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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
 (Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Miss BAGAAYA (Uganda): Mr. President, allow me the privilege of associating my delegation with the hearty congratulations already expressed by many delegations on your election to the high and esteemed office of the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. As you are a distinguished son of Africa, your election is a tribute not only to your revolutionary country, Algeria, and to you personally but also to Africa as a whole. With your renowned statesmanship, there is no doubt that you will carry out your heavy responsibilities to the satisfaction of this Assembly.

2. I should like, by the same token, to hail the creative efforts and considerable results achieved by the General Assembly at its last session under the leadership of the outgoing President from Ecuador. I wish also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for the dynamism with which he has been executing his duties since his appointment as Secretary-General.

3. I do not wish to take up the time of the Assembly by repeating themes which previous speakers have so ably expounded. I will only speak about matters relevant to this Assembly which have direct bearing on Uganda, and to which this world body should react with action rather than flowery oratory.

4. My delegation views with guarded delight the new developments in Portugal. The new Portuguese Government has recognized the futility of trying to hold down peoples in areas many times the size of Portugal. Portugal's announcement of its intention to give freedom to its African colonies, after a wasteful and negative war lasting over a decade, heralds the day, not far from now, when we shall be engaged in this forum in a friendly dialogue geared towards the economic development of the

African and Portuguese peoples. We in Uganda, and indeed all the members of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], are satisfied that the material and moral support we have consistently been giving to the African liberation movements has paid dividends. We therefore welcome the admission of the sister State of Guinea-Bissau to this Assembly.

5. The presence of the representative of the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau among us is clear testimony to the success of the liberation struggle in Africa. We shall, both as a nation and as a continent, continue resolutely to support that struggle until all peoples under Portuguese domination are free.

6. My delegation noted with cautious optimism the speech delivered before this Assembly by the Foreign Minister of Portugal [2239th meeting] in regard to his country's determination to grant independence to the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and the Cape Verde Islands. My delegation believes that the independence of these Territories is long overdue. While we join all progressive countries in welcoming the intention of Portugal to grant independence to its Territories, the Uganda Government's stand remains clear and firm: that is, that independence for Angola, Cape Verde and the Sao Tome islands should be granted immediately. We are strongly opposed to any programme that stipulates any delay in granting immediate independence. We are consequently opposed to the Portuguese programme of delaying the independence of Mozambique for a year.

7. In calling for immediate and unconditional independence for the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Cape Verde, my delegation is fully aware of the progressive and well-intentioned forces in Portugal. But, at the same time, we know of the existence of vicious and reactionary forces in Portugal and its Territories that are determined to frustrate the decolonization process, as exposed by recent events in Mozambique. We thus emphatically reject any programme except one of immediate independence for our brothers and sisters in the Portuguese Territories.

8. We feel confident that the lesson Portugal has learned over the last 13 years should sound a clear warning to the racist minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. Clearly, the wave of freedom is steadily and inevitably heading southwards towards Cape Town. But we are not so naive as to assume that the path will be an easy one. The odds are many and formidable. In southern Africa we see a paradoxical triangle of zionism, racism and economic exploitation. There are many evil forces that feel that *apartheid* is the sole protector of their economic interests in southern Africa. Because of economic considerations, the Americans have allowed

their allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in connivance with Zionist interests, to perpetuate the racist régimes of southern Africa.

9. The stand of my Government in regard to the chronic and shameful situation in southern Africa and Zimbabwe is and will always remain that there is no other way, nor is there any other method, than military intervention. I do not need to emphasize the real dangers to international security that are inherent in the situations prevailing in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. We further believe, indeed we are convinced, that the adamant attitude of the Pretoria régime in not heeding international appeals, and its flagrant breach of the Charter of the United Nations call for stern measures; and to us this should mean the expulsion of racist South Africa from this Organization. The world has been patient enough, and it will remain a great betrayal of the principles of the Charter and indeed a sad commentary on our generation if we continue to nurse and accommodate the representatives of a racist and inhuman régime. We must live up to the noble and sacred duty of defending the principles that are clearly enshrined in the Charter of this Organization. We must therefore not be deceived or diverted from our own obligations.

10. Uganda views with great concern the underhanded manoeuvres and machinations to which these inhuman forces have resorted in an attempt to divert world attention from their direct involvement in perpetuating *apartheid*. Soon after the new Government of Portugal announced it would consider giving freedom to its African Territories, a vicious and slanderous campaign was unleashed against my country in a desperate attempt by the agents of imperialism, zionism, fascism and racialism to divert world attention from the frightening racial situation in southern Africa by trying to brand a black African State as racist. Those evil forces, led by the British and Israelis after Uganda has expelled their nationals who were exploiting the economy of Uganda, and after Uganda had nationalized their assets in the interest of the development of its own citizens, lost no time in financing a vicious campaign against Uganda. They gave graft to a few individuals in the International Commission of Jurists to produce haphazardly a report whose sole aim was to paint Uganda as a racist country so that the world community would exonerate the racist régimes of southern Africa from blame.

11. I wish to observe that Uganda is committed to freedom and human rights in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In Uganda today there exists freedom of the press: that is to say, there are also privately owned news media. There is also freedom of religion: the religious conflicts that were rampant throughout the colonial period and that were carried forward by the previous régime right up to 1971 have now been settled and there is no religious discrimination whatsoever in the State machinery. As a matter of fact, the Government has given financial and material support to all religious groups, Christian and Moslem alike. There is also freedom of association, and equality before the law; our judiciary system is functioning properly.

12. Nationalization of property is subject to compensation, as guaranteed by the Uganda Constitution.

13. There is no discrimination based on sex. I am glad to announce here that in Uganda women are fully emancipated and share the same responsibilities as their male counterparts in all fields of activity. They are now busy preparing for the celebration of the International Women's Year.

14. But for the freedoms I have just enumerated to be meaningful and practicable there must exist State machinery capable of guaranteeing law and order and punishing their infringement, since the absence of such machinery could only breed anarchy and the lack of such freedoms. Uganda has reached a stage of anarchy immediately before 1971. At that time there existed sections of the Uganda community which had been armed by the State machinery then existing for the purpose of committing depredations on the population. It was this that led to the military takeover of the administration of the country in 1971, in order to restore freedom and human rights in Uganda.

15. It is clear, therefore, that the imperialists financed the British and other mass media to carry false and concocted stories about Uganda in order to cover up their own atrocious crimes, such as the wholesale destruction of the Viet Nameese people, the indiscriminate slaughter of the innocent people of Northern Ireland and the Zionist pogrom unleashed against the Palestinian people. Why has the International Commission of Jurists, for example, not produced studies on Northern Ireland? If the Commission wishes any credence to be given to its work it should seriously do something about the image it has so far given of itself, namely that of a bunch of graft-collectors in the employment of imperialists, Zionists and racialists. We hope the world community will not be taken in by this obvious debauchery on the part of the imperialists and their own agents.

16. The occasion of the vendetta against Uganda is not the first time that British imperialism has connived with zionism to bring misery to a given group of people. Indeed, the Middle East problem would never have arisen if a similar vendetta had not been pursued by Britain and world zionism to frustrate the just aspirations of the Arab nations. The problem was originally created by the British and the Zionists when they drove the Palestinians out of their homes and lands and created the State of Israel. Since then, the expansionist forces of zionism have systematically killed and destroyed the legitimate owners of Palestine. Uganda is very much concerned about this state of affairs, considering that, before the Zionists took Palestine, the British had made them the alternative offer of Uganda. Therefore, Uganda is fully committed to supporting the aspirations of the Palestinian people because we realize that if the Zionists had selected Uganda it would have been the people of Uganda suffering the Zionist pogrom.

17. It is Uganda's policy to support all just causes wherever they may be. We have condemned and will continue to condemn Israel for its continued occupation of Arab land. In 1972 Uganda was the first African country to sever relations with Israel, thereby spearheading the move which successfully

isolated the Zionist State from recognition by African countries.

18. As I mentioned earlier, Uganda supports all just causes in the world. That is why we have given unstinted support to the black people in America and elsewhere in their struggle for equality and human dignity. Unfortunately they still live in a situation amounting to slavery in their own countries. It is high time that black people were recognized as equal beings entitled to equal and dignified treatment. The myth that they are not equal has long been exploded by the fact that African countries have been able to run their own affairs. It is ironical that when the Western Powers come to Africa they treat Africans with respect. The question that Uganda would like to pose is, "Why do they not extend this same respect to the black people in their own countries?" If the Western countries wish to give credibility to their professed concern for human rights they ought to pay serious attention to this problem with a view to rectifying the situation.

19. On economic issues, Uganda is confident that in spite of the difficulties and obstacles which beset the sixth special session of the General Assembly the session achieved the purpose for which it was called: namely, to lay the foundation or basis for a new economic relationship between the developed and the developing countries. The recent energy crisis has made the whole world aware that the economic foundations of the so-called developed nations are not as solid as we have been led for many decades to believe. Uganda subscribes to the principles of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)]. We believe in the right of every country to exercise permanent sovereignty over its natural resources and all economic activities. We believe in the right of every country to exercise effective control over its resources and their exploitation by means appropriate to its own situation, including the right of nationalization or transfer of ownership to its own nationals.

20. It was in keeping with these principles, which are universally recognized, that Uganda's economic war was declared by President Idi Amin Dada. The aim of this war was to transfer the economy of Uganda to its rightful owners, the Ugandans. For many years, even after independence, more than 80 per cent of Uganda's economy was being managed, controlled and owned by foreigners, mainly from Britain, who did not have the interest of the country at heart. The rationale of the step taken by the President of Uganda was to ensure that the volume and pattern of economic activities in Uganda were determined by Ugandans. The fulfilment of this required that the bulk of productive activities be generated, managed and owned by Ugandans. This objective is thus an expression of faith in the doctrine of economic independence and self-reliance. Since he came to power, the Ugandan leader has devoted most of his economic efforts to giving practical effect to this doctrine. However, my Government does not consider economic self-reliance to imply complete isolation. Thus, foreign enterprise, foreign financial assistance and foreign personnel are always welcome to supplement Uganda's own resources for

the development of key sectors of the economy. Also, the expansion of Uganda's trade with foreign countries remains a cardinal element in the Government's development strategy.

21. Uganda was therefore startled that, when we nationalized British and Israeli assets for the benefit of our own nationals, those two countries, motivated by greed, started a smear campaign against Uganda to the extent of persuading their imperialist allies to cease commercial transactions with it. Uganda is at the present time a victim of the belief, translated into practice, of certain countries that aid is an extension of foreign policy which must be utilized to wield undue influence. For the same reason, because of the legitimate steps we took to hand over the economy of Uganda to the indigenous Ugandans, certain countries have tried, and managed, to influence the blocking of aid to Uganda by such international financial institutions as the World Bank and IMF. We are contributors to these institutions and therefore have a right, like any member, to receive aid from them. To confuse bilateral differences between nations with international obligations and rights is a definite and familiar attempt to apply the big-stick policy to the small and weak nations.

