



Friday, 4 October 1974,
 at 3 p.m.

Official Records

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Maina (Kenya)	471
Speech by Mr. Efon (United Republic of Cameroon) ..	475
Speech by Mr. Gabre-Sellassie (Ethiopia)	478
Speech by Mr. Sapena Pastor (Paraguay)	482
Speech by Mr. Hunlédé (Togo)	486

President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, allow me first to join the previous speakers in congratulating you on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. I have the pleasure also to bring to you and, through you, to the Assembly the greetings of my President His Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, who is a distinguished fighter for freedom and justice in the continent of Africa, and also of the Government and the people of Kenya. He, like the leaders and the people of your country, found after many years of reasoning and logical debate that the freedom of a people could not be recovered from colonialists peacefully. Your country and mine have a lot in common, and we therefore share the pleasure of your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. In conferring this high office on you and on Algeria, the General Assembly has manifested its confidence in your wisdom and distinguished qualities of leadership and experience. This year's agenda is heavy and the whole session is bound to produce developments with far-reaching consequences for the future. This is why we feel that a heavy burden is placed on your shoulders, and, therefore, my delegation will fully co-operate with you and give you all support possible in order not to make that burden heavier than it already is.

2. May I also take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, the Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the United Nations, for the able, dedicated and forthright manner in which he guided the affairs of the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly. The success of the two sessions in no small measure depended on Mr. Benites.

3. It is also fitting that I should pay tribute to the Secretary-General and the staff of the United Nations for the good work they have done in the past year.

The organization of the sixth special session and the efforts made to deal with the crises in the Middle East and Cyprus, in addition to the normal schedule, must have added extra demands on the Secretary-General and his staff. They all deserve our thanks and commendation.

4. It is my pleasure to salute and welcome in our midst, on behalf of the Government and the people of the Republic of Kenya, the three new Members, namely, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. My country has many affinities with these new nations. It has been Kenya's special pleasure heartily to subscribe to the Security Council's recommendations for their admission to United Nations membership. This is a major step towards the goal of the universality of the United Nations.

5. Guinea-Bissau deserves particular mention for its heroic struggle for independence and freedom, which ultimately had the result of liberating the peoples of metropolitan Portugal and setting the stage for what is happening now. We urge the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as individual Member States, to give Guinea-Bissau all the assistance possible in its effort of national reconstruction.

6. This year the General Assembly is meeting in changed circumstances with regard to the decolonization question. We have noted with satisfaction the attitude of the new Portuguese Government towards the evil of colonialism. What has taken place in Africa in the last few months leads us to believe that we are witnessing the beginning of the end of colonialism in that long abused continent. The new Government of Portugal deserves congratulations for what it has achieved so far and encouragement and support to complete, in the next few months, the task it has embarked upon. A delay may damage the good work and give the forces of exploitation and oppression a chance to show their ugly head again.

7. The irony of the situation facing Africa today is that, on the one hand, independence is on the horizon in respect of the Portuguese-occupied Territories, but, on the other hand, racist minority régimes still ruthlessly, blindly and fearfully entrench themselves in the belief that the misguided systems they champion have a future in Africa. That is the case with the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. In that colony the rebel régime continues with impunity and glaring defiance to uproot, herd and displace the African population and forcibly to take their remaining lands, pass discriminatory legislation and faithfully and blindly copy South African crimes of *apartheid*.

8. These extreme measures of folly are blindly undertaken contrary to enlightened public opinion within and outside that Territory and in utter disregard of the norms of a civilized international com-

munity. The rebellious clique which champions the so-called independence in Southern Rhodesia should not delude itself. Those who have sustained that rebellion are to blame for the unpleasant consequences that their misdeeds will unleash in that part of Africa. The combination of support from the South African régime guilty of the crime of *apartheid* and other well-known nations is worthy of condemnation by all peace-loving nations of the world.

9. My delegation is pained that key nations with which Kenya enjoys valuable international co-operation in trade, commerce and political and economic relations are so deeply involved in the affairs of such widely unacceptable régimes. We call on them to support the United Nations in its endeavours to rehabilitate Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

10. I wish to reiterate that my delegation is firmly of the following views. First, the United Kingdom remains the administering Power of that colony of Southern Rhodesia and must, by word and deed, exercise that power to stop the South African régime from slowly annexing that colony. Secondly, the principle of "no independence before majority rule" should be adhered to before a change in the status of the colony is effected. Thirdly, the African leaders and all political detainees must be released immediately and consulted before the eventual formation of a Government representing the majority of the peoples of Zimbabwe. Fourthly, all Member States of the United Nations should apply mandatory sanctions, as called for by the Security Council. At present, many Member States either openly support the breach of sanctions, as is the case with some known States, including those which initially called for them as an alternative to the use of force to quell the rebellion, or plead all manner of excuses as to why the sanctions cannot be enforced.

11. A dangerous situation persists in the southern part of the African continent, one that has been under the consideration of the United Nations since its inception. We have the oppressive, imperialist and expansionist régime of South Africa, armed to the hilt by its known collaborators, expending untold resources on arms from some well-known Member nations of the Organization. That régime is still scornfully occupying the United Nations Trust Territory of Namibia, in defiance of law and reason. It is extending its tentacles to the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, for purposes both of security and of economic and political expansion. The recent rail link between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa has the obvious effect of integrating the two régimes economically and evading the United Nations sanctions imposed on the colony of Southern Rhodesia. Internally, the régime is tightening its ruthless grip on the indigenous peoples, who are stripped of all human dignity and human rights and used as profit-production machines to fill the coffers of the interests currently brazenly defying the United Nations sanctions against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.

12. In such circumstances of oppression, defiance and expansion and veiled discouragement of decolonization in southern Africa, the African States and the international community are in duty bound to review the implications of the arms buildup there. We have urged all nations that value human life to

halt their sale of arms to South Africa, and to co-operate with the United Nations in taking corrective action by terminating commercial, diplomatic and consular relations with that country.

13. The voice of reason has gone unheeded. Many well-known nations from all corners of the earth not only continue to expand their financial and other relations with South Africa but also sell armaments to that country, which has continued to defy the United Nations with regard to Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. In our view, the time has come for the rest of Africa to pose the question, who indeed is a friend of Africa? Has the time not come for the African countries to shape their destiny in the light of the general interests they all share with the other Members of the international community? Is it not time that they chose either us or those régimes? These are legitimate questions to raise in the General Assembly for all to ponder.

14. Some Powers distinguish between arms for external defence and arms for internal defence. This is a meaningless distinction, in terms of the peace and security of the African continent. Such devious ways of avoiding their duties to the international community are not, however, confined to the sale of arms. In the field of trade, parent companies in many well-known countries have been giving franchises to local companies. Can anybody doubt that the profits derived from such transactions reach those countries that are at the forefront in denying that they have dealings with Southern Africa?

15. As I have already stated, the time is ripe for us in Africa to know, through deeds and not through empty words, who are the friends of Africa. Indeed, my delegation will spare no effort directed towards the removal of the delinquent racist régime of South Africa from the community of civilized nations. I must quickly add, however, that the primary aim of any international action should be to correct and rehabilitate South Africa, since we adhere to the principle of the universality of the United Nations.

16. Every nation, large or small, has the right to expect to live in peace and security. To every nation, therefore, the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security are of paramount importance. The small nations may not have a button to push to destroy the entire human race; but, if they are not at peace with one another, the threat to international peace and security is just as real, since, in the event of conflict, each nation has friends and enemies. The maintenance of international peace is therefore of cardinal importance to all, and is not the exclusive preserve of one or two mighty nations.

17. Despite the avowed intentions of all Member States to preserve peace and security, in the last few months the world community has been shocked: we witnessed in the middle of July an overt attempt to destroy by force of arms a Member of this Organization. I refer to the attempt by some Members of this Organization to destroy by force of arms the Republic of Cyprus, a non-aligned country whose make-up and history show many parallels with Kenya's, and with which Kenya has maintained close relations for many years.

18. In dealing with the problem of Cyprus, my delegation takes as a starting-point the fact that Cyprus exists as an independent, sovereign and full Member of the United Nations. We are happy to note that the Security Council has unanimously affirmed this [*resolution 353 (1974)*]. We believe that Cyprus will be assisted if all Member States respect its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

19. The problem of Cyprus is made to appear complex. However, at the root of it all is the fact that the people of Cyprus have not been given a chance to develop a sense of nationhood. They have been encouraged by external forces to accentuate their differences rather than to harmonize their common interests. We believe, therefore, that the first and cardinal step towards the solving of the Cyprus problem is non-interference by outsiders. I note in this regard that the Security Council has called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the island [*ibid.*]. This is a basic requirement. We are confident that, encouraged by the international community, the Cypriot people will be capable of discussing their problems and solving them.

20. My delegation is aware of the territorial claims to parts of Cyprus made by outsiders. We are also aware of the treaties or guarantees imposed on Cyprus by the agreements of Zurich and Geneva of 1960 and would like to reiterate that we consider those Treaties to be inequitable and one of the underlying causes of the present crisis in Cyprus. We were doubtful of the sustained ability of those Treaties to form the basis of negotiations for the return of peace and constitutional government in Cyprus. Kenya was among the first countries to call for a more direct participation of the United Nations in assisting the Republic of Cyprus to solve its problems. We believe the communities should be encouraged to have more direct talks under the auspices of the United Nations, and that nothing that would aggravate the already delicate situation should be done in order to avoid the possibility of renewed hostilities that would lead to further loss of life. We are confident that with the support of the United Nations the problem of Cyprus will be solved.

21. One other area that continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security is the Middle East. This year, we meet hopefully in happier circumstances than was the case a year ago. A shooting war erupted then in that unhappy region. The Assembly and the Security Council were put under severe pressure. Fortunately, the joint efforts of all Member States, and especially those directly concerned, prevented the situation from becoming a major world disaster. A framework of negotiations to normalize the situation and to bring about a just and lasting peace was born.

22. Over the past 10 months, the international community has witnessed slow but positive signs of the will of the nations in that region to achieve peace. The disengagement agreements and the talks in Geneva are a welcome development. Kenya hopes that the experience gained over these months will not have been in vain. Rather, it will give the momentum required to intensify the search for ways and means of settling the outstanding problems on the basis of law, justice and mutual respect. Kenya believes that

for a lasting peace the implementation of the following principles is essential: first, the recognition by all the States in the region of the right of each State to exist in conditions of peace and security; secondly, the recognition that the acquisition of territory by force of arms is inadmissible, and thirdly, the recognition that the rights of the displaced people of the area should under no circumstances be abused, overlooked, sacrificed or minimized, and it is for this reason that we consider that all the people and parties concerned in the problem of the area should be consulted and should participate in any discussions designed to produce a permanent solution.

