

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



2261st
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 8 October 1974,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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(Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

**SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL
COMMITTEE [A/9750/ADD.1]**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In subparagraphs 2 (a) and (b) of its second report [A/9750/Add.1], the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of this session of an additional item, entitled "Status of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the General Assembly" and its consideration directly in plenary meetings. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts those recommendations?

It was so decided.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Committee, in subparagraph 2 (c) of its report, recommends also that the item be considered immediately after agenda item 102, entitled "Status of the European Economic Community in the General Assembly". May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

3. Mr. GARCÍA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, for reasons beyond his

* Resumed from the 2237th meeting.

control, the Secretary of State for External Relations of my country—who would have been very happy to be here publicly to thank you for your hospitable welcome during the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries—has been compelled this time to postpone his annual visit to United Nations Headquarters. On that account the honour falls to me to bring the voice of Mexico to the general debate of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. In so doing, I should like to start my statement by repeating to you the sincere congratulations of the Government and people of Mexico on the distinction which, with unusual unanimity, you have been honoured by all Member States. We interpret this as a well-deserved tribute both to your eminent personal qualities and to the outstanding role which your country, Algeria, has played in the development and strengthening of non-alignment among the countries of the third world.

4. I should likewise pay a tribute of admiration and appreciation to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who so skillfully and impartially presided over the debates of the twenty-eighth regular session and the sixth special session of the Assembly in a manner which was to the great honour of all the countries of Latin America.

5. Immediately after having discharged such pleasant duties, I am compelled to deal with something that is far from pleasant. I refer to the disaster which recently cast the Republic of Honduras into mourning, a Republic linked to Mexico by so many ties of affection and history. We have grieved at this unexpected catastrophe as though it had been our own, and the highest Mexican authorities, headed by the President of the Republic, have helped by every means within their power to mitigate its tragic effects. However, the scope of the disaster is such as to render imperative the solidarity and co-operative action of the entire international community.

6. We welcome the advent of a new Portugal, whose dedication to the principles of the United Nations and total commitment to the task of decolonization were described from this very rostrum some days ago [2239th meeting] in persuasive and eloquent terms by its Minister for Foreign Affairs.

7. In expressing our boundless welcome to Guinea-Bissau as a Member of the United Nations, the first territory to benefit from the praiseworthy Portuguese policy of liberation and independence, we also wish to voice our confidence that Mozambique, Angola, and Cape Verde will also soon enlarge the ranks of the membership of the Organization of sovereign States, taking it yet another step towards universality.

8. For similar reasons we are pleased to express our most cordial welcome to Bangladesh and to Grenada.

9. It would be impossible to try to review here even an adequate selection of the 110 items—or,

rather, since a few minutes ago, 111 items—on the agenda of this twenty-ninth session, the highest number of items ever submitted to the General Assembly in the annals of the United Nations. Accordingly, I shall limit myself to a synopsis of the essential aspects of my country's position on those items to which we attribute special importance. This general survey will serve as an introduction to the rather more thorough analysis I intend to make of three questions which at this point in history seem to us of fundamental importance: *détente*, disarmament and the economic rights and duties of States.

10. We deplore the tragic events that provoked the recent crisis in Cyprus, and we wish publicly to express our gratitude and high esteem to the Secretary-General for his valuable and tireless efforts to prevent an aggravation of the conflict and to contribute to its lasting solution. We share his opinion that such a solution is possible only on the basis of formulas that are in keeping with the Charter, that are freely agreed to by the two Cypriot communities, and that take due account of their vital interests and aspirations. Likewise, we agree with the Secretary-General that it is an essential factor in this matter, as in any other matter of this sort, that "Governments become accustomed to respecting the decisions of the Security Council and to co-operating with the instruments which it may set up" [A/9601/Add.1, sect. VII]—which in this case means, above all, strict respect for the "sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus". It is equally essential that what are called the peace-keeping operations, which by their very nature must be temporary, should not serve as a pretext "for slackening the momentum of the search for a settlement of underlying problems" [*ibid.*, sect VI].

11. As regards the items on our agenda entitled "The question of Palestine" [item 108] and "The situation in the Middle East" [item 109], Mexico's position has been clear and consistent: in keeping with the traditional principles of our foreign policy, we repudiate the use of force in international relations and, accordingly, refuse to concede any validity to the occupation of territories and, *a fortiori*, any attempt at territorial conquest—which implies the necessity of withdrawal from all territories occupied as a result of the 1967 war.

