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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the Cuban delegation wishes to express joyous, friendly and fraternal congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In addition to your known reputation as a revolutionary fighter in the heroic struggle for the national liberation of Algeria, you combine the skill, competence and prestige needed for such a delicate and responsible position.

2. However, we must recognize that the meaning of the unanimous election that brought Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, to the presidency of the Assembly goes beyond the framework of the outstanding personal qualities and abilities he brings to his duties. First and foremost, it bespeaks international recognition of the outstanding role played at this time by the peoples and countries of the third world, and, within that vast and stirring group, particularly those which have achieved their independence or are struggling to do so on the African continent. Furthermore, it symbolizes the new situation created by the growing convergence of the non-aligned nations, the democratic, progressive forces and the socialist countries in the arduous and determined undertaking to establish a just international order and to eradicate colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism as well as racism in all its forms and manifestations. We can conclude, therefore, that in this specific case those who honour that noble cause, by their words and by their deeds, are in themselves honoured. The Cuban revolution greets the Algerian revolution for this well-earned distinction.

3. We are also very happy to express our gratitude to Mr. Leopoldo Benites for the excellent work he did as President of the General Assembly during the twenty-eighth regular session and the sixth special session which followed it.

4. The Cuban delegation wishes to renew its expression of friendship to the sister Republic of Honduras, recently beset by a devastating hurricane. My country has itself experienced the blind fury of that tragic concert of shattering rain, wind and tidal waves. From the very beginning of this sad event, Cuba, true to its Latin American and internationalist duties, offered the Honduran people all possible assistance within our means.

5. The admission to the United Nations of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the Republic of Bangladesh and the island of Grenada is a matter of great satisfaction for Cuba. While they are all milestones on the road to the universality of the United Nations, what is more important is the significance of their constitution as independent nations; it strengthens and accelerates the process of decolonization. The advent of the people of Guinea-Bissau to independence is the glorious culmination of a long and arduous fight that earned the admiration and solidarity of all corners of the world.

6. In accordance with its revolutionary principles, Cuba is committed to the battle being waged by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and, therefore, we celebrate as our own the triumph of the people of Guinea-Bissau. The Cuban people was not merely a spectator at that memorable epic. We supported it. We assisted them. Our young fellow-countryman, Pedro Rodríguez Peralta, was one of the international fighters who personally took up arms in defence of freedom and fought shoulder to shoulder with the brave and dedicated warriors of Guinea-Bissau. Wounded and captured in combat, he faced, with the unshakeable determination of a Cuban revolutionary, torture and harassment in the horrible dungeons of Portuguese fascism.

7. Amílcar Cabral, the supreme guide and national hero of the people of Guinea-Bissau, was our friend, our comrade and our brother. He died, vilely murdered on the very threshold of victory. But today, crowned with laurels, he is reborn in the thoughts, hearts and will of his people. He will continue to point the way even though he is dead. Let us not mourn his death. Those who lead peoples receive a lasting tribute by having their work carried on.

8. The people of Mozambique, led by the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] is also now in the process of total decolonization through a fixed-term agreement signed with the new Government of Portugal, which is to a large extent the result of the struggle for national liberation in its colonies. Yet we must be alert to the manoeuvres and the plots of reactionary white settlers in connivance with South Africa and the imperialist powers to frustrate the freedom movement in Mozambique, Cape Verde and Angola.

9. We must in all fairness rely on the commitment proclaimed in this hall by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal [2239th meeting]. The new Portuguese Government has, by its actions, confirmed its anti-colonialist and anti-Fascist policy. As a consequence of the onerous legacy it received from the outmoded régime overthrown by the armed forces of the people, the new Government of Portugal faces difficulties and problems. But it is obvious that after the recent changes in the structure of power resolutely supported by the broad masses and by the revolutionary and progressive political parties, it is cleansing and strengthening its foundations and, among the harassments and resistance of an outmoded economic order that is still intact, it appears to be heading towards democratization of the country.

10. The admission of the Republic of Bangladesh was a long-delayed act of justice. Cuba fully supported the inalienable right of that people to national independence and was one of the first States to recognize it as a free and sovereign country.

11. Grenada is an island near to our own and, like Cuba, forms part of the same Caribbean historic constellation, a dialectic synthesis of races, languages and cultures and struggles which dovetail and fertilize each other. A common colonial and neo-colonial past generated our under-development and our dependency. But that same past gave birth to our rebellion and to our determination to be free. Cuba offers its friendship, its support and its co-operation to that island.

12. The establishment of Grenada as an independent country means one link less in the colonialist chain of the Antilles. But there are still fetters to shatter and therefore freedoms to win. Among the other nations of the area Puerto Rico is still subjugated and under the colonialist domination of the United States, against the sovereign will of the people. But, sooner rather than later, it will be completely independent and thus entitled to enter the United Nations. Fulfilling the mandate it received from José Martí, Cuba will never cease to help the people of Puerto Rico in their patriotic aim.

13. Providing undeniable evidence of the fact that the struggle for national liberation is invincible in Africa, Asia and Latin America, these three new States which have acceded to independent life will give a lasting impetus to completion of the process of decolonization in the world. Some African nations are still living under the yoke of colonial oppression and racism. It is our bounden duty to contribute to their immediate liberation through material, political and moral assistance. Africa cannot be a free continent as long as countries are suffering from colonialism, neo-colonialism or racism, as Latin America and Asia cannot be independent as long as vestiges of colonialism or neo-colonialist régimes are to be found there.

14. It must be clear to everyone that the process of international *détente* taking place in Europe is of vital importance to every country and every people. The basic liquidation of the aftermath of the Second World War and the recognition of the international personality of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany have helped to add oxygen to the somewhat rarified atmosphere of the old continent. The fruits of the Conference on Security and Co-

operation in Europe are now starting to emerge. The agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union to prevent nuclear war and the negotiations by both countries on the limitation of strategic weapons and the mutual reduction of their armies stationed in Europe obviously tend to create conditions conducive to avoiding confrontation and replacing it by co-operation.

15. That process, tenaciously fostered by the Soviet Union as a complement of its policies of peaceful coexistence among different systems, strengthens and encourages the age-old aspiration of peoples to security and peace and makes it possible to develop the struggle of the peoples of all the other continents to achieve political independence, economic emancipation and social progress. *Détente* is indivisible and therefore its benefits should be extended to the world at large.

16. It is equally clear that the promising reverberations felt all over the world are in dramatic contrast to the tensions and conflicts that still lie over the horizons outside the European continent itself. In Latin America the policy of cold war is still with us. Cuba is a nation under blockade. The Cuban delegation renews its strong condemnation of this aggressive measure and states once again that no official negotiation of the dispute between Cuba and the United States can begin until that criminal, arbitrary and anachronistic blockade is lifted for it is in clear contradiction with the *détente* applied elsewhere. There is no peace in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The Agreement ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973, has proved to be completely ineffective. United States imperialism has blocked every effort aimed at the peaceful reunification of Korea and foreign troops are still stationed in the south of the peninsula, sheltered under the flag of the United Nations. The agreements so arduously achieved in Laos are constantly jeopardized. With two thirds of its territory in the hands of the people's army of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the seat of that country at the United Nations is still occupied by the puppets of Lon Nol and we still avoid discussing this burning question here.

17. Beyond the coast of Europe, in the Mediterranean area itself, the Middle East crisis, which is already threatening world peace and security, daily becomes worse. Today the Middle East subsoil is the potential epicentre of an explosion that will affect the whole world. The urgency of a definitive solution is obvious.

18. It would be helpful to realize that, whatever method or means may be used, there can be no just and lasting peace in the area until Israel returns the occupied Arab territories and recognizes the national rights of the Palestine Arab people. Cuba advocates the participation of the true representatives of that people in this session of the General Assembly when we discuss the question of Palestine and in any matters dealing with its existence as a nation. Without a solution to the problem of Palestine, any settlement of the crisis in the Middle East is illusory.