23. Recent developments in the arms buildup cause some concern. They pose the question as to their intention. Is this buildup to strengthen international peace and security or is it intended to threaten peace and security? A comparison of the resources employed by many nations in the military buildup and in the social services paints a hopelessly lopsided picture. Over half the national resources are consumed in military arsenals. Yet, populations go without food, without education, without employment, without proper and adequate housing, to mention but a few social amenities. If the goals and principles enshrined in the Charter are to be achieved, then nations must take collective and individual acts to limit this dangerous buildup.

24. Kenya is committed to the ideals of peace and friendly relations with all nations. Kenya realizes that in order to meet the many challenging social, economic and political developments, a climate of tranquillity in international relations is basic. It is for this reason that my delegation will encourage and support all moves towards achieving the ideals of disarmament.

25. Our commitment to peace and security leads us to refer to the situation in the Indian Ocean. This ocean is neighboured by an overwhelming number of small States whose basic goal remains peace and security. The increased appearance of the naval fleets of certain nations not famed for their love of peace causes general disquiet in the area. The competition between them in an area that is desirous of peace poses a serious threat to the survival of the nations of the area. Recent events in other parts of the world cannot but convince us that the presence of these fleets in our area constitutes a veiled threat to the independence of the small nations in that area.

26. We cannot fail to realize that, in the event of tension between these Powers in the area, many of the African States on the eastern seaboard would be paralysed. We have a crucial stake in the peaceful state of the ocean. Kenya urges all without exception to support the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.

27. Although on balance the situation regarding peace and security has been unsatisfactory, there have been some encouraging developments in the Organization during the current year. One of the most welcome of these developments is the conclusion of the work of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression [*see A/9619 and Corr.1*]. All the members of the Special Committee, and particularly its Chairman and Rapporteur, deserve our congratulations for managing to conclude the work of defining "ag-

gression'', which has eluded the international community for the last 50 years. Although far from perfect, we believe that the definition that has been achieved will go a long way towards deterring potential aggressors and would assist the Security Council in its difficult task of determining the "existence of any threat to peace, breach of peace or act of aggression" as required by Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations.

28. While the definition by itself will not end aggression, we believe that States will now have a yardstick applicable to all Members of the Organization, big or small. While my delegation is not entirely happy with the provisions of the definition, we are well aware that it has been the result of a compromise. We shall, nevertheless, be able to support it as it stands in the hope that the General Assembly will be able to adopt it.

29. As we are assembled here, the international economic situation is the one most serious problem exercising the minds of the majority of the world community. The international economic problems created by the 1971-1972 balance-of-payments upheavals, the problem of galloping inflation and the problems precipitated by oil questions remain unsolved. As for us in Africa, the impact of these international problems has been even further compounded by the very real problems of drought, food shortages and desertification, thus presenting us with an even more ominous picture for the future.

30. Although it is true that economic problems and especially inflationary forces are rampant all over the world, it is important that the world community not lose sight of the fact that the ones who have been hit hardest by the recent international economic ailments are the peoples of the developing countries.

31. At the bottom of our problems has, of course, been the continued and acutely unfavourable trend in our terms of trade. The prices of our essential imports of manufactured goods have been increasing year after year in the wake of the inflationary processes domestically generated in the industrialized countries. On the other hand, the price of our exports and of primary sources of development finance have been either stagnant or declining. We have raised this particular issue at numerous international meetings over and over again during the last decade and will continue to do so in the hope that the world community will one day address itself to the problem. The problem is the unrealistic prices of raw materials in relation to the price of manufactured products.

32. The economic interdependence of the present world has been more than underscored by the events of the last 12 months. The trade or monetary policies followed by individual or groups of Governments to deal with their economic, social or political problems can now no longer be ignored by the rest of the world community. The convening of the sixth special session of the General Assembly last April was a belated but very welcome manifestation of the international recognition of this very basic fact of our times.

33. As for us, the developing countries, the convening of the session and the subsequent adoption of the two milestone resolutions—the Declaration on the

Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*], in which the world community solemnly proclaimed its united determination to work urgently towards that goal, and the Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*—were seen as the advent of a new era of genuine economic co-operation with the rest of the world for the good of all. We very much welcomed the Programme of Action especially in the fields of trade liberalization, international monetary reforms, food and fertilizer production, transfer of technology, industrialization and flow of development finance.

34. Unfortunately, and it is a matter of deep concern and disappointment to us, we have over the last few months been progressively confronted with vigorous efforts aimed at either frustrating or altogether preventing the implementation of that very pivotal Programme of Action. We are well aware of the fact that certain nations did express reservations after General Assembly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) had been adopted. We accept their sovereign right to enter those reservations. But we do not accept those reservations as being of such importance as to nullify the decisions taken by the world community last April.

35. We appeal to those nations to re-examine once again their declared positions. The realities of our economic interdependence in the trade and monetary fields have already entrenched us in an era where we can no longer postpone the development and implementation of new concepts, new options and an entirely new range of ground rules with which to tackle our current and progressively increasing economic predicaments. We are all collectively responsible for our common destiny, and it is therefore imperative that we make a more positive effort to perceive our interdependence and common destiny in a more enlightened perspective. A civilization that guarantees enough food and drink and shelter to only a third of its people cannot survive.

36. During this session, food, or rather the lack of it, has been uppermost in the programme of many Member States. Kenya will make its modest contribution towards the solving of this problem during the World Food Conference in November. Africa, which suffered from severe droughts last year, droughts that brought untold misery to many in the continent, cannot forget the lessons learned from that tragedy. We are thankful for the massive aid that poured in from all over the world, co-ordinated by the United Nations. As the lessons of that tragedy showed, Africa needs more than the *ad hoc* massive drops of food in the affected area. Africa, like most of the other developing areas, has sufficient rich productive soil. What it lacks is technology and resources to revolutionize its subsistence agriculture. Kenya, therefore, hopes that the developed countries will, during the Conference in November, be willing to consider the possible transfer of correct technology and make enough resources available to the developing countries so that they can achieve the aims of the Conference—enough food for each person in the world in the shortest possible time.

37. The oil crisis concerns the entire international community. But, as I have stated earlier with regard to the general world economic situation, it is the small

countries, like my own, that have been hit the hardest. The price increases have disrupted the development plans of many countries and, if not checked, could well result in total collapse of the economies of those countries. The solution to the oil crisis, therefore, is not of interest to the major consumers and producers alone, but to all of us. It is for this reason that we favour the solution of the problem within the context of the United Nations. We believe that the collective responsibility in solving this crisis correctly falls under Article 56 of the Charter.

38. The first step towards the global approach to the solution of the oil crisis is not to indulge so much in apportioning blame. We cannot gain anything by distributing blame when the crisis continues to grow worse. What we need is for the oil-producing countries and the corporations that deal in oil to get together with the oil consumers under the auspices of the Organization to formulate ways and means of solving the crisis urgently. The most dangerous way of handling this oil crisis is to do nothing now thus leaving all the parties to seek their salvation by hurting others. In the end we shall all be losers.

39. In order that the Organization could adequately assist Member States in solving the energy crisis, it is essential that new approaches and machinery be established within the system. We call, therefore, as an initial step, for the strengthening of the section which deals with energy in the Department of Economic and Social Affairs. This would put the Organization in line, indeed make the Organization take the lead, in what is already happening at the national level.

40. The second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was held at Caracas. I should like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of my delegation to the Government and the people of Venezuela for the excellent arrangements they made to host the Conference which, as many have remarked, was the largest international Conference ever held. The fact that no final results were achieved should not in any way detract from the importance of the Conference and particularly of that session. A lot of progress, on which the successful conclusion of the immense task depends, has already been made at Caracas. The general debate on all the issues has been finalized. Concrete proposals on all the items are now before the Conference. What remains now is serious and business-like negotiations by all States with a view to harmonizing different positions and arriving at a generally acceptable convention.

41. I should like, however, to point out that we from the developing countries cannot afford the leisure of continuing these negotiations indefinitely. The Conference heavily taxed our financial and manpower resources. We are determined that the next session of the Conference, scheduled for March to May 1975, should be the final one. Though a great deal of work remains to be done, we are convinced that with good will and a serious negotiating spirit, the Conference can bring its work to a successful conclusion.

42. We would be prepared to support a final ceremonial session. We shall not be willing, however, to support an endless series of sessions while some of the States represented engage in what appears to be a filibuster designed to block all efforts at changing

the existing *status quo* on the exploration and exploitation of the wealth of the sea, which favours a few developed countries at the expense of everyone else. Changes inevitably are going to come. It is up to all the States represented to engage in a serious dialogue in order to ensure that the changes will be equitable and fair to all; otherwise the changes may have to come from the unilateral action of States, which can lead only to further confusion in this field and will continue to be a dangerous source of international conflicts. The Kenya delegation will not be found wanting in making determined efforts to arrive at a generally acceptable convention during the forthcoming session of the Conference and we hope that all other States will co-operate in a similar spirit.

43. The whole world has been shocked and grieved at the terrible disaster that has afflicted Honduras, and, only yesterday, Peru, countries which have very close ties with my own country. On behalf of the Government and the people of Kenya, I convey our deep sympathies to the Government and the peoples of Honduras and Peru. These disasters underline once again the necessity for a more vigorous approach by the international community to the problem of emergency assistance in cases of disaster. Developing countries have been continuously at the mercy of natural disasters because they lack adequate machinery for pre-disaster warning or the means to combat disasters when they occur. We urge the speed-up of programmes to train personnel from developing countries for pre-disaster warning, and the strengthening of the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator, so that loss of life and property can be minimized.

44. The events of the last few years, more so the events of the last 12 months, have shown how interdependent the international community has become. No longer can States sit back and say of an event happening in another part of the world, "It does not concern us." Technology has brought us so close to one another, yet paradoxically, old attitudes and prejudices have not disappeared. The pursuit of narrow national interests at the expense of wider international interests has at times brought the world to the brink of war. Rigid adherence to instructions has stifled constructive discussion in international forums.

45. Despite all these shortcomings, Kenya has faith in the United Nations. We hope that Member States will take appropriate actions to see that the structure and the orientation of the Organization encourage more harmony and co-operation for the benefit of all mankind. Kenya, for its part, will continue to make its modest contribution in this direction.