22. It is a well-known fact that these institutions are supposed to grant aid to all Member States without discrimination or bias, and they should therefore adhere to these principles. Unfortunately, experience has shown that the set-up of these institutions is susceptible to the influence of the big developed countries, which tend to use them to put pressure on the weak developing countries. My delegation would like to see an urgent reform in these institutions to rectify this anomalous situation which has hitherto been detrimental to the interests of the small developing nations. We reject this "Big Brother" blackmail policy in aiding developing countries. It is a policy of economic strangulation.

23. As if that was not enough, the International Commission of Jurists, at the instigation of some imperialist countries, deposited a so-called study with the Commission on Human Rights, alleging, among other things, that the transfer of the economic life of the country from foreign exploiters to the nationals of our country was a gross violation of human rights. The right of nationalization by a State, in the interest of its economy, of assets owned by foreigners is inherent in its sovereignty. That is a universally accepted principle. Uganda is neither the first, nor will it be the last, country to nationalize foreign assets. The British imperialists who instigated the accusation and had it placed before the Commission on Human Rights are the very people who, barely a fortnight ago, were quietly sitting at a table in Kampala with the Uganda Government to work out compensation arrangements for the assets nationalized. The imperialists certainly do have some original approaches to the practice of double standards. I wish again to reiterate that it is our firm policy to pay compensation where nationalization of property has occurred. It is in keeping with that principle that the Uganda Government has set up a high-powered committee to appraise the assets left behind by those affected by the economic war.

That is a practical demonstration of the seriousness of our intentions.

24. While on the economic question, I wish to stress that Uganda as a land-locked developing State keenly participated in the deliberations and outcome of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We shall continue to work for the equitable sharing of both the living and non-living resources of the sea because we believe in the concept that the sea is the common heritage of all mankind.

25. On historical analysis, it is established that most of the ills of this world, and particularly of Africa, are the direct result of actions of the big imperialist and colonialist Powers that for centuries have convinced themselves that they have the divine right to interfere in any manner and at any time in the affairs of smaller and meek States on our continent. All the problems I have enumerated are the direct result of colonial and imperialistic policies of ensuring that the whole world shall be organized according to their whims and fancies. It is because the imperialist Powers regard small nations as pawns in their chess game that we have situations like the tragic case in Cyprus and the continued division of Korea and Viet Nam.

26. The main purpose of super-Powers being permanent members of the Security Council is to see that there is peace in the world and to ensure that, wherever tension exists, there are peaceful ways of easing it. Uganda finds it deplorable that the United States of America, a super-Power and a permanent member of the Security Council, has always been directly involved in the creation and perpetuation of world tension through unwarranted interference in the affairs of other countries. We are all aware of the problem of Viet Nam, where we witnessed the destruction of innocent lives by the massive bombings of the American B-52, bombings unparalleled in human history. In Korea, Cambodia and in the whole region of South-East Asia, we see America unceasingly interfering in the affairs of these countries with a view to creating pliable States. In South Africa, the United States, through its investment, is propping up a régime that is suppressing the overwhelming majority simply because of the colour of its skin. The people in these countries are peace-loving and have a right to determine their own destiny. Our appeal to the United States is that American influence and wealth should be used for peaceful purposes and should help to raise the standards of living of the people in these areas rather than bring them untold misery. We have noted with satisfaction the declared intention of President Ford to pursue this line. Our hopes are that these peaceful intentions will be translated into deeds and not remain mere declarations.

27. The main purpose of the interference in the internal affairs of our countries by the imperialists is to create and maintain spheres of influence. Uganda, as is well known, used to belong to the British sphere of influence. That is no longer the case and I wish to inform the Assembly that Uganda is ready to co-operate with all countries, irrespective of their ideology or size, on the basis of equality.

28. I now come to consider the question of disarmament because it has a direct relevance to the foregoing issues I have raised. Uganda is happy to note the growing interest among Member States in the attempt not only to curb potential arsenals but also to limit or destroy the existing ones. Many representatives who have spoken before me have treated this question fairly comprehensively. I will, therefore, only make Uganda's stand on the question unequivocally clear. We neither support the proliferation of nuclear weapons nor wish to see the big Powers alone monopolizing nuclear weapons. We believe that disarmament should involve first and foremost the destruction of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

29. We fear that if the big Powers are left to monopolize the nuclear club, the former colonial Powers will have the instruments to return and colonize us. The imperialist Powers built up their economies by exploiting the natural resources and cheap labour of the colonies. Even during post-independence days, the same colonial Powers continued exploiting developing countries by imposing their own conditions on trade. Now that the third world has, after the energy crisis, awakened to the fact that the so-called developed nations are vulnerable economically and that a new international economic order is inevitable, Uganda foresees the danger of leaving nuclear weapons in the hands of the imperialist countries. These Powers may one day use economic reasons as the excuse to threaten nuclear war in order to force developing nations into compromising their economic independence. Disarmament therefore becomes a crucial issue so far as developing countries are concerned.

30. My delegation feels that, even if present stockpiles of nuclear weapons are destroyed, technological knowledge should not be monopolized by the super-Powers only. If the developing countries are ever to bridge the economic gap between them and the developed countries, then it is necessary that they have access to nuclear technology in order to use it for peaceful and developmental purposes.

31. I now wish to stress the role of the United Nations and its agencies in giving correct information, especially in regard to the developing countries. We feel that some of the problems we constantly debate here would have been avoided if it had not been for the deliberate distortion of information by the imperialist press aimed at checking the development of third-world countries. The imperialist press has nothing good to say about the third-world countries, and yet it was the colonialists who left us most of these problems, by deliberate design.

32. It is indeed a strange phenomenon that the imperialists do not want to deal with straightforward, honest, and down-to-earth leaders of the third world who truly represent their peoples. This explains the imperialist attack on the Ugandan leader. When the imperialists handed over power at independence, they made sure they handed it to very carefully selected puppets of their own choosing so that they would continue, through corruption, confusion and other means, to plunder the resources of those countries. It is not a coincidence that in the majority of cases, when the masses cannot endure the situation

any more, military *coups* have taken place to save such countries from total collapse. It was in this situation that the soldiers of Uganda who, together with the masses, had suffered under corrupt politicians, took a decision to lay a sound foundation for the economic progress of our country. Now, instead of praising the efforts of honest military leaders like the President of Uganda to put the interests of his people above the interests of foreigners, the imperialist press began waging a smear campaign against such leaders.

33. We would like to appeal to the developed nations, particularly the former colonial Powers who come to this forum and use lofty words like "social justice" and "world order", to come out seriously and help those honest leaders of the third world to build a better life for their peoples rather than wait for some corrupt political leaders to emerge so that they can resume their plundering.

34. The imperialist mass media seem preoccupied with distorting the correct image of the developing nations so as to dissuade other nations with good will from coming to the aid of such countries. The imperialists forget that at their own invitation they came and imposed their own foreign civilization on us, deprived us of our culture, uprooted our society through corruption and loose morals, and imposed their own languages on us, thus bringing us the complex problems that we face today. The imperialists came and destroyed our own traditional qualities of self-reliance, selflessness, co-operation and moral justice, and instead taught us materialism, selfishness and corruption.

35. But in outlining the desire for Uganda to be self-reliant economically, I do not wish to give the impression that Uganda is pursuing a policy of isolationism, as this is a very narrow anachronistic doctrine. We pursue a policy of co-operation with all peace-loving and well-intentioned people of the world including citizens of this great country, the United States of America, which is playing host to the entire world. We invite them to come and visit Uganda to receive the traditional warmth and welcome of the people of Uganda.

36. But I would be failing in my duty if I did not remind those who are so preoccupied with distorting the image of Uganda that they choose to close their eyes and forget the innumerable practical steps that the President of Uganda has personally undertaken towards the realization of world peace. Uganda's enemies do not wish the world to hear that President Amin was solely responsible for the fundamental transformation of Afro-Arab relations on the African continent, and yet the alliance between the African and Arab peoples has contributed much to the lessening of tension in the African and Middle East region. They ignore the Ugandan leader's personal efforts to mediate in person to ease tension between third-world countries like Iraq and Iran, Pakistan and Bangladesh and India, Somalia and Ethiopia, Guinea, Senegal and the Ivory Coast, and North and South Korea, to mention only a few. He has also championed the rights of such groups as the blacks in America, the Irish in Northern Ireland and the Palestinians in the Middle East. Unlike some other leaders, the Ugandan leader does not believe

merely in paying lip-service to world peace but in making practical contributions to it.

37. I conclude by stating that Uganda and other peace-loving nations of the world will work towards making this Organization a truly international community, where the experiences, cultures, and contributions of the various communities represented here are mixed and balanced. We in Africa feel that for our contributions to make an impact we must be ourselves—that is, truly African. The mission and challenge to us, therefore, is not to opt out of our responsibility to battle with the affairs of our countries as our enemies would have us do, just because of the immensity and complexity of our problems, but to contribute whatever we are capable of contributing. After all, problems will continue to exist and even multiply so long as this world is not Utopia. I can do no better than end with a quotation from Shakespeare's Julius Caesar:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat;
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures."

38. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to congratulate you on your election to the post of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We are pleased that the election to that high and responsible post has fallen to the representative of the friendly Algerian people, with whom the Bulgarian people have been closely linked since the years of their heroic struggle for freedom and national independence.

39. We cannot fail to note with satisfaction that in the period following the twenty-eighth session the process of *détente* has continued to develop and that the ice which gripped international relations has begun to thaw. The principles of independence, equality and peaceful coexistence are increasingly asserting themselves as a norm of international life. Arbitrariness and *diktat* in relations among States are being rejected by the peoples as a political anachronism. Political consultations between the leaders of States, international negotiations and meetings and conferences aimed at resolving urgent issues of our times are being used more widely and efficiently. There exist real possibilities for the world to enter a new era, one of a stable peace and the reconstruction of present-day international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

40. In Europe the foundations of a promising system of security and co-operation are being laid down. Favourable conditions have been created for the successful completion of the work of the second stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and for the third, concluding, phase to be held at the highest level as soon as possible. That Conference, which is in itself an unprecedented event in the history of the old continent, has been rendered possible thanks to the new political and moral-psychological atmosphere in Europe. There can be no doubt that the strengthening of security

and the development of comprehensive co-operation in the region are among the main trends in the process of *détente* in the world.

41. The results of the third meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States represent a significant new contribution to the further improvement of the international climate. The Bulgarian Government and people have welcomed with deep satisfaction the signature by those two States of agreements on a number of important contemporary matters. The agreements aimed at preventing a world thermonuclear catastrophe are of special significance. We are profoundly convinced that the positive changes in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are in the interests of all States and peoples, as well as in the interest of universal peace.