19. The bitter events in Cyprus, closely interlinked with the stormy situation in the Middle East, have thrown a dark shadow of concern over the fate of small nations. I shall not repeat here what is known to all. Suffice it to say that the people of Cyprus was the sacrificial victim of Yankee strategy in the North

Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and its allies in the disputed zone of the eastern Mediterranean.

20. The cunning overthrow of Archbishop Makarios, the constitutional President of Cyprus, was plotted by United States imperialism in connivance with the Greek Fascist junta, the reactionary forces of the region and the agents of the two communities in that country. The armed conflict that followed the coup d'état led to foreign intervention which, despite the cease-fire agreement, is still causing severe losses, outrage and intolerable harassment to the inhabitants of the island. The people and the country of Cyprus have paid a very high price to remain independent and honour their adherence to the Movement of Non-aligned States.

21. Cyprus, the second non-aligned country to be attacked in less than a year by the concerted forces of reaction and imperialism, is at this moment at the mercy of NATO and of the invaders. The crude way it was contrived to impose this situation by force and foreign intervention is a challenge to the international community and to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. If an end is not put to it, it will throw wide open the gates for new aggressions by Israel against the Arab countries and endanger peace and security in Europe, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The Movement of the Non-Aligned States has most severely condemned the international plot against the independence of Cyprus and actively supports the struggle of its people to reconquer its independence.

22. The Soviet Union has proposed the convening of a world conference within the context of the United Nations in order to resolve the dangerous situation which has been created and to safeguard the independence of Cyprus.¹ Cuba supports any other proposal tending towards the same end. Therefore, we feel that to that end any formula for solution should contain at least the following conditions: withdrawal of all foreign troops; absolute independence; territorial integrity; freedom to maintain the policy of non-alignment; and the solution of the problem of the national communities on the basis of the principle of territorial integrity and without foreign interference.

23. It is almost futile to specify that Chile was the other non-aligned country that in the past year has been the victim of a reactionary international plot planned in collusion with imperialist intervention. The armed forces of Chile acted as the implacable weapon of those anti-national interests and they are directly responsible for the overthrow of the constitutional Government of Chile and the death of President Salvador Allende, who fell in combat clutching the flag of his country and whose democratic and socialist convictions have lighted a torch that can never be extinguished.

24. An American hero, Salvador Allende is also a hero of the third world and of all peoples. As the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, said in a recent address:

"The great flame of solidarity now burning in all the nations of the world kindled in the heat of the Chilean tragedy has not died down with the passage of months. On the first anniversary of the death of President Allende his stature grows ever greater in the eyes of world public opinion, and the peoples redouble their condemnation of and contempt for the

Fascist junta. Nothing in the past few years has so deeply wounded moral sensitivities and produced such unanimous revulsion in all corners of the world. There is no government that stands in lower esteem or is more morally isolated than the Fascist Government of Chile."

25. From this very rostrum at the twenty-eighth session [2148th meeting], I denounced the participation of the Government of the United States in the overthrow and death of President Allende. That Pinocchio of a Pinochet tried futilely to prove me wrong but today that participation is known to international public opinion through the cynical confession of the Government of the United States itself, which at that time so obstinately denied its intervention.

26. I believe it most useful to mention those paragraphs of our Prime Minister's speech relating to these matters. He said:

"The authorities of the United States at that time hastened to deny what all the world suspected, namely, the responsibility of the Government of the United States for the events in Chile. A year later we learned in minute detail that the CIA has intervened flagrantly in Chilean affairs on the direct order of the highest authorities of the United States throughout the last 10 years in order, first, to prevent the triumph of popular unity, then to hinder the transfer of power following its triumph, and finally to work actively for the overthrow of President Allende.

"We now know, from the publication of the report of the Director of the CIA, William Colby, to the Intelligence Sub-Committee of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives on 22 April 1974 and from other evidence given by CIA agents and published in the United States press, that in the 1964 elections the CIA gave the Christian Democratic Party \$3 million to support their candidate, Eduardo Frei, in his campaign against Salvador Allende; that in the 1970 elections the CIA invested considerable funds to prevent the triumph of the Popular candidate, and that same year when the victorious Popular forces had gained power, invested \$350,000 to bribe the Congress of Chile so that Allende's election would not be ratified; that, immediately after the constitution of the Government of Popular Unity, the CIA spent \$5 million between 1971 and 1973 to disrupt and sabotage that Government; that in the parliamentary elections of 1973 the CIA spent \$1.5 million to support the opposition candidates and to influence the information mass media; and, finally, that in the summer of 1973 the CIA financed the counter-revolutionary riots, the truck drivers' and tradesmen's strikes in which tens of thousands of Fascists participated, and other acts which led to the criminal and treasonable coup of 11 September of that year. These vast amounts were negotiated on the black market, above the official rate, thus contributing to speculation and increasing monetary difficulties.

"Without entering into consideration of the close relations that the Pentagon had with the Chilean armed forces, to which it was still supplying weapons at a time when all the credits of the Popular Government were cut off in the United States and in the international financial bodies controlled by

it, it is clear that the CIA played a decisive role in creating suitable conditions and paving the way for the Fascist *coup* which has caused the Chilean people so much affliction, blood and tragedy. The CIA and the highest authorities of the United States who encouraged and supplied this policy bear direct responsibility for all the thousands of Chileans who have been tortured, murdered, imprisoned or exiled, and for the terrible conditions of oppression, unemployment and misery that millions of people are suffering in that fraternal country today. The pure, revolutionary and heroic blood of Salvador Allende that was shed on 11 September when he was murdered must leave an indelible stain on the history of those who govern the United States.

"Is it not in flagrant contradiction of all the rules of international law and the fundamental principles of the United Nations? Is it not against all the international conventions and treaties imposed by the United States on the peoples of this hemisphere?"

"It is not surprising, therefore, that"—so Fidel Castro pointed out in his speech—"with this basic lack of respect and consideration which the United States shows towards our peoples, it should have owned to and justified its intervention in Chile at the same time as it was threatening Venezuela and Ecuador, among other oil-producing countries, with reprisals in the form of starvation and even worse if they did not bow to its demands and reduce the price of petroleum."

27. Facts, like fists, repeatedly used, must inevitably lead us all to set up as soon as possible a genuine regional organization that will assure our position in the world and defend the peoples of Latin America, bring them together and unite them politically against the domination and overlordship of the United States. We are learning a worthy and useful lesson from the African nations. South Africa, Rhodesia and Europe are excluded from their regional organization.

28. In the statement to which I referred earlier, the Prime Minister of Cuba placed this question in the right context:

"The United States, on the one side and the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean on the other, form two worlds as different as are Europe and Africa; they do not fit within the same community. There the separation is made by the very narrow straits of Gibraltar; here it is by the Río Bravo and the Florida Straits. In both cases there is a technological gulf, and entirely different cultures.

"The United States is already a great community; the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean have before them the historic task of forming their own, as the essential condition for freedom, development and survival. And that can never be achieved through unworthy and promiscuous contacts with the United States. United, our people will have sufficient strength to provide themselves with the security guarantees, in confronting the aggression, interference and domination of the United States, that can never be provided by the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, or the OAS."

29. A few days ago the ex-Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Army, Ex-Minister of Defence and ex-Vice

President of the Republic in the Government of Popular Unity, Mr. Carlos Prats, was murdered by typical Fascist means in the City of Buenos Aires, where he had been living in exile since 15 September 1973. His wife died by his side, blown to pieces by the force of the explosion.

30. Prats was a military man of honour and an upright citizen who remained loyal to his constitutional obligations and to the sovereign will of the Chilean people. Living, he represented an accusing finger pointed at the great betrayal, and a ray of hope for the soldiers and officers who are still the hidden reserves of the Chilean people. In a letter addressed to Mrs. Hortensia Bussi, widow of the late Salvador Allende, he said:

"With regard to the conduct of Pinochet, I can tell you that his treason is without parallel in the history of Chile."

In another letter to one of Allende's daughters, Beatriz, he said:

"I have suffered much for the injustices inflicted on me, but more for the sorrows that are now tormenting the Chilean people."

He also let her know that he was writing his memoirs. And in his last letter to Allende's widow he said:

"I have remained aloof from political and press contacts: but nevertheless my every act is closely watched by a strange and involved network of informers, and every effort is being made in Chile to find some evidence that could be used to besmirch my honour."

