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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

*Address by Mr. Gaston Thorn,
Prime Minister of Luxembourg*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I now have the honour of welcoming His Excellency Mr. Gaston Thorn and I invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. THORN (Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): I am very happy to extend my whole-hearted congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I take personal satisfaction in the honour that has been done to you and, through you, to your country, Algeria.

3. I should also like to tell the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, how much we appreciate the intelligent and effective work he has been doing for years without respite.

4. My country welcomes the admission to the United Nations of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. The United Nations has thus taken a further step towards the ideal situation, which would be the presence of all the countries in the Organization.

5. As is clear from the statements already made here by heads of delegations during this general debate in which each year we draw up the balance-sheet of the world situation, there are really not very many grounds for general optimism, even if in some regions of the world—for instance, the Middle East—there has been a relaxation of international tension and a more favourable atmosphere for the quest for peace has been created.

6. We pay a tribute to all those who, displaying great realism, have during the past year contributed to the lessening of tension in the Middle East, to the point where today one can again hope for a peaceful

settlement of the conflict which has been weighing on international relations for a quarter of a century. While only too often people seem to feel that they should criticize the role of the United Nations, I take pleasure today in emphasizing the fundamental contribution of the United Nations forces in the disengagement of the belligerents, thereby making a decisive contribution to the maintenance of the cease-fire.

7. The United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, who has not spared himself in leading us step by step to this partial relaxation of the situation, realistically reminded us in his statement here on 23 September that progress can be made only in steps, but he said that "Each step forward modifies old perceptions and brings about a new situation that improves the chances of a comprehensive settlement". [2238th meeting, para. 58]. It is therefore only logical to draw the conclusion that we must not lose the momentum thus gained, for to do so would mean that the situation could again be aggravated and the temptation to use force could become stronger. I think I can say that there is a general desire to see the Organization play a paramount role in the next phase of the negotiations, whatever form they may take, and I am gratified to be able to note that fact.

8. The countries of the European Community, of which Luxembourg is a member, have been deeply concerned with the situation in the Middle East, a region to which they are bound by many ties woven by geography and history and with which they wish to maintain ever closer relations. Hence, they thus have been led to define their position on the conflict and have called, essentially, for the observance of the following fundamental principles: the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the need to end the occupation of territory resulting from the 1967 conflict; respect for the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and independence of each State in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; the necessity of taking into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinians in the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

9. I am convinced that the observance of those principles will facilitate the search for a stable solution and thus will enable all the countries concerned to devote their best efforts to the economic development of the region rather than to the purchase and use of ever more costly and ever more lethal weapons.

10. Only a few weeks ago we witnessed another tragic event, this time in the eastern Mediterranean. There was a *coup d'état* in Cyprus, launched by irresponsible elements. It resulted in a series of murders and military actions, the displacement of thousands of persons and immense destruction in a country which had never been among the richest of the world. Despite prompt action by the competent bodies of the United Nations—the Security Council, the Sec-

retary-General and the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus—, and despite prompt diplomatic intervention, it was not possible to avoid the creation of this new hotbed of tension, not to say war. I think that a solution to this painful conflict must be found by negotiations between the parties directly concerned. There must not be a repetition of the mistakes which have made us lose so many years in the Middle East. Of course, it is permissible, and possibly even useful, for the parties to the conflict to make clear what they cannot accept, but they should not at this stage pose their requirements as pre-conditions. For there is the risk that, in placing certain conditions on the resumption of negotiations, one becomes locked in an impasse that can lead to the broadening of the forum of the discussion without necessarily increasing the chances of success.

11. With regard to the solution to this critical situation, I fully share the opinion expressed here a week ago by Mr. Callaghan, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom [2245th meeting]. I, too, hope that the negotiations between the leaders of the two Cypriot communities will soon lead to positive results.

12. It should surprise no one that the head of Government of a small State linked, through the European Community, with both Greece and Turkey, and also with Cyprus, is much more concerned with the independence of Cyprus and the sovereign will of the Cypriots than with the desires and preoccupations demonstrated in other capitals, in Europe and elsewhere.

13. On the humanitarian level, the international community as a whole is invited, once again, to contribute generously to alleviating the suffering and repairing the damage. It goes without saying that we shall not be remiss in fulfilling our duty of international solidarity.

14. In my opinion, our Organization can learn several lessons from the events in Cyprus.

15. In the first place—and Mr. Waldheim quite rightly highlights this important point in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization—the United Nations can effectively intervene in conflict situations only if it has the support of all its Members in the application of the decisions of its principal organs, and particularly the decisions of the Security Council concerning the maintenance of international peace and security [A/9601/Add.1, sect. VII]. It goes without saying that in that respect the support of the permanent members of the Council is particularly vital.

16. In the second place, the two conflicts I have just mentioned show that mankind clearly remains more skilled in the art of war than in the art of restoring peace, as we can see if we compare the funds spent on increasing war arsenals with those actually devoted to the quest for and the establishment of peaceful relations. The United Nations has a fundamental mission to perform here, one which is fully in accord with the primary objective of the Charter, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

17. The United Nations forces, in accomplishing their task in the Middle East and in Cyprus, have fulfilled with distinction the mission entrusted to them,

and I bow my head in memory of the 40-odd members of the United Nations forces who made the supreme sacrifice, not as heroes of war, but as defenders of peace. These forces cannot, of course, be a substitute for real negotiations, which alone can create a new viable political situation.

18. For some time a great deal has been said about *détente*. Several speakers have already referred to the favourable development in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and this is obviously a source of satisfaction for all of us.

19. Furthermore, let us recognize that for many years discussions concerning disarmament have nevertheless been carried out within the framework of our Organization and other international forums, and yet only modest progress has been achieved in this field.

20. We must regrettably note that, despite the existence of immense war arsenals which can eradicate all life on earth, the general arms race continues at a devastating pace and the budgets to this end increase regularly. Ever more sophisticated weapons are continually being produced and made available to an ever-growing number of countries.

21. At the root of all those armament policies there is a feeling of suspicion: none dares trust a potential adversary. Yet it is clear that this arms race cannot go on indefinitely, because it increasingly absorbs wealth which is essential for humanitarian purposes. Furthermore, the risk of a fatal accident with incalculable consequences cannot be excluded.

22. In my view, the problem must be approached realistically. While complete disarmament must and should be considered as the ultimate goal, it is nevertheless more realistic on a short-term basis to consider an effective and controlled reduction of a given proportion of weapons. In this field as in others, the best is often the enemy of the good. It is in this spirit that my country participates in the Vienna talks on the reduction of arms in Central Europe.

23. I referred earlier to the importance of trust and I remain convinced that without effective control it will be impossible to instil the trust that is needed to arrive at effective disarmament.

24. We believe that a general conference on disarmament might bring us closer to our desired objective, provided that it is preceded by an adequate preparation, bearing particularly on effective means of achieving that goal.

25. The rather poor record of this year nevertheless includes a most satisfying development, namely, the radical change in the policy of the new Portuguese Government in regard to its overseas territories. The distressing Guinea-Bissau affair has now had a happy outcome. Furthermore, Lisbon has accelerated its negotiations with the liberation movements in its other territories, and those negotiations have already produced agreements.

26. Favourable developments of this kind are, unfortunately, not yet in prospect in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. These areas will doubtless be the last on the planet openly to suffer from a policy of racism. We must hope that the wisdom of all men will finally put an end to this suffering.

27. Two European countries, Portugal and Greece, are preparing to rejoin the family of truly democratic countries. For me, this is another positive factor of great importance which I cannot fail to welcome warmly from this rostrum.

28. Together with this, there is the very difficult evolution of the nine countries of the European Community towards economic and political union. I shall not deny the complexity of this evolution, but it moves ahead relentlessly because of the determination of its sponsors, the originality of its approach and its very promising nature.

29. As was emphasized so eloquently the other day by the President of the Council of the Community, Mr. Sauvagnargues [2238th meeting], this Community will be both internally and externally a valuable guarantor of peace and justice and a powerful factor for progress and co-operation. Conscious of the dignity to which all peoples aspire, and aware above all of the needs of the least endowed, it feels that it must contribute substantially to the creation of a more just world order, one which is better balanced and able to meet the multiple challenges which face us all, taking realistically into account all of the factors and resources which condition our common survival beyond the short term.

30. It is with such an approach and with a view to a more effective universal co-operation that the nine members of the Community have requested the status of observer within this Organization.

31. More than a quarter of a century has gone by since the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is the fundamental charter for safeguarding human dignity. In this respect I fully agree with the ideas expressed from this rostrum by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium [2244th meeting] and by other colleagues.

32. We are alarmed by the frequent reports which describe recent cases of the use of torture, arbitrary detention or other degrading treatment, and we fully support any action taken to condemn and abolish such reprehensible practices. It is in cases of armed conflict that human rights are most often disregarded and populations subjected to great risks. One notes with growing frequency, however, that similar injustices are perpetrated in times of peace as well, in defence of so-called "higher interests or ideals". May those in authority in every country realize that no ideological consideration can justify recourse to torture, and that those who resort to it dishonour themselves and deserve to be placed outside the pale of mankind. Seizing innocent hostages who are alien to any conflict can never be justified anywhere, and those who still indulge in such abominable and cowardly acts can no longer lay claim to an ideology or popular cause. They are simply common criminals. If our collaboration in the United Nations is to have any meaning, all Member States here should, without exception, agree to abolish, as swiftly as possible, international gangsterism.

33. In our times, economic and social problems have acquired a growing importance, both nationally and internationally, since economic difficulties, as we all know, frequently generate political tensions.

It is therefore natural that international organizations, and particularly the United Nations, should concern themselves more actively with these questions.

34. The world economic situation has deteriorated in the course of the last year because of increased inflation, a shortage of certain primary commodities, and because of important changes both in trade balances and in balances of payments. It is symptomatic that economic growth should be negative in several industrialized countries which have to meet very high deficits in their balance of payments. As a reaction, too many countries have had as a reflex action the protection of their immediate national interests, without taking into account the needs of their neighbours. What could follow is a large-scale economic crisis. International co-operation has never been as necessary as it is today because interdependence is such that no country, even the wealthiest, can be sheltered from a world crisis.

35. The sixth special session of the General Assembly shed new light on these major economic and social problems which have accumulated over several years. It has made it possible to see a little more clearly what are the renewable and non-renewable resources of the earth.

36. The last year has nevertheless shown that the world economic system is not able to absorb too many sudden shocks, such as the quadrupling of the price of one raw material, oil, within a year. If one goes too far or too fast in isolated sectors without taking into account the whole economic picture, there may be breakdowns or violent reactions harmful to all—to all, I emphasize.

37. Doubtless, in the past the industrialized countries have not given all the assistance which they could and should have given to poorer countries, and an additional effort can legitimately be demanded of them. But that entails the obvious need that their own economies should not be imperilled by ill-timed rises in indispensable primary commodities.

38. Furthermore, it is essential that all countries concerned clearly realize that if the world were to have an economic and financial crisis because of new exaggerated rises on so essential a product as oil, for example, the super-Powers would be the first to come out of such a crisis, and even come out of it strengthened economically and politically, while the lesser industrialized countries, like the developing countries, would feel the full weight.

39. As for the Special Programme, under the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3202 (S-VI)], to give emergency assistance to the countries most seriously affected by recent movements in international prices, the European Community is going to make a concrete and substantial contribution. For that operation to be really successful, all potential donor countries, of both East and West, and the countries which have a wealth of raw materials, should agree as soon as possible to exceptional and universal aid.

40. Among the major problems, we must still, alas, include famine in certain African and Asian regions. One of the main tasks of the forthcoming World Food Conference in Rome in November 1974 will be to consider this problem in depth, and recommend

medium- and long-term measures so as to prevent shortages of all kinds in the future, particularly of fertilizers. But we must not lose sight of short-term needs, and must provide sufficient food for countries in urgent need of it. Countries in the drought zone of Africa are among those suffering most.

41. Furthermore, the World Population Conference held a few weeks ago in Bucharest drew world attention to the growing importance of the problems of population growth. It goes without saying that one cannot expect final conclusions in so vast and complex a field. The World Population Plan of Action which was adopted by the Conference¹ could not, by the nature of things, go beyond certain general guide-lines.

42. Bearing in mind the considerable decline in the birth-rate in most industrialized countries, they may soon have to face a serious problem of depopulation. This is the case in my country, where a certain balance is maintained only because of migration. On the other hand, many developing countries have a high rate of population growth, together with a substantial economic and geographical potential. Such a situation certainly presents problems, but stimulating problems whose solution appears promising. But it would be absurd to claim that an over-populated country with meagre resources can ensure its development despite a high birth-rate.

43. It follows that a world population plan of action cannot be uniform. It is not a question of reducing the number of human beings at all costs everywhere, or, on the contrary, of believing that the more people there are, the more power, and indeed wealth, there will be. The main purpose of that world plan of action should be to ensure a better proportion between available resources and their present and future users.

44. Next year we shall celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations. Our world Organization was the result of the aspirations of mankind, which had endured the agonies of a devastating war and which placed its hopes in the attainment of a peaceful world that would enable all States to co-operate fully in order to ensure a better life for all peoples. In the course of that period, the fundamental objectives enshrined in the Charter have successfully stood the test of time and all the programme of international co-operation which has resulted will continue to constitute an indispensable framework and an essential condition for genuine international co-operation to flourish.

45. However, it is not enough to support the United Nations with words alone. We must learn to make better use of the vast possibilities offered by our Organization and to develop them further so as to enrich our common heritage as much as possible; as the representative of the Netherlands said this morning so eloquently [2252nd meeting], we must make use more fully than in the past, of the many channels of international co-operation within our Organization.

46. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn, for his important statement.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

47. Mr. ALMUFTI (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is my pleasure, at the outset of my address to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, to join with those who preceded me in expressing my sincere and profound congratulations to the distinguished President of the Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, on his unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its current session. Your election, Mr. President, is a personal tribute to your accomplishments and your struggle. It is likewise a tribute to the struggle of our brother people of Algeria.

48. I should like at the outset also to express the most sincere and heartfelt congratulations, and a fraternal welcome, on the occasion of the admission of three new States to our international family, namely Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. The admission of the two latter States to the family of the United Nations is further evidence of the twilight of the colonial era and its eclipse in the remaining Territories which for so many centuries have suffered under its yoke. It also heralds a new era of freedom and human dignity.

49. My Government, while acknowledging with appreciation the wisdom and far-sightedness which the new Government of Portugal has shown, hopes that Portugal will continue its enlightened policy of decolonization in the other territories which have not as yet achieved their liberation—namely, Mozambique and Angola.