42. The breaking of the so-called sanitary cordon around Cuba is yet another of the striking facts which characterize a turning away from cold war towards an ever wider affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

43. One of the first and last bastions of fascism and colonialism in Europe has collapsed. The long heroic struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola and of the revolutionary and democratic forces in Portugal has been crowned with success. Against the background of that victory, it is increasingly evident that the military junta in Chile, which is trying to prevent the social development of that country by Fascist methods condemned by history, is doomed. History has also condemned those reactionary circles which are trying today here and there, with the help of neo-fascism and neo-nazism, to stifle the struggle for freedom, democracy and social progress.

44. Events in Portugal have also shown that our planet is ridding itself of the last vestiges of centuries of colonial oppression. However, we have no right to forget that there are still peoples who are under the colonial yoke. Our organization can and must continue to play an active role in the final elimination of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria expresses the hope that the Assembly at its present session will not lose the opportunity to adopt appropriate measures to implement definitively and as early as possible the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [resolution 1514 (XV)] on the initiative of the Soviet Union.

45. The relaxation of tension also provides favourable conditions for the further intensification of the struggle of the non-aligned countries against neo-colonialism and for their national and social development free from imperialist bondage. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are no longer parts of the world which imperialism used to consider as its own backyard. They now constitute a world of independent sovereign States, representing a new dynamic factor in international relations.

46. I have dwelt on these well-known facts in order to stress once more that the process of *détente* in the

international political climate continues. However, in order that that process may be further strengthened and deepened and that it may be made all-embracing and irreversible, the efforts of all States are needed. Those efforts should be aimed first and foremost at eliminating the still-existing hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world.

47. The position of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria with respect to the situation in the Middle East, in Viet Nam and in Korea is well known. I shall therefore confine myself to describing briefly how, in our opinion, the issues that are as yet unresolved should be settled.

48. In the Middle East, it is necessary to put an end to the provocation by Israeli militaristic circles of the neighbouring Arab countries and to resume without delay the work of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. Israel must withdraw its troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967. The legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine must be respected. The security, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States in that part of the world must be guaranteed.

49. In Viet Nam, it is essential strictly to implement the Paris Agreement of 1973 on Viet Nam, to halt the provocative military actions of the Saigon régime, and to remove the discrimination against the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

50. In Korea, it is necessary to dissolve the so-called United Nations Command in Korea and to withdraw all foreign troops from South Korea. The General Assembly should adopt an appropriate resolution to that effect.

51. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, situated at the heart of the Balkan peninsula, has always attached and will continue to attach prime importance to the problems of peace, security and co-operation in that part of Europe. Our Government has made and is making a good many efforts to create an atmosphere of confidence and neighbourly relations among the Balkan States and peoples. That is not a short-term policy. We have been pursuing that very policy consistently and unwaveringly for 30 years now. We are deeply convinced that it is in keeping with the interests and aspirations not only of the Bulgarian people but also of all the peoples living in the Balkan peninsula.

52. In this period a number of mutually advantageous agreements between Bulgaria and its neighbours have been signed, agreements aimed at closer co-operation in the fields of economy, trade, culture, science, sport and tourism. The prerequisites for a lasting political *détente* in the Balkans have gradually been created. However, a dangerous military conflict flared up in our region recently. The interference of certain NATO circles in Cyprus has created a situation which seriously threatens not only the territorial integrity and independence of that country but also peace and security in the Balkans and the world over.

53. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is following with attention and alarm the development of events in Cyprus. In accordance with its peaceful policy, the Bulgarian Government, immediately after the

coup against the legitimate Government of Cyprus, reaffirmed its position: it advocates the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island, to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and to allow the people—the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots—the right to settle their problems by themselves.

54. That position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has also determined our support for the resolutions of the Security Council calling for a cease-fire in Cyprus, the withdrawal of foreign troops, the preservation of the island's independence and territorial integrity, and the restoration of constitutional order in the Republic of Cyprus. As is known, however, tension still persists in Cyprus and in the surrounding area. The threat of new complications and military conflicts, of overt or covert partition of the island, has not been removed. The attempts to resolve the Cyprus question within the narrow framework of the existing "system of guarantees" provided under the London-Zurich Agreements have met with failure.

55. That is why we support the proposal of the Soviet Union for the convening of an international conference within the framework of the United Nations to discuss the Cyprus problem.¹ That proposal is in keeping with the spirit of the goals and principles of the Organization. It is precisely such a conference, with the participation of Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and the members of the Security Council and possibly, some other States as well, that can perhaps find a solution that will ensure, on a genuine and lasting basis, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, which could best be guaranteed by the permanent members of the Security Council.

56. Our position on the Cyprus question and also on relations among the Balkan States was again stated clearly and unambiguously by the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, in his report on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in our country. He stated:

"We insist that the sovereignty and independence of the friendly State of Cyprus be respected and most sincerely desire our neighbours Greece and Turkey to live in peace and understanding with each other and with independent Cyprus. More than once the peoples of the Balkan peninsula have served as cannon fodder for the interests of the imperialist States. Socialist Bulgaria is doing its best and will continue to do its best to achieve new relations in the Balkans and good-neighbourly relations and co-operation in the interests of peace in the world."

57. The efforts of the Bulgarian Government concerning the correct settlement of the Cyprus question are prompted also by our desire to establish a lasting peace in the region of the eastern Mediterranean. As a Black Sea country, Bulgaria is naturally linked with that region. That explains our interest in all that is happening there. We are concerned about the existing network of NATO bases in the eastern Mediterranean, the carrying out of naval manoeuvres by the Western States in immediate proximity to our frontiers, the existence of nuclear

ammunition and so on. In accordance with our consistently peaceful policy, we want to see the Mediterranean turned into a sea of peace and international co-operation. That is why we welcome the proposal of the Soviet Union for the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of all United States and Soviet vessels and submarines equipped with nuclear weapons. The adoption of that proposal would be in the interest of peace in that part of the world.

58. It has become urgent to use political *détente* for the practical solution of the problems of disarmament. Both processes, *détente* and disarmament alike, can and should be mutually complementary.

59. Guided by that understanding, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches exclusive importance to the consideration of disarmament questions in all forums, particularly within the framework of the United Nations. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is prepared, within its means, to continue to contribute to their practical solution.

60. It is an indisputable fact that it is the Soviet Union which has been doing the most in this respect. The Soviet Government has introduced a number of proposals on the questions of disarmament in the United Nations. On its initiative a number of important international agreements have been worked out and concluded, such as the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water,² the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof [resolution 2660 (XXV)], and 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].

61. On the proposal of the Soviet Union a new item, aimed at curbing the arms race, was included in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, namely, the item entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health" [item 103]. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports this important initiative and considers that the conclusion of an international convention on this question will help to prevent the manufacturing of new means of warfare and will help to preserve the environment as well.

62. It was also on the initiative of the Soviet Union that a number of resolutions on questions related to disarmament have been adopted at previous sessions of the General Assembly, such as those on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [resolution 2936 (XXVII)], the convening of a World Disarmament Conference [resolution 2833 (XXVI)], the reduction of military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries [resolution 3093 (XXVIII)], and others. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria unreservedly supports these

initiatives and insists on their practical implementation as soon as possible.

63. The agreements signed between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States in the past three years have provided favourable conditions for reaching new concrete agreements within the United Nations in the field of disarmament. We are confident that, if efforts are made by all States in this direction, new and more significant successes can be achieved soon in the sphere of effective disarmament.

64. We are aware that the problems of disarmament are among the most complicated ones of the present day and that their practical solution runs into the stubborn resistance of the military-industrial complex and of other forces which are not interested in *détente*. But experience shows that if there is goodwill on the part of the Governments concerned, a solution of these problems also can be found. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the lack of concrete results in the field of disarmament can undermine the advancing political *détente* and can lead to a new sharpening of the international situation, with many and more dangerous repercussions. That is why it is imperative for our Organization to keep these questions in the focus of its attention and to assist actively in the taking of steps aimed at curbing and halting the arms race and at achieving general and complete disarmament.

65. The positive changes in political relations among States create exclusively favourable conditions for expanding and furthering economic ties, for solving a number of economic problems of great importance to the whole world. For its part, economic co-operation furnishes that material foundation which can strengthen confidence and understanding among peoples and can consolidate peace and security in the world. Life itself shows that raising and discussing the questions of development in isolation from the issues of ensuring lasting peace and co-operation is profitable only to those who try to preserve their privileged position in the present international division of labour.

66. One of the positive results of the sixth special session of the General Assembly is undoubtedly the recognition by the international community of the necessity to create a new structure of international economic relations which is to take into account the interests of all countries and particularly those of the developing countries. These problems affect the entire international community. Solving them cannot be the privilege of a group of States or of individual international organizations. That has to be done through the equal participation of all countries.

67. Just two weeks ago our people celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. In the course of three decades our homeland, which before that had been a classical example of a backward country, has turned into an all-round developed, prosperous socialist State with a rapidly developing economy, scientific capacity, technology and culture. In the past thirty years radical structural changes have been carried out in the economy, such as an agrarian reform and collectivization of the land, and nationalization of

the means of production and of all natural resources, as well as of foreign capital. The country's internal resources have been harnessed. The working class, co-operative farmers and the people's intelligentsia have worked self-denyingly to build the new life. The Bulgarian Communist Party, which is the leading force in our society, has carried out immense organizational and political activities. These achievements are also the result of fraternal mutual assistance and close co-operation with the other countries of the socialist community, and first of all with the Soviet Union.

68. The victory of the socialist revolution radically changed both the place and the role of our country in international relations. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has established itself as an inseparable part of the socialist community. Its foreign policy is inspired by the ideas of peace and friendship among nations. Its task is to assist the development of all-round co-operation among all countries and nations.

69. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria notes with satisfaction that the United Nations is making its significant contribution to the development of positive changes in the world, that its prestige is growing and that the part which this Organization, and the Security Council in particular, can play in ensuring lasting peace and security is becoming a tangible one.

70. An analysis of the events of the past few years shows unequivocally that the efforts aimed at achieving a solution of the major problems of the present-day world can be successful and can lead to lasting results only when the search for a solution is conducted on the basis of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Any departure from these principles has always led to complications and has seriously hampered the efforts of peace-loving forces to achieve a just settlement of the disputes and conflicts that have arisen. All this eloquently shows once more the vital force of the principles of the Charter as well as the necessity to step up the efforts of the Organization to create conditions for their strict observance.

71. We are profoundly convinced that the present twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be able to adopt such decisions on the main items of the agenda, decisions that will represent a new contribution to the strengthening and expansion of the positive changes that are now taking place in contemporary international life.

72. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): Mr. President, I have already had occasion to congratulate you on your unanimous election, and also to welcome the three new Members to our Organization. On the present occasion I am happy to convey to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our appreciation of his ceaseless endeavours in the cause of peace and in the fulfilment of the principles and purposes of the Charter. We are fortunate indeed in having him as our Secretary-General today, when his views are needed on collective and co-operative action to tackle the diverse and urgent problems facing mankind at present.