31. Prats' assassination, by a strange coincidence, occurred at the same time as the CIA's secret admission in the House of Representatives, and the public admission by the Government of the United States, of the brazen interference in Chile's internal affairs. No great brilliance is needed to draw the logical conclusions: the alleged beneficiaries of this ghastly crime have betrayed themselves. But the noble blood of Carlos Prats will be fused with that of President Salvador Allende and the thousands of other murdered men and women to become the fount for the inexorable victory of the people of Chile. There can be no doubt that they will crush fascism. To that noble foundation has now been added the blood of Miguel Enríquez, Secretary-General of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, who, when he was most needed, fell in a skirmish with the henchmen of the junta. The delegation of Cuba pays a revolutionary tribute to that valiant fighter.

32. A glance at the lengthy agenda of the current regular session of the General Assembly shows that there are not only many questions still awaiting solution, but also many problems that have emerged during the past year. It is obviously not possible for me to deal with so many questions. My delegation will consider them in detail in the appropriate Committees.

33. However, I consider it necessary to draw attention briefly to the problem raised by the crisis of the old international economic order and some of its most important aspects. At the sixth special session Cuba made known its position on the matter [2227th meeting]. We pointed out the imperative need to replace that unjust and obsolete structure by a

new international economic order, to encourage and ensure the development and liberation of the underdeveloped nations, which are most ruthlessly discriminated against and exploited by the highly developed capitalist countries—the very countries which today threaten them with drastic reprisals, and even war—after having despoiled them for centuries. “Truth will make the stones speak”, says the old proverb. And today the very stones must cry out at this clumsy effort to fob off on the underdeveloped, oil-producing countries the responsibility of the capitalist countries for the growing inflation, the international monetary crisis and the depression which is threatening us—phenomena that have been created exclusively by the economic and financial machinery of their own obsolete system.

34. One of the main problems we face at the Assembly is, in fact, not the so-called crisis born of the increase in oil prices, but the real crisis that is undermining the very foundations of the capitalist system. No such situation has been seen since the end of the Second World War. But the characteristic signs of a new depression are clearly visible: cutbacks and unemployment. It is obvious that the boom in the market economies that began in 1971 has lost its momentum and that an alarming decline is now beginning. The financial upheavals of the international monetary crisis have been one of the propellant factors in this process. The foundations of the system established at Bretton Woods have been fatally eroded. The anticyclic manoeuvres employed to halt the process have thus far failed entirely. The inflationary spiral is still soaring out of control.

35. The significant increase in the prices of raw materials has served as a pretext for some highly developed capitalist countries to organize a campaign to sow disagreement, confusion and disarray among the underdeveloped countries by laying the primary responsibility for what is happening to them on the shoulders of the oil-producers.

36. The underdeveloped countries are not responsible for this situation; they have been and continue to be its victims. The highly developed capitalist countries have for long imposed price increases on the world market, by exporting manufactured goods at prices that uncontrolled domestic inflation forced upwards at an outrageous pace. At the same time, the underdeveloped countries have been compelled to sell their raw materials at steadily falling prices, while purchasing equipment and manufactured goods at steadily rising prices: in brief, the familiar process of the constant deterioration in the terms of trade.

37. It is true that in recent years the prices of raw materials, and above all oil, also rose. But it is also true that that increase, except for oil, was due to purely episodic or temporary factors, ranging from climatic conditions in agricultural production to speculative movements, some linked to inflation and others to the international monetary crisis. It is also true that those who benefited most from the higher prices of raw materials, as the figures show, were some of the highly developed capitalist countries. And it is equally true that the underdeveloped countries tried to organize themselves to take joint action for a legitimate improvement of their position vis-à-vis the colonialist system of unequal terms of trade.

38. The total values of the increase in exports of raw materials between 1972 and 1973 amounted to \$40,000 million. Of that increase, the highly developed capitalist countries absorbed \$29,000 million and the underdeveloped countries \$11,000 million. It is demonstrably false that the third world derived any substantive benefits from the recent rise in commodity prices. But there is another point to be considered. The meagre surplus obtained by the underdeveloped countries was in many cases wiped out by the deficit side of their foreign trade balances. They have had to face the devaluation of the dollar and the effects of inflation on their imports of manufactured goods and food.

39. In 1973 many Latin American countries had large deficits in their trade and service balances, as well as the outflow of funds represented by foreign private investments. In 1968-1972 almost \$8,000 million was sent back to their main offices by United States firms that operate in Latin America. We would be justified in assuming that Yankee imperialism has assigned to our continent the function, among others, of helping it to solve its international balance of payments deficit.

40. The raising of oil prices by the underdeveloped producer countries has provoked a storm of lies, calumny and threats. There have even been veiled accusations against those countries responsible for inciting a possible world conflict. Cuba's position on this burning question was stated very clearly by our Prime Minister in his aforementioned speech; it is the position of an underdeveloped, socialist but non-aligned Latin American nation; and I shall, if you will allow me, read out a few paragraphs from that speech relative to this problem and the political strategy called for in these critical times:

“As raised, in unusually harsh terms by the President of the United States and other leaders of that country, both at the United Nations and at the nineteenth World Energy Conference being held in Detroit—where, obviously, the Yankee authorities, by denying Cuba's representative a visa, prevented our participation—the oil question assumes dramatic proportions.

“Through a concerted and perfectly prepared action, the leaders of that country demanded that the oil-producing nations reduce their prices, holding them responsible for any imminent world economic crisis that might arise and threatening them with possible and varied kinds of reprisals. Indeed, the American news agencies undertook to stress the dramatic nature of those pronouncements, and they were justified in so doing.

“The statements of the President of the United States were added to by similar declarations by the United States Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury.

“The United States strategy is very clear: to group under its aegis the developed capitalist nations, to divide the nations of the third world and isolate the oil-producing nations in order to impose its conditions upon them. In so doing, it threatens them, in reprisal, with putting a stop to the export of food, and even with war.

"It is unjust, first of all, to blame the oil-producing countries for world-wide inflation and the international monetary crisis. Responsibility for those problems falls on the United States itself. It is the United States which imposed on the community of nations the monetary system that gave the dollar a privileged position over all other currencies; it was the United States which flooded the world and the reserve banks of nearly all countries with American banknotes, that by far exceeded their gold backing; it was the United States which blockaded and isolated the socialist community from international trade; it was the United States which started the cold war and unleashed the arms race; it was the United States and its allies which, through their military pacts for a quarter of a century, invested thousands of millions of dollars yearly in armaments; it was the United States which launched the war in Viet Nam, which cost more than \$150,000 million. The United States war budget exceeds \$80,000 million a year, and the CIA alone spends thousands of millions yearly. In this scandalous imperialist policy lie the roots of inflation and of the monetary crisis that emerged long before the oil price rises. It was the United States which established the consumer society and the limitless squandering of the natural resources of the world's peoples. The rise in oil prices, in any event, only worsened an already critical situation unleashed by imperialist society itself.

"Secondly, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) emerges as a just reaction on the part of the producer countries of the underdeveloped world to defend themselves against unjust prices, unfair terms of trade and the exorbitant earnings of the great multinational companies, which, for the most part, are United States-owned. Those who invented monopolistic oil prices way above production costs were not the producer countries, but rather the large oil companies, which thus obtained fabulous earnings for imperialism.

"For many years oil suffered the same fate as that of other raw materials produced by the underdeveloped world. But oil is a very special raw material, because iron, aluminium, tin, copper, nickel, uranium, chrome, manganese and many other products are consumed almost entirely by the developed nations; oil, on the other hand, is a product that, to a greater or lesser extent, must be consumed by all countries of the world. Of all raw materials, it is the most essential and most irreplaceable. Therein lies the strength; but also the weakness, of the countries that produce it, in this confrontation with imperialism.