46. Mr. EFON (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): For many years, from this rostrum and others, the non-aligned countries have constantly called for peace and *détente*—a far-reaching general *détente* which would lead to international understanding and co-operation. As pointed out by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9601/Add.1], it is comforting to see that here and there in the world there is continuing progress towards *détente*.

47. One serious threat to international peace and security, as we have never ceased to condemn, is the persistence of colonialism and racial discrimination in

Africa. However, there are very promising developments in the Portuguese colonies of Africa. History teaches us that a people which oppresses another cannot be free, and this truth has been amply confirmed in Portugal. The Portuguese people, subjugated by one of the last Fascist régimes of our century, was unable to liberate itself so long as the Portuguese Government was bent on pursuing overseas and by force of arms a policy of colonial occupation which history, the determination of the colonized peoples and world opinion condemned to inevitable failure.

48. As things turned out, in their heroic and just struggle against colonialism, the valiant liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies contributed substantially to the liberation of the Portuguese people itself. The glory for this is theirs. Today, after half a century of Fascist and obscurantist dictatorship, the Portuguese people can at last live as a free people, devoting itself to the urgent task of development and resuming its place in the community of nations.

49. But if the events of April 1974 are to become a genuine revolution worthy of the great humanist traditions of Portugal, if they are to become part of the logic of *détente*, the dialectical process must proceed to the very end. In other words, the political liberalization which has been taking place in the metropolitan country and which is no more than a necessary prerequisite must be followed by the rapid accession to independence and freedom of the Portuguese colonies as well.

50. We are following and we welcome all the efforts being made by the new Portuguese régime in this direction. We hope that nothing will arrest its progress along the honourable road upon which it has embarked, at the end of which it will find the respect and friendship of the African countries and of all the peoples of the world who love peace and justice.

51. We also hope that the Portuguese example will inspire all the other colonial Powers to speed up the inevitable decolonization of the colonial territories they still occupy. To this effect, we support the efforts of the French Government to speed the process of decolonization of the Comoro Islands.

52. We also take note of the recent statements of the Spanish Government concerning what is called Spanish Sahara, and we are closely watching political developments in that territory in the light of the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations which should lead to effective and genuine decolonization.

53. Finally, we hope that there will soon be a happy outcome in the case of Zimbabwe, that of Azania and that of the international territory of Namibia. In other words, and in accordance with United Nations resolutions, Pretoria must put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia. The Government of the United Kingdom, the administering Power, must restore legality in Rhodesia by establishing a genuine democracy, resulting from negotiations with the liberation movements, which are the sole authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. As for *apartheid*, which is a disgrace to our century, the United Nations must stop at nothing in order to bring to heel the South African racists who have made racism a State policy.

54. My delegation unreservedly supports the decision taken recently by the Assembly [resolution 3207 (XXIX)] to invite the Council to consider frankly the relations between South Africa and the United Nations, and will spare no effort in the Security Council to ensure the triumph of the just cause of the African people of Azania.

55. I take this opportunity of paying a well-deserved tribute to all the friendly countries which so far have given their material, financial or political support to the African liberation movements. As I did in the course of the good-will mission which I have just carried out in some of those countries at the head of a delegation of the Co-ordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa, on the express instructions of the OAU, I wish to reiterate to all those countries the deep gratitude of Africa.

56. The encouraging prospects we have just mentioned concerning decolonization should not, however, make us forget that *détente* remains fragile so long as hotbeds of tension or bones of contention continue to exist in Viet Nam, Korea, Cambodia, the Middle East or Cyprus and so long as brutal or covert interference by foreign Powers in the internal affairs of other States continues to spread. That is why our desire has always been that a lasting and just peace should rapidly return to those regions.

57. As far as Viet Nam is concerned, we look for the complete withdrawal of foreign troops so that the Vietnamese people, within the framework of the Paris agreements, may bind up their wounds in freedom and set about rebuilding their economy laid waste by long years of war.

58. Similarly, we consider that following the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea the time has come to withdraw all foreign troops still stationed on Korean territory. It is only in a situation free from outside interference that the people of Korea will be able freely and effectively to resolve the problem of the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

59. In Cambodia, powerfully and firmly united behind its President, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, in the National United Front of Kampuchea, the Cambodian people are successfully combating aggression. More than 90 per cent of the territory of Cambodia with more than 80 per cent of the population is now liberated and under the direct administration of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. My delegation accordingly considers that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia must resume its rightful place in the United Nations without further delay.

60. We welcome all the efforts of the United Nations and on a bilateral basis to restore peace to the Middle East, but we still say that, in order to bring about a just and lasting solution, these efforts must be based essentially on the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

61. In the island of Cyprus the constitutional edifice erected so laboriously in 1960 has been taking terrible punishment which reached its peak in July 1974 and has already cost thousands of innocent lives. The guarantors of the island's status—the United King-

dom, Greece and Turkey—have been unable, and with good reason, to find immediate ways and means of restoring peace, which is a prerequisite for the search for a negotiated solution to this problem, the implications of which, by endangering an established system, could threaten world peace.

62. Confronted with this impasse, the world was in good conscience obliged to react and to call for an end to human suffering and the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, with the praiseworthy objective of creating conditions favourable for the final settlement of the question by the establishment of the independence, unity and territorial integrity of the island. Those were essentially the concerns of the Security Council in its resolution 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974. As a non-permanent member of the Council, Cameroon was happy to contribute to those efforts, which must be continued.

63. Much remains to be done in this direction, inasmuch as that resolution of the Council and the other subsequent resolutions, the Geneva Conference and other initiatives in the same direction have not produced the desired effects. One of the things the Assembly must do at this session is to seek an appropriate solution to this problem, in which humanitarian considerations must take precedence over political aspects.

64. That is why my delegation, aware of the tense situation which continues to prevail in Cyprus and, if truth be told, throughout the eastern Mediterranean, will look favourably upon and support any initiative from no matter what quarter tending definitively to restore peace to the island and to resolve no less definitively, in the interests of the Greek and Turkish communities of the island, the political problem posed by an untoward arrangement whose failure all deplore.

65. I should like now to address myself to a matter of concern which is crucial to *détente*, and I refer to international co-operation. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Caracas, and, most recently, the World Population Conference held at Bucharest, revealed the importance of the subjects they dealt with, the urgent need for fair solutions, and at the same time the stubbornness of selfish national interests that render all efforts of co-operation practically useless.

66. Twelve months ago, when the energy crisis became widespread, we realized how precarious our situation was; but our problems did not begin yesterday. For several years now, world prices for certain commodities have been continuously rising. According to the economists, the relationship between prices and incomes is direct, which is to say that high living standards are matched by high wages which in their turn lead to rising prices. But this situation does not prevail to an equal degree everywhere in the world.

67. It is true in the developed countries, where the majority of the people earn salaries above the average. But when the developing countries, whose active population must content themselves with low wages, are caught up in the machinery of inflation, their purchasing power undergoes a sharp decline. Thus, the poor become every day poorer and the Governments, destitute of resources, encounter insurmountable dif-

ficulties which can jeopardize the functioning of essential institutions.

68. It has been said that today 15 per cent of the human race possesses 85 per cent of the world's wealth; and the majority of those people live in Western Europe and North America, while hunger, ignorance, disease, poverty and natural disaster are the lot of the countries of the third world.

69. In recent years we have drawn the attention of the international community to the many and grave problems of the third world. Perhaps we were not understood. It seems to me that the petroleum-producing countries, in their frustration, have merely burst the abscess of a crisis which had long been gathering. Their position is well known. But did the developing countries have to go so far before the international community finally woke up to the situation and decided to come to the aid of our frail economies, by setting fair prices for our raw materials?

70. All of us in this Assembly have an idea of the way in which bilateral and multilateral aid is granted to the developing countries. While the gratitude of those countries should be emphasized here, we may ask for how much longer this aid will continue to be forthcoming, and what is its real impact on our economies, when all the other factors necessary for harmonious, accelerated, extensive and lasting development are lacking.

71. We have noted that since the end of the Second World War the prices of manufactured goods have increased year after year. With these rising prices, the level of living in industrialized regions has substantially improved, and the populations of Western Europe and North America have thus entered an age of luxury and even waste. The developing countries can only look on helplessly while this is happening for, while our production increases thanks to energetic development efforts, the income that we derive from it continues to decline.

72. Until a just and proportionate relationship is established between the prices of manufactured goods and those of raw materials, we shall never be safe from technological aggression. In other words, the real problem facing mankind is that of a better distribution of resources, services and technology, and this can only be achieved by a vigorous policy of international co-operation, which was what the Second United Nations Development Decade seemed to be aiming at with, among other objectives, the transfer of technology.

73. We are not asking for charity from the wealthy countries, even though history tells us that those countries in large part built their colossal fortunes and ensured their own development by the exploitation of our peoples and the plunder of our natural resources. What we are asking is merely a new and more equitable economic order.

74. The General Assembly at its sixth special session showed the way to avoid the errors of the old economic system which led to the present crisis. One of the most important results of that session was the unanimous recognition of the interdependence of the industrialized countries and the countries of the third world that provide raw materials, and the interdependence of problems of trade, development fi-

nancing and the international monetary system. To solve those problems we need co-ordinated solutions, both on the national and on the international level. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and, above all, the Programme of Action for the establishment of this new international economic order, indicate both the objectives to be attained and the means of attaining them.

75. My delegation particularly welcomes the Special Programme established by resolution 3202 (S-VI), in which the General Assembly calls on the whole United Nations family to undertake immediately an emergency assistance operation in order to aid those of the developing countries most deeply affected by the present world economic crisis. My delegation notes with satisfaction that many countries have already clearly indicated their willingness to make voluntary contributions to that Special Programme.

76. Where there has been some progress towards political *détente* it has often been outside the United Nations. Similarly, in the field of co-operation we cannot seem to find, inside our Organization, a platform acceptable to both industrial and third-world countries whereas, outside the United Nations, in a bilateral, subregional, regional or multilateral context, some positive action is possible.

77. Can we therefore conclude that the United Nations has failed in its mission? Not at all. Over the 29 years of its existence the United Nations, because it is unique and universal, has emerged as an outstanding forum for contacts, for the exchange of views, and for collective reflection on the common problems of all mankind. Furthermore, in the specialized agencies major efforts have been made and positive results achieved. We hope that with the distinguished and dynamic encouragement of the Economic and Social Council, and with the assistance of our tireless Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to whom we should like to reiterate our congratulations, the work of the specialized agencies will continue and expand.