73. In the 29 years of its existence the United Nations has come to represent the overwhelming major-

ity of the peoples and nations of the world. While this is indeed a matter for satisfaction, it is the few remaining areas of darkness that command our attention. I refer to the flagrant violation of the human rights of the majority of its people by the Government of South Africa, to the blatant refusal of South Africa to vacate Namibia, and to the continuance of the illegal racist régime in Zimbabwe. These continued affronts to the conscience of mankind are nagging reminders that, as long as some members of the human race are in bondage, the others are not wholly free. In our view, this Assembly should therefore consider more effective means of compelling these régimes practising racism to respond positively to the collective will of the world represented by the United Nations.

74. It is a matter of particular satisfaction to us to welcome the new wind of change in Portugal. Guinea-Bissau has attained independence and world recognition by admission to our Organization. We welcome the installation of an interim Government in Mozambique representing the will and aspirations of its people, and we look forward to welcoming Mozambique soon in our Organization as an independent and sovereign member. This is an irreversible trend and we are confident that the people of Angola will also win their freedom soon in conditions of peace and honour. India is appreciative of the decision of the present Government of Portugal to liquidate its colonial empire. This decision will enable Portugal to assume its proper place in the world of today, a place befitting its distinct history and rich culture. I am glad to say that Portugal and India have decided to re-establish diplomatic relations and to develop cultural relations between the two countries.

75. Now I should like to turn my attention to the areas of conflict. Recent events in Cyprus remind us of the fatal danger of neglecting, until too late, the potential causes of conflict. In 1960 we saw the freeing of Cyprus from colonial rule and its birth as a sovereign, independent and non-aligned State, whose binational character was guaranteed by some external Powers. In retrospect, this curious system of external guarantees has proved to be unwise in principle and self-defeating in practice. Recently, one external intervention led to another and a threat to world peace and security was thus created. It is the people of Cyprus who suffered greatly as a consequence and all our sympathies are with them in this moment of crisis and uncertainty in their lives. But the fact that all States without exception have declared their respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of non-aligned Cyprus is a good augury, for it provides the essential elements for a durable structure of peace and a return to constitutionality. We welcome the negotiations taking place directly between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus which have been arranged with the assistance of the Secretary-General. We hope that their talks will also encompass future internal constitutional arrangements, and that agreement can be reached at an early date so that the withdrawal of foreign forces now in Cyprus becomes possible. The non-aligned countries have already declared their willingness to be available for any assistance that they can render.

76. The situation in the Middle East may freeze into another period of neglect, if the momentum towards a solution of the basic problems slows down. Only the rapid and full implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) can lead to a just and enduring peace. The restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people is another cornerstone in the structure of a lasting peace. Israel's refusal to vacate Arab territories captured as a result of aggression is a continuing provocation to the Arab States and negates the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. If the catastrophe of another war in the Middle East is to be avoided, Israel should end its aggression and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people should be restored to them.

77. The war in Cambodia shows no signs of ending, which is a matter of deep concern and anguish for us. In South Viet Nam, violations of the Paris Agreement continue to take place, with the legacies of external interference persisting and jeopardizing the prospects of early implementation of the provisions of the Agreement. How much longer are the peoples of Indo-China destined to suffer the ravages of war with all its frightful weapons? In South Viet Nam international efforts should be directed to the fulfilment of the constitutional provisions of the Paris Agreement. The people of Cambodia should be allowed to determine their future free from external interference and in conditions of peace and security. In Laos we welcome the formation of the Provisional Government of National Union, which is a testimony to the wisdom and statesmanship of the Laotian leaders. We hope that this development, which has terminated several years of hostilities, will create conditions of peace and progress for the Laotian people.

78. In our part of the world, I am happy to report that tangible progress has been made in creating an atmosphere of good neighbourliness. The Simla Agreement of 3 July 1972 provides a good and common basis for India and Pakistan to turn away from a period of confrontation and conflict to one of peace and co-operation. We have made special efforts to implement the Simla Agreement and, in spite of unfortunate delays, the two countries have concluded some agreements designed to normalize relations. The latest agreement signed at Islamabad on 14 September 1974 provides for the restoration of communications and travel facilities, and we hope that the progress achieved so far will lead to more agreements in other fields and to an era of peace and prosperity for the peoples of India and Pakistan.

79. We are actively engaged with our other neighbours to develop and extend bilateral and mutually beneficial co-operation in newer fields. The maritime boundary agreement with Sri Lanka is a significant example. Similarly, mutually satisfactory agreements on borders and other long-pending matters have been concluded with Indonesia, Burma and Bangladesh. Our relations with our other neighbours, Afghanistan, Bhutan and Nepal, are characterized by the spirit of mutual understanding and the desire to co-operate for our mutual benefit.

80. Our underground peaceful nuclear explosive experiment of 18 May 1974 must be seen in the con-

text of our endeavour, at the national level, to develop our natural resources and capacities to the fullest extent for the benefit of our people. The international community has long recognized that nuclear explosive technology can be of great value in the development process. The non-aligned countries had also stressed this in the Declaration adopted by the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka from 8 to 10 September 1970. We have no intention of making nuclear weapons. I wish to reiterate once again in this forum our firm and consistent policy to use nuclear energy and technology solely for peaceful purposes.

81. I should now like to say a few words about the areas of challenge that face the world community. Since the end of the last world war, the principal challenge to mankind has been the discovery of the basis for lasting world peace and security. In recent years, we have seen the evolution of a period of *détente* and a general relaxation of tensions among the great Powers. We welcome this development as a positive contribution to removing dangers of global conflict. However, the process of *détente* between the great Powers will have more meaning for the rest of the world if it takes into account the interests of all countries and if the benefits of *détente* are used to meet the challenges that face mankind, especially disarmament and development.

82. Disarmament has been the subject of continuous discussion in multilateral forums since the days of the League of Nations. But progress was slow, and the arms race entered a qualitatively new phase with the stockpiling of nuclear weapons to such an alarming extent that they are capable, if used, of destroying their targets five times over and obliterating all signs of modern civilization. India feels that nuclear disarmament should receive the highest priority in our deliberations, for it provides the key not only to the prevention of wars of mass destruction but also to the release of resources for tackling what the Secretary-General has called the other "ancient enemies of mankind—poverty, disease, natural disaster" [A/9601/Add.1]. Progress towards disarmament is possible only if nuclear-weapon States abjure all nuclear weapons and accept equal obligations with the rest of the world community. We support the early convening of a world disarmament conference after adequate preparation and with the participation of all States.

83. The holding of the Caracas session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was an event of outstanding importance. Significant progress was made, as nearly 150 countries worked to reconcile their interests, which were sometimes widely divergent. As a developing country with a long coast-line, India attaches special importance to this Conference. With several years of preparatory work behind us, it is our hope that further progress will be made towards an equitable and universally acceptable treaty on the law of the sea during the third session of the Conference to be held in Geneva next year.

84. During this year there have been major changes in the international economic scene. This world body dealt with the problems of development not

only in the sixth special session held earlier this year but also in the World Population Conference which has just concluded in Bucharest, and it will deal with them further in the World Food Conference which is to be held in November. We are particularly appreciative of the fact that for the first time population questions have been accepted as an integral part of the developmental process. We hope that the World Food Conference will be a first step in tackling, at the international level, an important problem which so far has been neglected by the international community.

85. The problems of development will acquire ever greater urgency and importance with the rapid depletion of natural resources and the increasing population of the world. They are already assuming global proportions, and their effects will be felt everywhere. They cannot be solved nationally or regionally, because there is already a growing and irreversible trend of interdependence among nations. Only global solutions can cope with global problems. Every problem today is virtually a world problem and calls for a world response.

86. The earth's resources are finite, and so is its capacity to absorb wastes. The world is in the grip of economic forces that appear to be uncontrollable. There is rampant inflation as well as stagnation in production. These phenomena have aggravated an already iniquitous situation with extremes of poverty and wealth in the world. In some parts of the world there seem to be no limits to the appetite for consumption, while in other countries millions of people are short of even the essentials of simple and plain living, such as food, clothing, housing and medicine. The future growth of the developing countries is at the mercy of the high world prices of fertilizers, fuel and industrial goods. What are the global options available in this grave economic situation? It is not enough for the affluent countries to confine their concern to monetary fluctuations. There is an imperative need to help the countries most seriously affected by the current economic crisis. Any long-term global balance between demand and supply and natural resources must take into account, first and foremost, the requirements of those countries.

87. We welcome the statement of the Secretary-General in the thought-provoking introduction to his report that "it is an underlying assumption of the United Nations that no problem of human relations is insoluble [*ibid.*]. It is in that spirit that we view the decisions of the sixth special session which are designed to pave the way to a new international economic order. While we appreciate the efforts made by the Secretary-General in trying to maintain the momentum generated by the special session, we note that he has himself pointed out that "failure to sustain international action and collective responsibility may easily put in question the actual survival of millions of people" [*ibid.*].

88. An emergency operation has been entrusted to the Secretary-General to provide immediate practical assistance to the most seriously affected countries, which have been rendered unable to meet the mounting costs of their essential imports [*resolution 3202 (S-VI), chap. X*]. The responsibility for

their present predicament is clearly not their own; they have been reduced to this precarious situation by economic events outside their control. In recognition of this fact, the sixth special session decided that emergency measures were necessary for assisting these countries, and it also envisaged the necessity for medium-term assistance to them. However, we are disappointed at the offers received so far of help for these countries. If tragic consequences to many countries and general disillusionment as to the effectiveness of international co-operation are to be averted, assistance must be forthcoming quickly and in adequate measure.

89. Perhaps at no time before in human history has mankind been confronted with problems of the present scope and scale. And at no time before has man been so conscious of the unity and common destiny of his own kind. Nor has he ever been in a better position than now to regulate his resources, his consumption and his environment in such a manner as to meet his material and spiritual needs. There is no forum more appropriate than the United Nations for meeting to the full extent the challenges facing us. There is no better time than the present, and the lead can only come from those who are blessed with the means to do so.

90. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is a pleasure for me to speak from this rostrum to welcome the Heads and members of the delegations of States represented in this august Assembly. It is my great hope that our meetings at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be fruitful and produce great results commensurate with our aspirations to create an atmosphere of permanent peace and security in our world for the good and welfare of man.

91. Permit me on this occasion to compliment my colleague and friend Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the President of the General Assembly for this session, who has often been with us in most international assemblies and conferences. It gives me great pleasure, in the name of my country, to express to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of this session. We have known you as a freedom fighter, a pioneer liberator and a statesman of the first calibre. As this session will see the liquidation of some of the last vestiges of colonialism; your election to the presidency is an indication of the direction the Assembly will be taking. I am quite confident that all sincere efforts and activities at this session will be crowned with success under your leadership.