"No sooner had oil prices risen after the last crisis in the Middle East than the developed capitalist countries forced a break-neck rise in the costs of equipment, technology and industrial products, far exceeding what the energy costs may have added to production costs. The United States responded immediately to the oil price rises by increasing the prices of its own exports. But while it has that resource with which to face its difficulties, there are many countries in the world that neither are industrialized nor possess oil, and whose agricultural products or raw materials do not fetch

adequate prices to compensate for the tremendous increase in the costs of industrial products and energy.

"Imperialist strategy is therefore aware that in many poor countries a call for reduced oil prices must fall on receptive ears. Such a reduction could lead to a serious split between the countries of the third world and, with it, to the ruin of the oil-exporting countries—a ruin which, in the long run, would also befall all other producers of raw materials and would spell an aggravation of the already unequal terms of trade imposed on our peoples by imperialism.

"Oil enjoys a privileged position among the various raw materials and hence stands in the vanguard of this struggle. But this places an enormous responsibility on the oil-exporting countries. If we want all underdeveloped countries to take part in the oil battle, the oil-producing countries must shoulder their responsibilities in the struggle of the underdeveloped world. It is not by investing oil income in the industrialized countries or in international financial bodies controlled by imperialism that the support of the underdeveloped world will be obtained. Those resources must be invested in the third world itself, in the struggle against underdevelopment, so that the oil battle can be a true banner and a hope for all the needy peoples of the world. Otherwise, much of the underdeveloped world will have nothing to gain from that struggle, and will only have to pay more for energy and manufactured goods and resign itself to further impoverishment in an already critical situation.

"Neither the oil producers nor the underdeveloped nations can allow themselves the luxury of missing this historic opportunity. This is the moment when all countries of the third world must unite their efforts and face the imperialist challenge. If the oil producers remain united and firm, if they do not allow themselves to be intimidated by the threats of the United States, if they seek to ally themselves with the rest of the underdeveloped world, the industrialized capitalist countries will have to accept as inevitable the disappearance of the shameful, unjust terms of trade that they have imposed on our peoples.

"The non-aligned countries could meet and give a firm, united and categorical reply to the threats and pressures of the United States. Faced with the imperialist strategy of divide and conquer, what is required is even more resolute solidarity; and thus international co-operation, which is so indispensable, would be based not on terms dictated by the imperialists, but on the aspirations and legitimate interests of all peoples of the world.

"The Government of Venezuela has replied with determination and dignity to the speech of the President of the United States. Yet only a very few Latin American countries, some of them oil producers or potential exporters, have given Venezuela their support; many Governments have remained silent. When Venezuela nationalizes iron and oil, as its Government has proclaimed it will do soon, the imperialist policy towards Venezuela can be expected to harden.

"This is an historic hour in which Venezuela needs the support of all peoples of Latin America, and Latin America needs Venezuela. We must recognize its battle as the battle of all our peoples.

"At the same time, Venezuela, with the extraordinary financial resources that it can mobilize as the fruits of a firm and victorious oil policy, could do much for the solidarity, integration, development and independence of the peoples of Latin America, as did the soldiers of Simon Bolívar a century ago.

"Cuba, which, thanks to the generous assistance of the Soviet Union, has not suffered an energy crisis, and whose development is progressing despite the imperialist blockade and the cowardly behaviour of many Governments of this continent, has no hesitation in proclaiming its support for the sister Government and people of Venezuela in their just position vis-à-vis the claims and contentions of the United States.

"Let the Venezuelans learn from the example of the Cuban revolution, which under the most unbelievable conditions of blockade, hemispheric solitude and isolation, firmly and unhesitatingly resisted the assaults of imperialism, and which, today, 15 years later, emerges victorious and unscathed—an irreversible fact in this continent.

"Venezuela will not, however, stand alone in this hemisphere as did Cuba. Perhaps destiny holds anew for the people of the illustrious Liberator an outstanding and decisive role in the final attainment of independence by the nations of Latin America."

41. In his message to the Secretary-General, President Houari Boumediène of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria very cogently refers to the grave responsibilities that fall on the developed industrialized countries.

"Feeling, no doubt, that they were unable by their own means and with their own resources to curb the inflationary process, some industrialized countries are trying to attribute the problems which they are experiencing and which they have managed to extend to the rest of the world, exclusively to the price of oil sold by a group of developing countries. In actual fact, far from bringing about inflation, the oil-producing countries, like all countries producing raw materials, have been the first victims of inflation. The true cause of inflation must be sought in the very foundations of the economic system of the developed countries.

"This system, which for centuries enabled the Western countries to build up and expand their economies, has its real roots in the permanent exploitation of the poorest by the richest and of the weakest by the strongest. Some developed countries have gone so far as to refuse humanitarian assistance to the most impoverished of the third world countries, while others have made their assistance contribution contingent on the assistance provided by other countries, and particularly the oil-producing countries. . . . such conduct . . . is intended to exert pressure on the member countries of OPEC, threatening to exacerbate the plight of the disadvantaged to the point of despair. Most developed countries have failed to learn any lessons from the discus-

sions which took place at the recent special session of the General Assembly and they persist in believing that they can settle the problems now confronting mankind outside the framework of the United Nations." [A/9787, annex, pp. 2 and 3.]

42. President Boumediène stresses in his message that "questions of energy, raw materials or of inflation can be settled only by the establishment of genuine international co-operation". But he warns that that co-operation can only occur on the day "when the international economic order ceases to be dominated by the developed countries".

43. Once again Cuba reaffirms its profound conviction that the basic problem confronting the third world today is that of its liberation and development. The foundation of its relations with the developed capitalist countries rests on the privileges, strictures and subterfuges of imperialism and neo-colonialism—the machinery that props up and promotes perpetuation of the system was set up during the era of colonial expansion. Their hegemony over the raw materials market, their virtual monopoly of the manufacture of goods, capital assets and the control of the international financial institutions have allowed them at will to impose their unfair terms of trade and to subjugate the evolution and the trends of international trade, which have been characterized by a discriminatory and obstructionist policy to the benefit of the great consortia and transnational corporations and to the grave detriment of the developing countries. Expansion of world trade in these conditions has therefore served primarily to lead to the undue enrichment of the highly developed capitalist countries at the expense, proportionally, of the impoverishment of the underdeveloped countries.

44. The time has come to unite our efforts until we enforce the sovereign right that we possess over our natural resources and thus replace the unjust and anachronistic international order in economic relations by the new international economic order which will encourage and strengthen the development and liberation of the third world. The maturity of our conscience now cries out for coherent action in the effort to reclaim what was ours, which we have determined to carry out without respite and without hesitation, in alliance with the democratic, progressive and socialist countries which share in the same battle. Fatherland or death! We shall prevail!

45. Mr. ABDULLAH (Afghanistan): Mr. President, permit me to convey to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan on your election to the presidency of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. It is a fitting tribute to your qualities as a statesman who has rendered distinguished service not only to your own country but also to the international community. Your election is also a well-deserved honour for your country, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, with which our country enjoys the most cordial relations, and which has shown consistent support for the cause of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries and for the principles and aims of the Charter of the United Nations. We are confident that under your guidance this session of the General Assembly will be directed with distinction. We assure you of our full co-operation.

46. I also wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express my delegation's deep gratitude to Mr. Leopoldo Benites for the skilful and objective manner in which he guided the proceedings of both the twenty-eighth and the sixth special sessions. We wish to pay a warm tribute to him for the statesmanship and wisdom which he demonstrated.

47. I should like to extend to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, our deep appreciation of his untiring efforts to explore the possibilities for solutions to current crises.

48. On behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan, I take this opportunity to welcome into our midst the new Members, namely, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. The emergence of these independent countries and their entry into the United Nations, which we hail, is a direct outcome of the continued struggle waged by oppressed people, backed by the support of this world body. We wish these new Members a successful future and look forward to constructive collaboration with them in the Organization. We are confident that their contribution will enrich our efforts towards world peace and progress.

49. It is a particular pleasure for my delegation to see our neighbour in the region, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, take its rightful place in this international body. The people of Afghanistan have strong ties of cordial friendship and brotherhood with the heroic people of Bangladesh. The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation reflects the long-expected recognition of the inherent rights of its people and the realities prevailing in the region.