78. It is therefore under the banner of hope that we come to take part in the work of the twenty-ninth session. It is, of course, a qualified hope, but a hope that will one day be realized through the determination of some, the understanding of others and the firm purpose of all who bear the name of man. Our hope is a world where peace, justice and human solidarity will prevail.

79. When we speak of human solidarity, our thoughts naturally go to Honduras and Peru, whose peoples have been so sorely tried by a terrible hurricane. I hope that the delegations of Honduras and Peru will accept the deeply felt condolences of the delegation of Cameroon in this painful hour. Far from being discouraged, such trials should, on the contrary, strengthen our solidarity and shore up our hopes for a better future.

80. You will, therefore, understand, Mr. President, that my delegation, moved by this hope, appreciates the three-fold tribute represented by your enthusiastic and unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session. This is, first of all, a tribute to the people of Africa who, thanks to the dynamic and resolute stand of OAU over the past few years, par-

ticularly since the last session, have played a considerable role in reaffirming and strengthening the ideals of freedom, independence and solidarity set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

81. It is also a tribute to the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, whose valiant people have won imperishable laurels not only through its heroic struggle against colonial oppression, but also because of its continuing fight against the injustices of imperialism as denounced at the last special session, convened in fact on the initiative of your famous head of State, President Houari Boumediène.

82. And it is a tribute, finally, to yourself, a diplomat of consummate skill, a tireless freedom fighter and impassioned defender of the dignity and independence of the peoples of the third world. Beyond the mere ritual of congratulations, believe me, Mr. President, my delegation feels itself directly touched by these tributes paid by the most noble world Assembly to the head of the delegation of a friendly sister country.

83. We should also like to extend this tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Benites, who so wisely and responsibly directed the difficult proceedings of the twenty-eighth session and, above all, the sixth special session.

84. A sign of the times: it is under your presidency that we joyfully welcome for the first time the delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, that brother State whose independence, proclaimed on the field of battle a year ago, tolled the knell for the last and oldest of the colonial empires. We welcome the admission to this Assembly of our brothers from Guinea-Bissau and of our friends from Bangladesh and Grenada, and we extend to them our warmest congratulations.

85. The admission of three new Members is part of the thrust towards universality, which must be one of the objectives of our Organization if it really wishes to be the major centre for harmonizing the actions of all the nations of the world so as to maintain international peace and security, to develop international relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. In a word, to usher in a genuine world civilization in conformity with the provisions of Article 1 of the Charter.

86. Mr. GABRE-SELLASSIE (Ethiopia): Mr. President, I take great pleasure in joining distinguished speakers who have preceded me in congratulating you on your election to the high office of the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your eminent qualities are known to me over the years of our personal acquaintance and your abilities as a dynamic representative of the sister State of Algeria are known to us all in this Assembly. You will bring further credit to your own nation and to Africa, and in doing so you will have the full co-operation of my delegation.

87. During the last session, as a member of the General Committee in which I had the privilege to serve as Chairman of the Second Committee, I had the honour to admire the high competence and skill of your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, who so memorably added to the body of precedent

and prestige set by your predecessors for the achievement and discharge of your manifold duties and responsibilities.

88. Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the Organization, continues to serve the international community with vigour and dedication. I wish to pay tribute to him, particularly for the constructive role he has played in the peace-making efforts of the Organization and for his deep humanitarian concern to assist the drought victims on my continent.

89. The United Nations family of sovereign and independent States comes together again this year in the General Assembly, enlarged and strengthened through the admission of Bangladesh, Grenada, and Guinea-Bissau. Their representatives have taken their rightful places amongst us; I extend to them the warm welcome of my Government and delegation.

90. Among the positive developments for consideration in our coming debates that have occurred since last year's session, my Government would particularly note the limited but significant agreements concluded in the Middle East, the growing recognition of the vital economic interdependence between the developing countries and the industrialized nations, and the outcome of the freedom struggle in Africa which is inducing the present leadership in Portugal to pursue a more realistic policy in that continent.

91. The sharpest negative developments during the same period have been the largely unrelieved suffering of millions of our fellow men in the severely drought-affected world, the sudden shattering of peace and tranquillity in Cyprus, and the severe dislocation in the international economic and monetary systems.

92. I shall briefly indicate my Government's views on some of the more pressing issues.

93. Ethiopia has whole-heartedly welcomed the troop disengagement agreements which have followed the cease-fire in the Middle East. But while I express my Government's appreciation for the statesmanship of the Governments directly concerned and the indefatigable energy of the United States Secretary of State in achieving these preliminary steps, I am also bound to state my country's deep concern that what has been accomplished may be frustrated by the explosive potential of the present situation.

94. Without in any way wishing to oversimplify the complexity of the problems that are coming before the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, my Government would urge that prompt action be taken to regain the momentum generated by the achievement of the disengagement agreements. It is also the view of my delegation that a peace settlement in the Middle East must be achieved within the letter and the spirit of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and that, for it to last, it must take into account the legitimate rights of all peoples in the region, including those of the Palestinians. I need hardly add that Ethiopia has most acutely suffered from the long closure of the Suez Canal and will assist in every way possible efforts to reopen this vital artery of international commerce.

95. To those of us in Africa the past nine months have brought a particularly welcome application of the sacred principle of self-determination by Portugal's

recognition of the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the establishment in Mozambique of a transitional Government led by the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [*FRELIMO*], now on the road to early independence. This relentless and valiant struggle of the national liberation movements and peoples in those Territories is heart-warming in its achievement and in its promise for the future.

96. Again, we are reminded of the adage that independence is often won but seldom granted. In fairness to the new leadership in Portugal, however, we join the many who have given it due credit for commanding the courage to rise to its opportunities and to meet its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. In that effort and in that achievement the Portuguese leadership has our sympathy and encouragement.

97. Ever since the sixteenth session which began in 1961, when I had the privilege of speaking from this rostrum on the question of Angola [*1097th meeting*], my Government has been concerned about the fate of the people of that Territory. My delegation would support today active efforts to work out modalities with the national liberation movements in Angola ways and means of facilitating the peaceful and rapid transfer of power. The fact of Angola's independence is acknowledged, and the achievement of that independence must be hastened.

98. It is true that in the twenty-ninth year of the life of the Assembly we can congratulate ourselves that a global conflagration has been avoided. That indeed represents a cause of justifiable pride to the peoples of the United Nations and the triumph, to a certain degree, of human reason. But, on the other hand, localized wars in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere—colonial wars, wars of conquest and of intervention—have caused untold suffering to millions of people. We must emphasize that, in terms of the cumulative loss of human life, the suffering and the havoc wrought, the effect of local wars certainly of no less severity to the victims than that of global war.

99. In this context, let me state at once that Ethiopia does not pretend to have any magic formula for the total elimination of wars and international conflicts. My country has, however, consistently urged the strengthening and the use of the established machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

100. Most recently, the tragic events in Cyprus have aroused anxious concern. Ethiopia has always supported the use of international machinery and means to obtain peace and security as one of the primary purposes of the Organization. Consequently, we supported the dispatch of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force to Cyprus in the early 1960s and its stabilizing presence on the island for more than a decade. Whatever may be the procedures and means adopted to restore peace and tranquillity on the island, Ethiopia believes that the unity of the people of Cyprus and sovereignty and territorial integrity should be strictly preserved.

101. My delegation remains concerned about the uncertain situation in South-East Asia and has noted with satisfaction the withdrawal of the bulk of the armed forces of a super-Power. As regards northern Asia, we hope that the discussions between North

and South Korea will be resumed and will lead to a reduction of tension. My delegation trusts that the obstacles to a peaceful settlement may be removed in both South-East and northern Asia.

102. The international community continues as helpless as it is indignant about the repugnant situation still prevailing in southern Africa. It is shameful that, 29 years after its founding, the United Nations should still be deliberating upon the twin problems of colonialism and *apartheid*. The disregard by some Member States of the provisions of the Charter and of the decisions of the Assembly and of the Security Council is obvious. The subjugation and degradation of millions of people in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa should surely be a thorn in the collective conscience of the Assembly.

103. In Southern Rhodesia, the Smith régime, far from being brought to its knees, as we were told it had been eight years ago by the administering Power, has on the contrary consolidated its illegal exercise of power through the complicity and blessing of some Member States. The systematic violation of sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia has given sustenance to the white minority régime and strengthened its grip over the defenceless African people in the country. Ethiopia, mindful of its own bitter experience in the 1930s, has time and again drawn attention to the futility of sanctions unless they are scrupulously observed by one and all.

104. The question of Southern Rhodesia continues to be a test case for the United Nations, and my Government regrets that the uncooperative attitude of some Member States has contributed to the undermining of the principles enshrined in the Charter. If the Organization is to be a source of hope for mankind, it is imperative that we act in concert to restore its prestige and make it effective. My delegation therefore appeals to the world community and to the Organization to implement the mandatory sanctions of the Security Council, so that law and order may be secured with justice.

105. It is distressing to note that in South Africa the odious policy of *apartheid* is being relentlessly pursued, with even more vigour, and that the majority is increasingly faced with the enactment of new suppressive laws and supporting violence. In spite of the efforts of the United Nations, the Namibian people is still denied the right to self-determination and independence.

106. My Government is aware that the Government of South Africa has of late resorted to the use of classic ploys of delay and deception, with pronouncements from Pretoria of plans for political and constitutional development for Namibia. The timing of those pronouncements by the South African Government, when the General Assembly is in session, is obviously intended to sow confusion and frustrate consensus when the item on Namibia is discussed in the General Assembly. South Africa's tactics in confusing the issues, evident in the composition of its delegation to the current session of the General Assembly, have been most properly rebuffed in the Credentials Committee.

107. In flagrant violation of the Charter and the resolutions of both the General Assembly and the Se-

curity Council, the Government of South Africa has not only continued but also intensified its policy of exploitation and oppression in Namibia. The failure of the United Nations to remedy this situation will no doubt be recorded as the most disappointing episode in the history of the Organization.

108. My delegation is heartened that the General Assembly has adopted, only a few days ago, a resolution requesting the Security Council to examine the question of South Africa's continued membership in the United Nations, in the light of that country's persistent defiance of its Charter obligations [*resolution 3207 (XXIX)*]. As a nation deeply concerned over the plight and fate of our brethren in southern Africa, we feel that the Security Council should have recourse to the provisions of Article 6 of the Charter, as a preliminary measure. Given the well-known position of intransigence of the *apartheid* régime in South Africa, the international community will have to consider the possibility of resorting to other provisions of the Charter, relating to enforcement actions, in order to secure the compliance of South Africa with the decision of the United Nations.