12. We also consider that the parties to the conflict should put an end to the state of warfare and strive to establish a form of coexistence based on respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States of the area. Moreover, we are convinced that there can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East unless those States take the appropriate measures to guarantee the Palestinian people a future of freedom and dignity.

13. Among the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on these items I would single out Security Council resolution 242 (1967), adopted on 22 November 1967—nearly seven years ago—which, in our opinion, contains the essential elements for a just solution. Mexico also viewed with satisfaction the adoption by the Security Council, on 22 October last, of resolution 338 (1973), in which it decided that concurrently with the cease-fire in the last armed conflict, negotiations should start between the parties concerned

aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

14. We would express the hope that the debates that will be taking place now in the plenary Assembly, to which both items have been allocated, will be held in an atmosphere and in a spirit that will facilitate the attainment of substantial progress towards a peaceful solution in accordance with justice and the purposes and principles of the Charter.

15. My country was honoured by the recent visit of a mission from the United Nations Council for Namibia. We regard it as a token of appreciation for our active participation in the struggle against colonialism in general, and for our modest but determined contribution to the praiseworthy efforts of that Council, of which Mexico has been a member for two years. We hope that it will go from strength to strength and finally put an end to South Africa's intolerable occupation of Namibia, which is in violation of so many General Assembly and Security Council decisions and has been expressly declared illegal by the highest tribunal, the International Court of Justice.¹ Given South Africa's attitude of open defiance of the principal organs of the United Nations, and its repeated failure to comply with basic obligations contracted by Member States under the Charter, it seems to us the duty of the Security Council, a duty that can neither be shirked nor postponed—as we stated last week from this very rostrum [2248th meeting] in recalling a suggestion Mexico had made more than five years ago—to recommend to the General Assembly, in conformity with Article 5 of the Charter, the immediate suspension of South Africa from the exercise of the rights and privileges inherent in United Nations membership.

16. The results of the World Population Conference held at Bucharest in July and August of this year under United Nations auspices, represent considerable progress on this vital subject. In the World Population Plan of Action² that the Conference approved by consensus, the various theses presented were harmonized. This was done in a way essentially in keeping with the basic aspirations of the countries of the third world. It was made quite clear that the framework of international co-operation that was recommended should be one of strict respect for the sovereignty of each country, and it was emphasized that population problems are closely linked to a balanced development, and therefore that their solution will largely depend on what can be done to raise the standard of living of two thirds of mankind.

17. The Government of Mexico, which seeks at all times to align its conduct with international decisions, has already sent to my country's Congress an initiative intended to reform the Mexican Constitution with a view to incorporating in it some of the specific recommendations contained in the Bucharest Plan. One of the provisions to be included in the Constitution in accordance with this initiative states the following:

"Man and woman are equal before the law. The law will protect the organization and development of the family. Every person has the right freely to decide, being responsible and informed, on the number and spacing of his or her children."

18. Another international gathering, which we also consider deserves a positive assessment by this As-

sembly, is the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was held at Caracas in July and August of this year. Even though the Conference did not succeed in completing the difficult and complex task entrusted to it—this was obvious from the beginning to States called upon to participate in it—and thus it will continue its efforts at a second session to be held next year, there is no doubt that important progress was made on some far-reaching aspects.

19. The proposal for a 12-nautical-mile-wide territorial sea to be supplemented by an additional economic zone, for which Mexico has suggested the name of "Patrimonial Sea", where in the matter of the exploitation and exploitation of all the resources of the sea and of its soil and subsoil thereof, the coastal State would have the same rights that it has in its territorial sea—although this would in no way, of course, affect freedom of navigation and overflight—has already met with the approval of the vast majority of States.

20. Likewise, the principle that the zone and the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction are the common heritage of mankind, and the consequent need to establish an international authority that would guarantee an equitable distribution of the resources derived from exploitation of a zone, continued to gain ground in the work done in Venezuela's capital.

21. We venture to hope that the continuation of this task, which will be carried out in Geneva, will make it possible in 1975 to sign an instrument that will find general acceptance and lead to the codification of the many facets of the law of the sea, efforts which in so far as the United Nations is concerned were started in 1958. We believe that this would be to the benefit of properly understood self-interest, as much to the coastal and land-locked countries as to the maritime Powers.