50. My Government wishes to express its sympathy with the Government of Honduras, whose people have suffered so recently in the wake of the natural disaster which has struck that country. We laud efforts by the international community to aid the victims of the hurricane.

51. The cardinal duty of this world Organization is the maintenance of international peace and security. Twenty-nine years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War. Thus far, another global war has been avoided, although on a number of occasions calamity has been checked only at the last hour. None the less, fear of the outbreak of violence and world conflagration should be shared by us all, as long as the basic requirements for lasting peace and security throughout the world have not been achieved. Moreover, the inalienable rights of peoples to independence and self-determination, to freedom from alien domination, foreign occupation and exploitation have not been fully realized. Therefore, international peace and security remain only an ideal towards which this Organization shall continue to strive in vain.

52. We had hoped that in the 1970s a new era of realization would dawn, but we have observed that, when the possibility of peace enters in one region, conflict erupts in another.

53. In the Middle East, despite some success achieved in the disengagement of the Egyptian, Syrian and Israeli troops, lasting peace has yet to be attained. We believe that the objective of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be reached only with

the total withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories, the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and the return of the Holy City of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty. The Arab cause has the support of all those who adhere to the principles of human rights and the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The international community bears a grave responsibility to undo the wrongs done in the 1947 partition of Palestine. With regard to that unfortunate event, we all shoulder the same responsibility. We earnestly hope that diplomatic efforts, due to recommence in the near future, will produce solutions leading to a lasting peace in the Middle East. However, the restoration of the lawful rights of the Palestinian people, in any circumstances, is a prerequisite for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

54. The lawful and legitimate struggle of the courageous Palestinian people to regain their usurped homeland constitutes an integral part of the worldwide effort, by all peoples, against alien domination. The Afghan delegation has fully endorsed the inclusion of a new item in our agenda, "The question of Palestine" [item 108], and we thus whole-heartedly support the view that the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) should participate fully in the deliberations on this item in the plenary Assembly.

55. As a consequence of the military intervention of the former military régime of Greece in the internal affairs of Cyprus, we have seen the eruption of a major crisis in the area. The independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus have been imperilled. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan hopes that the problem of Cyprus will be resolved with due respect for the rights of the Turkish community and the preservation of the sovereignty of Cyprus. The Afghan delegation expresses the hope that, as a result of negotiations, a just and permanent solution, based on Security Council resolution 353 (1974), will be found.

56. The gradual improvement that has been taking place in relations between some big Powers has maintained its momentum. We welcome the process of détente which we hope will lead to the reduction of tension. However, this spirit of understanding and co-operation should not be limited merely to relations between the major Powers. We believe that the success of détente requires the participation of all States, big or small, in order to ensure their equal interests.

57. The foreign policy of Afghanistan is founded on our traditional policy of non-alignment, non-participation in military blocs, peaceful coexistence with mutual respect and, further, promotion of friendly relations with all countries regardless of different economic and social systems. Within our region, the good neighbourly relations which we enjoy with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are unshakeable. The atmosphere of cordial and warm relations has led to fruitful economic ties for our mutual benefit. We share a fraternal relationship with the Government of Iran. The friendly relations between the two countries have recently been further strengthened as a result of bilateral contacts which we are confident will lead to benefits for both countries and will serve the cause of regional peace and security.

58. Our relations with our other great neighbour, the People's Republic of China, are, as far as we are concerned, to continue in a normal and very friendly manner.

59. Afghanistan's relations with India have always been very cordial and friendly and we will continue to maintain and expand the co-operation which has marked our long-standing friendly relations.

60. With reference to the statement delivered on 27 September 1974 [2247th meeting] by Mr. Aziz Ahmed, the Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, regarding the strained relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, it should be said that although he referred to the unsatisfactory relations between our two countries, he refrained from stating the reason for this. I am sure that in the minds of all the representatives gathered here, the question arises as to what is the real cause for the tense and strained relations. I should like to take this opportunity merely to clarify for the members of the General Assembly the factual cause of the problem and also the search for a possible solution for this, the only political difference existing between the two countries.

61. During the course of the past century, the colonial Power not only gradually occupied the subcontinent of India, but also, on various pretexts such as creating secure boundaries for its colonial territories, began to occupy our land. At various periods, the colonial Power separated portions of our land and people from the fatherland. It was this issue which, for almost a century, kept relations between Afghanistan and the British Indian Government strained. Today, it is the same issue—an unfortunate remnant of the colonial era—which has so regrettably strained relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, both of which, I believe, are desirous of having friendly relations.

62. After this brief explanation, the members of this Assembly will understand that, with the termination of the colonial rule on the Indian subcontinent, Afghanistan had the right to reclaim its usurped land. But Afghanistan refrained from doing so because, following the promulgation of the Charter of the United Nations and the recognition of the principle that peoples under colonial rule have the right to exercise freely their lawful and legitimate rights, Afghanistan thought it better that the problem be solved by peaceful means and in accordance with the will of the Pakhtun and Baluchi people. Therefore, since the creation of Pakistan, Afghanistan has always endeavoured, and will continue to endeavour, to resolve this single political difference in a just and honourable manner through negotiations, peaceful understanding, and mutual goodwill, according to the wishes of the national leaders of the Pakhtun and Baluchi peoples.

63. Afghanistan strongly believes that the use of force, the oppression and imprisonment of those who demand their human rights will produce only pessimism and disaffection and will lead to further resistance. Furthermore, this course of action will adversely affect the maintenance of peace and stability in our region, which we so earnestly desire.

64. While I confirm the reference made by Mr. Aziz Ahmed in which he stated that his Government wished "the best possible relationship with Afghanistan",

as we have already expressed our readiness for negotiations on numerous occasions, I would like once again to state now that we are sincerely desirous, without any condition, anywhere and at any time, to negotiate in order to find a peaceful solution to the only political dispute which exists between Afghanistan and Pakistan and to enhance the atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence.

65. I am certain that the representatives assembled here will share our view and agree with this proposal by Afghanistan, which reflects our real desire for peace and for a solution of this issue according to the principles established by the Charter of the United Nations.

66. If we really desire peace, co-operation, understanding and living together, let us leave aside resentment and pride. As responsible human beings, we should have the courage to acknowledge and assess issues and events with foresight, and bear in mind that our actions will be judged by history and by future generations. In facing and solving problems, we need foresight and courage. In our present world, where we live in a close, interrelated community, we must face the grave issues before us responsibly and realistically. Realism is essential to success in the search for the necessary solutions.

67. In the field of disarmament, the policy of the Republic of Afghanistan is well known. We have supported and will continue to support any measure aimed at the achievement of general and complete disarmament. We have supported the ban on nuclear tests in all environments. According to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], all nuclear-power States are obliged to carry out the necessary consultations in order to reach agreement on the halting of all tests in all environments.

68. Though this item, as a matter of priority, has been under consideration by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, no final agreement, unfortunately, has been reached to date. We believe that as a collateral measure of disarmament, an agreement should be reached extending the present nuclear test ban to all environments.

69. Disarmament has been the subject of much debate within and without the United Nations. However, the race for nuclear and conventional arms has not abated but has expanded to the point where it is a clear danger to world peace and security. Progress in the field of disarmament has been modest, while expenditures for arms are ever rising.

70. Success in the field of disarmament depends on the political will of the members of the international community and in particular on the big Powers. Therefore, it is necessary that the United Nations be involved in all endeavours aiming at the achievement of general and complete disarmament. For these reasons, the Government of Afghanistan, as that of a non-aligned country, has, both at the non-aligned conferences which initiated this idea and in the United Nations, always supported the convening of a world disarmament conference. We are confident that with adequate preparation such a conference would serve the very useful purposes of reviewing the growth of the arms race and the moves towards disarmament.

In a conference of this nature, the participation of all nuclear Powers is an inevitable prerequisite.

71. This year, the Government of Iran has proposed [A/9693 and Add.1 and 2] a new item entitled "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East". We welcome this timely initiative of the Government of Iran and believe that the proposal will further strengthen peace and security in the area, and that its acceptance and implementation will be a positive step towards nuclear disarmament. We earnestly hope that the General Assembly's debate on various aspects of this item will lead to the adoption of adequate measures for its speedy implementation.