50. A cursory glance at the agenda of the current session, which consists of more than 100 items, conveys a clear picture of the broad and comprehensive scope of the present tasks—which indeed constitute a permanent and continuous challenge—of this universal Organization.

51. In the agenda there are certain items which have become our inheritance year after year either because of their importance and their recurring nature or, in many instances, on account of the failure of the United Nations to find appropriate and effective solutions, notwithstanding the United Nations resolutions pertaining thereto, which have expressed the will of the international community by categorical and absolute majorities.

52. On the agenda, and in the valuable report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/9601 and Add.1] there are items of considerable importance and gravity. These items form significant landmarks along the road, if not decisive cross-roads. It is incumbent upon all of us to accord them optimum and most expeditious attention before the position deteriorates and they become unamenable to solution.

53. I refer here to what the Secretary-General says in the introduction to his report concerning the sixth special session, which the General Assembly held in the spring of this year to discuss the situation regarding raw materials and development [A/9601/Add.1, sect. V]. We believe that these two matters constitute an embodiment of the great economic and social issues which confront the present international community.

54. It has become all too clear that the acute economic crises and social upheavals which the world

is witnessing today are not isolated or unforeseen occurrences. Nor are they confined to one country or region. Rather, they represent a rapid deterioration, the inevitable outcome of which may well undermine the entire economic and social structure of the whole world. They are the outcome of several phenomena, including a population explosion in many parts of the world which does not seem to lend itself to any control, as was seen during the World Population Conference held in Bucharest during the summer of this year.

55. There is also the accelerating attrition and waste of the world's finite raw materials stemming from an inexorable consumer revolution, particularly in the developed countries, without regard for the rights and needs of succeeding generations.

56. There is also the revolution of rising expectations, which is pervading the whole world, as a result of increasing progress and awakened consciousness unprecedented in the history of the human race. While the World Population Conference dealt with an important element in the current international economic situation, Jordan looks forward with considerable interest to the forthcoming World Food Conference, scheduled to meet at Rome next November. It is our hope that the Conference will succeed in formulating a world food policy which will include the expanded production of food-stuffs, the equitable distribution of food and the establishment of a sound basis for world food security.

57. Last, but not least, is the deep and growing chasm between the developed and the developing countries, the "haves" and the "have-nots", whose efforts to catch up with the march of progress are being rendered more costly and difficult as a result of inflation, owing to which most of them are compelled to import, for reasons which have nothing to do with their own conditions but are rather the outcome of economic and social convulsions in the more advanced States and societies.

58. These fateful, vital issues were discussed in depth and detail during the sixth special session of the General Assembly and this is not the appropriate place to analyse them or pass conclusive judgements on them. However, I feel compelled to refer to them, for two reasons.

59. First, the current economic situation in the world affects the survival of hundreds of millions of the human race, particularly in the developing countries. Furthermore, the world today has become so interdependent that if one member is stricken all others feel the affliction, not in one area of life but in all its manifold manifestations.

60. Secondly, there are persistent and unfair attempts to explain the current world crises by placing responsibility on the shoulders of a group of developing countries which nature has endowed with one principal raw material—petroleum. This is being done at a stage in technological progress at which petroleum plays an important if not a cardinal role. But, we are entitled to ask—and Jordan, incidentally, is not an oil-producing country—is the inflation which threatens the economy of every country in the world a product of today or even of the recent past, as claimed by those who wish to link it to the rise in petroleum prices

during this year? Do we not all realize that the runaway inflation which is getting more and more out of control is the consequence of years of economic and social convulsions in the developed countries?

61. All States, big and small, rich and poor, are genuinely concerned about controlling the ever more devastating inflation, because a stable, reasonable and balanced criterion of value is an indispensable condition of the preservation of stability and confidence, which are the corner-stone of any sound economic or political world order. This can be achieved only by quiet dialogue and objective appraisal in the search for appropriate solutions.

62. Diverting attention from the real causes underlying the destabilization of the world economic order or attempting to find a single fictitious scapegoat for the present world malaise, will not serve the interests of any party. On the contrary, this compounds an already sordid situation.

63. The Government of Jordan wishes to acknowledge with approbation the initiative which the oil-producing countries have taken in the establishment of special development funds and programmes to assist the developing nations of the third world in shouldering the burdens of the present and in looking to a better future. It is our hope that good will may be followed by speedy and practical implementation because bureaucracy, as the experience of developed countries in carrying out assistance programmes have taught us, often constitutes the major obstacle to satisfying the needs and the aspirations of peoples for a better life.

64. We are convinced also that the peoples of the third world, including the 130 millions of the Arab nations, will receive a fair share of all the investment and assistance programmes which countries with a currency surplus intend to carry out in order that every part of our world may become an active and positive factor in the world economy rather than a burden on it.

65. This will also dissipate the myth that there are funds without peoples and peoples without funds. The Arab nations, in partnership with the peoples of the third world, are capable of absorbing a substantial ratio of any surpluses that may become available, for their own good as well as for the world economy as a whole.

66. Economic development and sound international dealings presuppose the existence of an international order based on justice in every corner of the globe. Peoples can never devote any thought to the precepts of normal life, to which we all aspire, so long as they are deprived of the elements of peace and national security for their peoples or their homelands. Let us add to this what certain people suffer as a result of racial discrimination which is contrary to all the values of the civilized world and which is the scourge of every country or people which allows itself to exercise this discrimination.

67. I am stressing this view because I represent a country that is an integral part of the greater Arab homeland and that has had to suffer aggression against its peace, security and territorial integrity. The share of such aggression falling to Jordan has been substantial.

68. The agenda of this twenty-ninth session is studded with items concerning the Middle East which are in essence and in reality derivatives of one basic problem, namely, the Zionist aggression in Palestine and the extension of that aggression over the past quarter of a century to include territories and peoples of neighbouring Arab countries.

69. Thus, we have, for example, item 38, pertaining to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. I do not believe that anyone will disagree when I state that it is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, agenda item in the history of the United Nations. The tragedy of it all is that it pertains to the fate of one and a half million human beings who are still living a life of dispersal, deprivation and physical, as well as psychological, suffering in consequence of their forced expulsion from their homeland in 1948.

70. Under this item the General Assembly also receives the report of the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission, which in the early 1950s, and in co-operation with all parties concerned, strove to arrive at a just and permanent solution to the Palestine question, on the basis of the implementation of all General Assembly resolutions on this subject. All the parties concerned, including Israel, came to an agreement and initialled what came to be known as the Lausanne Protocol. But no sooner had Israel signed that instrument than it retracted and refused to ratify it. It consequently caused the loss of an historic opportunity to settle this dispute once and for all, thus sparing all concerned the wars and tragedies of the past quarter of a century.

71. Also on the agenda is item 40, which deals with Israeli oppressive practices against the inhabitants of the occupied territories since 1967; the violations of their human rights and Israel's systematic efforts to absorb their lands and transform their physical terrain and history. And while violations of human rights continue unashamedly, and unacceptably to our contemporary world, regardless of the guises and excuses under which they are perpetrated, they are nevertheless violations of the rights of humanity. They are reflected in the atrocious and irresponsible tampering by Israel with a civilization that has a legacy going back almost two thousand years. Before our eyes is the holy city of Jerusalem whose historical, architectural, religious and cultural legacy falls victim to the hammers of destruction, mutilation and distortion, regardless of its sacredness, its majesty and its eternity. The fact that it symbolizes the loftiest spiritual aspirations of humanity has not spared Jerusalem the agony of a ruthless metamorphosis.

72. The agenda also comprises a broad item under the heading "The situation in the Middle East" [item 109]. This simply alludes to the fact that Israel, which launched an all-out aggression against three Arab States, namely, Jordan, Syria and Egypt, in 1967, still persists in that aggression by its continued occupation of vast areas of Arab lands. And even though the war of October 1973 was a reminder to Israel that its expansionist aggression and usurpation of other people's lands could lead only to an explosion, it has reverted once again to dragging its feet. Israel has been declaring to the world that it is determined to grab this part or that part of Arab oc-

cupied homelands; that it would be ready to withdraw from a bit of territory here and a bit of territory there, arrogating to itself the option of which parts of our homelands and rights it would not wish to relinquish, and without showing any serious concern lest such an attitude destroy the possibilities of establishing a just and permanent peace in the Middle East, in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

73. In historical hindsight it becomes abundantly clear that what happened in 1967 was a calculated and deliberate plan. If anyone has any doubt that this is so, let him look at how Israel, after occupying Jerusalem, the west bank of the Jordan and Gaza, went about absorbing those territories, in addition to occupying them. Let him witness how Israel today refuses to pull out, in any real or meaningful sense, from these occupied territories, notwithstanding the fact that the Arab States directly involved have agreed in unequivocal and categorical terms to accept peace, within the framework and provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and its subsequent concomitant resolution 338 (1973), which confirms it. What excuse remains in the arsenal of Israel for refusing to relinquish the territories which it occupied by force of arms in 1967?

74. The agenda includes an item entitled the "Question of Palestine" [item 108]. And as the title indicates, it represents an initiative to restore the question to its roots and fundamentals, after it has lain in abeyance for more than 20 years. During all those years any discussion of the problem was restricted to subsidiary issues such as that of resolution 194 (III), paragraph 11, which the General Assembly adopted in 1948 asserting the rights of the Palestinians to return to their homeland and properties and ensuring compensation for those who might choose not to return. I need hardly remind this distinguished General Assembly that the said resolution, along with many others, has remained ink on paper and is being stored under a thick layer of dust and indifference because Israel wished it to be so. The General Assembly has remained immobilized and incapable of doing anything about it.

75. The items to which I have referred will be discussed in full detail when the time for their debate comes up. But I feel it is my duty, within the framework of this general debate to outline as clearly as possible the position of Jordan in regard to this question.

76. First, Jordan supports without reservation, like all its sister Arab States—indeed, like all States of the world that are committed to supporting right and justice—the full restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people.

77. Secondly, the rights of the Palestinian people have been victimized by the most flagrant of violations ever since 1948, when the majority of the Palestinians were forcibly expelled from their lands and from their homeland. Furthermore, the rights of the Palestinian people were once again trampled upon in 1967, when Israel occupied large areas of Arab territory within which live more than a million people. The rights of the Palestinian people quite obviously cannot be restored except on their own soil and in their own homeland, in accordance with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations, and by their

being enabled to return to their homeland through an ending of the occupation.

78. Thirdly, Jordan's direct historical, national and moral imperative is to do all it can, in conjunction with the other Arab States, with a view to restoring the territories occupied as a result of the grave setback suffered by the Arab States in 1967. This duty stems from Jordan's national commitment, as well as from the special relationship which identifies Jordan with the hopes and aspirations of the Palestinian people.

79. It should be recalled that, following the catastrophe which befell the Palestinian people in 1948 and which resulted in the loss of four fifths of their homeland, a voluntary unity was achieved within the framework of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan between the east bank and the west bank of the Jordan. That unity remained and stood firm until 1967, when Israel succeeded in occupying the west bank in its entirety, along with its occupation of other Arab territories.

80. Jordan will continue every effort for bringing about the total withdrawal of Israel, so as to make it possible for the people of Palestine to exercise their right of self-determination in their own homeland and on their own soil. This is a position which Jordan shares with all the other Arab States.

81. I wish to emphasize here that the only obstacle standing in the way of the Palestinian people in the exercise of their rights is the Israeli occupation and Israel's obduracy in refusing to implement the principles and resolutions of the United Nations.

82. In close proximity to our territory lies the island of Cyprus, with its Greek and Turkish communities, with whose ancient and valiant peoples we have the strongest bonds of fraternal friendship. Our people were dismayed, as were other peoples, by the national catastrophe that has afflicted this small and beautiful island. My Government offers its deepest condolences for the innocent victims from among the two communities who lost their lives. Jordan also expresses deep regret for the destruction that has been wrought upon the economic structure of the island. It is our fervent hope that the international community will, after the restoration of peace and amity in Cyprus, offer the necessary assistance to enable that country to rebuild its shattered economy.

83. The explosion of the situation in Cyprus, though its immediate cause was the mistakes of a handful of people who did not weigh the consequences of their acts, serves none the less as proof that a policy of sleeping through crisis situations and letting the fire smoulder under the ashes, and failing to take serious initiatives with a view to solving deep-rooted crisis situations—as was the case in Cyprus—is the most short-sighted and most dangerous of policies. Time does not solve problems; it merely aggravates them. It is to be hoped that the tragic events in Cyprus will serve as a lesson to those who are content to leave crisis situations unresolved—as is the case in the explosive Middle East—because of either short-sightedness or lack of will, or both.

84. Jordan quite naturally supports the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We also believe that this should be based on the peace

and security of the two communities, without allowing conflicting external interests in the world to stand in the way of such an accord. We hope that the leaders of the two communities will reach an agreement that will ensure such peace and security, without permitting external interests to aggravate the situation.

85. Jordan has followed with profound satisfaction the continuation of the policy of *détente* which was the central theme of the debate at its twenty-eighth session. I wish to stress in particular the attitude of *détente* which permeated the two major Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in their efforts to limit strategic weapons. But there is, as the Secretary-General has noted, a greater danger arising from the increasing proliferation of atomic capabilities among a growing number of States [A/9601/Add.1, sect. X]. The danger is particularly great in view of the fact that any differentiation between atomic capabilities for peaceful purposes and those for military purposes is inconsequential. It is a noteworthy fact that there are at present perhaps 12 States with the potentiality of becoming nuclear-weapon States, but which have not as yet signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex]. Some States have signed it but have not yet ratified it. This number may well double over the next few years.

86. It is the duty of the United Nations, and particularly of the major Powers, to do everything in their power—and to do it before it is too late—to ensure a firm and effective system to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This can be achieved only on the basis of equality of treatment for all States within each region. If one State is permitted, either by silence or out of permissiveness, to acquire nuclear arms, it becomes impossible to persuade the other States of the region, which deeply feel this terrifying power hovering over their heads, to refrain from acquiring possession of such arms as time goes by. And therein lies the danger to world peace as a whole.

87. Jordan fully supports the proposal to declare the regions of the Middle East and of South Asia nuclear-free zones similar to the one declared in the case of Latin America, and approves the increasing attention that is being given to proposals to declare the continent of Africa a nuclear-free zone as well. This can become a plausible and serious objective only if each and every State within the regions concerned abides by it without exception.