109. Disarmament is yet another problem for which effective action has so far eluded the international community. While slight progress has been made by the conclusion of certain arms control and related measures—for instance, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]
—recent events make us wonder whether what little gains have been made are not actually being eroded.

110. In the past year, atmospheric as well as underground testing of nuclear devices has continued. The hope we expressed last year from this rostrum [*2127th meeting*] that the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963 should be improved to ban underground testing of nuclear devices has not materialized. Nor have any additional nuclear Powers signed the Treaty in the past year. Unfortunately, too, no appreciable progress seems to have been registered during the year's sessions of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to further the attempt to reach agreement on an effective mechanism for the comprehensive prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and the destruction of the existing arsenal of such weapons. My delegation cannot emphasize too strongly the need to reach agreement on this and other vital issues of disarmament.

111. Of no less consequence is the fact that, even as actions are being taken towards the dismantling of foreign bases in developing countries, new bases are being set up in new localities, bringing new areas within their range and risk. Measures of progression matched against equivalent retrogression will not help the world community to make headway towards achieving the aims and purposes of the Charter.

112. The Assembly has come to accept the proposition that co-operation among nations is indispensable if mankind is to survive and progress in an interdependent world. Acceptance of this thesis, however, has not been accompanied by the kind of co-operative behaviour necessary for the solution or at least the amelioration of the economic and social conditions that bring such misery in the wake of natural disaster.

113. The Sahelian region of Africa and my own country have suffered and are still suffering from severe food shortages caused by several years of drought. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children have lost their lives. The humanitarian response which we received from the international community has been encouraging. It is gratifying for me to take this opportunity to express from this rostrum my country's deep appreciation and gratitude to those sympathetic individuals, friendly nations and international and non-governmental organizations that came to our rescue. It must be emphasized, however, that the relief aid going to the drought-stricken parts of Ethiopia, both from domestic and international sources, falls far short of the amount needed to cope with the situation. Ethiopia trusts that the international community will continue to respond to the desperate needs of the victims of drought and natural disaster.

114. In view of the unprecedented food crisis in vast areas of the world, especially on the African continent, my delegation feels that it is imperative for the international community to take prompt action and, in particular, to adopt the necessary measures to create an internationally agreed system of food stocks and reserves.

115. Ethiopia's capacity to combat the natural calamities that have befallen it has been severely limited by the soaring prices of agricultural inputs, especially the rapid and overwhelming increase in the price of fertilizer. The price of this invaluable agricultural input is of great concern for most of the developing countries, which have committed such large proportions of their national resources to increasing their agricultural production. The problem is even more acute in Ethiopia than in many other countries due to the fact that fertilizer was only recently introduced into the traditional form of agriculture. Hence, high prices are a disastrous disincentive to potential users. It is to be hoped that the World Food Conference, soon to be convened in Rome, will place this item high on its agenda.

116. In order to maintain at least the present level of food supply, a considerable increase of food production is of vital importance to meet the requirements of population growth. If this can be done, food relief aid can be kept at temporary stop-gap levels. But in order to contain the age-old cyclical recurrence of famine, medium- and long-term planning and large-scale financial outlays are necessary for irrigation, afforestation, and resettlement and rehabilitation of people. Ethiopia has embarked upon such long-range planning. Being one of the least developed countries, however, its ability to finance the necessary projects envisaged in the plan from its own resources is extremely limited. It is evident, therefore, that unless international assistance of adequate magnitude is made available to it, Ethiopia's aspirations for accelerated progress in economic and social development will be severely constrained.

117. The maintenance and development of food production is, of course, completely enmeshed in general economic development. We share the view that the adequate transfer of resources from rich to poor nations would help the developing countries in the achievement of their present programmes. It is sad to note, however, that such resource transfers are con-

tinuing to decline. The target set for the Second United Nations Development Decade called upon the developed countries to give 0.7 per cent of their gross national product in official development assistance by 1975. It is now estimated that by 1975 official development assistance levels will not exceed 0.35 per cent. This is only half the modest target envisaged for the Second Development Decade. The failure of the rich countries to honour such a modest pledge is discouraging, to say the least, especially when one realizes that the developed countries could double their present official development assistance without undue sacrifice. They would need to allocate less than 2 per cent of the amount by which they annually grow richer during the period of the Second Development Decade. In my delegation's view, the achievement of this target neither demands the lowering of the high standard of living of their people, nor requires them to neglect their domestic priorities.

118. At this session we again urge that the official component of the net transfer of financial resources to the developing countries should be increased so as to attain the targeted level of 0.7 per cent by 1975. Furthermore, we suggest that grant elements should constitute a higher percentage of all development aid. To be truly effective, development loans must be concessionary and untied. We also feel that the international financial institutions must increasingly adjust their lending policies to meet the needs of the developing countries.

119. Although foreign aid can play a vital role in the development of poor countries, its role must be viewed only as supportive. It is the opinion of my delegation that, in order to sustain an effective programme of national development, a nation must be able to generate and earn income through its trade. Because of the scale associated with modern productive enterprises, and the need to earn foreign exchange with which to purchase the indispensable capital goods, international trade has become the mainstay of the economies of developing countries. Future progress in these countries depends upon ability to gain free and unhindered access to the markets of the developed countries for their agricultural products and raw materials. However, trade relations between the developing and the industrialized countries are characterized by unstable prices for exported primary commodities, rising prices of imported industrial goods, and restrictive policies of the developed nations in regard to processed and semi-processed agricultural products from the developing countries.

120. The single most important feature of the economic structure of most developing countries is the predominance of the primary sector in their economies: primary products account for a very high percentage of developing countries' exports. The unstable foreign exchange earnings from the exports of primary products underpin their development programmes. As long as the income from this sector continues to fluctuate, we in the developing areas of the world will be faced with difficulties in our attempt to carry out long-term development plans, which require stable and substantial foreign exchange resources. As long as our access to the markets of industrialized countries is hindered by tariff and non-tariff barriers, most of our plans for economic expansion will suffer severe restriction.

121. Alterations in the international economic order must be made to enable the developing countries to increase export earnings and assure them access to adequate and steady financial resources for their development. The deterioration in the terms of trade for exports from developing countries must be avoided by establishing a close link between the prices of products exported by developing countries and the prices of goods and services imported by them from industrialized countries.

122. Ethiopia welcomes the Special Programme established by resolution 3202 (S-VI), adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth special session, which was convened on the timely initiative of President Boumediène. That session went a long way in defining the present economic problems and in suggesting programmes of action. It is for the current session to give earnest consideration to the proposals for concrete, practical implementation during the Second United Nations Development Decade.

123. The necessity for the transfer of technology from industrialized countries to the developing nations is undisputed. The contribution of technology in enhancing the productive capacities of man is obvious. To realize the gains, it is necessary that the problems and the mechanism of technology transfer should be dealt with at the international level.

124. My delegation urges the developed countries to give developing countries access to relevant modern technology at minimum cost and to increase the adoption of that technology for the conditions prevailing in the developing areas. In the longer term the industrialized nations should do their utmost to extend assistance to the developing countries, in terms of research and development, so as to enable them to develop indigenous technology.

125. While appreciating the transfer of technology through agencies such as the transnational corporations, my delegation would call on the Assembly to develop codes of conduct to prevent abuses in the activities of such corporations in the development programmes of the developing countries.

126. Ethiopia has supported and will always support all efforts to discourage and condemn any practice which tends to hinder the free and effective exercise of the rights of every State to full and permanent sovereignty over its natural resources. In this connexion, allow me to express my thanks and those of my delegation to the Group of Eminent Persons to Study the Impact of Multinational Corporations on Development and International Relations, which has made a painstaking study and prepared a number of proposals.¹

127. The need to reform the international monetary system is as urgent as, and no less important than, the need to reform the mechanisms through which foreign aid, trade and the transfer of technology between developed and developing countries are facilitated.

128. The defects of the present international monetary system and the consequent monetary crisis have adversely affected the development processes of several developing countries, and have accentuated the already difficult economic situations in the developing nations.

129. In the view of my delegation, the efforts to reform the international monetary system should be based on the principles and objectives contained in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. Ethiopia, for its part, has always urged the building of an international monetary structure that would promote an equitable system of trade between the developed and the developing countries, as well as the transfer of resources. It is with this in mind that Ethiopia has always attached great significance to the establishment of a link between special drawing rights and the provision of development finance, assuring the allocation of an increasing share of the special drawing rights to the developing countries.

130. It is the hope of my delegation that the present session of the General Assembly will make substantial progress in implementing the Declaration and the Programme of Action of the sixth special session of the General Assembly. What is required is good will, courage and action.

131. I hope that my reiteration of Ethiopia's position on many issues will serve to shed some more light on our mutual problems, and that it will confirm the identity of many of our objectives and our resolve to attain them in the interest of our respective nations.

132. In conclusion, may I respond to the inquiries and expressions of friendly interest made by my esteemed colleagues regarding events in my country and acquaint Members with the facts of the recent peaceful change of government in Ethiopia.

133. The change of government was brought about by the Co-ordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police and the Territorial Army, without a single shot being fired and in a manner unprecedented in recent political history. The powers of State having been effectively assumed by the Provisional Military Government as of 12 September 1974, peace and tranquillity reign throughout Ethiopia.

134. The national policy of "Ethiopia *Tikdem*"—that is to say, "Ethiopia first"—is founded on the principles of unity and equality among all Ethiopians. In its foreign policy Ethiopia will continue to be strictly non-aligned; it will continue to adhere to the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and will honour all international obligations on the basis of mutual respect and equality; Ethiopia will do everything in its power to help people in colonial Territories in the world in general, and in Africa in particular, to gain their independence; Ethiopia will maintain and further strengthen existing friendly ties with all friendly Governments in the world, and its relations with the African countries and with its neighbours, the Sudan and Egypt—the two nations which most greatly share the waters of the River Nile—and with its other close neighbours, Kenya and Somalia, will be maintained and strengthened.

135. Mr. SAPENA PASTOR (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation of Paraguay, we greet the illustrious President of this universal Assembly and express to him our most whole-hearted congratulations and our certainty that owing to his knowledge, vast experience, spirit of fairness and sense of service to the international com-

munity, this vast international gathering is assured of success from the very beginning of its work.

136. To former President Mr. Leopoldo Benites, we express our appreciation for the manner in which he guided the past session of the General Assembly, lending lustre to the Latin American presence in this world conclave with his valuable experience and skill.