92. I should not fail to express on this occasion my appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, the President of the twenty-eighth session, under whose wise leadership and ceaseless efforts positive results were achieved and benefits were produced for humanity on more than one occasion and more than one place, despite all the obstacles and difficulties that arose at that session.

93. It gives me great pleasure also, in the name of the State of Bahrain, to congratulate and welcome the delegations of the new Member States of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada, which are participating with us for the first time in the work of the General Assembly at this session.

94. At the beginning of my statement, I should like to refer to the Assembly's decision to introduce Arabic as the sixth official language of the United Nations [*resolution 3191 (XXVIII)*]. That decision is a source of gratification to us.

95. There can be no doubt that our world today is passing through an era of transition. The speed with which events and interrelations among States are developing has led us to a juncture where we have to choose between confrontation and co-operation and between local conflicts and co-ordination. We have to choose between order and sanity or emotion and violence, which lead to crises and catastrophes. Needless to say, we cannot resort to confrontation and conflict, on the one hand, and ask for mutual co-operation, on the other. We can no longer afford to pursue our self-interest without more world-wide co-operation. The solidarity and co-operation of the family of nations for the good and welfare of man is the only guarantee for the establishment of close and strong relations among nations in our world.

96. Since the last session of the General Assembly, important and consequential events have occurred that have had grave international repercussions. The most important of these was the war that broke out in the Middle East in October 1973 and that was about to lead to a grave international confrontation which would have undermined world peace and security. As a result of the continuation of Israeli aggression, Israel's refusal to implement the resolutions of the United Nations and its persistence in occupying lands by force, a war broke out that could have involved the whole area but for the wisdom of the United Nations, which, through the resolutions of the Security Council, hastened to put an end to Israeli aggression and to the massacre of innocent people.

97. I will now speak about the question of Palestine. The initial steps in the search for a just settlement of the cause of the Palestinian people, who were ousted from their land and forced to live for more than 26 years in camps which, by twentieth-century standards, are unfit for habitation by any human being, are now being taken. That people is still subjected to the most odious measures of oppression by Israel, measures directed either against those Palestinians who refused to leave their land, or against those who took shelter in camps in neighbouring Arab countries. The latter group is daily facing a war of annihilation and destruction waged by Israel, which is arrogating to itself the role of watchman and aiming at the extermination of the original owners of the land, with the intention, in this twentieth century, of establishing a State on the soil, and at the expense, of the people whom it has dispersed.

98. I should emphasize that, despite the difficulties and obstacles which Israel tried to create, we see for the first time in more than 25 years that we are on the road to peace as a result of the awareness of the Members of our international Organization of the problems facing the world and their determination to solve them.

99. Security Council resolutions 338 (1973) and 340 (1973), which were passed towards the end of the last October war, came as a natural result of the struggle and efforts of peace-loving nations for the

establishment of a durable and just peace in the Middle East to safeguard the lawful rights of the Palestinian people in their homes and on their land. The forces of peace in the world, supported by the commendable efforts of non-aligned and peace-loving States and of the two great Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, succeeded in initiating an atmosphere favourable to a settlement and in maintaining confidence in the United Nations when such confidence was about to be lost in the area as a result of the inhuman Israeli aggression. On the eve of the convocation of the Geneva conference under the auspices of the United Nations, represented by its Secretary-General, peace-loving nations are more than ever called upon to support and confirm the principles which have been laid down in United Nations resolutions ever since its inception.

100. The road to peace is arduous. At this stage the United Nations must confirm the principles previously proclaimed in its resolutions with regard to the Middle East. This, in our view, involves confirmation of the following: first, complete and unconditional withdrawal, which should commence immediately, from all Arab lands occupied by Israel during its aggression of June 1967, including the city of Jerusalem; secondly, assurance of the lawful rights of the people of Palestine in their home and land, and compensation for their losses.

101. I should point out here that what has been called for some time "the Middle East question" is in fact no more than the Palestine question. The attribution of the name "Middle East" to it is simply the result of the Israeli aggression, which extended to more than one State in the area. The heroic acts and sacrifices of the Palestinian people have paved the way for it to establish its identity and assert its international personality. There can be no doubt that those who have the right to speak for the people of Palestine are their representatives.

102. I refer here with appreciation and gratitude to the decision taken by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was held recently in the city of Caracas and which recognized that the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] represented the people of Palestine. That decision was met with approval and appreciation by all peace-loving nations. That example deserves to be followed in order to reinstate justice and express disapproval of the policy of *fait accompli* based on suppression and force, contrary to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. As a first step on the way to a durable and just peace in the Middle East, we in this great Assembly should take a similar decision and invite the PLO to attend our meetings: we should listen to the voice of Palestine and the voice of the people of Palestine. If we do not take that step we shall remain far from the core of the problem and far from reaching a just and permanent solution.

103. Again, the question of Palestine is the case of a people whose land has been invaded and whose rights have been usurped. Surely the people of Palestine should have the same right as other peoples and States in the area to live in peace within recognized boundaries.

104. The initiative taken by President Boumediène, the leader of the group of non-aligned States, in

calling for the sixth special session of the General Assembly provided a new opportunity to enter into an informative, logical and calm dialogue between the developing and the developed countries. That session provided an early occasion seriously to discuss measures for development, prices, the problems of raw materials and basic materials, and the distribution of wealth in the world in order to avoid confrontation between developed and developing countries—that is, between consuming and producing countries.

105. That session established one fact: namely, that the common interests of nations overlap and are interdependent. While raw materials are used in advanced countries to develop their industries, the developing countries, which produce energy and raw materials, provide a vast market for the consumption of manufactured products.

106. The following are some of the important principles proclaimed in General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI): the sovereign equality of States; the right of self-determination of all peoples; the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force; territorial integrity; the right of every country to adopt the economic and social system it deems appropriate; and sovereignty over natural resources, including the right of nationalization. The resolution states further that the benefits of technological progress are not shared equitably by all members of the international community. The developing countries, which constitute 70 per cent of the world's population, account for only 30 per cent of the world's income. This makes the developed countries, in the course of time, grow richer and the developing countries grow poorer.

107. It is the great responsibility of the United Nations to ensure the implementation of the principles of this new economic order which has been adopted by the vast majority of States. We understand the resolution to mean the following: first, financing economic and social development schemes in developing countries; and secondly, increasing investments in developing countries and providing them with expert knowledge and technical aid to improve their living standards and their economy.

108. I spoke here at the sixth special session [2219th meeting] almost six months ago about the importance of international co-operation within the United Nations for the solution of the problems of nations and States which may be exposed to risks. Our full realization that the individual interests of States are interconnected will confirm the importance of the effective role which our Organization can play in the political, economic or sociological sphere. Events have proved this fact. The move made by some advanced countries early this year with the aim of continuing to take advantage of the underdevelopment of raw-materials producing countries and exploiting the resources of developing countries for the benefit and well-being of their own peoples did not succeed, owing to the growth of awareness and solidarity among the producing countries and their determination to utilize the resources of the land for the good of humanity as a whole, as distinct from the individual selfish interests that prevailed in the past.

109. The developing and producing nations, which constitute the majority of the population of the world, need, more than others, to utilize their resources in order to raise the standards of living and promote the progress of human beings who have been dispossessed for many centuries past as a result of the rule and exploitation of foreign forces.

110. There are many countries, including my own, which depend essentially on one natural resource, namely oil, as do most countries in the Gulf. Since the early 1950s the natural resources of the third world have been exploited in an odious manner. The prices of raw materials were very low and the cost of manufactured goods was a great deal higher. The only beneficiaries were the industrialized countries. As I said at the sixth special session, the price of a barrel of oil was \$US 2.10 in 1952, yet by 1971, nearly 20 years later, the price had come down to only \$US 1.80. The exploiting companies started to increase production unreasonably, which brought about inflation in the exporting countries and an excess of currency liquidity.

111. To lay down a policy for the production of oil by producing countries means to us only one thing, irrespective of what others may say: it means that those countries have started to plan for the future and to lay the foundations for a self-sustained economy to support their development.

112. We have heard much during this session about the increase in the price of oil. In fact, such increase has come as a natural result of the increase in the prices of basic materials. It is illogical to consider the prices of foodstuffs and basic raw materials without including the price of oil. When we speak about prices we should refer to the prices of all food and basic materials, including oil, and compare the increase in their prices as a whole. I would like, therefore, to refer again to the view which we expounded during the special session.

113. In order to stabilize world trade, oil and all other raw materials, as well as commodities and manufactures from the developed world, should be matched by an index reference, so that all items can have their intrinsic value relative to each other maintained. Prices of particular items of trade, such as oil, wheat, coffee, sugar, iron and copper, could then be adjusted by reference to the general level of prices in order to maintain the value of the particular item.

114. We therefore support the view calling for the initiation of a constructive dialogue, within the United Nations, among countries which produce basic raw materials, for the purpose of laying down a clear policy to avert the danger that mankind may one day face an acute shortage of food and energy.

115. We should understand that the standards which existed until the early 1970s and which favoured the industrialized countries and the monopolistic interests of the world are now changing to give the initiative to the countries which own the sources of energy and raw materials. Without realizing and accepting this fact, it will be difficult for a developed world and a poor and destitute world to coexist. Both worlds are of the same man and on the same

planet, which belongs to us all and whose riches we should all equally share.

116. The United Nations will celebrate on 24 October this year World Development Information Day. Bahrain will participate in the celebration, as it attaches great importance to such an occasion for two reasons: first, because it is a developing country planning for the future through the development of its resources and the building up of its economy, and, secondly, because it is trying to follow up the process of development and to create a prosperous society in the country and for its people.

117. The development projects which the State of Bahrain has started to implement are based on the principle of a free economy. This has encouraged many companies and international investors to operate and establish their business in the country. The State of Bahrain has provided many facilities as regards taxes and the establishment of an atmosphere of stability for such companies. In pursuit of this policy, the State of Bahrain, which is now building its economy and developing its resources, has embarked on a scheme of industrialization as a first step towards achieving both commercial and industrial development and progress.

118. In addition, the State of Bahrain pays special attention to agricultural projects and the extension of the cultivable areas of land in the country. It has allocated large amounts of money to the installation of a big desalination plan and the increase of electric power. The State, in co-operation with the UNDP and its subregional Office in Bahrain, is proceeding quickly with various development activities in the agricultural, health and educational fields. Bahrain is very keen to develop and strengthen its economy in accordance with its plans to build a strong economy and to establish a proper standard of living for its people.

119. For us, as a developing country, our celebration of World Development Information Day this year is not a routine celebration. It is a celebration to probe the means to industrial and agricultural development and meet the many challenges that face small countries like ours. It is not the intention of such a celebration to harp on what we have achieved in this respect, but to find out what we have not achieved and what we should achieve to catch up with many countries of the world in this space age.