88. The world today is passing through one of the most perilous periods in the history of the human race. On the one hand, this period holds out great hopes for the advancement of mankind; on the other, it is fraught with unprecedented dangers because of its potential for destruction. In many circles there is a growing feeling of inevitable doom. But we need not be unduly pessimistic because, given good-will, sound judgement and selflessness, we should be able to tackle and successfully overcome every problem that now appears difficult or incapable of solution.

89. Jordan, as an integral part of the Arab world, believes that the time has come for the Middle East to surge forward, with all the human and material resources at its disposal, in a renaissance that will not only resuscitate its own great cultural heritage—it is the cradle of civilization—but also work towards

the enrichment of contemporary civilization and culture, side by side with the other nations of the world.

90. Our nation looks forward with determination to becoming, shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples of the world, a positive force in shaping the present and the future. It will not tolerate a situation in which its causes remain but sordid and repetitive items at every session of the General Assembly.

91. The capabilities of our nation are still either dispersed or immobilized in consequence of the aggressions and the unlimited and unreasonable demands made upon it. These aggressions and demands are unique in that they run counter to the aspirations of all peoples for freedom, progress, and unrestricted international co-operation and amity. Hence, it is incumbent upon the United Nations not only to stand by the cause of right and justice, but also to strive firmly with a view to making it possible for the Middle East to become an area of peace, progress and justice, for the good of our region itself and of the world at large.

92. Mr. CISSOKO (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Recent developments in the international situation have aroused hopes. The agreements concerning peace and co-operation reached in areas of tension in the world; the dialogue to bring about greater equality and justice in trade and co-operation between rich and developing countries initiated at the sixth special session on raw materials and development; the victory of progressive forces in certain parts of the world as on 25 April in Portugal, when the Portuguese people triumphed over fascism; and the troop disengagement agreements in Sinai and the Golan Heights aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis, are all events which mark an important stage in the liberation struggle of the peoples.

93. However, while we are gratified at these developments we must recognize that there are still many hotbeds of tension.

94. In the Middle East the disengagement agreements binding the parties in no way get to the root of the problem, and a great deal remains to be done to bring about a just and lasting peace in that area. Here, any peace settlement which does not take into account the fate of the Palestinian people and the restoration of their rights will not encompass the basic elements of the fundamental problem of the area.

95. When we mention Palestine we are hardly thinking of the notoriety which the vicissitudes of history have conferred on the place. Our hearts, our attachment, our respect and our unconditional support go straight to this nation of martyrs, victim of oppression and deprivation, a people whose right to life would be denied.

96. In the Mediterranean, it is Cyprus which has been the scene of a bloody confrontation. As we have said here and elsewhere, the internal affairs of every country must be managed by its people without any foreign intervention. This principle must prevail in any solution to the tragedy of Cyprus.

97. South-East Asia still remains a source of concern to the international community. The elementary and inalienable rights of the peoples are being made the subject of deals and bargaining and the chances of peace there continue to be jeopardized.

98. The obstinate resistance of the régimes of Phnom Penh and Saigon to the liberation forces regrettably removes any grounds for optimism. The greatest good which could be done by those who support Lon Nol in Cambodia would be to stop all aid to his régime which has amply demonstrated its unpopularity, and to recognize as the only legitimate Government, that of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

99. In Viet Nam, the situation remains critical and requires an urgent solution before it is too late. The hopes aroused by the Paris agreements are vanishing with every passing day in the face of the flagrant and repeated violations of clauses of those agreements by the Saigon régime, which is still being supported and strengthened against the liberation forces.

100. In the Korean peninsula, as has been stated and continued by the Korean people themselves, reunification should be brought about with independence without recourse to force or outside intervention. Hence, the United Nations should recall and withdraw all troops stationed under its flag in South Korea. The continued maintenance of these troops is contrary to the rights and aspirations of the Korean people and makes no contribution to bringing this people closer to national unity and reconciliation.

101. These are situations—just to mention a few—fraught with consequences that have a dangerous effect on the prospects for peace. Peace can last only if it is founded on the solid foundation of justice, because without justice the world may well be compared to a house built on sand which collapses when the slightest crack appears.

102. Mr. President, at this stage of the discussion, permit me to associate myself with previous speakers in conveying to you our warm congratulations on your election and expressing to you our great pleasure at seeing you in this important post at this session. Your ability, your vast experience, your great knowledge of the questions which are of concern today to our Organization, confirm us in our faith that, under your Presidency, this session will be crowned with success.

103. I could not fail to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the President of the twenty-eighth session, Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, who discharged his functions with such authority, skill and devotion and with such a high sense of responsibility.

104. May we also take this opportunity to repeat our great appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the many efforts he has made in such a short time to advance the cause of understanding among peoples and peace and justice throughout the world. He may be assured of our full co-operation and support.

105. It is quite natural for us to rejoice at the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and Grenada to the family of the United Nations. The achievement of their independence and their admission to the United Nations represent another victory for the ideals of our Organization. It is also a reaffirmation of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. We are counting on close co-operation and collaboration with the delegations of both countries.

106. My delegation cannot express with sufficient force or the right words the deep satisfaction we feel

at the admission of the sister Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations; for that event represents the culmination of the constant ardent appeals of my people and Government made over the course of many years, in many forums, ranging from the General Assembly to meetings and deliberations of other international organizations, conferences and seminars.

107. These feelings are inspired by the common destiny and active solidarity binding the peoples of Africa, not to mention the unreserved adherence of the Democratic Party of Guinea to their cause and its sincere and unconditional support for the right of peoples to self-determination.

108. Nor can I conceal my deep emotion in recalling our sheer jubilation at the recognition of the victory of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC], a universal recognition of independence which, far from being a mere act of kindness, is rather an acquiescence in the conquest by the valiant people of Guinea-Bissau of its right to join the community of sovereign nations which is our Organization. We wish also to extend our gratitude to all those who, throughout the struggle, were unstinting in their support and encouragement.

109. The independence of Guinea-Bissau has been a dramatic achievement, the background to which was a veritable tapestry of tribulation and suffering, sacrifice and bloodshed, which only unswerving devotion to the cause of liberty and a rare tenacity and courage can really account for. Among those martyrs to the sacred cause, those fighters, living or dead, there stands out as an undying memory and source of inspiration an eminent figure in the world struggle for the emancipation of peoples, one who has been seen and heard at all international meetings devoted to the problems of Africa and its oppressed: an incomparable military leader, a statesman of rare nobility and a tireless pilgrim for peace, Amílcar Cabral, whose memory we devoutly honour.

110. The United Nations must now do for others what it has done for Guinea-Bissau, and what it is in duty-bound to continue to do. To achieve universality, the Organization's task, objective and obligation is to wage a continuous struggle to see to it that the interests of States and peoples be given the highest priority on the agenda of all proceedings that require decision making.

111. The developments in Portugal confirm, beyond the shadow of a doubt and in themselves, the justness of the struggle and of wars of national liberation, and of the continuation of unrelenting pressure, which are sources of decency and constructive realism capable of surviving the longest nights.

112. The process begun by the liberation movements has opened a new chapter in Portugal's history and has ushered in a new era—an era of dynamism that instils in the people and progressive forces of that country, the natural allies of the African peoples, a sense of history and a taste for restored liberty and reconquered human dignity, and the need to preserve democracy. Amílcar Cabral was right in saying that it was through the liberation struggle that the African Territories under Portuguese domination, in liberating themselves, would be freeing Portugal from fascism.

113. Experience has taught us that the liberation movements are more than ready to assume their responsibilities, particularly at a time when confidence and good faith are essential for an effort to put an end to centuries of colonization which have left behind them nothing but a dismal record of acts of genocide and sinister, cold-blooded crimes.

114. While it is true that the Portuguese people and armed forces movement as a whole, have unreservedly rejected fascism, it is still more true that, in organizing their resistance and in taking up arms, the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination have unequivocally given notice to Portugal and the world of their unshakable will to put an end to servitude.

115. To preserve the intent of the agreements reached between the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] and Portugal—agreements whereby the Portuguese Government solemnly undertakes to guarantee the security and territorial integrity of Mozambique in order finally to lead it to independence on 25 June 1975, it is important that the guarantor Power and the international community constantly bear in mind that the advocates of colonization who were behind the terrorism which we deplored in Lourenço Marques and in the other large urban centres of the country would not hesitate, given the opportunity, to bring about what was inflicted on Africa in 1960 and 1962 in two of its countries, during and after the liberation struggle. Indeed, the protection and complicity enjoyed by the die-hards in well-known influential circles in Salisbury and Pretoria can hardly reassure us.

116. For Mozambique, Angola, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, there is only one thing that matters: total and immediate independence. As it was so well put by President Ahmed Sékou Touré, "Liberty is non-negotiable: it is a right". Indeed, independence will not be given to those peoples: they will win it by themselves.

117. While it is undeniably true that the action of the young officers fully satisfied the legitimate aspirations of the people to rid themselves of fascism, the Portuguese right wing, through subtle manoeuvres, is trying to compromise, at least partially, the victory of the Portuguese people, which is a consequence of the other victories of the peoples of Africa. In this situation, we know that the Portuguese people are organizing themselves into political parties and that they are now working towards the building of a genuine democracy.

118. We reaffirm that the present successful stage of the anti-colonial struggle—and we want this to be so, determined as we are to contribute to it by all means at our disposal, as we have always done—marks what, without overstating the case, can be called the beginning of the end. We have considered it an offensive, a single movement on a single front, where any success or break-through in one sector leads to successes and victories in others. Peace and liberty cannot stand in isolation. That is why we must not permit the creation of a situation in which there is progress in one area but stagnation elsewhere. It is consequently important that after the radical change that has occurred in what were the Portuguese colonies, our collective efforts should be concentrated with ever more conviction and political will on Zimbabwe,

Namibia and *apartheid* in South Africa, where international imperialism, realizing every day more and more the magnitude of the natural resources and potential of those Territories, is fostering a more widespread policy of genocide which would reduce what remains of the African peoples to the status of mere third-class citizens deprived of all rights.

119. Africa would not be surprised if tomorrow, in accordance with the poles of interest as we can discern them on the current geo-political map of the exploitation of southern Africa, the systematic Balkanization of this region were undertaken at the very moment when Mozambique and Angola are to achieve independence.

120. We are only too sensitive to what happens in this strategic region, where the scope of the international economic interests at stake has direct repercussions on the military involvement of certain great Powers in the Indian Ocean, and continuously conjures up the spectre before us of a possible partition of the emergent States, a partition that could be used for a control so ominous for the balance in Africa, particularly that area of Africa where structures are already very fragile. It is no accident that whichever way you turn you find the same forces supported by the same metropolitan countries attempting to perpetuate their grip on these sensitive regions.

121. Is it not revealing that just a few months after the coming to power of the Portuguese military junta we are witnessing new imperialist manoeuvres the sole purpose of which is to mortgage the inalienable rights of the peoples of the so-called Portuguese territories to liberty? The formation of a so-called liberation front of the enclave of Cabinda, a movement not recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], is surely a constituent part of a new strategy of imperialism which would lead to the balkanization of Angola and which recalls to us the sad realities of the recent past: the tragedies of Katanga and Biafra.

122. That is the meaning of a situation that we have ceaselessly denounced, namely, that imperialism will never cheerfully agree to its own defeat in the so-called Portuguese territories, and that it will attempt the impossible to keep itself in power through its agents.

123. Solidly behind the struggle of the heroic people of Angola, so honourably led by the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA] in the spirit of African liberty and dignity, the Government of the Republic of Guinea condemns such machinations and holds the Fascist element of the Portuguese military junta and its imperialist allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] alone responsible for this situation.

124. We would clarify our position on the colonial question and say that we are in favour of Africa having a greater capacity to protect itself and to meet the various dangers which continue to beset it as if it were only a field of experimentation.

125. To come back to the responsibility of the United Nations, it is regrettable that a name such as that of Namibia, where the situation is getting gradually worse, is considered to reflect the failure of our Organization rather than the perverse blindness of an imperialist structure, persecuting, exploiting and murdering so many of our people on the soil of their

ancestors. The case of Namibia, where the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Namibia is to expire without the slightest improvement in the *status quo*, is sufficient to indicate the urgency and firmness with which the United Nations must act if this Organization wishes to preserve its authority, its mandate and its purpose.

126. For us, mention of the situation along the Mozambique Canal and the southern third of Africa involves mention of the situation that we are witnessing along the shores of the Indian Ocean, where the people of the Comoros, in unity and territorial integrity, wish to take charge fully of their own destiny without any insidious subjugation. In this regard, and recalling the declaration of 26 August last of the Government of the administering Power of the Comoros, a declaration to the effect that the consultation of the population on the independence of the Archipelago would take due account of the natural identity of the territory, that is to say, its geographical frontiers, excluding a plurality of statuses for the different islands, my delegation considers that in order to give logical effect to such a view, it is essential to permit the return of all Comorian citizens residing outside their country.

127. Within the same context, we hope that the process of decolonization begun in the Comoros will be extended to what is known as French Somalia, as well as to the other colonial territories in Africa and elsewhere.

128. The so-called Spanish Sahara remains a problem and a matter of concern to African countries, and to all peoples who love peace and justice. That is why my delegation takes sincere pleasure in the spirit of lofty understanding which our brothers in Morocco and Mauritania have displayed in their statements on this problem.

129. Africa can count on the habitual wisdom and the competence of the International Court of Justice in reaching a just solution of this problem. However, the Republic of Guinea, faithful to the ideal of justice which inspires all peoples, faithful above all to its so often repeated determination to tolerate no foreign occupation of any fragment of our continent, will continue to work by the side of all peace-loving peoples and demonstrate vigorously to the Spanish Government that it is time, high time, to return to the so-called Spanish Sahara its long-denied liberty. We are sure that by so doing the Spanish Government will win a worthy place in history, and will thus guarantee the future of its interests in that territory, restored to its proper owners, who will freely make their own decisions.

130. We also wish to recall that we share the concerns of all those countries that have coasts on the Indian Ocean, which has been declared a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], and which should be one. In this regard, in accordance with resolution 3080 (XXVIII), whereby the General Assembly calls upon the great Powers to halt the escalation and expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean, to eliminate from this region all bases and military installations, and to co-operate to this end with the *Ad Hoc* Committee set up by resolution 2992 (XXVII), my delegation firmly supports the appeal addressed by the coastal States of the Indian Ocean to the United States and the United Kingdom to give up their project

to enlarge the naval air base on the island of Diego Garcia, the dismantling of which should and indeed must be contemplated in the interest of the peace and security of the peoples of that region.