72. Regarding the elimination of colonialism and alien domination in all their forms and manifestations, the policy of the Government of Afghanistan remains as before. Although the United Nations has achieved significant success in this field over the past 29 years, vestiges of colonialism and alien domination nevertheless persist in certain parts of the world, where they present an immense barrier to the right of self-determination and impede development and progress.

73. As may be observed, in Southern Rhodesia the situation has deteriorated over the past year, mainly because of the intensely repressive measures taken by the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith against the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. The situation has been aggravated by the violation by some States, particularly South Africa, of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council. In view of the prevailing situation in Southern Rhodesia, my delegation fully supports the idea of widening the scope of the sanctions.

74. In the case of Namibia, South Africa has continued its flagrant defiance of the United Nations decisions and has violated its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations with respect to the Territory. South Africa has increasingly resorted to violence, torture and intimidation of the people of Namibia in order to advance its inhuman policies of "bantustanization" and *apartheid*.

75. My delegation appreciates the measures adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of its mandate from the General Assembly. We hope that all Members of the United Nations will find it possible to co-operate fully with the Council as the *de jure* authority for Namibia and to comply with its decisions.

76. The Afghan delegation welcomes the statement by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Portugal in the general debate, in which he reaffirmed the policy of his Government in favour of decolonization. It is indeed a source of satisfaction to us that the new leadership in Portugal has acknowledged the inalienable rights of the people of the Portuguese colonies to self-determination and independence. We are encouraged by the agreement reached between FRELIMO and Portugal providing for the granting of independence to Mozambique in 1975. We earnestly hope that similar agreement is reached in the near future with regard to Angola, so that the people of that country, too, can attain their long-cherished and legitimate aspirations.

77. As a land-locked country, Afghanistan attaches great importance to the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The conclusion of a just and comprehensive legal order of the sea which can ensure the rights and interests of all States, whether coastal or land-locked, developed or developing, large or small, is an urgent international necessity.

78. A future convention on the law of the sea must ensure the right of free access to and from the sea for the land-locked countries and be based on the firmly established and legally binding principles of international law. The right of free transit for land-locked countries and their participation in the exploration and exploitation of both the living and non-living resources of the sea beyond the internationally agreed limits of the territorial seas of States must be reaffirmed and ensured.

79. The inadequacies of the world economic order and the existing economic machinery to deal with the problems of development in the developing countries and the need for the achievement of an even and balanced development for the members of the international community were amply revealed and discussed for the first time at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, convened for the study of the problems of raw materials and development. The value of the special session lies in the dialogue it initiated based on understanding and consideration for the priorities of all countries at various levels of development. The session underscored the fact that the interests and the welfare of the developed and the developing countries can no longer be isolated from each other. Its decisions constituted a turning-point in the international economic relations of countries with differing levels of economic progress. We trust that they will lead to an era of interdependence, justice, progress and peace.

80. As all the members of this Assembly realize, Afghanistan is a land-locked developing country as well as one of the least developed among the developing countries. The problems and the urgent needs of such countries were comprehensively covered in the course of the special session. As a result, those countries were included among the countries most seriously affected by the international economic crisis. The implementation of urgent measures to mitigate their needs and problems were envisaged in the resolution adopted by the Assembly at the sixth special session [resolution 3202 (S-VI)].

81. To our regret, the measures contained in the decisions of the Assembly at that session have not been implemented by the members of the international community thus far. The Special Programme established by resolution 3202 (S-VI), envisaging emergency measures to ameliorate the urgent problems of land-locked, least developed and other countries most seriously affected by the recent economic crisis, has not been effectively carried out. This failure is largely due to the lack of interest and understanding on the part of the developed countries, despite the decisions taken at the special session. My delegation does, however, wish to express its appreciation to the developed countries as well as to the potential contributors among the developing countries which

have offered to extend assistance for the implementation of the resolution.

82. Since the implementation of the decisions taken at the special session and other economic items of special interest to us will be discussed thoroughly in the Second Committee of the General Assembly, my delegation feels it sufficient to express its views in broad terms at this stage.

83. In conclusion, the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan pledges its full co-operation with you, Mr. President, and with our fellow Members of the United Nations to exert every effort to bring about a new era of common action aimed at investigating all channels in order to improve the political, economic and social situation and conditions of people everywhere. We are confident that, with the display and exercise of the necessary goodwill, this session will be marked by success.

84. Mr. BAAH (Ghana): Mr. President, your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the Assembly comes at a time when dramatic events are taking place in Africa and the question of peace and stability on our continent is weighing heavily on the minds of the international community. May I on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, and on my own behalf, congratulate you heartily and express our confidence that under your able presidency the urgent business before the Assembly will be conducted with all seriousness and in earnest. The election of such an eminent African statesman as President of this body is a matter of great pride to us from Africa. It carries with it prestige and pre-eminence, and is a tribute not only to our continent, your country and the people of Algeria, but also to you personally.

85. Sir, my delegation cannot help recalling that it was in Algiers and with your active assistance as the Foreign Minister of your country that Portugal concluded, on 26 August of this year, its talks with Guinea-Bissau. Those talks, among other things, resulted in the long-overdue recognition by Portugal of the inalienable right of the people of Guinea-Bissau, and that of all others in its other dependent Territories, including Mozambique and Angola, to self-determination and independence. My delegation has no doubt whatsoever that you, Sir, will bring the same resourcefulness to the direction of the work of this session. We on our part assure you of our co-operation.

86. Mr. President, my delegation is also gratified to have worked under the guidance of your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Benites. His patience, tenacity of purpose and dedication steered us not only through the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, but also through the crucial sixth special session. I wish to convey to him through you, Sir, my delegation's unqualified appreciation.

87. To the Secretary-General, through whose purposefulness and dedication the affairs of the Organization have been so well managed despite unexpected and serious difficulties at times, we express our deep appreciation and sincere thanks. My delegation gladly accepts his report to this session [A/9601 and Add.1], and remains confident that the qualities for which he has become so well known will continue to be applied for the benefit of the international community.

88. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to welcome Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada to membership in this body. We are happy that one year after its independence Guinea-Bissau has been accepted as a member of both the Organization of African Unity and a Member of the United Nations, to mention only two organizations. We have no doubt that the participation of the new Members in our deliberations will contribute to the eventual attainment of the international justice and peace for which we all continue to strive.

89. Mr. President, in welcoming Guinea-Bissau to the Assembly when you are in the presidential chair, I am reminded in particular of the striking similarities between the triumphant struggle of the Algerian people and that of the people of Guinea-Bissau. Both countries faced the implacable and ruthless action of colonial Powers. Both waged a long struggle of national liberation against colonial Powers desperately determined to pursue the untenable constitutional myth whereby African colonial territories were considered extensions of European metropolitan Powers. In both cases, while the Organization grappled with the problem of bringing the colonial Powers concerned to see reason, the iron determination of the peoples of the territories triumphed over the arms of the oppressors. In both Algeria and Guinea-Bissau, the two colonial Powers out of desperation sought to intimidate and terrorize sympathetic neighbouring territories. Thus Algeria's neighbours—Morocco, Tunisia and the Arab Republic of Egypt—can to this day show the world the scars of their wounds. Guinea-Bissau's neighbours—Guinea and Senegal—suffered the ravages of external invasion and threats to their territorial integrity.

90. The heroic struggles of the peoples of Algeria and Guinea-Bissau have demonstrated to the whole world that colonialism is permanent aggression and a threat to international peace and security. Consequently, the struggles of both Algeria and Guinea-Bissau were given collective support by the United Nations. The independence of Algeria and Guinea-Bissau was recognized by the world Organization even before the formal ceremonial procedure of admission was effected. In their final hour of triumph, not only did the brave peoples of Algeria and Guinea-Bissau liberate their peoples but, by the irony of history, their struggles profoundly affected the internal politics of the metropolitan countries themselves, which led to popular, political, economic and social changes.