137. Our joyful and brotherly greetings go to the States which have recently joined the Organization. We are happy to have them with us and we wish them every success in their undertakings.

138. We also greet the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and on this solemn occasion we wish to say to him that Paraguay fully appreciates the assistance and support it has been receiving from the United Nations and which constitute a most important factor in our development.

139. At the beginning of our statement we wish to express to the sister Republic of Honduras our deep and sincere solidarity, and our deep sorrow for the tragedy that has befallen it, to which all the preceding speakers have referred. It is our hope that United Nations solidarity will find concrete form in effective aid and co-operation, and not in these and other words, however expressive they may be.

140. The world picture has not altered fundamentally since the twenty-eighth session, although it is true that some positive progress has been achieved in peace and in the general *détente* among the great Powers.

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

141. Peace and development are and continue to be the main goals of our Organization, it being understood that, as has been said, there is no peace without development, just as there is no development without peace. Peace continues to be the guiding star and the hope of all peoples on earth, wherever they are. Above all, peace with honour, with human dignity, with effective justice, without dominance, or situations of force or obvious inequity, in whatever form. Peace resulting from a situation of scorn for the supreme values of justice has no foundation. Peace which is not based on the heart and mind open to brotherly greetings is built on sand, and has no real basis. Peace which is not the result of a positive effort to improve the economic and social situations for the majority of peoples, harassed by the grave problems of underdevelopment, can have no firm footing or long life.

142. Peace must necessarily be viewed from above, beyond all geographical, regional or ideological differences, beyond the desires of individuals, or of groups or subgroups. There must be only one peace for all, in a world made better for all, where distribution is just, with a sound economy and equitable international trade at the service of free man. Therefore, the only course, the only way to peace is the development of all peoples.

143. Peace still suffers violent disturbances, an affront to mankind. In this Assembly and in other appropriate places it is customary to sing the praises of peace and vow to serve it unconditionally. Yet the passage of time brings us deep disenchantment and disappointment. How many times in the course of this year of 1974 have the communications media not

brought us the sad news of hatred, of violence between brothers and neighbouring peoples, the play of overweening appetites, of the criminal assault of man against man, of the velvet glove, at the propaganda level, concealing beneath it the greedy hand of domination or influence, in some part of the world.

144. Terrorism continues to destroy lives and property in brazen defiance of civilization itself. Kidnapping intrudes its hated presence into our daily lives. It is time to think seriously about these ills, which disturb the development of mankind and make us doubt our own culture. In this ignoble work the men of violence admit of no reason and respect no values. At times they respond with further terrorist action to favourable treatment from governments and organizations which, in a moment of weakness, had tolerated their actions or tried to justify the use of such ignoble means.

145. Terrorism is a boomerang which in the end strikes or threatens all in its mad frenzy and in its abysmal scorn for the respect for the life of another. Those who shelter, encourage, or are merely indifferent to acts of terrorism carried out in other countries are miscalculating. Sooner or later, terrorism will do away with its own protectors, and with those who are indifferent, too.

146. During the days when we are meeting here, violence and terrorism have seized new victims, as if they wished to take this opportunity for more widespread publicity, or more effective intimidation.

147. Peace requires the purity of a noble spirit on the part of those who govern and their peoples, of countries and of ideologies. We must do away with the hotbeds of war, violence and terrorism, in striving zealously for the spiritual disarmament. It would be of no avail to put an end to disorder, to armed confrontation, to the advance of armies and to the dread wave of terrorism, if we do not first seek with conviction to eliminate hatred, and the cult of violence and ideological extremism in the minds of men, particularly among those who decide matters on this earth.

148. We still speak the language of peace, while the minds of men retain mental reservations which in advance set up barriers to the objective triumph of justice. We still speak the language of peace, but behind the scenes the resolve is only to look after selfish interests, without recognizing the right of developing countries to better conditions for their peoples. We still speak the language of peace when, in fact, we are seeking the triumph of one special interest over another.

149. A false dialogue is sought through confrontation without arms, but confrontation which after all seeks only the strengthening of certain groups, sects or ideologies which are determined to overthrow many established values because of their desire for immediate successes for their cause.

150. The United Nations is expanding and is growing stronger as new Members are admitted to it. Its universality is a sign of the modern times and betokens the fact that the United Nations no longer, as of yore, accepts the isolation of peoples and nations from its own structure. The Organization seeks, through its universality, to represent all mankind without odious or unfair discrimination which, *ab initio*, reduces the

chances of effective action in seeking the well-being of all peoples.

151. The world has not lost faith in the Organization. On the contrary, the world demands of the United Nations a realistic and vital attitude in order to enable it to meet every contingency, particularly at the political level, which is the most difficult but the one closest to peace and justice.

152. The mere action of bilateral diplomacy, miraculous though it sometimes is, must be followed by United Nations action, since it is the United Nations which represents all countries on earth, at the later stage of concretizing the remedy to situations of conflict. A truce is not enough, nor merely maintaining the peace. We must go to the root of things, to definitive political agreements based on a real and general disarmament of minds.

153. That is where the clarity of intentions of all countries of the Organization comes into play, starting with those countries which, for one reason or another, under the Charter have entered into commitments of broad, world-wide responsibility.

154. We must mention with some satisfaction some other positive achievements. There are clear signs of *détente* in the world in which we live. The great Powers have taken a first step by eschewing war or confrontation. Yet, we are bound to say that in regard to disarmament a long road lies ahead. Military expenditure continues to add up to astronomical figures, while the amounts available for development of the needy nations are, relatively speaking, risible. Here in this universal forum we move ahead step by step, but we do move forward in the formulation of rules which define aggression. Yet, so much has to be done to disarm minds, to get rid of the desire for predominance or sectorization of groups of countries, or the exporting, surreptitiously sometimes, of the ideology which one seeks to introduce like a Trojan horse.

155. "Development is the new name of peace" is the marvellous definition of Pope Paul VI. There is a universal sign which floats in the air we breathe and which requires that, with the development of all countries, we seek better days for all mankind.

156. We have no quarrel with the right of any nation to enjoy the riches of its territory, even though an unequal geographical distribution leads to privileged situations for some and irritating injustices for others. But it is intolerable that the mechanism which has arbitrarily been sustained and imposed for international trade, a mechanism of ridiculous prices for raw materials and high prices for industrial goods, should continually widen the gap between the developed and the developing nations. This gap is widening because of differences in infrastructures, in financial resources and, paradoxically, in the unequal possession of technology, of know-how.

157. Hunger, housing, education, culture, agrarian reform, health and social security are problems which should have no abstract frontiers or limits. Besides a higher moral imperative, expedience itself requires that all countries, starting with the super-Powers and continuing with the developed ones, realize henceforth that mankind and its future cannot be built on the well-being of a few and the poverty of the majority to the essential detriment of the supreme values of

justice. Given this elementary maxim, the figures provided by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament are scandalously discouraging. While military expenditures amount to \$220,000 million, of which more than 80 per cent is spent by the six countries with the largest military budgets, official assistance for development barely amounts to \$8,000 million.

158. Is it possible to build a lasting peace and well-being on the pain of this tremendous reality? Elementary logic tells us that it cannot be done and that this is a mistaken short-cut which will inevitably produce grave situations and may lead to the worst internally and internationally. On the pain and hunger of millions of human beings no peace can be built nor can human understanding be reached.

159. Among the causes which arrest the development of most nations is world inflation, imported inflation. It is like a thief who surreptitiously breaks in and removes a substantial amount of the value of labour and of savings. My country, Paraguay, for example, because of a free, orderly economy has considerably raised its production, its exports and its monetary reserves. In these conditions how are we to explain to simple and humble workers that, although the Government has not erred or been mistaken, in future there are goods which they will no longer be able to acquire or which they will have to consume on a reduced or sharply curtailed scale?

160. In this last year the substantial rise in the price of oil and its by-products has distorted the economy of most developing nations and also the economy of many industrialized, developed countries which do not produce oil.

161. The oil-exporting countries certainly have a legitimate right to receive fair prices for such a vital product, but so do the consumer nations have a legitimate right, since in the contemporary economy there is no immediate alternative to buying. This is an extremely difficult problem to study, and one which it is even more difficult to solve, and the Organization should devote its best efforts to it.

162. The world energy crisis, brought about by a reduction in the volume of extraction and sale of oil and its derivatives and by the increase in their prices, has consequences for industrial production, transportation, the cost of living and general inflation.

163. In the Republic of Paraguay, the Government of General Alfredo Stroessner will first modify and later eliminate the economic impact of the world energy crisis by using our own hydraulic power sources. The thermal plant which formerly supplied the capital with power has already been replaced by the hydroelectric plant of the Acaray River, which supplies the capital and 100 cities and exports its surpluses to the neighbouring territories of Brazil and Argentina.

164. Further, it gives me great satisfaction to announce that the Government of Paraguay, in equal association with the friendly and neighbouring Government of the Federative Republic of Brazil, is already building what will be the largest hydroelectric power station in the world, Itaipú, at a cost of more than \$US 3,000 million and with an output of 10,750,000

kilowatts. The first turbine will come into operation within less than eight years.

165. Similarly, with the friendly Government of the neighbouring Republic of Argentina, Paraguay is to build, also on conditions of equality, the hydroelectric power station of Yacyretá, which will be able to produce up to 4 million kilowatts, at a cost which may easily amount to more than \$US 2,000 million. Furthermore, negotiations are well under way to build, also with Argentina, an even larger hydroelectric power station, that of Corpus.

166. Paraguay, an internal or land-locked country, attended with confidence the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. There we again proclaimed before the whole world the irrevocable right of all land-locked countries.

167. I expressed the essence of our position at the fourth regular session of the Organization of American States in Atlanta, Georgia, on 24 April, when I said:

"It will seem strange to you, Mr. President, and delegates, that the Foreign Minister of a land-locked country—whether it be termed an internal or a non-coastal State—should state its position on extending to 200 miles the maritime sovereignty of some nations. The fact is that the nations without a coast or without a maritime coast at present have a right to what are called the high seas, to their free navigation, to their riches, to their fisheries and to their subjacent wealth, as well as to overfly freely the suprajacent airspace. And, to the extent that coastal States increase their sovereignty by their own decision, they are automatically and arbitrarily limiting the rights on the high seas of more than 30 land-locked countries. Mindful as we are of international law, we maintain that such a decision cannot be the result of the will of a single nation: it must be the expression of the general will of all nations as stated in agreements or international treaties resulting from specialized conferences."