131. Within the same context, and to a large extent, all the great Powers, taken individually or collectively, must put an end to their search for zones of influence, which today has led to the proliferation of military bases throughout the world. This state of affairs, far from solving the problems posed by the competition, not to say the rivalry, which persists among the great Powers, is a dangerous threat to international peace and security; the strengthening of which is more than ever necessary given the current concerns of the peoples of the third world, who need to wage their battle for economic and social progress in peace and harmony.

132. The events which have occurred in Africa, more particularly in the Territories administered by Portugal, show that the independence of colonial peoples is an inexorable process. Respect for this process is a sure guarantee of the improvement of international relations in the sense that it makes possible the evolution and development of the universal community in the most rational and peaceful way. For history is not made up of intentions or promises, but rather of specific facts which mould the processes of history and determine its successive phases of development towards the accomplishment of the destiny of each striving nation.

133. If we are able to remember, it is because we are able to hope. And it is thus that we remain open to all currents of thought which, through effort and action, subscribe effectively and democratically to the principle of dignity. That is why, believing that détente is not something which merely happens to suit private interests, we believe it will strengthen human understanding in the service of the full realization of man's destiny.

134. We want peace and development for ourselves and others; we hope for happiness, as does everyone. The third world, too, wishes this—the third world which has hardly had time to stanch the wounds of the last war but is drawn away from that task by the sounds of new wars.

135. Learning the lessons of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held recently at Caracas, particularly on the problem of the régime to govern the sea-bed, it is interesting to recall that today more than in the past national sovereignty of States seems to embrace an ever wider field. It is well known that positive international law sanctions this and that the sovereignty of a State applies to the national territory and the air space above it, all delimited by *de facto* or *de jure* frontiers of the State in question. The juridical protection and determination of this status is of extreme political and strategic importance for the international community. To delimit the zone of territorial waters over which there shall be full and unobstructed exercise of State sovereignty has become one of the most imperative concerns of States and of the international community.

136. The Republic of Guinea, for its part, in 1964, delimited its territorial zone, which it considers to

be a zone having a direct bearing on its security and the development of its economy. In this very territorial zone it has been carrying on important prospecting work, both on fishing resources and on mineral and energy resources, which has led—most happily for the future of our people—to discoveries of immense economic potential, whose exploitation is reflected in the priorities in our five-year economic and social development plan. Now, it is at the very time when we are linking and will continue legitimately to link these discoveries with our prospects for rapid economic growth that we see the organization and intensification of an all-out movement by certain Powers designed to reduce the ocean space of States.

137. In any case, the Republic of Guinea reaffirms that it will not reduce, under any pressure or for any reason whatsoever, its minimum limit of 130 nautical miles of territorial sea—confused here with the economic zone. Conscious of the need for international communications and trade, Guinea will, however, grant freedom of navigation to nations, individuals and corporate entities which ask for it, just as it will facilitate the laying of submarine cables and pipelines. We recall that our country has never impeded freedom of navigation, which certain maritime Powers have abused by bringing into our territorial waters a number of pirate trawlers to engage in the systematic pillaging of our fishing resources and thus threaten criminally to deplete our fishing zones. But, if we do not have the right to mortgage the future of our people by permitting this exploitation under any condition, we are very much aware of the economic interdependence of all nations and the fact that our fate is indissolubly linked with that of mankind.

138. The sixth special session of the General Assembly on primary commodities and development was a decisive turning-point in the history of our Organization. We heard representatives of developing nations, which, in spite of their persevering efforts to ensure the rapid economic development of their countries, are thwarted in their determination by the persistent inequality which prevails in international economic relations. The international economic order will continue to be detrimental to developing countries and is being marked by an aggravation of the existing inequality in the rates of economic growth in developed countries as compared with the developing countries. Attempts to counter this disastrous trend have really not produced any satisfactory results.

139. The main difficulty lies in the selfishness of the most highly developed countries which are unwilling to give up their privileges and refuse to change a system which promotes their own prosperity at the expense of the countries that produce primary commodities. The disappointing results of the first United Nations Development Decade are familiar to everyone. The Second Decade does not seem to be giving any further grounds for hope. The disruption resulting from this disparity in the distribution of wealth may have even more sinister effects on the whole of the international equilibrium, and the crises that have already occurred in the energy field attest to the depth of the malaise which is a feature of the present international situation.

140. The monetary crisis that we are now witnessing has had a most adverse effect on developing countries, while the responsibility for it lies exclusively with the industrialized countries, which alone should bear its consequences. In the circumstances, it would be an illusion to expect—short of a miracle—any reduction in the gap which at present exists between the industrialized and the developing countries by the mere growth of a few sectors of the economy of the latter. Faced with the depletion of the world's natural wealth and over-consumption which profits only one side, the developing nations—which own vast quantities of most of the primary commodities necessary for the survival of the imperialist economies—are ever more exploited and sometimes even plundered. The gap which separates them from the industrialized Powers, far from narrowing, is getting wider and deeper, and they know it.

141. The situation thus created and the long experience accumulated by the developing countries in the course of their arduous struggle for independence and sovereignty have now led these peoples both to an awareness of their state as proletarian nations—which are becoming ever more proletarianized—and at the same time to the conviction that they can change everything.

142. The international community is now undeniably approaching a new stage in its history: a radical challenge now exists to an economic order that has become outmoded. As was so correctly written by President Ahmed Sekou Touré: "We must deliberately break out of the present situation. To do this, what we need is not evolution but revolution." We need this to permit the establishment of a new economic and trading order in the interest of all peoples. No matter how remote the victory may be, its inevitability mobilizes us ever further for the sake of the noble ideals of justice which it implies.

143. Another aspect of the problem of development was raised quite recently by the World Population Conference at Bucharest. Much was made of the "population explosion" factor as a danger which might slow down the economic and social development of third-world countries. The revolutionary people of Guinea places the human element above everything else as an expression of the existence of peoples and of the worth of the individual which is an important social component.

144. The economic imbalance that has been mentioned and the inadequacy of resources in face of the immense needs of peoples are problems deriving from the failure of the systems of distribution of wealth available to mankind to adapt to the real requirements of harmonious democratic progress. As a result, from the strictly demographic point of view, the developing countries must have a predominantly young population. Such a structure will make it possible effectively to place demography at the service of development. Hence, in our view, it follows that the question is far from being solely a demographic problem but, rather, the result of a whole complex of problems of development and planning and the utilization of human resources. It is there that the remedy is to be applied.

145. In the final analysis, concrete action and a historically just solution for the countries with under-

developed productive power can only mean an all-out struggle to reduce the death rate to a minimum and to intensify education and professional training, all based upon planning, which alone can reflect the scientific organization of labour.

146. The Guinean Revolution has chosen to make the economy its revolutionary policy and not the politics of its economy. That is why economic problems must be studied in relation to the real needs of the peoples. But imperialism and capitalism always make use of the economy, not to liberate peoples, but to exploit them. To that policy the Republic of Guinea will never stop saying "No".

147. In conclusion, my delegation would like to state once again the need to overhaul the Charter of the United Nations. That need is all the more urgent because our Organization, which had 52 Members when it was created, now has 138, of which three fourths are from the third world. The United Nations, conceived as an instrument to serve mankind, must take account of the economic, political and social development of mankind and must not remain a frozen, rigid institution in a world in perpetual flux. That is why the Republic of Guinea will continue to condemn the well-known veto right, whose continued existence amply demonstrates the lack of democracy that unfortunately still marks our Organization, which is supposed to be democratic and just.

148. The delegation of Guinea, faithful to its fundamental political views, to its ideals of true freedom, peace, justice and democratic and social progress, will make its full and whole-hearted contribution to the work of this session.

149. Mr. CORTINA (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As representative of Spain to this session of the General Assembly, I should like first, Sir, to congratulate you on your election as President. Your personal qualifications are very well known and highly appreciated, as are your tireless efforts towards better understanding among peoples, and especially your efforts to benefit the developing countries.

150. I greet and congratulate also the people and Government of Algeria, an Arab country with which we have all kinds of ties and with which we maintain today fruitful co-operation.

151. I should like to congratulate also Mr. Leopoldo Benites on the skilful and wise way in which he guided the work of the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session.

152. On behalf of the Government and people of Spain, I welcome the new States which at this session have joined our Organization: Grenada, Bangladesh and Guinea-Bissau.

153. I should also like to express our condolences to Honduras and the other countries of the region on the catastrophe they have suffered. We wish to express our sympathy to our sister Republic and to assure it of our solidarity. The Government and people of Spain have already given some emergency aid.

154. The year that has elapsed since the last session has witnessed some striking events which will doubtless bring about a profound change in contemporary international relations. Along with the changes that

have occurred in the direction of the public affairs of various countries, there has been an acceleration of the process of decolonization that has facilitated the legitimate access of new nations to international life, thus removing one of the most dangerous causes of conflict undermining the maintenance of peace.

155. A series of unprecedented economic events has made clear the urgent need for a just and rational use of the resources of the world. Similarly, it is necessary, as part of that effort, to adopt regulations governing the use of the sea as a source of wealth, without disturbing the ecology of the marine environment through exaggerated claims or improper exploitation. Joint action in all those sectors must be compatible with the interests of everyone, thereby eliminating reasons for conflict. Undoubtedly we are moving in that direction through the efforts designed to achieve an equitable exchange of goods and products. An example of that is the sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and resources, a session which attempted to lay the bases for co-operation between producers and consumers and for assistance to the least-endowed countries.

156. If those efforts and others with the same aim succeed, we shall have taken a large step towards the international organization of a new political and economic order. But mankind has an inexhaustible capacity to find new problems and thus faces new questions in meeting the issues that historically have been created by the distribution of the land and its resources. Today it is the violence and subversion carried out by a few against the organization which the others have created. That has become a new battlefield, and concerted international action against it is required.

157. During the past year Spain has suffered the loss of its Prime Minister through assassination. All the facts lead us to think that those who perpetrated that crime have their base and have taken refuge in a foreign country.

158. This experience and other similar experiences suffered by ourselves and by many countries demonstrate the urgent need for international co-operation in preventing and punishing terrorism and subversion.

159. The universal crisis of values is responsible for the rise in terrorism, subversion and violence as political weapons. The course of contemporary history has given rise to a loss of faith in moral concepts, contempt for the human being, pessimism and despair among the masses, and this despite the considerable material progress achieved. For their part, Governments, lacking adequate means and chary of internal political complications, neglect their co-operation and practically refuse it in cases where they are not directly involved. This selfish lack of solidarity may endanger peace and security.

160. The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations—General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV)—proclaims that it is the duty of every State not to tolerate terrorist or subversive activities directed against other States. Yet we cannot in future simply enunciate general principles for the conduct

of States to prevent subversive action directed from their territories against those of others. We must go on to effective measures which will prevent those activities from acquiring substance within one country and with impunity projecting themselves on others, with total disregard for the fundamental duty of every State to comply with the obligations imposed by international law, and to have these complied with by all those who reside in their territory, both nationals and foreigners.

161. This must not make us forget that there are many unjust situations throughout the world, that there are many legitimate claims, and that means must be devised to act positively to solve those problems. In this connexion, international co-operation again offers channels which should be studied and used because, unless we go to the root of what continue to be the causes of tension and conflict, the motives for violence will subsist in part. My delegation intends to reiterate and expand on these views in the relevant committee of the General Assembly.

162. On reviewing the international issues most closely affecting Spain, I must give preference to those questions on which the United Nations has acted with all its authority and in regard to which I have to report to this General Assembly.

163. I shall refer in the first place to Western Sahara which Spain administers. I think it appropriate to make it clear above all that on this matter Spain has no dispute or controversy with any country in particular, since all States Members of this Organization are equally bound by the resolutions which advocate self-determination as the appropriate means to bring about decolonization of this Territory. In the process of the self-determination, which brings the United Nations closer to its objective of universality, the indigenous peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories are the undoubted protagonists, while the administering Powers have a dual responsibility, not only to the population, but also towards the international community as a whole. To the peoples under their administration they have an obligation to create the material conditions and the conditions of political development which will enable those peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and an obligation to guarantee the free exercise of that right. Their responsibility to the international community is to ensure that the process is carried out pursuant to the rules embodied in the Charter and in General Assembly resolutions, and with the participation of this Organization.

164. In the last 12 months a series of important events have occurred in relation to Western Sahara on which my Government has duly reported to the Secretary-General. During the twenty-eighth session the Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations, on 28 September 1973,² communicated the letter from the General Assembly of the Sahara to the Spanish head of State, and his reply. The General Assembly of the Sahara requested then that "in a continuous manner an impetus be given to the process which will effectively ensure the possibility for the people of the Sahara to decide their own future". In this request and in the reply of the Government, the Spanish position, repeatedly stated here, was confirmed. It is that the Saharan people alone are the

masters of their destiny, that no one must oppose their will, and that it is up to Spain to set in motion the process of self-determination.

165. After appropriate consultations with the representatives of the indigenous population, the Spanish Government announced the holding of a referendum under the auspices and supervision of the United Nations within the first six months of 1975, to be carried out in accordance with the steps set out by this General Assembly in resolution 3162 (XXVIII) and previous resolutions on the Sahara question. It communicated this to the Secretary-General by letters from the representative of Spain dated 20 August [A/9714] and 13 September 1974 [A/9736].

166. The Government of Spain has adopted and is adopting specific measures to guarantee to the indigenous inhabitants of the Sahara the free and genuine expression of their will so that they alone, in accordance with the relevant resolutions, will exercise that right. At the same time we have initiated contacts with Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria, for the purposes provided for in the resolutions of this General Assembly.

167. We have been at pains to keep the Arab Governments informed of all these events and decisions, in recognition of their close friendship for Spain and the ties of blood, religion and culture which unites the Arab countries with the Saharan people. We know that our attitude has been understood and we feel sure that our intentions will be duly appreciated by the Arab Governments, whose views we esteem highly.

168. In regard to the ability and right of the Saharan population to determine their own future, the international community has expressed itself through this Organization in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. Some States have claimed they have special interests in and title to the Sahara, the relative value of which is today illustrated by the claims and counter-claims which have repeatedly been stated before this Organization. But the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the Organization have never doubted the personality of its population, nor has that majority tried to predetermine their future with exclusive options which in practice would imply the negation of the right to self-determination, which has been clearly proclaimed and recognized in every vote taken in this forum. Accordingly, the Government of Spain is pleased today to say to the General Assembly that the preparation of the referendum will be carried out in accordance with the directives contained in General Assembly resolutions, since we consider them to be the most suitable to ensure that the Saharan population may express its will independently.