91. Allow me to salute the gallant and heroic people of Guinea-Bissau. The Government and people of Ghana would like to pay tribute to both the people of Guinea-Bissau and the intellectual depth that has marked the philosophical and revolutionary horizons held out to the people by the vanguard party, Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC], at every stage of the long struggle.

92. We pay a solemn tribute to the revered memory of our brother Amílcar Cabral, who laid down his life for the noble cause of his country's liberation. On this occasion we are reminded of his wise reflections on the intellectual arrogance of imperialists on the destiny of oppressed Africa:

“There is a preconception, held by many people, even on the Left, that imperialism made us enter

history at the moment when it began its adventure in our countries. This preconception must be denounced. We consider that, when imperialism arrived in Guinea, it made us leave history—our history.”

93. It is the history of the people of Guinea-Bissau, interrupted by 500 years of imperialism, that is now resuming its natural course before our very eyes. In celebrating the formal admission of the people of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations, we are celebrating the victory of the whole human race, the victory of the progressive forces of the world. Imperialism has done its worst to splinter our common humanity into fragments by creating hatred between peoples and by setting race against race. But the human spirit has always resisted and reasserted its wholeness. In this, it has not lacked dedicated agents, among which, we submit, the victorious people of Guinea-Bissau ranks among the high and honoured in the revolutionary world.

94. Considering what havoc imperialism has wrought in terms of human and material resources, it is an achievement of no mean proportions and significance that the African peoples have yet managed to preserve their sense of dignity and to move forward in search of political, economic, social and cultural advancement. Suppressed, persecuted and betrayed even by those sections of the world community from which it could rightly expect support, African life has survived, seeking refuge in villages and forests and in the indomitable spirit of generations of victims of colonialist and racist oppression.

95. The people of Guinea-Bissau have a homespun saying: “A crouching man cannot support anyone on his knees.” In spite of all well-meaning assurances of future aid, Portugal cannot be expected to bear the entire brunt of making restitution for the years of economic misuse of the resources of Guinea-Bissau. We appeal to all Member States to offer genuine assistance. We feel bound, however, to qualify our appeal and to warn especially the once powerful allies of Portugal that if they join in making reparations to that small, newly independent State they must do so without any subtle attempts to substitute neo-colonialist arrangements for the crumbling colonial structure. We ourselves would have preferred all aid to be channelled, if possible, through the United Nations. That, at least, the people of Guinea-Bissau deserve of the United Nations. Let me restate here also that the time has come for those Powers to stop their unbridled interference in the affairs of the small nations, interference that has often created tragic situations for our peoples.

96. I have dwelt at length on the independence of Guinea-Bissau because of its profound significance for peace and development in Africa. The aspirations of Africans are towards peace and development, and freedom in dignity is an essential ingredient of those aspirations. But so long as the framework of peace continues to be based on imperialist and racist interests in Africa, so long will our oppressed peoples continue to fight for their inalienable right to freedom and human dignity. The victory of Guinea-Bissau testifies—as, very soon, will the victories of Mozambique and Angola—to the indomitability of the human spirit, which, when aroused in indignation against injustices,

oppression and all forms of indignity, can withstand and overcome ruthless forces of oppression.

97. Just as today we welcome Guinea-Bissau, so shall we tomorrow welcome into the Assembly the new States of Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania. Time is on the side of the African majorities in southern Africa. Any conspiracy by the racist and reactionary white settlers in southern Africa to prevent the emergence of independent African States would not only be short-sighted but also would create a dangerous situation in southern Africa. Mother Africa can no longer remain heedless to the anguished cries of her sons and daughters still in bondage and servitude.

98. It was our own Kwame Nkrumah who warned from this very rostrum some 14 years ago: “Africa wants her freedom; Africa must be free. It is a simple call, but it is also a signal, a red light of warning to those who would tend to ignore it.”²

99. The racist minority régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa are frightened by recent developments in the Territories under Portuguese domination. They are increasing their defence budgets and imposing special surcharges on their citizens in order to maintain the *status quo* in southern Africa. They are recruiting and regrouping mercenaries in order to cause confusion and upheaval in Mozambique and Angola. It must be made clear to those racist minority régimes in southern Africa that the only honourable way out of their present predicament is to come to terms with the revolutionary events crowding in on them while there is still time.

100. The Government and people of Ghana would like to place on record their satisfaction at the determination of the Government of Portugal to fulfil its promises of full independence for the peoples in the Territories under its colonial control and express the hope that the progressive and enlightened influences in present-day Portugal will continue to respond positively to the urgent demand for freedom and independence in its remaining Territories in Africa. It is our belief that, if the Government of Portugal keeps its pledge to the world and shoulders full responsibility for the complete transfer of power to the accredited and proven leaders of the people in these Territories, Portugal can look forward to a new era of friendly relations and co-operation with independent Africa.

101. No group of States relies more on conciliation, dialogue and communication in the search for a peaceful and just world than do the Members from the developing world. No one believes more in the effect of peaceful negotiations than we do. An honest reading of the positions that we have been advocating would expose the weak moral grounding of the allies of the racist régimes of southern Africa.

102. Our words and actions stand in sharp contrast to the world-publicized ambivalence of South Africa's Western allies. This is no time for recriminations, but we fail to see any consistency between their declared support for the principles of the Charter that concern human rights and their continued support of these racist régimes. Their objections to sanctions and their rejection of enforcement measures designed to weaken the resolution of the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia to pursue their iniquitous policies only

help to shore up the flagging morale of those régimes. It is not enough to express horror at the evil policies of those racist minority régimes. If mere pious words or declarations constituted the ultimate remedy for these evils, I am sure that we would not need the help of South Africa's Western allies. In the face of the present situation in southern Africa, we invite the trading partners of South Africa and Rhodesia to join us in exploring the avenues for rapid solutions to the questions of southern Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia.

103. My delegation has given consideration to South Africa's recent effort to save its face. I refer to document A/9775 of 26 September of this year.³ This document brings to our attention a statement issued by the Executive of the National Party of South West Africa. In the view of my delegation, the statement constitutes one more insult which the Organization has had to tolerate from South Africa. It is the hope of my delegation that the Organization will tell South Africa in no uncertain terms that the ultimate responsibility for the future of South West Africa lies with the United Nations. What is at issue here is South Africa's continued defiance of this Organization and its flouting of the decision of the International Court of Justice on the status of that Territory. What we would like to hear from South Africa is when that country will abandon this defiance.

104. In defining the basis of Ghana's foreign policy recently, our head of State and Chairman of the National Redemption Council, Colonel I. K. Acheampong, said:

"We are not racists. Indeed we are opposed to racism in all its forms and manifestations. Thus we believe it is possible and desirable for various races and ethnic groups to live in equality and brotherhood in an African context, once all accept a common loyalty and devotion to the nation and its institutions. We have proved by many examples that it is possible to coexist with erstwhile colonialists when this takes place in an atmosphere of equality, freedom and tolerance."

It is this fundamental belief of Ghana, and our demonstrated commitment to it, which makes it possible for us to appeal here to the Western Powers to join us in the common purpose of helping to create speedily in southern Africa a society based on true freedom, equality and justice.

105. While we are preoccupied with events in Africa, we are not unmindful of equally serious threats to peace that exist elsewhere. The Middle East, and more recently Cyprus, continue to pose a problem for the Organization. The Government and people of Ghana continue to view the situations with grave concern, not only because of the potential they have for causing a resumption of serious conflict, but more for the terrible consequences of those hostilities on the lives of the peoples of those areas.

106. Ghana is committed to assisting the efforts of the United Nations at securing peace in the Middle East. To this end, we have contributed troops to the United Nations Emergency Force serving in the area in the hope that, with the combined efforts of the countries which have done likewise, and with the guidance of the Security Council, we shall succeed in generating a willingness on the part of all the States

concerned to come to terms with each other, respect each other's rights and eventually live in peace and harmony. Our troops will continue to be available to the Organization for so long as their presence is deemed necessary.