168. Paraguay hopes that, in the coming international meetings dealing with this very difficult and complex problem, elementary justice, which requires that land-locked countries or countries at a disadvantage geographically should have their share of all the resources and benefits that the sea yields or may yield in the future, will be strengthened.

169. The World Population Conference was another landmark in the work of the Organization. On balance, it gave only broad consideration to what is a matter of dispute at the universal level, but it paved the way for the future.

170. We know that, if present population growth rates are maintained, the population will double in 24 years in Latin America, in 30 years in Asia and in 25 years in Africa. But these figures must be advanced with serious reservations. There are considerable factors which deserve attention. A mere change in climate could radically alter the situation. Technical and scientific advances may render habitable in the future places that are today inhospitable, and may introduce an enormous series of changes in the system of agriculture and livestock production and in the production of all kinds of food, not to mention the reserves of food in the sea.

171. The Conference in itself gives a clear-cut impression that mere technical reports prepared by international experts do not exhaust the subject or the innumerable possible points of view. Every country has its own view of the problem in accordance with its socio-economic structures, its ethical and religious convictions and the composition of its population. What must be emphasized is that any population policy must preserve intact the dignity of the human couple and the decisions which it alone can make: and, furthermore, that in this matter with which we are concerned widely differing views were expressed by the highly developed countries and by the developing countries. It is clear that the former are concerned about an increase in the number of possible consumers of world production. The others maintain that the major problems which are forecast from an increased population go deeper than this and are related to the unequal treatment which really exists today between wealthy countries and developing countries.

172. The United Nations took another positive step when it convened the sixth special session of the General Assembly. In a realistic and objective frame of mind it considered the grave problems of raw materials and development and the most important economic issues which the international community faces. An attempt was made, with some reservations by some countries, to establish a new, more equitable world economic order, and it was agreed to take emergency measures to assist those countries which faced grave problems derived from the latest international economic events. The developing countries not only asked for more remunerative prices—which means better salaries—for their raw materials. We also asked for social justice, that is to say, autonomous development. We not only asked to exchange our raw materials for dollars but also asked to exchange them for the transfer of technology, financial aid and food.

173. We hope that these noble demands receive a concrete answer; they must do so if all nations are to develop. We also hope that the emergency aid will be practical, effective and swift, because otherwise the avalanche of problems will lead to grave situations. A new rise in the price of crude oil on the international market could create situations which would be catastrophic for most of the developing countries which are not oil-producing.

174. From now on the world community has an absolute duty to be watchful and on the alert so that its action can be immediate when disturbances in the economic order affect the least developed countries, to the obvious detriment of international social justice.

175. Paraguay supports and will continue to support with renewed confidence the work of the Organization, which is useful in every direction and so vital to the affairs of the international community.

176. Paraguay is pleased to see the spirit of *détente* among the great Powers, but we are bound to repeat that the aspiration of the world is for a just and honourable peace for all with full dignity, a peace based on the supreme values of civilization, culture and true coexistence.

177. Paraguay hopes once again that the seeds of violence and death which continue to germinate will

be destroyed through the compliance of all States with the principles of the Charter.

178. Paraguay would wish to observe in the day-to-day activity of the Organization a faithful correspondence between what is proclaimed as a principle and what is done in the daily dealings of life.

179. We want a better world without economic or political oppression, without ideologies of domination that stifle freedom; we want a world of respect where the supreme dignity of man as an individual will guarantee the dignity of nations, constitute the basis for coexistence and make possible a new international economic order; we want a world where self-determination and the sovereignty of peoples will be an incontrovertible fact; a world where the powerful, whoever they may be, will not try for whatever reason to interfere in the affairs of other countries; a world where the international community will carry on its affairs in absolute obedience to the exemplary principles which we here proclaim, and where mankind will enjoy peace, employment, freedom and well-being.

180. Mr. HUNLÉDÉ (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): The heavy responsibility of conducting the proceedings of the General Assembly, assumed in such an exemplary fashion and with such remarkable mastery and outstanding distinction by the distinguished former President of the Assembly, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, now devolves upon Mr. Bouteflika. In associating myself with previous speakers, I should like to express to him on behalf of my delegation our warmest congratulations upon his election. His experience in international affairs, imbued with a spirit of nationalism at once intransigent, clear and open-minded, derives from his experience in the Algerian resistance. It was then strengthened during the difficult years of the struggle for the emancipation of his country, so that subsequently, attending to many matters and many people without losing sight of principles, he rose to full stature as a statesman.

181. The third world and even the international community will not soon forget the decisive role which he played at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Santiago, Chile, in 1972, at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers in 1973 and also at the sixth special session of the General Assembly. It has been often said of the President that he is a man of passion. Yes, he is one of those who have a passion for justice and who are able to put their heart and their talents at the service of a cause which they believe to be the noblest of all. We would like to state here how proud and reassured Africa feels at seeing one of its best sons become President of the General Assembly.

182. Permit me also to say to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, how grateful we are for the dynamic and effective action he has undertaken in his three years as the head of the Organization. We are aware of the difficulties he faces and also of the tenacity with which he confronts them. We also appreciate his sense of initiative and we are assured that the fertile imagination he has demonstrated in the past in guiding the Organization is a guarantee of future success.

183. Since the creation of the United Nations to this day, the number of Member States has constantly grown from session to session. We should like to welcome Grenada, the People's Republic of Bangladesh and Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations family.

184. The earnest desire of newly independent States to join the United Nations contrasts strikingly with the criticisms to which its operations give rise. But this is understandable when one realizes that for a young nation, membership in the United Nations is not only felt as a symbol of its succession to national sovereignty, but also, and above all, as a guarantee that it can participate more actively in the affairs of the community of nations and in the achievement of the noble ideals of that community. We, the so-called countries of the third world, particularly in Africa, endorse these ideals, and that is why we intend to strive relentlessly to maintain international peace and security, to develop social progress and to establish justice and human dignity.

185. This last year the situation in the world has undergone profound change. In some cases it is still too early to appreciate the scope of the changes. But one thing is certain, we are entering a new era in which ideas previously held to be false are being accepted and becoming established in the international community, while others once thought to be axiomatic should now be rethought, or even abandoned as outmoded. Accordingly, the world is becoming more and more aware of the obvious fact of the interdependence of nations and of the need for establishing a less iniquitous world economic system which will be more egalitarian and more human. Furthermore, we see everywhere that the forces of progress, justice and peace have won many victories over the forces of evil and oppression. It is clear now that, giving way before the defeats inflicted by the dominated peoples, and in the face of the intensification of the national liberation struggles, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, unmasked and revealed in their most iniquitous deeds, are now finally realizing that their time has passed.

186. This is how the international situation appears to us, particularly in Africa where the liberation movements in the former Portuguese possessions have succeeded in shaking the very foundation of the régime which oppressed them. Today, Portugal, its back to the wall as a result of the irreversible process of history, is conceding, thanks to the lucidity and courage of its new leaders, the need for a political solution totally in keeping with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

187. The Togolese, united in the Assembly of the Togolese people behind their Chief, General Gnassingbé Eyadema, must also warmly welcome the hard-won independence of the glorious fraternal people of Guinea-Bissau and pay a solemn and worthy tribute to the memory of all those who gave their lives in the colonial territories for the cause of liberty, in particular Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC], and Mondlane, President of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO], both the victims of cowardly assassinations. We also wish to express our gratification at the agreement in Mozam-

bique—and await the turn of Angola—between FRELIMO and the Portuguese Administration with a view to the early accession to independence of that Territory. The people of Togo once again reaffirm their total and unfailing support for the young republic of Guinea-Bissau and all the liberation movements recognized by OAU.

188. We cannot pass over in silence the problem of what is called Spanish Sahara. This territory must be liberated pursuant to the relevant resolutions of OAU and of the General Assembly. We are happy to note that sister States concerned by the situation in this Territory have taken a common stand *vis-à-vis* the colonial Power by advocating recourse to the International Court of Justice for the purpose of receiving an advisory opinion.

189. The Government of the Republic of Togo appreciates the praiseworthy efforts hitherto undertaken by the new Portuguese authorities and exhorts them to persevere in this course, at the time when they are giving the best demonstration of their good faith and their determination to do everything in their power to complete the work of total decolonization and of granting each of the peoples still under their domination their inalienable right to independence. However, there can be no doubt that reactionary elements and a conservative right, backed by the white minority régimes, are already at work trying to undermine this process, although it is irreversible. That is why my delegation considers that instead of being unduly optimistic, the international community must remain vigilant and try to prevent and crush any attempt to bring about a Rhodesian-type of solution in any of the Territories in question.

190. The situation in Rhodesia, and indeed in South Africa and Namibia, has shown no signs of change since the last session of the General Assembly. Rather, it continues to be for my Government a constant source of concern and, in its view, constitutes a constant challenge to the international community. In spite of numerous United Nations resolutions, the racist Salisbury régime is still denying any share of power to the people of Zimbabwe, and the only thing they are offered in response to their aspirations is repression and corporal punishment. The policy of *apartheid* remains the form of Government in South Africa and in Namibia, where the oppressed majority are deprived of the opportunity to exercise their fundamental rights. We think that by keeping silent in the face of the conditions under which these populations suffer—people who are committing no other crime than that of claiming the most elementary rights recognized by the Charter of the United Nations as belonging to the human being—the international community is inevitably contributing to its own complicity in these atrocities. I should not like to talk of the distressing attitude of certain nations which, albeit friendly, continue to give financial, economic and military support to these racist régimes. I hope, however, that the events which have occurred in the Portuguese Territories will serve as a lesson and will have the consequence of opening the eyes of the racist authorities of South Africa and Rhodesia and make them understand the futility of their outmoded practices.

191. For almost a year new events have been occurring in the Middle East. The war of October 1973

reminded the world of the precarious situation in that region. My Government welcomed with satisfaction the troop disengagement agreements between Israel and Egypt and also between Israel and Syria, and calls vehemently for a continuation of negotiations with a view to achieving a global peaceful settlement in the region, with the final objective of the total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

192. Furthermore, the gravity of the situation prevailing in Cyprus, which is of concern to the whole world, inspires us to reaffirm our conviction that only dialogue and common effort can resolve these most thorny problems. We would venture to hope, therefore, that the various parties to the dispute will finally achieve an understanding and so bring peace to the island of Cyprus. The international community will have to try to reconcile the divergent viewpoints but at the same time continue its appeal for help for the suffering caused by the most recent events.