169. The referendum will thus be the decisive milestone in the historical development of the Saharan people and their relationship with Spain, and will put an end to the divergencies of view which have been expressed with regard to the Territory, because the freely expressed will of the population will place the stamp of legitimacy on whichever option prevails.

170. Such co-operation with the Saharan people to enable it to take the road it finally decides upon will be the culmination of a long labour of promotion and

development, which is now evident, since this population has been given the opportunity to accede to international life by the peaceful course of self-determination.

171. In sum, Spain intends to respect the will of the Saharan people, the manifestation of which will take place with all internal and international guarantees, in accordance with the resolutions of this Organization, and we shall develop our co-operation with the countries of the area—Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria—so that they may become a factor for peace and progress in the region with which Spain feels so closely bound.

172. My delegation reserves its right to refute in the relevant Committee the allegations made which would tend to render difficult or place conditions on the exercise of self-determination by the Saharan people, and we shall correct the inaccuracies stated on facts and data relating to the Sahara.

173. Now I am bound to refer to the serious and long-standing problem of Gibraltar which affects the territorial integrity of my country, the security in that geographic zone, and the moral authority of this Organization, whose resolutions are ignored by a State Member which is a permanent member of the Security Council.

174. Unlike the question of the Sahara, in regard to which the United Nations advocates self-determination for the decolonization of the Territory, the question of Gibraltar has always been considered, in the relevant resolutions of this Organization, as a conflict between two States, Spain and the United Kingdom, which must clear up the problem of Spanish sovereignty and territorial integrity, which is implicit in the decolonization of the Rock.

175. I shall not go into a history of the negotiations and incidents which have succeeded each other year after year in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in the Fourth Committee and in the plenary meetings of successive General Assembly sessions since 1966, nor shall I quote the conclusive text of accumulated resolutions. The documentation is clear, specific and public, as are the rights and will of Spain to negotiate in respect of the legitimate interests of the population. I am not afraid that I shall exaggerate if I add that what is also clear and public is the certainty that the other party has not so far shown that it is prepared seriously to seek a reasonable, just and effective solution.

176. General Assembly resolution 2429 (XXIII) indicated that 1 October 1969 was the deadline for the decolonization of Gibraltar. Five years have elapsed since then. This situation cannot go on indefinitely because it implies failure to comply with the obligation imposed on the colonial Power by the Charter, the resolutions of this Organization, and its membership in it, and because of the requirements of security, dignity and the public opinion of my country.

177. Spain has adopted every possible peaceful attitude in regard to this problem. We have stated and defended our rights before this supreme international Organization and we have sought a formula for a

solution by means of bilateral contacts with the United Kingdom safeguarding the interests of the present population.

178. I shall now refer to the latest events which have occurred in relation to this matter. The consensus which was adopted by this General Assembly on 14 December 1973³ called on both parties to report to the Secretary-General and to this General Assembly session on the result of the negotiations which were to be undertaken. I regret it profoundly, but it is my duty to inform the Assembly that there has been absolutely no result since there were even no negotiations.

179. The report of the Secretary-General of 8 August 1974 states that on 30 and 31 May of this year, in Madrid, new talks were held between the officers of the two Governments. To dispel any error, I wish to inform the Assembly that in fact the Government of the United Kingdom, in April last, proposed holding talks at the level of diplomatic officers as "the best means to carry out the provisions of the consensus of 1973 on Gibraltar".

180. Although the consensus doubtless referred to genuine negotiations on the substantive question of decolonization, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2429 (XXIII), we wished to accede to this request for talks as proof of our good will and with the hope that those exploratory contacts proposed by the British Government might contribute to a start of genuine negotiations.

181. We were soon able to note that the British side was not prepared to go into the substantive question. The British representatives limited themselves to a specific but marginal item and to a request that Spain should facilitate over-flights of the security air zone neighbouring on Gibraltar. Thus it was a claim to create a transit right, which virtually implied a new claim further to consolidate British colonial presence on Gibraltar. In return, it was suggested to us that that would increase the affection of the present population of Gibraltar towards Spain.

182. The offers and guarantees of Spain to respect the legitimate interests of those inhabitants by a special régime are well known. Brandishing the interests of the inhabitants, as was done initially, or their will or desires, as was done lately, is but a pretext to perpetuate colonial occupation. Their interests will remain guaranteed. What cannot be alleged is that they have any right to decide or dispose of a territory which never belonged to them and where they were introduced by the occupying Power serving its military bases, when the real population, the indigenous Spanish population was expelled. The question of Gibraltar is a question of territorial sovereignty to be decided in accordance with the resolutions of this Organization, and only the States concerned are legitimately authorized to do so as the parties to the Utrecht Treaty of 1713, who are exclusively entitled to decide on the consequences of its obsolescence.

183. The United Kingdom has never manifested any desire to negotiate. It invoked the consensus in the General Assembly to give the impression of abiding by it when its true intention was to evade it. With this evasive attitude, the United Kingdom, doubtless consistent with its strategy of a presence on the

Gibraltar Strait, renders difficult the prevalence of the necessary relaxation of tension for complete stability in the western Mediterranean, and this runs counter to the present requirements of international life and is hardly propitious for the survival of positions of domination and advantage. While a foreign country continues to hold a strategic enclave to influence it politically, exerts an implicit control over navigation and increases its military powers, its purposes are not exactly those of co-operation but of preponderance.

184. The Gibraltar base represents a threat to Spain because it disturbs security as a result of the competing greeds which are created, and is therefore a continuous challenge to the policy of peace of the external action of Spain. Furthermore, the presence of this foreign element in the Strait renders difficult any new regulation of its territorial waters and transit through them because of the interference of sovereignties which the colonial Power installed on the Rock and causes to be felt at all times. It is therefore a disturbing factor for any possible rational solution of the problems created by navigation in that space, because of technological development.

185. A violation of the territorial integrity of Spain, a danger to its security, interference in its external policy of peace and a barrier to bringing up to date the legal regulation of the waters of the Strait—those are the most outstanding injuries which at present result from the British presence on the Rock and which the people of Spain has patiently endured although the United Nations has recognized the justice of its claims. Thus a colonial situation, the last existing colonial situation in Europe, is perpetuated, and this in a year such as 1974, which is so particularly marked by the stamp of decolonization.

186. It is discouraging and dangerous for the future of the community of nations to note the obstinate, rigid and selfish position of one of its members, a permanent member of the Security Council, a position taken in total contradiction of the opinion and feelings of the majority of this Organization. This cannot fail to jeopardize seriously the moral force on which the effectiveness of the United Nations must be based, because what affects one member of the community in the sphere of moral and legal values, affects all.

187. Once again Spain comes to this supreme body. With a feeling of responsibility and with the greatest good faith, but also with all seriousness, we request the General Assembly solemnly to reiterate to the United Kingdom its obligation to negotiate with Spain for the decolonization of Gibraltar and the reintegration of that territory in the Spanish nation, which will pay due attention to the interests of its present inhabitants.

188. The achievement of security by eliminating tension and by peaceful co-operation will make it unnecessary one day to maintain present defence systems. Until this occurs, however, no country can fail to look after its own security. But Spain, like other States, wishes to make its defence requirements compatible with efforts aimed at the relaxation of tension, and thus contribute to overcoming the contradictions of our time.

189. The Government of Spain has noted with approval the initiatives taken with a view to creating a progressive atmosphere of world *détente*, and we think that support should be given to the great Powers in the steps taken in this direction. The reduction of tension and increased understanding would no doubt eliminate serious sources of danger in which third countries might be involved. We therefore endorse efforts to secure a better atmosphere and the points of agreement which seem to be emerging between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the steps being taken towards a normalization of relations between the United States and China.

190. Nevertheless, our attitude is complemented by a very important consideration. In no case can agreement among the great Powers be achieved at the expense of the rest. An unrenounceable victory of our civilization is the right of all States to freedom and independence, to security, to peaceful development and to the promotion of their legitimate interests. The first duty of every State—and the stronger it is, the more this is to be demanded—is respect for the rights of others, and no type of hegemony or imperialism can today be accepted by the international community.

191. The community of European nations, despite its positive achievements, still awaits its constitution as a great Power, as would be consistent with the creative past of Europe and the hope of its peoples. Spain cannot fail to affirm once again its vocation to contribute to efforts aimed at European construction and its will to participate in any undertaking which will facilitate solution of the problems which Western Europe faces today.

192. On the other hand, the Government of Spain has been following with particular attention the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and will continue to make constructive and realistic efforts to achieve the objectives of lessening conflicting tensions and creating real confidence and a desire for effective co-operation. Although the work of this Conference always takes into account the broader context of world security and is in no way directed against any State or continent, we must emphasize the close relationship between European security and Mediterranean security, which gives our continent its true and genuine dimension. Hence my Government sponsors and often leads efforts to have presented to the Conference the ideas and proposals of the non-European coastal countries of the Mediterranean, which have made in the past and no doubt will make in the future an important contribution towards laying the foundations for security and co-operation, with mutual respect for certain legitimate interests that must be harmonized with justice and equity.

193. Spain, which besides being European has particularly close ties with the Arab countries, has believed it has served the general interest by following a policy designed to lead to a promising future when the European-Arab dialogue will open up new channels of expression. The ancient and permanent friendship of Spain with the Arab world makes us wish for a just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East. The agreements which put an end to the fighting in October 1973 give reason to believe that this hope

will be fulfilled. Accordingly, the Government of Spain considers that it is of the utmost importance that the negotiations on the restoration of peace in that region be successful.

194. What is needed is the total cessation of war operations and every kind of violence, withdrawal from the territories occupied by force, scrupulous respect for the oft-repeated resolutions of United Nations organs, a quest for just and permanent solutions as regards legitimate interests and, first and foremost, recognition and implementation of the human and political rights of the people of Palestine. The task is great and the entire international community must be associated in it. For its part, Spain supports the consideration of the Palestine question in all its aspects at the present session of the Assembly.

195. It is Spain's firm purpose to give its relations with Latin America increasing effectiveness and dynamism which will renew our old and indestructible links. Spain believes more than ever in the future of Latin America, with which it wishes to be united. The awareness that we are indissolubly linked in all that is deepest and most essential enables each one of us to find in the political, social and economic fields specific solutions, which are favoured by present trends of understanding.

196. The ideal of unity proclaimed by Simón Bolívar is now being given shape in Latin America by promising movements of co-operation which Spain views with special interest. The entire Hispanic community feels satisfaction at this attainment of regional and subregional co-operation in the political, economic and cultural fields.

197. We consider our special relationship with Latin America as involving a particular effort to complement and co-operate with one another in the spheres of culture, economics, technology and human relations. This understanding has been fully endorsed by the Governments and peoples of Latin America.

198. Many countries of Latin America today need investments of capital which they can view without suspicion, and technology in accord with their respective levels of development. In this field, Spain is making a great financial effort both with individual countries and through international organizations and, while there was a tradition of emigration of Spaniards to Latin America, this has been replaced by a growing exchange of technical experts, professors and managerial personnel, who contribute with their specialized qualifications to the development of the countries of the Latin American community.

199. At the beginning of my statement I said that mankind faces the problem of organizing in a rational and just manner the enjoyment of its resources. At the present time new critical factors have arisen in the already existing economic problems. To the monetary and trade imbalance and the growing gap between the industrialized and the developing countries has been added runaway inflation, a decline in the growth rate of many countries and a sharp rise in the prices of various energy products and raw materials, all of which is causing disturbances in the mechanism for the distribution of resources and income on the international level.

200. At the present critical phase of adjustment and in addition to its efforts to achieve an atmosphere of confidence and understanding among the various countries and groups of countries, we believe that the United Nations can help by drawing up positive and acceptable formulas for the solution of these problems taking into account all the conflicting interests. That is so because the only real choice open to us is international co-operation for development on a far broader scale and on a more committed basis than what has been done so far.

201. The present crisis has had different effects on different members of the international community. Those most affected were the developing countries which lack natural resources. To them must be directed the priority efforts of the United Nations, bearing in mind that the criteria followed so far for their classification according to their level of development have not proved satisfactory.

202. Spain is suffering acutely from the consequences of the present crisis because of the impact on our economy of the rise in the prices of raw materials, oil and food products which are indispensable to maintaining continuity in our development. Nevertheless, as a country of intermediate development we have subscribed to the commitments which are now being agreed to in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and IMF; we have participated in the efforts to restructure the international monetary order in accordance with present needs; we have undertaken to participate in the forthcoming multilateral trade negotiations with the desire of obtaining a substantial increase in trade in the products most important to the developing countries; we have joined the African regional development organization and we hope to join that of Latin America in the near future; we likewise supported the establishment of the Special Fund for emergency relief and development assistance to the most seriously affected countries, established by the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order which we have also accepted.

203. Lastly, Spain recently renounced the financial benefits which it had been receiving from UNDP. This decision was taken at the same time as our decision to increase our contribution to that Programme not only as regards financing, but also in terms of technological co-operation.

204. Before concluding I should like to make some remarks on the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which has just ended in Caracas.

205. The geographical situation of Spain between two of the principal seas of the world, its long coastline and the inclusion in that coastline of the Strait of Gibraltar, the importance of our shipping and fishery activities, our interest in shipbuilding and our hopes of participating in the future exploitation of the sea-bed, has resulted in the Government of Spain taking clear-cut but fully co-operative attitudes on the main items considered by the Conference.

206. Today, the concept of the territorial sea as a zone of defence and protection for a State is more significant than ever. A territorial sea of up to 12 miles is now acceptable in international law, and the historic concept of innocent passage through territorial

waters, which combines freedom of navigation with the security of the coastal State, must be maintained without exception, with agreed particulars when they are considered necessary.

207. To protect the ecology of the marine environment is also vital to ensure that there will be no reduction in the living resources now threatened by increasing pollution of the sea. Regulating catches in all maritime areas, including the high seas, will avoid the abuses of modern fishing methods. We must reconcile the recognition of a broad economic zone of preferential interest for the coastal States with the fishing rights of third parties, in a manner compatible with the interests of both.

208. Spain is traditionally a fishing country and an important sector of our population lives by fishing; we declare our intention of co-operating with the countries adjacent to maritime zones of abundant fishing wealth, and in this co-operation we can contribute our industrial and technical capacity. We also reaffirm that the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction is the common heritage of mankind and we advocate reconciling their effective and rational use with justice in the distribution of the benefits of every kind; we therefore support the establishment of an international organization which will regulate and adequately control the exploitation of the sea-bed.