120. Our emphasis on the importance of industry and its development and the building of our national economy on a sound basis has led us, in conjunction with sister Arab States, to open an Arab-European dialogue through the Common Market to the benefit of all parties. We look forward to more aid and expert knowledge from the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the advanced countries in this field. Our country is responsive to all efforts for the development of the world and the progress of the human race.

121. I am pleased to refer in this connexion to the decision taken by our Organization to establish the Economic Commission for Western Asia. It is an important and fruitful step, which reflects, at the same time, an understanding of the fact that some international standards and values are changing

in favour of developing countries. The decisions and recommendations passed by the Committee are, in our view, the first step for such countries on a long journey towards catching up with the progress and development long since reached by many countries in the world.

122. The second session of the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea, held in Caracas, was the result of efforts made to regulate the exploitation of the resources of the high seas for the benefit of mankind as a whole and to eliminate the causes of friction between States arising from the exploitation of their natural sea resources. We look forward to a continuation of the efforts to solve the pressing problems in this field.

123. In the early days of the Conference, a spirit of compromise and understanding prevailed which enabled the Conference to formulate its rules of procedure by consensus within the prescribed time. During the general debate there was almost a general consensus with regard to the main principles of some of the topics on the agenda of the Conference. Divergences of views and stands arose only later, when the details were discussed. This should not give rise to pessimism, considering the importance and complexities of the issues discussed and their effects on the economy of all States, particularly that of the developing countries. It is necessary for the success of the negotiations and the arrival at a fruitful and acceptable result at the forthcoming session of the Conference that such divergent views be reconsidered and that an attempt be made to narrow them down. It is not in the interest of anybody that the situation should remain as it is, as that may lead to conflicts and disputes over the resources of the sea and undermine the hopes we all entertain at present for the promotion of international economic co-operation.

124. The failure of the Conference to reach an agreement and formulate rules for the exploitation of the resources of the seas and oceans, and their utilization for the good of the human race as a whole, is regrettable. It is hoped that such a failure will be transitory and that a universal and comprehensive agreement in this respect will be reached in the forthcoming session to be held in Geneva.

125. At the twenty-eighth session we supported the draft resolution concerning the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace which became resolution 3080 (XXVIII). Such support arises primarily from our desire to protect the region from the devastation of a destructive war and to protect our people from confrontations which are not in the interests of humanity or of the people of the region. This leads us to view with increasing concern some of the recent steps and developments in the area of the Middle East. I mean, particularly, the race for possession of nuclear weapons by some people in the area, with the assistance of the great nuclear Powers. Such steps are a threat to the peace and security of the area, which has been the victim of traditional wars during the current century and which still suffers them. The stockpiling, production and development of nuclear weapons is, first, a threat to the peace and security of the people of the area, and, second, a threat to world peace and a direct

threat to human civilization and the aspirations of people for peace and for building their economy and civilization. Bahrain, therefore, supports the proposal submitted by Iran to declare the Middle East a nuclear-free area [A/9693].

126. We view with great concern the occurrence of bloody events in Cyprus, which has suffered and still suffers from instability and the loss of innocent lives. The Middle East area, at the same time, is affected by what happens now in the island. We believe in the right of nations to self-determination and are concerned mainly to see that the freedom and independence of Cyprus is maintained. The threat of confrontation or war in Cyprus, in our neighbourhood, is a matter which deserves attention and quick action by the United Nations to contain these events. All interested parties should view the matter in a perspective that accords and fits in with the security and peace of the people of the area as a whole.

127. It is my pleasure in this respect to express my thanks to the Secretary-General for the constructive role he played in this crisis, and compliment him for the valuable efforts he has made in the service of the cause of peace in the world.

128. In conclusion, it is my hope that this session will succeed in attaining the goal we all seek—a world society in which peace, security and progress will prevail.

129. Mr. RINCHIN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic wishes sincerely to congratulate you, an outstanding Government leader of friendly Algeria, on your election as President of the General Assembly and to express the hope that the present session, under your skilled guidance, will make a new contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and co-operation.

130. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic is deeply satisfied that justice has at last prevailed and the People's Republic of Bangladesh has taken its legitimate seat in the United Nations.

131. We are also happy to welcome among us the representatives of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, whose people have attained national independence through persistent and valiant struggle.

132. We extend our greetings to the new State of Grenada and congratulate it on admission to membership of the United Nations.

133. As we see it, the dominating feature of the present international situation is determined by the progressive deepening of the process of *détente*. As a consequence of the consolidation and extension of positive changes in the world arena, the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with differing social systems are increasingly gaining firm ground in international relations.

Mr. Karki (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.

134. A fundamental positive shift in the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the two mightiest Powers, representing two differing socio-economic systems, has undoubtedly become an important factor leading to the improvement of the world situation as a whole. The

positive outcome of the third Soviet-American summit meeting gave a new boost to the further relaxation of international tension and to the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence and broadened the prospects of finding solutions to many of the burning contemporary issues. We submit that the agreements concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States aimed at lessening the danger of war and curbing the arms race represent a constructive contribution to the cause of consolidating universal peace and security.

135. The ongoing process aimed at normalizing the situation in Europe holds a prominent place among efforts to improve the international atmosphere. A whole system of treaties and agreements concluded among the European States with differing social systems has already yielded fruitful results. This demonstrates that there always exist genuine possibilities of solving the most complex and thorny international problems. The holding of the final stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at the highest level, successful negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and other measures, would undoubtedly represent an important step in the direction of turning Europe into a continent of lasting peace and mutually beneficial co-operation.

136. The development of events in other parts of the world is promising, as a whole, despite existing attempts to aggravate the situation. As is well known, the termination of war and the restoration of peace in Viet Nam were a welcome start towards the removal of one of the most dangerous sources of international tension. The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the Agreement on Restoration of Peace and National Accord in Laos have created favourable prerequisites for strengthening peace and stability, not only in Indo-China but also on the Asian continent as a whole. Nevertheless, the complete normalization of the situation in Indo-China has not yet been achieved. The provisions of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam have been violated systematically by the Saigon régime. The situation of conflict in Cambodia still persists. All this poses a serious obstacle to the attainment of true peace and security in the area.

137. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemns the actions of the Saigon authorities and their patrons directed at sabotaging the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam. The political realities prevailing today in South Viet Nam should find a proper reflection in this Organization too. We therefore deem it necessary that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam be granted permanent observer status at the United Nations and in its specialized agencies.

138. Certain progress has been achieved in removing the roots of dangerous tension in the Middle East. However, the situation in that part of the world continues to give rise to serious concern because of the aggressive intentions and policies of the ruling circles of Israel, backed by imperialist and reactionary forces.

139. The Mongolian People's Republic holds the view that only complete withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories and full vindication of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine will pave the way to the settlement of the Middle East conflict. The interests of peace and good neighbourliness in that region require the early resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all States directly concerned and the representatives of the Arab people of Palestine.

140. An important question concerning the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag is on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly [item 104 (a)]. As is well known, new opportunities for the constructive solution of the Korean problem are being created, thanks to the initiatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, aimed at the peaceful, democratic reunification of Korea. The united efforts of socialist countries and all peace-loving forces augment the possibility of that development.

141. We should note the positive fact that at the last session of the General Assembly a decision was adopted on the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.³ What the United Nations should do now is decide to withdraw immediately all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations so as to enable the Korean people to decide their own destiny by themselves without any outside interference.

142. My delegation considers that the tripartite meeting of representatives of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh is one of the important recent initiatives. In our opinion, the agreement signed during the tripartite meeting has created favourable ground for the further normalization of the situation on the Indian subcontinent.

143. All those positive changes in international life have taken place thanks to the persistent struggle of the countries of the socialist community and all the progressive forces fighting to strengthen peace and security. At the same time, one cannot help but note that the opponents of peace and *détente* are trying, in particular, to create new hotbeds of international tension. Among others, the recent events in Cyprus testify to that. The crisis in Cyprus demands that we take urgent and effective measures to curb and root out the conspiracy of certain circles within the NATO bloc against the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, a State Member of the United Nations.

144. The criminal acts of the Fascist military junta in Chile, where fundamental human rights are being flagrantly violated, arouse profound indignation and protest around the world. The Mongolian people resolutely demands that the savage repression against Communists and other representatives of democratic and progressive forces of the country be halted.

145. Our delegation would like to stress the importance of ensuring peace and security in Asia on a collective basis and the development of friendly co-operation among the States of the continent.

In that respect, the idea of creating a system of collective security in Asia which meets the vital interests of all peoples now assumes even greater significance.

146. Ensuring security in Asia requires the patient and persistent efforts of all Asian States, their good will to consolidate and bolster friendly relations among themselves on the basis of the principles of respect for sovereignty, inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force or threat of the use of force, equality and mutually advantageous co-operation. The creation of a system of collective security in Asia, the largest continent of the world, where more than half of the world's population lives, will undoubtedly promote the improvement of the international situation as a whole.

147. The appeal of the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session for constant and urgent implementation of and adherence to all provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and for an expansion of the area of *détente* so that it will spread all over the world [*resolution 3185 (XXVIII)*] sounds very timely.

148. In the present circumstances, when the nuclear and conventional arms race has not been checked, there is an especially pressing necessity for all States to pledge themselves not to use force in international relations and simultaneously to prohibit permanently the use of nuclear arms. The Mongolian delegation would like once again to emphasize that the Member States of the United Nations should strictly observe that principle and, furthermore, that the Security Council should as soon as possible elaborate the relevant provisions to make that a compulsory principle. That would represent an invaluable contribution towards the cause of strengthening world peace and international co-operation.

149. *Détente* cannot be stable unless concrete and practical steps are taken in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. In the view of my delegation, the reduction of the military budgets of States is an effective means of limiting armaments. At its twenty-eighth session the General Assembly considered and adopted the proposal of the Soviet Union on the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries [*resolution 3093 (XXVIII)*]. The implementation of the decision of the General Assembly with the participation of all permanent members of the Security Council would promote the efforts of States to limit armaments. That would make a real contribution towards the goal of accelerating the economic and social progress of developing countries.

150. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the time has become ripe to start practical preparation for the convening of a World Disarmament Conference. The conference would give a new impetus to international *détente* and would play an important role in solving one of today's pressing issues—general and complete disarmament. In view of the useful work done by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, we deem it necessary to expand the mandate of the Committee so that it may undertake effective

steps for the actual preparation of the conference.

151. We consider it abnormal that, in spite of the time that has elapsed since the adoption of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, it has not yet come into force because of the halting pace of its ratification by Member States. In that connexion, we should like to recall the request of the last session of the General Assembly to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which stressed the need to reach, as soon as possible, an agreement on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all kinds of chemical weapons and their elimination from the arsenals of all countries [*resolution 3077 (XXVIII)*].