193. The situation in South-East Asia remains a matter of concern and even alarm.

194. On the question of Korea, my Government very much hopes for the reunification of the two existing States and gave a favourable welcome to the consensus adopted by the General Assembly last year.² We do consider, however, that the presence of foreign troops in Seoul is a major obstacle to the reconciliation so ardently desired by the Korean people, and does not contribute to the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean nation. That is why my country was among those which called for the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea [A/9703 and Add.1 and 2] and was obliged to break off diplomatic relations with that country, whose stubborn attitude does not seem likely to promote this withdrawal and, in the long run, the reunification of the two States. We very much hope that, through its actions, the international community will assist the great people of Korea to achieve their reunification, and to play in the Organization a role befitting its genius.

195. In Cambodia, the persistent intervention of foreign troops in the political life of that country constitutes, without any doubt, a major obstacle to peace, security and the well-being of the Khmer people. The Togolese Government will, for its part, continue as in the past to support the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, as the only legitimate Government. My delegation therefore takes particular pleasure at the inclusion in the agenda of this session of item 25, entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations".

196. In spite of all the changes that have occurred in the world in recent times, it is distressing for us to have to note that in many regions poverty, racism, war, and imperialist and neo-colonialist exploitation are still afflicting mankind. With faith in the noble ideals of the Organization, and convinced of the necessity to work hand in hand with other nations to establish better living conditions for all, the Republic of Togo considers that it is the duty of the international

community to continue to work on the problems of co-operation and economic development in the light of what is the now obvious interdependence of nations, the principles of equity and of the protection of the interests of all States, and in particular the poorer States.

197. It is no longer a secret to anyone that the results of the sixth special session of the General Assembly did not match the hopes which the third world had so justifiably placed in it. Yet at the conclusion of the work of the General Assembly, Member States solemnly proclaimed their joint determination to work for the establishment of a new international economic order based fundamentally on equity, sovereign equality, common interest, interdependence and co-operation among all States, irrespective of their economic systems. This new economic order which is being contemplated must be able to remedy inequalities, rectify present injustices and reduce the ever-widening gap between the developed and the developing countries, and ensure for present and future generations, in peace and justice, a balanced development and economic growth.

198. In spite of declarations of intention and pious wishes, the major problems remain and are getting worse every day. For some years now, the situation in most market-economy countries has been characterized by an increase in economic activity, escalation of prices, intensification of inflationary movements and imbalance of payments, all at the same time.

199. In the face of the expedients to which these countries have so often resorted, the developing countries have been obliged hastily to readjust the parity of their currency, without taking account as they should of their import needs, their export trade needs, internal production prices and external aid. All these are interdependent factors which, upon analysis, are without any doubt of crucial importance for the growth and development of those countries and have led to the erosion of their purchasing power, export earnings and external reserves.

200. Although the international community agrees in acknowledging that the economic development of developing countries remains the primary responsibility of those countries themselves, international action is indispensable to create a climate favourable for such development. My delegation feels that in order to lend credibility to all this, the market-economy countries should adopt a series of liberal policies in trade, and give new momentum, even a new orientation, to the whole matter of development aid.

201. I am afraid that the record in this respect is not very good. What is even more worrying is that the share of our countries in world trade is shrinking more and more. This is why my country has, on other occasions, associated itself with other countries of the third world in laying stress on the need for a liberalization of non-tariff obstacles and aid measures in adjusting the structures of the affluent countries. There is no doubt that non-tariff obstacles, including quantitative restrictions, create difficulties for poor countries in their efforts to increase their trade. Everyone is aware that the small share of the least developed countries in world trade continues to fall even lower. Hence the need to resolve the problem of non-tariff obstacles in their repercussions on the economies of

third-world countries. That is why I should like to repeat the hope that I have already expressed from this rostrum that the developed countries will redouble their efforts to improve the situation, which is constantly deteriorating, to establish a new international economic order and to implement the Programme of Action adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth special session.

202. On the subject of development aid, my delegation can only applaud the intention recently announced by some developed countries to increase their assistance. Despite that happy initiative, the general situation is overshadowed by uncertainties affecting the programmes of certain other countries, particularly the United States, which would tend to restrict substantially United States subsidies to the Agency for International Development. It is ever more disquieting to note that, generally speaking, the terms for development aid have a tendency to become harsher while those for government loans have remained unchanged. What is worse, export credits which our countries so often need are granted on very difficult terms. Furthermore, since interest rates are high, debt servicing absorbs much of the export earnings of those countries. If one realizes that the practice of tying aid to purchases in the donor countries is growing, one cannot fail to recognize that the real value of aid granted to our countries is proportionately reduced.

203. Apart from economic and trade and aid policy programmes, to which I have just briefly referred, other equally urgent problems are at the forefront of the international scene today. The drought which has been raging in the Sudano-Sahelian region, and which continues, as we know only too well, to cause grave damage and to impose a very onerous burden on the populations of the region, remains a constant source of concern. Although there was an upsurge of international solidarity which was by no means negligible, the phenomenon of desertification, despite recent rains, constitutes for those areas a real sword of Damocles. Proof of this is the particularly disturbing picture presented by FAO, which confirms that this scourge continues to rage relentlessly throughout the continent, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. We can only once again utter a cry of alarm and express the hope that concerted national and regional programmes will together seek and find a final solution to this problem, which affects the prosperity, tranquillity and well-being of the people in the regions concerned.

204. The disaster in Honduras also calls for an upsurge of active solidarity on the part of the international community.

205. Another no less alarming problem is that of the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed. The position of the delegation of Togo, which is similar in this respect to that of the other third-world countries, is well known. The Government of Togo feels that an international authority, representing all States, should have absolute authority over the natural resources of the sea-bed, with a view to their rational exploitation by means of service contracts, the marketing of those resources and the deriving from them of profits which should be distributed equitably in the light of criteria to be determined.

206. The Government of Togo also endorses the view adopted by a number of developing countries particularly with regard to the territorial sea and the inalienable prerogatives of coastal States over the exclusive economic zone. It very much hopes that the developed countries, which contributed to the moulding of certain concepts at a time when most third-world countries were still under domination, will revise those concepts in a spirit of equity, thus making possible the more rapid development of the poorer countries.

207. At the very time when the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was coming to an end at Caracas, another conference, devoted to world population problems, was already under way. As we know, the World Population Conference held at Bucharest was convened in order to awaken the conscience of mankind to the world population situation and to the prospects for the development of that situation and the relationship between it and economic and social development. It was also intended to work out a world plan of action with the principal objective of providing the international community with increased resources and more effective means of equipping itself to solve the population problems as a whole. If, for the developed countries, family planning seems to be a panacea for the ills of underdevelopment, for the third-world countries in general and for Togo in particular, the real solution to demographic problems is rather to place this question within the more general context of economic and social development, for, I venture to point out, in Africa particularly, a new birth does not always mean just another mouth to feed; it means two arms and an extra brain to be used for productive purposes by the people concerned.

208. Aware of the periodic disturbances within the international community, my country, under the enlightened leadership of its President, General Gnassingbé Eyadema, has for many years been waging a fierce battle against underdevelopment. We are aware of the fact that our country's independence will be illusory if the sovereignty which it claims over its natural resources and raw materials is not full and total. That is why we are now engaged in a ruthless struggle for the recovery and unconditional use of our natural resources, convinced that our efforts can be crowned with nothing but success. But the recovery of our natural resources and our refusal to allow foreign Powers permanently to despoil us in no way implies any doubt of our fundamental policy, which is in favour of economic co-operation and openness to the world at large.

209. It is in that spirit that Togo has undertaken, with its sister-State of Nigeria, the task of establishing an economic community of West African States which will transcend linguistic barriers. That project is at present at a very advanced stage, and we sincerely hope that in a short time this ancient dream of our subregion will become a reality.

210. This twenty-ninth session is taking place at a time when Africa is at a cross-roads in the process of decolonization but also, we would venture to hope, of its liberation from racism and all those practices which are so humiliating to human dignity. At the

same time we are witnessing a particularly rude awakening to a fundamental requirement of our time: the advent of a new economic order. Thus, the United Nations which at times, it is true, has had very good grounds for discouragement, so remote did the possibility seem of realizing the noble ideas which are its *raison d'être*, can today, relying on the results already achieved, contemplate the future with more optimism. It can now derive from the results achieved sufficient strength and courage to continue its arduous task, which, let us hope, will less and less resemble the rock of Sisyphus, and also derive from those results sufficient *raison d'être* so that it can deliberately, with unshakeable faith and unmixed enthusiasm, continue to work in the service of mankind for the building of a just and more fraternal world.

211. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Spain has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

212. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation would hasten to correct some errors which crept into the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Central African Republic when he addressed the Assembly this morning [2256th meeting].

213. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, in his statement to the Assembly on 2 October [2253rd meeting], said that, after appropriate consultations had been carried out with the representatives of the indigenous population of the Sahara, the Spanish Government announced the holding of a referendum under the auspices and with the guarantee of the United Nations within the first six months of 1975, the referendum to be carried out in accordance with the steps proposed by the General Assembly in resolution 3162 (XXVIII) and previous resolutions on the Saharan question. It communicated this to the Secretary-General by letters dated 20 August [A/9714] and 13 September [A/9736] this year from the representative of Spain.

214. So it is out of order for the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Central African Republic to assert that Spain is refusing and has always refused strictly and faithfully to apply the principles of decolonization.

215. Article 73 of the Charter states that Members of the United Nations administering Non-Self-Governing Territories recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants are paramount and accept the obligation to promote, within the system of international peace and security established by the Charter, the well-being of these inhabitants.

216. Reaffirming once more the intention of my country to decolonize the Sahara, in accordance with the procedure established by the General Assembly for the self-determination of the people of the Sahara, I would state that the Spanish Government is complying with resolution 3162 (XXVIII) and earlier resolutions adopted in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, resolutions which preceded the latest statements that may have been made on the subject in this general debate. My delegation recalls that the delegation of the Central African Republic cast an affirmative vote for that resolution.

217. My country would reaffirm yet again its support for resolution 3162 (XXVIII) for the decolonization of the Sahara, and in due course in the Fourth Committee, it will have an opportunity to enlarge on these statements and examine subsequent developments in the handling of this subject.

218. Once again, I reiterate that Spain has no controversy on the question of the Sahara with any country and I especially wish to recall that, with respect to the countries of the region, we maintain excellent relations with them and we are continuing to hold appro-

priate consultations for the decolonization of the Sahara.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *The Impact of Multinational Corporations on Development and on International Relations* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.74.II.A.5).

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 24, item 41*.