209. The difficult times we face require of all Governments, and of all those in positions of influence in the community, the greatest efforts of imagination, of decision and of good will. Let us make those efforts at every level—within our respective countries, in bilateral relations, in regional co-operation systems, and within the broad universal framework of the United Nations. From the last generation of statesmen we received this Organization, with its qualities and its shortcomings, with much of its potential still unrealized. Let us fulfil that potential not only "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", but also so that they may attain a more prosperous, more dignified and more just way of life through international co-operation.

210. Mr. ADAMOU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first of all, Mr. President, to offer you, on behalf of my delegation, our warmest congratulations on your election to the important post of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. That choice is of particular significance to my delegation: first, because you represent Algeria, a country with which Niger has for many centuries enjoyed relationships of friendship and co-operation and, secondly, because your personal qualities and complete understanding of international problems are a sure guarantee that this Assembly's work will be fruitful.

211. I also wish to associate my country and my delegation with the well-deserved congratulations addressed to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, the representative of Ecuador, who presided over the work of the twenty-eighth session with remarkable skill and courtesy.

212. I likewise wish to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the great confidence my country feels in having him conduct the affairs of our Organization. His recent journey to the drought-stricken Sahelian countries and his swift and timely

action in both the Middle East and the Mediterranean area are, for my Government, further demonstrations of his constant interest in the grave problems that regularly afflict our world.

213. I should like, first, to address the delegation of Honduras and to offer the full sympathy of the Government and people of Niger because of the catastrophe that has so cruelly struck that country. The people of Niger, who have just suffered through six years of natural disaster, feel for that reason particularly close to the people of Honduras and have no difficulty in understanding the impact of that catastrophe and, above all, the difficulties it has caused in their attempts to rehabilitate their national economy.

214. On behalf of the Supreme Military Council and the Government of the Republic of Niger, I should like to voice here the satisfaction I feel at the admission to this Organization of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. My country is most gratified at the decision taken by the General Assembly. We are deeply convinced that the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the United Nations will help prevent any new war in the Indian subcontinent and, consequently, will further the strengthening of international peace and security.

215. My delegation likewise welcomes the admission of Grenada to the great family of the United Nations. The presence of Grenada among us is added proof that our Organization is becoming truly universal.

216. Another great source of satisfaction to my delegation is the admission of the sister Republic of Guinea-Bissau to full membership in the United Nations. My country has special reasons for considering its admission as an historic event. In our view, it is the culmination of many years of struggle against colonialism. The brilliant victory that the people of Guinea-Bissau has just won honours not only all the peoples of Africa, but also all men who reject the domination of one people by another.

217. It is for this reason that I wish to assure the delegation of Guinea-Bissau of the high esteem felt by the people of Niger for the people of their country, a people that has shown exemplary courage and unshakable tenacity. Amílcar Cabral, a hero who has become a legend throughout all of Africa, will remain forever graven in our memories. Now, as his country achieves independence, it is with great emotion that we recall the immense sacrifice of that valiant son of Africa.

218. My delegation followed with particular attention the statement delivered from this rostrum by Mr. Mário Soares, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal, specifically when he said:

“With respect to the other Territories, in accordance with the declaration made during the visit of Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to Lisbon, Portugal has solemnly reaffirmed what its constitutional laws already guarantee: that it fully recognizes the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. Portugal is therefore ready to apply the United Nations decisions to that effect, reaffirming also the fulfilment of its obligations arising from Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV),

which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as resolutions referring to Territories under Portuguese administration.” [2239th meeting, para. 116.]

219. May I most heartily welcome this new unequivocal position that at once does honour to those who hold it and to the new Portugal as a whole. The Government of Niger is reconsidering its relations with the new Government of Portugal. In so doing, we realize we can help speed up the process of decolonization.

220. The example of firmness set by the new Portugal in respect of recent events in Mozambique should serve to inspire those who claim that nothing can be done in Rhodesia. Many problems of Africa could thus find solutions in keeping with the aspirations of the oppressed peoples.

221. I take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the freedom fighters, to all those who have given their lives, to all those who are still stubbornly fighting so that their peoples may finally regain their dignity and freedom.

222. That part of the African continent unfortunately still remains the scene of massacres, imprisonments and harassments of all sorts inflicted on populations that have already suffered so greatly. The policy of *apartheid*, so often denounced here and elsewhere, is a defiance hurled in the face of the international community, and of our Organization in particular, by the racist and anachronistic régime of Pretoria and the illegal minority Government of Rhodesia. We are in duty bound to take up that challenge. Thus, my delegation appeals most urgently again to all the Powers that directly or indirectly support those Governments, calling upon them to come to their senses and condemn these racist, colonialist régimes that are justly regarded as historical anomalies. That challenge we shall take up sooner or later, alone or with the understanding or the participation of the international community, even if it means the sacrifice of more African lives.

223. As regards the sensitive problem of the Spanish Sahara, my delegation has noted with satisfaction and relief the statements made here by the Foreign Ministers of Morocco [2249th meeting] and Mauritania [2251st meeting], two sister African countries interested in the solution to that problem. My delegation is therefore pleased to learn that the present trend is towards arbitration. Niger can only encourage such attitudes where disputes among nations are settled in peace and harmony, particularly disputes among sister African countries. This is fully consistent with African tradition and wisdom.

224. My country, ever anxious to promote peace in the continent as well as in the world, has set for itself, as a guide-line in its foreign policy: friendship with its immediate neighbours, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, non-alignment vis-à-vis all blocs and the establishment of friendly relations with all peace- and justice-loving countries. Thus, in the five months since the National Army took command in my country, the new Government, as one of its tasks, is determined to strengthen its friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the countries around it.

Because the people of Niger have no warlike designs on its neighbours and that it does not consider any of them to be an enemy, the Government of Niger has denounced all defence agreements linking it with other countries and has condemned the stationing of any foreign troops in other countries.

225. Likewise, the new Government of my country, as part of its policy to establish friendly relations with all peace- and justice-loving countries, has decided to normalize its relations with the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which are countries that have always fought for the emancipation of peoples oppressed by imperialism and colonialism. Within this framework the policies of my country will be to extend a hand, without any exception, to all those who, through their international attitudes, share our ideals of peace, equality and co-operation.

226. Our concern to maintain peace in the world and our concern for peaceful coexistence, prompt us to view with some anxiety the recent developments in Cyprus which are an additional source of tension amongst the major Powers.

227. We are pleased here to pay a particular tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization, whose efforts have led the two Cypriot communities to start talks, the only means in our opinion, here or elsewhere, to find a just and equitable solution to any dispute. Also, we should like to extend our warm congratulations to all who have given substantial humanitarian aid to the Cypriot communities.

228. We fervently hope that Cyprus will find peace in harmony and that this will take place in the enlightened self-interest of the Cypriot people as a whole. To this end we would express the hope that the leaders of the two communities will continue their dialogue with the assistance of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in keeping with resolution 361 (1974), adopted by the Security Council on 30 August.

229. As regards Korea, my country fully supports all efforts exerted by both parties to settle peacefully their conflict free from all pressure or foreign intervention. Foreign intervention in some countries is still present in our minds and reminds us that the desire for hegemony and interference are the main source of conflicts in today's world.

230. My country is now more than ever before convinced that the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries should be the cornerstone of the foreign policy of all the States of the international community. The disturbances in South-East Asia is a striking example of this interference. All the hopes born of the Viet Nam agreements remain, regrettably, unfulfilled. Viet Nam and Cambodia, for instance, continue to suffer as they have been suffering for decades, and look to the international community for more co-operation and peace than armaments.

231. While there are still trouble spots on the international arena, we nevertheless remain optimistic. Indeed, we are pleased and reassured that détente has become a reality among parties to conflict. We should like, however, to reaffirm our unfailing support for the cause of the Arab nation, because we are firmly convinced that a just and durable peace will

prevail in the Middle East only if Israel abandons its expansionist policy and withdraws from the occupied Arab territories, in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967.

232. My delegation will of course also support any resolution which recognizes the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and the recovery of all the territories of which they have been dispossessed.

233. While my country is generally concerned with the maintenance of peace in the world, its greatest concern is none the less the many problems of development. Priority naturally goes to the relentless struggle that the Supreme Military Council has decided to wage to assist the populations that have been victims of the drought. For us it is first and foremost a matter of eliminating all the after-effects of this disaster, which has so severely struck our country, using our own resources and those that international solidarity is good enough to make available to us.

234. Niger has just suffered the most terrible of natural disasters. The drought has lasted six long years. It has killed 80 per cent of the country's livestock. It has prevented all harvests for six years. It has burnt pastureland and young trees. It has lowered the water-table to a depth which could never have been imagined. Trees are dead; men and cattle, when possible, have fled. The sands of the desert have swept over vast areas. My country is slowly drying up, whereas elsewhere deserts are greening. The people of Niger, so proud and so dignified, are compelled to await a generous gesture from their brothers in the international community.

235. We are determined never to have to witness this humiliating spectacle again. The events of April 1974 are in keeping with that decision. Our economy, which has been shattered, must be rebuilt and the Supreme Military Council is tackling this colossal task with an awareness of the scanty resources of the country and the amount of the international assistance necessary for it to succeed in this huge task. It can rely on its voluntarily mobilized popular masses to achieve precise objectives. That is the price we must pay for national reconstruction. However, it will take time and will require technical and financial assistance from the international community.

236. May I take this opportunity to thank all the friendly countries, national and international organizations, public and private, that have shown concern for the fate of the Sahelian countries. Their immediate response to the food shortage has been deeply appreciated by our people. It is on behalf of those people, who during the last year have at last found reason to hope again, thanks to the rain that is now falling there, that I express my profound gratitude.

237. That food assistance should continue, and we are grateful to those countries which, within their agricultural policies, have considered expanding their aid. Our populations still need it, for it is not possible, even with a year's sustained efforts, to remedy the cumulative effects of a long drought that has sown devastation, misery and death everywhere.

238. Over and above food assistance, we should thoroughly reappraise the problem. To eat fish is all

very well and good, but to learn how to fish is to ensure one's future and independence and to regain one's dignity. My Government earnestly hopes that the economic reconstruction programme for the Sahelian countries will be studied with interest by all those with the means to participate.

239. We do not underestimate the seriousness of the economic difficulties that have been plaguing the world for some time now. But the energy crisis must not become a pretext for ignoring our cause. We are feeling the effects of inflation even more keenly; and this inflation is due solely to the lopsided policy of economic expansion needlessly pursued by certain Governments. The increase in the prices of raw materials, wrongly labelled as an evil, is merely incidental. Indeed, it is a welcome happenstance in fact in that it has curbed the constant widening of the gap between the developed countries and those of the third world. Some were getting rich at the expense of the weakest. The restoration of the balance should not open the way for blackmail or for justification of the negative attitudes which some have been tempted to take. There are historical responsibilities that one cannot evade without running the risk of being discredited.

240. I cannot conclude this statement without mentioning the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and the World Population Conference. My country is a land-locked one. Nevertheless, it has an even greater interest than others in everything that concerns the problems of the law of the sea. For us the sea is a link between continents and people; it is also a source of new resources for mankind. The most technically and technologically developed countries should renounce the appropriation of its resources, and no longer, in the name of a pseudo-right of force, take what belongs to all. Indeed, we cannot shut our eyes to the scandal that is brewing and that is likely to occur next year in Geneva. That scandal would lie in finding ourselves powerless, at the end of this twentieth century, to prevent a partition of the sea that would permit only the countries capable of engaging in the exploitation of its resources to benefit therefrom. Raw materials are far from being inexhaustible, and no one can assume the right to monopolize the common heritage of mankind.

241. My delegation suggests that the resources of the sea, when they are part of the common heritage, should be set aside, all proceeds therefrom to go into a development fund for the benefit of the most impoverished countries. We are convinced that the resources of the sea-bed can well serve to help countries out of their underdevelopment rather than to widen still further the gap in the living standards dividing the industrialized countries and those of the third world.

242. As for the World Population Conference, held in Bucharest, my Government is of the view that the population growth on our planet vis-à-vis the growth in food resources is actually only a subject of concern for a few Malthusians who tremble at the idea of losing the insolent material comforts that they cannot do without. Such thinking is likely to have an adverse effect on development assistance. My country is convinced that man, while not necessarily a sacred being among other creatures, should continue to be the main object of care from his society. There is global

development and selective development. Family planning programmes can be envisaged only at a relatively high level of living. Why not give everyone—every couple—on earth the hope of developing, understanding and choosing?

243. In conclusion, let me express all the faith and hope that my country places in our Organization in its efforts to ensure the maintenance of peace on our planet and to promote co-operation among all nations of the world. But everyone in this Assembly is aware of the threats to this fragile peace and this co-operation that has not yet found its true path. The arms race is a real peril which we cannot forget and which must constantly be denounced. It compromises the development of our countries by diverting vast resources to hastening the apocalypse; it makes peace more remote when selfish interests are at stake, when the fate of humankind remains subject to the will of certain Powers, unless wisdom can prevail to halt this frenzied race immediately and destroy the existing arms stockpiles.

244. Those, in brief, are the few thoughts that my Government has charged me to put forward at this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

245. Mr. THOMPSON (Jamaica): Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and people of Jamaica, I am proud to be numbered among those who have expressed their congratulations to you on your unanimous election as President of this session of the General Assembly. I do this not only because of your eminence as an outstanding statesman, but because your great country has played a tremendous role in the non-aligned movement, a role which is appreciated by all those who follow with pride the true revolutionary spirit of the Government of Algeria.

246. With these compliments I should like to add expressions of the highest regard for Mr. Leopoldo Benites, whose distinguished international prestige brought added lustre to this body when he officiated as your predecessor.

247. We welcome the addition to this family of the United Nations of the new Members—Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau—each of which brings some special quality to this great body. We are happy that Bangladesh has overcome the birth pains of nationhood and now takes its rightful place among us. To our beautiful sister island of Grenada, with which we share a common heritage, we extend a very warm welcome. Grenada is a full member of the Caribbean Community and participates actively in all the many regional institutions of the Commonwealth Caribbean. It, like us, faces the common problems of developing island nations. Guinea-Bissau may be said to have written its application for membership in the blood of its own brave African liberators. We welcome them all as willing participants in the struggle for the better life—which is the common purpose of this great family, the United Nations.

248. The Government and people of Jamaica extend their heartfelt sympathy to the Government and people of Honduras, who recently suffered a crippling blow from a Caribbean hurricane. It is our fervent hope that all its friends in this Organization will extend the hand of friendship and assistance to help to ensure its speedy recovery.