152. The Mongolian People's Republic stands firmly for the complete prohibition of all means of chemical warfare and, together with other socialist countries, has proposed a draft resolution to that effect⁴ to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

153. In the present circumstances of international *détente*, the ratification of the Geneva Protocol of 1925⁵ by those countries that have not yet ratified it assumes even greater importance. The Mongolian delegation, guided by the sincere desire to see that all States subscribe to the high principles of the Convention and strictly adhere to it, calls on all countries that have not yet done so to sign the Protocol⁵ and/or ratify it in 1975 in commemoration of the historic fiftieth anniversary of that important international agreement.

154. It is most regrettable that complete prohibition of all tests of nuclear weapons by all States has not been agreed upon despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world stand in favour of it. The provisions of the 1963 Moscow Treaty on the prohibition of tests of nuclear weapons in three environments continue to be violated. The people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely protest the continuation of nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere and demand an immediate end to such tests.

155. The Mongolian delegation would like to stress the necessity of strict observance of all agreements that have been already concluded in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. We believe that the conference to be held in 1975 which will consider the progress of the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will play a positive part in further strengthening peace and international security. The success of the conference will be greatly facilitated if all countries, including nuclear Powers and those possessing considerable military potential, participate in it.

156. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the new proposal of the Soviet Union entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health" deserves serious attention and thorough consideration at the present session of the General

Assembly. This Soviet initiative serves lofty humanitarian goals of precluding the use of achievements of modern science and technology for military purposes that have a harmful influence upon the natural environment, life and people's health. In this connexion we consider it necessary to elaborate and adopt a relevant international convention that would serve the lasting interests of all mankind.

157. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the interests of further normalization of international relations dictate the elimination of all vestiges of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination that continue to be one of the constant sources of tension and conflict in the world.

158. Since the twenty-eighth session considerable changes have taken place in the process of decolonization. The recognition by the new Government of Portugal of the right of the Portuguese colonies to self-determination and independence; the admission of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations and other developments contribute to the acceleration of the process of the final liquidation of colonialism.

159. The Mongolian People's Republic adds its voice to the demands for scrupulous implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The international community must redouble its efforts towards the implementation of the comprehensive programme for the struggle against vestiges of colonialism and racism adopted by the United Nations General Assembly [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], and should render effective assistance to the liberation movements of Africa and to efforts to compel discontinuation of any outside support to colonial and racist régimes. Mongolia is one of the first States to have signed the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII)*, *annex*].

160. The thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations will be celebrated in 1975. That anniversary coincides with the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that our Organization should celebrate those significant anniversaries in a distinctive manner and take concrete and effective steps to secure the complete realization of the goals and principles of the above Declaration.

161. The political *détente* in the world creates favourable conditions for the positive solution of problems of international economic relations, particularly the problem of the economic development of the developing countries. The outcome of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, where the problems of raw materials and development were discussed, demonstrated once again the close link that exists between economic and political problems. Our delegation has supported the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial spirit of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*], which set out new

and important principles of international economic relations.

162. The falling off in food supplies, the monetary and financial crisis and skyrocketing inflation in the capitalist world not only undermine the economy of the developing countries and exert a negative influence upon the terms of international trade, but also contaminate the international political atmosphere. That is why we believe that concern for the improvement of international economic relations should go hand in hand with concern for the further normalization of the international situation as a whole. The time has come to put an end to discriminatory practices in economic and trade relations imposed by imperialist and colonialist domination and to reshape the structure of international economic relations in the interests of promoting truly equal and mutually beneficial co-operation among States.

163. Mongolia, which this year celebrates its auspicious jubilee, the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic, has always pursued the policy of peace and friendship among nations. The people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic will continue to exert tireless efforts for the consolidation of peace in the world. The Mongolian People's Republic welcomes the positive contribution of the United Nations to solving the acute international problems that threatened world peace and security.

164. The Mongolian People's Republic advocates enhancing the role of the United Nations in tackling international problems on the basis of the strict observance by all States of the provisions of its Charter. The United Nations, which in its activities reflects the ongoing positive changes in international life, should intensify its efforts to consolidate and promote the spirit of *détente* in order to make it global and irreversible.

165. We express our hope that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will mark a new step towards the further strengthening of international peace and security.

166. Mr. MOLINA ORANTES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all in addressing this Assembly I should like to express the sorrow of the people and Government of Guatemala at the tragedy which at this time has thrown the Republic of Honduras into mourning and, with that Government, the entire family of Central American Nations. The devastating storm which raged through the Caribbean Sea has caused tremendous material losses in various countries of Central America and has strewn death and desolation in that sister country, to which we are bound by very close historic ties and a common destiny. These relations cause us to feel in our own flesh the sorrow that has afflicted the people of Honduras. I should like from this rostrum of the United Nations to convey the feelings of brotherly solidarity on behalf of the people and Government of Guatemala to our neighbours in Honduras at this tremendous catastrophe that has struck them, and may our voice be joined with those of other countries which, from this same rostrum, have appealed for international co-operation to assist the people of Honduras to overcome the serious emergency which it is confronting today.

167. I am not going to convey to the President, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika one more congratulation on his well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly. I shall pay him a sincere tribute of admiration and respect for his great talent, his brilliant qualities as a statesman and the very valuable contribution which both he and the members of his delegation have always made to the achievement of the purposes and principles of the world Organization. I should rather congratulate the General Assembly for the wise decision that it took in choosing him as President for such an important and delicate task, a choice which I am sure will be the guarantee of the success of our deliberations at the current session. To that end, I offer the loyal and resolute collaboration of the delegation of Guatemala.

168. In coming before this Assembly, Guatemala repeats once again its unswerving faith in the effectiveness of the efforts we are making to maintain throughout the world a peace founded on justice and the attempts to attain and guarantee the maximum of well-being for all of mankind.

169. This faith that the peoples of the world have placed in the world Organization is the reason why, year after year, the number of its members grows, and as of this session we are gratified to count in our midst Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. My delegation extends a warm word of welcome to these new Member States.

170. The course of events and the evolution of world politics in recent times lead us to cherish well-founded hopes that, day by day, the relaxation of tension will become more marked, which will enable States to resolve their fundamental problems through friendly dialogue and conciliatory negotiation and to avoid explosive confrontations and an escalation of violence which feeds on nationalistic passions. We hope that it will put an end to acts which today strew terror and death in various regions of the world.

171. The international law of the United Nations, which enshrines the fundamental principles of the equality of States, non-intervention, self-determination, respect for the territorial integrity of States, good faith in the discharge of contractual obligations, the prohibition of recourse to the threat or use of armed force or aggression against another State for the settlement of international disputes, respect and protection for the rights and fundamental freedoms of the human person—these will be the unswerving laws followed by the new Government of Guatemala over which General Kjell Eugenio Laugerud García is now presiding and whom I represent today in this Assembly.

172. My Government, concerned to bring about effective social justice, has undertaken specific programmes aimed at raising the standard of living of the people of Guatemala, and is devoting what resources are available to improving the levels of living of the less fortunate classes and to attempting to find a solution to their vital requirements, despite the difficult circumstances obtaining in the national economy as a result of growing inflation and the energy crisis which today is affecting most of the countries of the world. Nevertheless, we are

determined to fulfil, in so far as possible, the legal and moral undertakings to which we are committed in accordance with the norms prevailing in the international community today.

173. For this purpose, we require from countries the understanding, solidarity and co-operation which have so often been mentioned as imperatives for the present community of nations if it is to attain a just world order, since the circumstances of contemporary living throughout the world impose a closer and more equitable relationship among States. To this end it is essential to undertake an in-depth revision of the economic models prevailing in relations among States. In Latin America, particularly, the joint action of the countries of the region is aimed at a just channelling of their trade relations with highly industrialized nations, strengthening the inalienable right of developing nations to have access to suitable technology and to adopt a policy of defence of the basic export commodities of a great number of American States, such as coffee, sugar, cotton, beef and bananas among others.

174. The United Nations, through its competent bodies, is called upon to play a most important role in this field at the world level. A priority task for the developing countries is to ensure a just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials and of manufactured goods exported by our nations and the prices of the products they import from the industrialized nations. We must also counteract the trend towards the stagnation or reduction of the real prices of basic commodities; we must promote the production of primary materials in the under-developed countries that produce those commodities and agree on the inclusion of those countries in a system of trade preferences in accordance with their degree of economic development.

175. The problems of food shortages as well as of shortages in raw materials, inputs and services which most severely affect developing nations are an indication that, despite the exhausting efforts made by the peoples of these countries, a greater spirit of co-operation and understanding will be needed on the part of the others who enjoy more favourable conditions, especially as regards an appropriate treatment of international trade relations, the timely and inexpensive supply of the goods that contribute to the stability of the economy and the broader availability of technological and scientific advances.

176. This decision, it must be understood, is based on ethical and just principles which in no way may be interpreted as a condition of adherence to political blocs of any type. Our adherence to democratic principles is inherent in our national character and will in no way depend on the granting of preferences or on external conditions.

177. We are convinced that, regardless of political, economic and social differences among them, the States have the duty to co-operate among themselves to obtain mutual benefit from their economic relations in order to attain the objectives of their national development.

178. Within this spirit of understanding, of tolerance and of universal bonds an order of stable peace may be attained, which is the supreme aspiration of the

United Nations. Such basic principles of international coexistence are contained in the Draft Charter on the Economic Rights and Duties of States which is to be considered during this session of the General Assembly and which is destined to become one of the basic documents in the future international legal order. Among its most important provisions we must emphasize those regarding the promotion of collective economic security and the economic development of States and, with regard to the latter, those providing for general disarmament and the utilization of the resources thus released for application to the needs of developing countries. Equally important are the provisions giving each State sovereignty over the wealth and natural resources within its land and maritime jurisdiction.

179. Furthermore, the United Nations has given capital importance to protecting the environment, sponsoring to that end various meetings and the establishment of an organization to deal with this question. We consider that environmental policies must be adopted in accordance with the needs of economic growth in order to safeguard health and the possibilities of improving the standards of living of the peoples and to provide that competent national bodies in the various countries share their knowledge, experience and documentation.

180. Guatemala participated with the utmost interest in the World Population Conference which was recently held in Bucharest, as well as in the preparatory activities which have been undertaken at the regional level, with the awareness that the problem is a justifiable concern for mankind. It defended as fundamental premises the principles of respect for the dignity and freedom of man and respect for the sovereign decision of each State on the basis of its particular circumstances. That is why, in general terms, we have given our approval to the world plan prepared at that conference,⁶ since it included recommendations which coincide with the policy my country follows, which is aimed at improving the quality of life of its inhabitants, at economic and social development and at affirming the independence of peoples.

