and Spanish Protectorate, for us to recover the zone of Tangier, which had been placed under an international statute, and, finally, by means of direct negotiations with Spain, to obtain the restoration of the Saharan provinces of Tarfaya in 1958 and Ifni in January 1969.

190. It is therefore with patience, and also, at the same time, with full confidence in the work of liberation and justice pursued by the United Nations, that Morocco has awaited the completion of its territorial integrity.

191. How great would be our disappointment were the Organization to embark on a course likely to lead to a rejection of its national unity. That is a disappointment we shall not have to suffer. The work of liberation and the work of justice are one and the same.

192. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Spain on a point of order.

193. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation would like to ask you when you consider it appropriate for me to exercise my right of reply to the statement made this morning outside the context of the general debate. I believe that my question is well founded for the following reasons. First, in today's agenda two items appear: one of them is the address by the President of Mexico, and the second is the general debate. In order to exercise my delegation's right to reply to anyone we deem appropriate, as warranted within the framework of the continuation of the general debate, my delegation would be quite ready to do so at the end of this afternoon's meeting. However, I wonder if in the light of the brevity of my reply, I might not be called upon in order to reply to the views that were expressed by the President of Mexico here this morning.

194. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): This is a somewhat controversial question. May

I express my views? I hope that in response to a pressing but friendly appeal, the right of reply will be waived. There are precedents, as far as I have been able to see, on both sides. There are one or two examples where rights of reply were exercised with regard to statements made in plenary meetings and, on the appeal of the President, the speaker waived his right to speak.

195. It is the President's view that, out of courtesy but also for reasons of expediency, this Assembly, where more and more Heads of State appear and address it in the course of its sessions, should not reply to a Head of State. Otherwise, I think that our interest in hearing Heads of State address the Assembly would be lessened. That would be to the disadvantage of the Assembly, which, now that it is composed of 141 Members, sometimes has eight or nine Heads of State addressing it.

196. Furthermore, independently of these questions of courtesy and diplomacy, or even of these political reasons, I shall give a procedural reason. Rule 73 of the rules of procedure provides that "during the course of a debate, the President may . . . accord the right of reply". I note that our agenda states "Address" by a Head of State and then "General debate". I feel that the Secretariat and the Assembly, in so drafting the agenda, have been wise. In the future, therefore, there will be the general debate, in the course of which the right of reply may be exercised, and within the period of this general debate, but in parenthesis so to speak, the addresses delivered by Heads of State before the General Assembly should not give rise to a debate. Is my view shared by the representative of Spain and by the Assembly?

197. I would say in addition that to a large extent we have innovated somewhat in the matter in a way which will allow the representative of Spain to state his position. One delegation did this last week. His view was expressed to the President in writing. His statement was then distributed to the General Assembly in the form of a document. Thus, a delegation can make its position known but the Assembly would

not involve itself in a debate *vis-à-vis* Heads of State who have addressed the Assembly.

198. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am quite ready to abide by the decisions of the President, and if he says that I cannot exercise my right of reply, I shall not do so. As I see it, this would break the rule of equality of representation of all States and it would allow some to hide behind the robes of office of a Head of State. This in itself calls for moderation and respect for the rights of others.

199. Let us remember the words of Benito Juárez, who said that respect for the rights of others is the best guarantee of peace. I accept the President's decision.

200. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Spain for his courtesy. I shall not overlook his last comments and, as far as possible, I shall endeavour to bear them in mind and to make this the established practice in the future.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1952nd meeting.*

² *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1975, document S/11831.*

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

⁴ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports, 1971, p. 16.*

⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 31, p. 10, item 3.*

⁶ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, vol. IV (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.V.10), document A/CONF.62/WP.8.*

⁷ See E/AC.62/6, p. 42, resolution 9.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Trade and Development Board, Fourteenth Session, First Part, Annexes, agenda item 8 (e), document TD/B/520.*