249. Jamaica wishes to pay tribute to all members of the peace-keeping forces of this body and especially to recall with reverence those who have given their lives in the ultimate sacrifice for freedom and peace.

250. The winds of change are indeed blowing through the continent of Africa. The events of the past year have justified the hopes, the sacrifices and the struggles of all those who sought to set Africa free from the bonds of persistent colonial domination. And the winds continue to blow—for we believe that the events which took place in the past few days in this chamber have laid the foundations for the final liberation of the continent.

251. The declaration of independence by Guinea-Bissau just over a year ago signalled the opening of the final act in the drama of liberation of the African community held by Portugal. The peoples of the world are learning much from the lesson of this liberation, the basic significance of which is the fact that it was the freedom fighters of colonial Portugal who assisted the liberals of their "mother country" to bring freedom and justice to the people of Portugal itself, and not the other way around. This is one of the political paradoxes of history, that it is the struggle for freedom by the fighting colonials that brings freedom and liberty to the colonizing Powers themselves. This will go down in history as the eventual realization that freedom is one and indivisible.

252. As we welcome Guinea-Bissau here, we look for the early accession of Mozambique and Angola to their rightful places as Members of this body, and we are heartened at the emergence of the new Portugal. We hope that nothing will interfere with the final processes of liberation of the Territories concerned. Jamaica and others who have given their full support in the struggle, will continue their vigilance towards ensuring the final outcome, encouraged by the new spirit of Portugal as expressed in this Assembly by its Foreign Minister [2239th meeting].

253. A few days ago this Organization took what my delegation regarded as a historic step towards the final act of liberation of the peoples of southern Africa who are held in humiliation and oppression by the vicious régime in South Africa. The events of that day [2248th meeting], the results of the vote on the issue of the South African delegation's credentials and the move to have the Security Council study them mark a significant turn in this drama. The collapse of colonial domination in the former Portuguese Territories has forced many among the membership of this body to search their hearts; it has forced them to realize that a preoccupation with strictly legal forms and procedures can sometimes result in the perpetuation of gross injustice. The isolation of the South African régime has also threatened to isolate those who have persistently, by negative or by positive acts, protected them from the anger of the world and from the realities of the abhorrence in which they are held by most of the peoples of the world.

254. For I say to them, to condone *apartheid* and the daily humiliation of black people is to affront the United Nations itself, which body is concerned with the recognition of a respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex or religion. All Members of this Organiza-

tion have a clear duty to fight against the forces of inequality and injustice. There can be no lasting peace while there is compromise by so-called freedom-loving nations in these matters. To compromise with freedom is to deny freedom.

255. While we have been heartened by the developments in those Territories of Africa which have been linked to Portugal, we note that there has been no progress towards resolving the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia, whose peoples have been denied the exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination. The liberation of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia cannot be allowed to depend upon expediency instead of principle. The harsh tyranny operating in these two countries is being perpetuated by régimes which shamelessly abandon all principles of human decency in the obdurate pursuit of their political and financial interests.

256. Year after year, with monotonous regularity, this august Assembly has passed resolution after resolution condemning the perfidy of that evil spirit otherwise referred to as the Government of South Africa, which remains obdurate and stubborn in its defiance of the United Nations. This intransigence has exposed this body to the charge of shameful impotence and has left the implication that it is only by force, violence and bloodshed that those still held in bondage in Africa can hope to be free. In this respect, how are we of the smaller nations to view the stance of those powerful nations which would have us regard them as friends? In the case of Zimbabwe and Namibia, there is far more reason and universal support for United Nations troops to settle the question of freedom and justice there than there seems to be in Korea.

257. Despite much criticism—probably unfair—the United Nations deserves some credit for providing the forum for those Member nations that have awakened the conscience of the world. This year has, however, witnessed the dismemberment of a small, independent country by outside interference, and leaves open to question the security of small, independent nations.

258. Recent events have revealed massive interference in the internal affairs of States Members of this Organization. Jamaica condemns such interference from whatever quarter it emanates. We reaffirm our faith that respect for the sovereignty of nations neither allows, first, interference by one State in the affairs of another nor, secondly, intervention in the affairs of a duly elected Government. We of the non-aligned group view with alarm this undermining of the sovereignty of States, which constitutes a form of aggression by one State against another.

259. There is evidence of a real fear of aggression reflected in the references which have been made at this session to Belize. We hear hypocritical references to—and I quote—"the firm adherence to the principle of the self-determination of peoples" out of the very mouths of those who generate the cause of fear. How much respect can we pay to those who refer to "the respectable aspirations of the people of Belize", when the authors of those very words deny to those very people the natural God-given right to declare themselves free? Let those who profess to be anti-colonialist define that term. Let them go back to their

own historical roots and recall the spirit of Bolívar, the great Liberator of Latin America.

260. Jamaica reaffirms its stand against all oppressors, whoever they may be, and appeals to all freedom-loving countries here to study and help to advance the just aspirations of the people of Belize. Peace and justice are the concern of all—not the least concerned is this colony, which, because of its status, has no voice here and which has remained for too long trembling in the limbo of fear between the threats of a neighbour, on the one hand, and the empty promise of independence, on the other. It is full time that this body, the United Nations, which is the repository of hope for the weaker nations, takes full cognizance of the regrettable situation in Belize.

261. The past year has witnessed the emergence of a new determination on the part of the developing countries to bring about fundamental changes in the international economic system. In the face of all the effort and all the display of evidence of progress and of national and international concern over the past decades, the simple and inescapable fact is that the part of the world occupied by the poorer countries has been losing the battle for progress. The widening of the gap between the rich countries and the poor countries is clear evidence of this fact.

262. The countries of the third world have called for fundamental change in the very structure and foundations of the world economic system. The sixth special session of the General Assembly—at which these issues were discussed and which saw the approval of resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI), embodying the Declaration of and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order—marked a historic moment in our lives. We must move forward from this mark.

263. There are many factors which inhibit such forward movement. First and foremost, there is the lack of commitment on the part of some of the developed countries to the idea of such structural change. Some of these have made their position crystal clear, and my delegation views this situation with deep regret. Nevertheless, one of the encouraging developments in recent times has been the movement on the part of a number of smaller developed countries towards full acceptance of the proposition that such fundamental change is imperative. We welcome this significant development and urge these countries to give their fullest support to the search for the answers to the problems involved in implementing the Programme of Action. We hope that in good time those other countries which are less enthusiastic—or even opposed to these aims—will join fully in the effort not only in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world, but, in our view, to the ultimate benefit of all countries and of all peoples.

264. The second major factor is our lack of full understanding of some aspects of the development process. In this connexion, we must review and revise thoroughly the assumptions, the goals and the methods of work, particularly within the United Nations system. We must raise our sights to the levels required to bring about the new system of international economic relationships envisaged in the Declaration and Programme of Action. In the search for such solutions we need the ingenuity and the energies of all.

265. The third factor concerns a series of crises which beset the world today and which relate to inflation, energy, the international monetary system, food supplies and population growth. These crises must be seen as a dramatic expression of the failure of the world economic system that we have known. They must be seen not, as some among us seem to feel, as a reason or an excuse for putting aside or diminishing the effort towards fundamental change in the system; but, rather, they should be regarded as a crowning justification for moving with greater determination and urgency towards a new economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States.

266. The fact that no country—no matter what its resources—is untouched by these events is a measure of the harsh realities of interdependence.

267. Ever since the emergence of global contact in trade and investment through colonialism and other devices, the world community has been interdependent. However, for the most part the experience has been that one sector of the world community has been almost wholly dependent on another. The members of the latter category—which in most cases have derived their economic and political strength from exploitation of the rest of the world—have nevertheless regarded themselves as being almost wholly independent of that group. Now we observe that a great deal is being said on the subject of interdependence. We repeat: this is not at all news to us. But we cannot refrain from observing that it is only the emergence of events which have seriously threatened the economies of the major countries that has led to this new understanding and emphasis on this phenomenon.

268. Today the third world is seeking a complete change from the old interpretation of interdependence. This requires: first, understanding by the developed countries of the desperate urgency to raise the standard of living of the peoples of the third world; secondly, acceptance by the developed countries of the need for an equitable distribution throughout the world of the material benefits which derive from the world economic system and which provide a basis for “the good life”; and, thirdly, adoption and implementation by the developed countries of policies designed to achieve these ends.

269. This should be the new meaning of interdependence, and in order to make it a reality we need fundamental structural change in the world economic system. This is the link between interdependence and the new economic order.

270. The third world seeks not confrontation but parallel advancement—indeed, economic salvation. In our view, developing countries must exercise the discipline of the mutually distressed in order to avoid division among ourselves. May this discipline prevent individual members or groups that move towards the top of the ladder from neglecting their friends who remain at the bottom. In this respect I should like to make two observations: first, I commend the Republic of Venezuela, which has readily made substantial grants to assist some of the poorer nations that have been affected acutely by the energy crisis; and secondly, I express regret that, although there has been much talk and some action about stabilization and

development funds, there has been a lack of sufficient meaningful progress in these matters.

271. Our role is to press forward now and together to work towards the establishment of the new economic order. The frightening alternative is unthinkable; at the least, it is a perpetuation of the old idea of interdependence, which means that some form of charity, such as aid, could readjust the intrinsic inequalities between the developed and the developing world. The real change to establish this new economic order will begin only after this new meaning of interdependence elicits two simultaneous movements: first, the acceptance by the developed nations of the meaningful involvement of the poorer countries in the decision-making processes of international economic bodies; and/or second, the realization of the developing world that the maintenance of discipline among its members and concern for the welfare of its members, both collectively and individually, will ensure that we will not once more be divided.

272. We, a small nation, accept the political philosophy that the central objective of all government is the equality of man and the improvement in the quality of his life. The international questions of food, energy, population control and other problems, real as they are, are abstractions unless we relate them to the basic needs of the human individual. The developing world, whose only assets in most cases are its human resources, must never lose sight of this fact, or fail to remind our brothers stronger in material wealth of this fact. The great problems of the present as to how many million barrels of oil per day or millions of tons of wheat are produced are meaningless unless they relate to the necessity to feed and house the millions of needy people throughout the world still crying out for an answer to the question: "How can I retain my human dignity and self-respect, house my family and feed my undernourished children?"

273. Jamaica notes and welcomes the proclamation of International Women's Year [*resolution 3010 (XXVII)*] and reaffirms its belief that women must be given a greater role in political, social and economic development.

274. Our concerns are not merely about balance of payments; they are about the readjustment of the balance of human distress, which is so unevenly distributed. The condition of the individual human being must be the centre of our concern. Our response in Jamaica to the current emphasis on interdependence and economic co-operation is not conditioned either by injustices of the past or by threats of the present; it is the response of a small sovereign nation which desires sincerely to co-operate with others for the mutual benefit of all. We expect for ourselves and others a fair share of the fruits of our labour, and we demand a just portion of the proceeds of any joint development of our common resources. Our answer to the call for interdependence is that we want to change our role in this new economic order from that of sufferer to that of full participant in the world scene.

275. That is the tone of our response. It is a note dictated not only by the urgency of the moment but by a close reading of the facts of history. The facts show not only that the great empires of the past fell when they could no longer depend on the support of their colonies or dependencies, but also that today the de-

veloped countries need us as much as we need them. That is true interdependence.

276. This is not the petulant retort of the poor; it is a bold statement of fact: that interdependence requires among the wealthy nations a tremendous sophistication and a denial of vanity; indeed, it requires a dilution of arrogance, where blackmail, threats and all forms of intervention in other people's affairs are out of place. The empires of the past held together as long as their military hardware was the determining factor. Today interdependence and an economically healthy world must place full value on the qualitative contribution of the poorer majorities of the world.

277. My delegation and the Government of Jamaica which we represent are of the view that the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order must be the centre and focus of the efforts and concerns of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and of each member country, and we expect that this session of the General Assembly will see the furtherance of these aims. A vital and integral part of these aims is the Special Programme for emergency relief and development assistance to the countries most seriously affected by the prevailing conditions. We strongly urge here, as we have done elsewhere, the fullest and promptest attention to this matter.

278. We have heard from time to time comments, even complaints, about the devices to which developing countries have resorted in order to counteract what I would like to call the despotism of the minority. There have been adverse comments concerning the formation of associations of commodity-producing countries, which are mainly members of the third world. However, the formation of these associations has been forced on producing countries by the failure of the countries exploiting these resources to give them fair and equitable returns or to foster the transfer of appropriate technology and other benefits to any significant degree. There are complaints centred around the relatively recent phenomenon of the rising costs of raw materials. Yet the countries which complain say nothing at all of the long history of spiralling costs of their manufactured goods which are exported to the third world.

279. The spiralling costs of production of these manufactured goods reflect the rapid rise in the standard of living in the developed countries, as the wage levels of their workers have increased; thus, the rise in the standard of living in these countries has been achieved largely at the expense of the peoples of the third world, whose low wage-levels and standard of living are regarded as a part of the necessary, inevitable and immutable scheme of things.

280. The third world, for its part, has complained about the groups or blocs of the rich and powerful countries—for example, in the realm of international monetary affairs, the Group of 10, the club of the rich, whose members were in the habit of meeting and deciding on major issues and more or less instructing IMF on what it should do. In deference to the strong views of the developing countries, the Group of 10 gave way to the Committee of 20,⁴ which included representatives of developing countries on the basis of the existing constituencies in the Fund. Now we read of meetings in recent days of the Group of 5—a

new and even more exclusive club of not just the rich, but of the richest.

281. The question of the recycling of funds of the oil-producing countries is a concrete example of the need for a rational approach in dealing with specific international economic problems. Recent events have shown a strong tendency for those funds to move into the developed countries for their benefit. This points to the urgent need for a planned and controlled distribution of the flow of some of these funds into the developing countries which are in greater need of them.

282. A strong new ray of hope and promise for international co-operation has recently emerged. The General Assembly in resolution 2340 (XXII) and subsequent resolutions over the period 1967-1973 invited the nations of the world to create a new legal order of the sea. I say this is a hopeful turn because the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, recently held in Caracas, saw the greatest collection of experts and representatives, deliberately and collectively seeking to redress the imbalance in the world order in a quest for a new régime of international justice. I repeat, hopeful, because in the Declaration of Principles, as well as in the procedures adopted by the Conference, this distinguished group made serious, strenuous efforts over a considerable period towards creating and preserving a new order of international economic justice designed to bring about control of pollution on a global scale, and the regulation of the orderly exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed, among other things. Never before had the international community attempted such a comprehensive task.