181. In celebrating the first year of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, as undoubtedly will be noted in the report requested from the Economic and Social Council by the Assembly, in resolution 3057 (XXVIII), sincere interest has been noted, if not absolute adherence to this campaign. All States have expressed their willingness to co-operate in the implementation of the Programme prepared in 1973 and annexed to the resolution; the directives of which may be a guide for more effective action, since the vigilant attention given has emphasized some grave and dramatic events, vestiges of discrimination or results of dislocation in the social integration of some regions of the world, to which the influence of the United Nations must be extended. The mixture of races, the biological value of which is also found in the social environment, has been a natural catalyst, but, even where there is no racial discrimination properly speaking, there is need for a greater integration of sectors of the population with lower economic and cultural resources, in regard to which timely assist-

ance could promote higher levels of living and better living conditions. Accordingly the Government of Guatemala supports all measures adopted by the Organization against discrimination of all kinds and at this time expresses its satisfaction at the fact that the United Nations has opportunely proclaimed the year 1975 to be International Women's Year [*resolution 3010 (XXVII)*].

182. In connexion with the proclamation of the International Women's Year, during which the merits of women will be extolled, and as a consequence of which the path to full equality will be opening up to women, I am happy to say that my country, in this regard, has encouraged the greatest possible participation of women in political, professional, educational and working life. It is thus that more than 50 per cent of the posts in the public health and education sectors are occupied by women, and there is no legal discrimination whatsoever with regard to their electoral and civic rights or their right to free access to culture. In the educational system we see an ever-increasing number of girls and women attending school, with the result that the illiteracy rate among them is falling. However, we recognize that there are still centuries-old limitations which interfere with the social equality of women, but we trust that legislation and the action we have taken will open the way to an ever-increasing degree of development and that these national efforts will be considerably increased by the promotion of support which the United Nations may provide.

183. Since we are interested in recognizing the personalities who through philanthropy and their actions have contributed to establishing suitable living conditions for man, we consider the United Nations as a proper forum to pay a tribute to Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, since five centuries after his birth his thoughts are still with us, among them one of the great aspirations of this Organization, the protection and defence of the essential rights of man, to which the illustrious bishop of Chiapas and Verapaz in the former captaincy general of Guatemala devoted his most noble endeavours as a true pioneer of the declarations of human rights we have today.

184. As is well known by the States represented in this Assembly, the position of Guatemala has always been in solidarity with that of the countries of Latin America and other continents in the struggle to attain the liberation of all peoples under the yoke of colonial régimes and particularly to eliminate that system from American territory. There are numerous proofs of this attitude in the records of various committees of the General Assembly, particularly the Fourth Committee, as well as of the plenary meetings of the Assembly.

185. In the same spirit, Guatemala took part in the work of the group of countries that drafted the supremely important resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, which included a paragraph stating that "any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations".

186. With that single reservation, which excludes the secession of territories from its scope, Guatemala continues to maintain its anti-colonialist position unwaveringly and its firm adherence to the principle of the self-determination of peoples. In that spirit it will support every Assembly resolution aimed at freeing peoples that are still under colonial oppression.

187. The obsolete, anachronistic system of colonialism still persists in the Americas and in some enclaves occupied by Powers from outside Latin America, despite the fact that sovereignty over them legally belongs to American States. Such is the case of the Guatemalan Territory of Belize, the restitution of which by the United Kingdom has been demanded by my country for more than a century. This claim has been maintained uninterruptedly, based as it is on unimpeachable legal principles and all kinds of efforts have been made, within the canons of international law, to find a solution. In the last 10 years new roads have been zealously explored, and numerous formulas have been tried in an effort to reconcile the just claims of the Guatemalan nation, as well as its legitimate rights over the territory which was taken from it, with the most honourable aspirations of the people of Belize, who also are interested in freeing themselves from colonial domination, and to whom my Government reiterates its feelings of sincere friendship and of respect for their local traditions and institutions.

188. We trust that the dialogue will continue between the parties to this century-long dispute, with no efforts spared that might lead to a solution which would satisfactorily reconcile Guatemala's territorial rights with those of the people of Belize. In the meantime, until there is such an understanding that will permanently ensure the peace of the region, Guatemala once again expresses its definite reservation with regard to its sovereign right over the Territory of Belize, at present occupied by the United Kingdom.

189. In its traditional spirit of international brotherhood and solidarity, Guatemala views with satisfaction the possibilities of attaining greater harmony and understanding among the countries of the Central American region and of speeding up the process of integration of the countries of the regional common market, an essential factor for its development. All efforts aimed at attaining these objectives will have our entire sympathy and support.

190. In concluding the statement, I should like to express my Government's hope that the deliberations of the Assembly, with the goodwill and mutual understanding of the States here represented, will lead to the solutions so urgently required for world peace and to meet the serious economic and other problems confronting our peoples today, and for the achievement of the aspirations to freedom, security and well-being of all the inhabitants of the earth.

191. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

192. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): No one who has listened to or has had the opportunity, as I have, of reading the speech made by the representative of Uganda earlier this afternoon could, I think,

have mistaken that speech for an objective or complete account of the subjects that she was apparently discussing. Indeed, looking back on it, I do not think it was intended to be an objective or complete account.

193. I propose, Mr. President, with your permission, in exercise of my right of reply, to deal with only two points. May I say at the outset that I hope to deal more gently with the distinguished lady, the representative of Uganda, than perhaps she dealt this afternoon with the truth.

194. In her attack—for such it was—upon the International Commission of Jurists, she said that they were “a bunch of graft-collectors in the employment of imperialists, Zionists and racialists” [*para. 15 above*]. And, if I understand her correctly, the United Kingdom is included in that category of “imperialists, Zionists and racialists”.

195. She cannot have read the report. I have it in front of me: it is a document running to some 63 pages of closely typed script; it is full of evidence; it is full of detail; it is full of names; it is full of evidence of what happened. I would invite representatives in this Hall, rather than taking my word for what the report contains, or indeed taking the word of the representative of Uganda as to what the report contains, to exercise the elementary right which is available to us all, at least in this city, that of reading the report itself.

196. I would merely add this: the International Commission of Jurists is an independent judicial body of international distinction; and that fact must, I should have thought, be known to the representative of Uganda, as it is to all of us in this Hall. The previous Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists is indeed now the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, which I should have thought went someway, at any rate, towards establishing the credentials of that body in the eyes of the United Nations.

197. The second point I wish to raise this afternoon in reply relates to that representative's statement that when the imperialists handed over power upon independence they made sure that they handed it over to very carefully selected “puppets” of their own choosing so that they would continue, through corruption, confusion and other means, to plunder the resources of those countries.

198. May I assure the representatives of the United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya and Zambia here present that my country does not share the view of the representative of Uganda about Mr. Nyerere, Mr. Kenyetta and Mr. Kaunda.

199. I will not take up the time of the Assembly this evening by dealing in detail with the generalized and totally unsupported attacks made upon my country. I regret that they were made; I suspect that in due course the honourable lady from Uganda will regret that they were made; and I suspect also that in due time her country will regret that the United Nations has been made the forum for that type of attack. But I reserve the right of my delegation to reply to them in detail in the appropriate forum.

200. Mr. ARNELLO (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Yugoslavia referred to my country in order to point out that a non-aligned

nation had fallen victim to unacceptable foreign interference. The representatives of Bulgaria and Mongolia, for their part, formulated new attacks against Chile.

201. We take up first the statement by the representative of Yugoslavia since the statements of the satellites of Soviet communism need not detain us and are not worthy of our comments. Yugoslavia, on the other hand, is a nation which has had the difficult experience of knowing what Soviet Communist penetration means; it knows that when it freed itself from that penetration it fell victim to a campaign of attacks, slander and abuse similar to the one waged by the Soviet Communists today against Chile. That is why we do not want the representative of Yugoslavia to interpret incorrectly the change of Government which has taken place in my country. Nor should he be impressed by what Soviet communism says or has said about Chile.

202. The present Government of Chile did not have its origin in foreign interference or intervention. It was an expression of the national sentiments of my country, of the desire for freedom of its people and of the patriotic spirit of its armed forces. It is a national, independent Government which does not accept and will never accept any foreign interference in its internal affairs and which will put an end to all those who may have been accustomed to act in such a way in Chile.

203. Therefore, since the Government of Chile was not a creation of foreign intervention, we would like to clarify for the world what we consider to be a valuable Chilean experience. There was shameless foreign interference in Chile during the previous régime. It was the undeniable, proved, unacceptable interference of Soviet communism, interference which tried to destroy the essential unity of our people, to destroy human freedoms and rights, the progress and well-being of the people, the integrity and security of the nation. It was that interference, which was guilty of trampling upon our people and destroying the values on the basis of which our nation was built, that led the armed forces to respond to the clamour of the people and assume command.

204. Consequently, Chile cannot be silenced by Soviet Communist propaganda and can testify to many things which are a clear warning to other peoples of the world, a warning of what this Soviet interference means, this neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism upheld by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

205. Soviet communism is presented as a champion of peace, the freedom of peoples, the rights of nations and the rights of man. In Chile all of this was proved to be false. Its intervention was an attempt to destroy completely the internal peace of the nation and replace it by hate and violence; an attempt to destroy our national unity by means of subversion and the introduction into Chile of a civil war, which the armed forces were able to quell.

206. Through the local branch of the Communist Party as well as through the embassies of the Soviet Union and its satellites there was the most infamous introduction of arms into Chile and the training of guerrilla groups for the purpose of provoking civil war and the assassination of the opposition.

207. This intervention in Chile, which was brought to an end by our armed forces, is not an isolated event peculiar to our country. Unfortunately, it is widespread in Latin America. Suffice it to mention a single fact which representatives can verify. In a period of only five years, between 1968 and 1973, 63 official representatives of Soviet communism were expelled from Latin American countries because of their connexion with subversive activities, strikes, all types of extremist activities and all kinds of acts directed against the integrity of the country to which they were accredited. Nations such as Uruguay, Mexico, Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico again some years later, Bolivia, Columbia and Chile expelled those 63 official representatives of Soviet communism, which is clear and precise testimony to criminal interference in the life and internal activities of Latin American nations.

208. What happened in my country proves beyond any doubt how the criminal interference of Soviet communism in other nations continues to take place. The same brutality, the same expansionism, they revealed when they moved against Poland in 1939, or against the Baltic States a few years later, or against Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 has continued in different forms, depending on the distance of the nations concerned from Soviet troops and the circumstances, which may lead them to adopt one strategy or another in these infamous attacks.

209. Yugoslavia, however, appears publicly and repeatedly as a nation which upholds the independence of peoples—a principle which Chileans fully share. That is why we maintain that its reference to Chile was erroneous and that there has been an involuntary omission in that there was no reference to those nations which are occupied by Soviet troops and which everyone would like to see freed from them as soon as possible.

210. Miss BAGAAYA (Uganda): The Uganda delegation has noted the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom and, with your permission, Mr. President, wishes to reserve its right of reply for a future date.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, item 41.

⁴ *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1972*, document DC/235, annex B, document CCD/361.

⁵ Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare of 17 June 1925. For the text, see League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV, No. 2138, p. 65.

⁶ See *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974*, United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3, chap. I.