107. If there is any lesson to be drawn from the spiral of violence in the Middle East, it is that the claims of the parties to the conflict touch the very life and spirit of their peoples. Thus, my delegation believes that no lasting solution can be found without addressing ourselves seriously to the Palestinian question. It is evident also that there can be no easing of tension until the initial step is taken to discourage the acquisition of the territories of others by conquest. Historical claims to territory are the central issue in the question and the roads to peaceful negotiation will be blocked if there is any further alienation of territory from any of the parties to the conflict.

108. True, there can be no lasting peace until all States in the area are assured of secure, recognized and guaranteed frontiers in an over-all negotiated settlement. But, since peace begins in the minds of men, there can be no negotiation to determine secure and guaranteed borders until the parties can feel psychologically disposed to this. Therefore, we do not advocate negotiation based on pre-conditions. That is a denial of the very essence of negotiation. But it is clearly an illusion to believe that much can be achieved in this Middle East impasse by a reliance on the well-known proposition "negotiation from a position of strength". The foundations of peace in the Middle East have to be carefully laid on the basis of mutual tolerance and by avoiding the past mistake of resorting to a trial of military strength and technical superiority.

109. Some of the tragic elements of the Middle East crisis appear to recur in the worsening situation in nearby Cyprus. We have from the very beginning advocated respect for the sovereign independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We have never seen any virtue in claims for annexation of the island by any Power. The integrity of Cyprus cannot be predicated on the uncertain and short-term advantage which some believe may accrue to one or other of the two communities in the island.

110. My delegation cannot subscribe to a permanent occupation of Cyprus by foreign troops of any origin; we cannot support any doctrine or policy aimed at uniting the island with any other State on purely ethnic grounds. It is our conviction that the solution to the Cyprus problem consists in creating a secure existence for all communities on the island. It is equally important to insulate the State of Cyprus from super-Power pursuit of strategic interests in the eastern Mediterranean.

111. It was barely a month ago that the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea came to an end in Caracas. That Conference was the third substantive attempt by the international community in the course of this decade to evolve an equitable, orderly and peaceful system for the utilization of the benefits which the oceans and their floor have bestowed on mankind.

112. Since the Caracas Conference, there have been comments from some quarters which indicate some disappointment, even disillusion, at the results

achieved. The Ghana Government does not share these assessments. In our view, the Conference achieved what it could reasonably be expected to achieve.

113. While saying this, my delegation would be the first to recognize that the extent of progress we make at the next conference, scheduled to take place in Geneva in March and April next year, will depend upon our political will to negotiate at that session. Perhaps, out of frustration, which as I have already indicated is unjustified, hints have been dropped here and there that, unless an early agreement is reached on a convention on the sea, certain countries intend to start unilateral exploration of the sea-bed and exploitation of its resources. It is our hope that no country will resort to that course of action. We say this because we consider that course of action to be fraught with great danger to the harmony and peace of the world. Any such action, therefore, could not be considered responsible and in the interest of the world community as a whole.

114. The Caracas Conference followed closely on the heels of the sixth special session of the General Assembly on raw materials and a new economic order. That session taught all of us that it is only by conscious collective action that the problems of this planet can be resolved. Previous efforts at creating a fair and equitable international economic system, including UNCTAD, all foundered on the conflicting and seemingly irreconcilable interests of different groups of States.

115. Recent events have shown and lent tremendous support to the conviction that it is only by creating a new economic and social order that we can hope to avoid the threatening catastrophe which is bound to be the fate of mankind if we persist in confrontation and the pursuit of selfish goals. The new economic and social order should reflect our global interdependence while eschewing the present inequities in international trade and world financial monetary systems.

116. If my delegation urges the international community to ensure adequate assistance to needy countries, we should not be understood to be preaching the perpetuation of the dependence of developing countries on alms from the developed or industrialized countries. What we are urging is the transfer of such technological "know-how" and other inputs as are most likely to conduce to the self-generating development of the receiving countries. By our request we seek to ensure that developing countries will ultimately become as self-sufficient and self-reliant as may be compatible with international interdependence.

117. Ghana, under the National Redemption Council, is today demonstrating its commitment to the idea of self-reliance which we have adopted as the cardinal principle of our charter of redemption. By its application in all our national endeavours we have achieved a measure of success in reorganizing our economy and improving our circumstances to the extent of reducing our dependence on external sources to feed ourselves. We are mobilizing our resources in a new spirit of self-confidence and our people are beginning to see the fruits of their efforts. Our expectation of a better life is therefore great. It is this great expectation that has made us so acutely conscious of the disastrous effects on Ghana's economy of the prevailing high and rising cost of oil.

118. The estimated increase in crude oil prices for Ghana for 1974 is 300 per cent over the 1973 prices, while in terms of foreign exchange expenditure the 1974 prices of crude oil and petroleum products account for about 63 per cent of our total foreign exchange expenditure. These are indeed staggering figures.

119. The over-all effect of the energy crisis on the Ghanaian economy is very wide-ranging not only because of the immediate strain it has placed on our foreign exchange disbursements but also because of the problems it poses, directly or indirectly, for the success of our policy of self-reliance. In this respect, an immediate victim will be the much-acclaimed "Operation Feed Yourself" programme.

120. There is little doubt that the picture I have painted applies generally to most if not all non-oil-producing developing countries. However, I do not want to be interpreted as indicting the oil-producing countries. I say this because it should be general knowledge that several factors are responsible for the present economic recession into which the world as a whole seems to be falling.

121. We cannot ignore the fact that in the past prices paid for raw materials as a whole have been very low, while those for manufactured goods have maintained constantly increasing levels. The action by the oil-producing countries is therefore seen by my delegation as a reaction to this situation and an attempt to introduce an overdue balance. The right approach to the problem, in our view, would be to give careful consideration to all elements which could be considered responsible for the present dislocation in the international economy. We believe that the present world economic crisis can be solved only by co-operative action by the international community as a whole. Recriminations and apportioning of blame cannot be the answer.

122. My delegation welcomes the agreements reached between the United States and the Soviet Union on further limitations on anti-missile defence systems and on the limitation of underground testing of nuclear weapons. We also appreciate the efforts being made for further limitation of strategic offensive weapons. We urge that these efforts be continued. In spite of this progress, my delegation does not believe that enough has been achieved in the area of nuclear disarmament to give us hope for the future of mankind.

123. What to my delegation seems to be the greatest threat to peace and the human race is the arms race and the continued proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons entered into force on 5 March 1970, but as yet not all countries have signed or acceded to it. My delegation has noted all the reasons which have been advanced by certain countries for not signing the Treaty. However, it is the belief of my delegation that so long as this situation persists, so long will these remain a real danger of other countries' disregarding the Treaty and acquiring nuclear weapons of their own.

124. It has been stated, for instance, that some countries are now using the increase in oil prices as an excuse for developing nuclear technology as a means of generating alternative sources of power. It is common knowledge, however, that there is only a very thin line separating the peaceful uses of nuclear power

from its destructive uses. My delegation recognizes the positive benefits which nuclear power can bestow on mankind. The nature of nuclear technology, however, seems to suggest that a system of international control of its use is necessary if mankind is to be able to enjoy its positive benefits without suffering the effects of its negative uses. My delegation thus continues to hope that the third session of the Preparatory Committee of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to be held in February 1975, will be able to advance the establishment of such controls.

125. I have touched on some of the central issues which affect the precarious peace and unstable development in the world. I have done this from the perspective of a third-world State which believes that the rights and interests of the millions of people of Africa and the developing countries generally should more than ever compel the mature attention of the international community. If we have met again this year to review the basis of peace, let us not subordinate the interests of the third world to those of the big Powers and their allies. Let us constantly remind ourselves that our search for peace will be illusory if we remain blind to the issues facing the third world.

126. Traumatic events during the past year in Africa, the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, Asia and the

Far East point to the fact that we are at another historic turning-point. Whether or not the way ahead will lead to peace, justice and progress will, to some extent, depend on the positions each Member State takes on the urgent issues before us. Let us by our deliberations during this session, and actions to follow, demonstrate a determined will to pursue courses that will lead to the ultimate fulfilment of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and collectively tackle the problems of our time in the wider interests of the human race.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

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

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 869th meeting, para. 2.

³ For the text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11519.