283. Today the revolution in the approach to the sharing of the world's resources and the acknowledgement of the rights and claims of the weak and poor among the nations, including the land-locked and otherwise geographically disadvantaged States, to the resources of the sea are firm steps towards establishing an era of permanent peace. This presents a very bright picture of community effort and a shining example of the interdependence of man and nations without which the whole operation admittedly would be an exercise in futility. We certainly have moved far from the days of Grotius, when the high seas and its treasures were regarded as belonging to nobody, or to the strongest Power. Today, the world realizes that this Conference has a new opportunity to put into effect accepted principles of justice where man's poverty takes priority of consideration over man's power. Even here, however, let me sound a note of caution: to bring satisfaction to the millions who expectantly await the finality of these deliberations, it is necessary to overcome traditionally nationalistic acquisitive postures and substitute political will and a new faith in mankind.

284. Finally, whether the activities occupying the attention of mankind be in the sea, on land or in the air; whether it be the creation of more food, housing or otherwise to enhance the dignity of man; whether it be to assail the economic ills of the world: we need each other.

285. I would like to close, with words from one of Africa's illustrious sons, President Julius K. Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania, calling for co-operation among the developing countries in the creation of a new economic order, when he said:

"We are not absolutely without allies when we demand reforms of the international economic system in the direction of justice. There is a growing number of organized groups within wealthy countries, and even a small number of wealthy Governments, which have recognized that the struggle for human equality and human dignity cannot stop at national boundaries."

I commend these words to you all.

286. Mr. SAKKAF (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is a pleasure to congratulate your excellency on your unanimous election as President of this session which, in itself, is a sign of respect for the continent you hail from, which contributed greatly to the field of learning. Please allow me to congratulate you personally on this great confidence, which you rightly deserve, since I have for many years known your personal qualities and abilities which qualified you and our beloved sister country, Algeria, to obtain the highest level of international recognition. I am sure that under your wise leadership we will bring the work of this session to a successful conclusion.

287. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor for the untiring efforts which were crowned with success during an eventful year.

288. I should like to sincerely thank our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his continuous efforts for the observance of the principles of the United Nations.

289. I should like on this occasion and from this rostrum to welcome the new Members which have joined the family of nations of this Organization thus taking their natural place among us. We are sure they will contribute their share to implement the noble purposes which all members of the international community endeavour to achieve. It is our hope that before long all other countries which have not yet attained their full right to freedom and sovereignty will also be able to participate with us in the work of this Organization.

290. As we review the events that have occurred in the past and still confront us during this session, I find myself much more optimistic in believing that the majority of Member States which co-operate with one another in upholding the Charter will continue in their effort to carry out their obligations in fulfilling their responsibilities and in meeting the aspiration of peoples and countries of the world. Those are the obligations enshrined in the Charter.

291. As you know, Saudi Arabia was a founding Member of this Organization, and His Majesty King Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz was amongst those who played a praiseworthy role in giving full support to this Organization and to its noble principles of peace, hoping thereby to raise the standard of moral values of post-war society in conformity with those prescribed in monotheistic religions and those spiritual values which are vital to the promotion of co-operation in a better world civilization.

292. Despite the fact that we have been disappointed on more than one occasion when the principles of the United Nations were violated, it has not in any way diminished our faith that the truth will eventually

prevail and justice will triumph. I should, therefore, like to express the hope of His Majesty's Government, while we examine our agenda containing various very important items relating to world peace and security, that we might be able to deal with these matters in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter so that oppressed people will be able to achieve their political, economic and social freedom, and to curb the aggression of those who have not heeded United Nations resolutions and have consistently refused to recognize the right of peoples to live in their own homeland peacefully and in security.

293. Since 1948, people in our region have been living in the shadow of constant unrest and upheaval due to the violations of the Charter by the aggressor and his non-compliance with various United Nations resolutions. On many occasions our region has been subjected to military incursions of the racist Zionists with the result that Arab Palestine was occupied by those alien forces. As if this were not enough, the Zionists embarked upon an expansion by occupying territories belonging to neighbouring Arab States in total violation of the principles of international law, which prohibit the acquisition of territory by the threat or use of force, challenging thereby the authority of the United Nations and disregarding its various resolutions.

294. At this stage, I do not wish to go into all the details of the Palestine problem, at the heart of which lies the question of Jerusalem and the rights of the Palestinians made homeless and stateless by the Zionists. These Palestinians have been living nurturing the hope that they would be able to return to their homeland to exercise their right to self-determination. There have been many victims of this occupation.

295. However, I should like to mention here the unremitting efforts exerted by Arabs, coupled with those of well-intentioned friendly countries, to find a solution and to co-operate with friendly States in their search for a solution to the Palestinian question which would ultimately bring peace in the region based on equity, justice and self-determination in our region. The position of Saudi Arabia on this question has, on many occasions, been made known from this rostrum.

296. We continue to proclaim it. In other words, there should be a total Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied as a result of repeated Israeli aggression. Arab Jerusalem should be returned to its rightful Arab inhabitants since this Holy City is sacred to hundreds of millions of Arabs and non-Arabs whether they be Moslem or Christian. We must also make it abundantly clear that the Palestinian people should exercise their right to self-determination.

297. The position of Saudi Arabia is in conformity with that of other Arab and Moslem countries, as expressed at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers, from 5 to 9 September 1973, and also at the Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore in 1974.

298. The non-aligned countries and the countries of the third world, as well as the OAU, have made their position clear by condemning Israeli aggression and have called upon the aggressor to withdraw from all the occupied territories. The large majority of countries in the world have taken a stand on this question. Some

even went to the extent of warning Israel to abandon its aggression.

299. Israel persisted in defying the will of the international community and the resolutions of the United Nations, and has thus become a symbol of aggression, like those remaining régimes which base their policies on racial discrimination, such as South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. It is therefore not surprising that Israel has found itself isolated from the international community blinded, as it were, to the impact which its aggressive acts has had in arousing the conscience of mankind. We believe that if total withdrawal from all Arab territories is not carried out, it will be extremely difficult to establish peace in the Middle East. That is the kind of peace which all regard as being essential for the broader peace and security in the world.

300. We also hope that Spain will adopt the Arab position as regards the situation of occidental Sahara, to consolidate the good relations which exist between Arabs and Spain. We abide by these relations and we hope that they will be strengthened as far as possible.

301. The world is in the midst of severe trials and tribulations. The policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia may be summed up as follows.

302. First, Saudi Arabia, as a member of the international community, is deeply conscious of all its responsibilities to that community. It has aided some countries, and will contribute to the development bank funds; it has also granted contributions to IMF and to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, so that they may be able to finance development projects in developing countries. I have informed the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, of this. I should also like to state on behalf of His Majesty King Faisal and his Government that we shall also be making a grant of \$30 million to the emergency fund. In this connexion, I attended the meeting last Friday on the invitation of the Secretary-General, for which I should like to thank him.

303. Secondly, aware of its share of these responsibilities to the international community, Saudi Arabia hopes that all the countries of the world will appreciate its position and not make oil-producing countries a target for unjustified criticism and covert threats.

304. Thirdly, the position of Saudi Arabia as regards the price of oil is well known by all. While adopting this position, Saudi Arabia hopes that the big Powers and industrial and non-industrial countries alike will do their utmost to put an end to the rampant inflation and control the spiralling prices of finished products, raw materials and foodstuffs, so that the developing countries are not adversely affected.

305. This is not the time to go into the other items listed on our agenda, which we will deal with when they are discussed in the General Assembly and its main Committees.

306. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

307. Mr. JAIPAL (India): This morning [2252nd meeting] the representative of China showed us an extraordinary vision of the world through the Chinese looking-glass. In his statement he made certain allegations against India, most of which were the customary

propaganda and do not deserve a reply. However, in regard to the specific allegation that India has annexed Sikkim, I feel it necessary to place on record the facts, while making it clear at the same time that Indo-Sikkimese relations are not a matter for discussion at the United Nations.

308. In the days of British rule over India, Sikkim was a princely state under British protection, exactly like the 500 other princely states that were protected by Great Britain. When India regained its independence it entered into special treaty relations with Sikkim under which India assumed responsibility for the defence, external affairs and some aspects of the internal administration of Sikkim. Subject to these reserved matters, Sikkim was ruled directly by the Maharaja.

Mr. Potolot (Central African Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

309. The people of Sikkim did not have adult suffrage and their elected representatives did not participate in the administration of Sikkim. This had been a source of political tension for many years in Sikkim and things came to a head recently and there was a popular revolt against the ruler. As a consequence, the ruler agreed to the holding of free elections to a Legislative Assembly of the people. At the elections the popular party won 31 out of 32 seats in the Assembly. Thereafter the Assembly adopted a democratic constitution for Sikkim. The Assembly also requested India to make provision for Sikkim to be represented in the Indian Parliament. The Government of India agreed to that request and the Indian Constitution was amended by the Parliament so as to provide for one seat for Sikkim in each of the two Houses of Parliament.

310. This is all that has happened. It is a natural and free political evolution of the people of Sikkim in the direction of internal democracy and closer links with neighbouring India. This is entirely in accordance with the wishes of the people of Sikkim as expressed in their elections.

311. It goes without saying that India has not annexed Sikkim. The plain fact is that Sikkim is outside the territory of the Union of India. The Chinese allegation that India has annexed Sikkim is, therefore, clearly mistaken. If the constitutional developments that I have spoken of escape the comprehension of the Chinese delegation, it may be due to their unfamiliarity with the procedures of our democracy.

312. **Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom):** I am obliged to you, Mr. President for allowing me to take the floor and I apologize to the Assembly for keeping it further at this late hour, but those Members who were in the Assembly this afternoon to hear the speech of the Foreign Minister of Spain will, I am sure, not be surprised that it is necessary for me to say one or two words about that speech.

313. May I say at the outset that the United Kingdom regrets that speech. We regret its tone and we regret its content. It would have been better if that speech had remained unspoken and if those words had remained unsaid. The United Kingdom Government desired and still desires good relations with the Government of Spain, but I must say inevitably that a speech so extreme as the one we listened to this afternoon

must call into question the good will of the Government that is making it.

314. Our position on Gibraltar is, I hope, clear and well understood, but so that the Spanish Government may be clear may I perhaps reiterate it. We remain committed to the preamble contained in the 1969 Gibraltar Constitution, which I shall quote, and I hope that these are words which will commend themselves to the majority of countries in this Assembly: "Her Majesty's Government will never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another State against their freely and democratically expressed wishes." Those words are in the 1969 Constitution of Gibraltar, and if one looks at those words and then looks at Article 73 of the Charter it will be found, I would submit to the Assembly, that the requirement in Article 73 that the interests of the people of dependent territories should be paramount is amply fulfilled by the Constitution of Gibraltar itself.

315. Therefore, I think we must also say that the fact is that the Government of Spain has been singularly—one could almost say spectacularly—unsuccessful in persuading the people of Gibraltar that it is in their interests to give up their present status and enter into some kind of union with Spain itself. From the 1967 referendum to date the overwhelming desire of the people of Gibraltar—expressed, may I say, in democratic elections in which the people of Gibraltar have had an opportunity, denied perhaps to those in Spain, of expressing their own views in their own way in a free vote—has been to remain as they are and not to accept a union with Spain itself. Therefore my Government, the Assembly will not be surprised to hear, has no intention whatsoever of handing over the people of Gibraltar—all 30,000 of them, with their democratically elected Government—against their own wishes to a country which a generation ago turned its back upon democracy and the democratic process.

316. In the course of his speech this afternoon the Foreign Minister of Spain said that we were not sincere in the way in which we approached the consensus of last year on Gibraltar. I utterly and totally reject that. Speaking in the Fourth Committee at the last session, the United Kingdom representative said:

"I should like to say a few words about the basis on which my delegation has felt able to accept the references in the consensus to 'negotiations'. We tried in our talks with the Spanish Government in the last few years to reach a common basis upon which substantive negotiations could begin. We have so far failed to find that common basis, but we believe that it is important and valuable to continue by discussion to seek the elements of a negotiable agreement which will be acceptable to all concerned. The United Kingdom Government accordingly is ready to renew talks to this end at whatever level seems most constructive."⁵

317. As I said, that remains our position. We are quite prepared to renew talks at whatever level they might seem most constructive. But, with great respect to the Government of Spain and the speech we heard this afternoon, a polemic of that sort at the General Assembly is hardly the way to begin fruitful discussions to settle a delicate international problem.

318. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At this late hour, I should not, of course, like to delay the Assembly or engage in polemics. The proper time to do so, in my view, will be in the Fourth Committee. But I should like to remind the representative of the United Kingdom that if he regrets the tone and substance of the statement made by my Foreign Minister, we regret even more the prolongation of an intolerable colonial situation in the last colony in Europe.

319. I should like to remind the representative of the United Kingdom that the General Assembly has already repudiated the referendum which, under the auspices of the fleet of Her Britannic Majesty, manoeuvring in Gibraltar, was held under the full authority of the Governor, who has the right of dispossessing of their Gibraltar nationality those who are not Her Britannic Majesty's loyal subjects.

320. In this connexion, I should like to ask the representative of the United Kingdom whether the British Government, so jealous always of its own rights and the rights it grants to foreign peoples when the latter serve its interests, took the precaution of asking the Spanish population of Gibraltar, when it forced them to leave, whether the British Government was welcome among them. What is more, I should like to remind you that on numerous occasions I have come to this rostrum to explain that the area occupied by Gibraltar is 1 7/8 square miles. This is information furnished by the British Government for the first time to this Organization in 1948. The latest figure for its population is 19,000 inhabitants.

321. We in no way want to see that population come under the sovereignty of Spain. What we do claim is

sovereignty over the territory. You may keep the population. Doubtless they will be very well pleased. If they wish to join us of their own free will, we would welcome them with open arms, because this has been both the scope and meaning of the proposal we have made to them. Of course, I should like also to remind the representative of the United Kingdom that an order in council—which is how the Constitution was given to Gibraltar—can be modified by another order in council. In any case, I would remind him to explain to me, as I have stated on past occasions, whether it is he intends to grant self-determination to the marines at the Holy Loch base, whether he claims that the American marines at the Guantánamo base can exercise the right of self-determination also, or whether it is his claim that the Zonians of the Panama Canal base are entitled to self-determination. I should like to ask him this just as I have done on another occasion, only this time with greater insistence.

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3), chap. I.

² See A/9176.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 111.

⁴ Committee on Reform on the International Monetary System and Related Issues of the International Monetary Fund.

⁵ This statement was made at the 2077th meeting of the Fourth Committee, the Official Records of which are published in summary form.