22. Now I shall go on, as I had announced at the beginning, to make some comments on *détente*, as it is called, between the two principal nuclear Powers commonly known as the "super-Powers".

23. Mexico enthusiastically supports the idea of that *détente*. But, of course, we consider that it should not be viewed as an end to itself but only as a means to consolidate a peace that will guarantee justice and equity for all, a peace that is faithfully and strictly in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as these have been defined in the Declaration on Principles of International Law, Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)], a declaration that was solemnly adopted in the course of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization.

24. *Détente* must therefore mean a complete break with certain practices of the cold-war era that tended to divide the world into bipolar spheres of influence. It must imply a radical change in attitude such as the one that inspired the title of the well-known work that analysed the arrogance of power. It must never serve to try to justify violations—whether open or concealed, clandestine or shouted to the four winds as a means of intimidation or coercion—of the basic principles

of self-determination, non-intervention and sovereign equality, which are the cornerstone of organized international existence. Fundamental rules of international law which, like those I have just mentioned, have been expressly recognized and reaffirmed with the active participation of all Members of the United Nations, are not to be capriciously invoked or ignored depending on how they suit the selfish interests of a given State, however powerful it may be. We must say "thus far and no further" to all procedures which violate these principles, recalling in this respect what Hugo Grotius said three centuries ago:

"Just as the citizen who violates civil law in order to serve the interest of the moment destroys that which is the foundation of the permanent interests of himself and his posterity, so too a people that violates natural law and international law destroys the defences of its future tranquillity."

25. We are furthermore convinced that for *détente* to acquire the scope and significance which I venture to believe we would all desire so that it can serve as an effective instrument to strengthen and consolidate international peace and security, it must impress itself on the world by clear and palpable results in two main fields: in disarmament, and in the economic rights and duties of States.

26. With respect to the first of these, *détente* must not become an instrument to institutionalize the so-called balance of terror by legalizing the maintenance in perpetuity—however balanced it may be—of a deadly supersaturation in nuclear weapons which entails a potential threat to the very survival of mankind.

27. The modest collateral measures which have been adopted in the course of the last decade apply, in the main only to zones in outer space or the ocean depths, or are intended to eliminate weapons such as the biological weapons which, for reasons of self-preservation, nobody would have dared to use. Such measures should not lead us to forget the nightmarish situation now existing. No attempt should be made to use them as a smokescreen concealing the constant increase in the destructive power of nuclear arsenals, which for more than five years has been estimated as representing between 15 and 30 tons of dynamite for every person on the face of the earth. Nor should such measures make us lose sight of the fact that world military expenditures for the present year are estimated at the astronomical sum of \$220,000 million, of which approximately \$160,000 million is accounted for by the two super-Powers alone. Finally, we should not lose sight of the terrible discoveries which we learn about every day regarding new possible apocalyptic effects of a nuclear conflagration, such as those which were made public last month in statements made by one of the most authoritative sources in the United States, according to which a nuclear war could destroy the layer of ozone in the stratosphere which makes life on our planet possible by protecting it from the ultra-violet rays of the sun.

28. The many items on disarmament included in the agenda of this session of the Assembly offer the nuclear Powers, and in particular the super-Powers, broad scope in proving that *détente* can really bring about fruitful results. It would be fitting, for example, to restore general and complete disarmament under effective international control to its proper place as

the final goal towards which all negotiations on this subject should be directed. The United States and the Soviet Union would render a valuable contribution to that end by bringing up to date the drafts they submitted to the Disarmament Committee more than 12 years ago, or by presenting new proposals.

29. The nuclear test held on 18 May this year by a State not listed among those that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] defines as nuclear-weapon States has emphasized the urgent need, for the nuclear States Parties to the Treaty, if they wish to prevent horizontal proliferation, to comply without delay with the commitments they entered into concerning vertical proliferation.

30. Compliance with these commitments would principally mean that the two nuclear super-Powers would put an end without further delay to underground nuclear tests, by means of a permanent agreement, or through unilateral or negotiated moratoria, as the General Assembly has requested in so many of its resolutions.

31. Such compliance would also require that the armaments race should cease and that nuclear disarmament should be carried out in accordance with the specific requirements of article VI of the Treaty. Appropriate methods of starting to implement those provisions have been repeatedly put forward by the General Assembly when it emphasized the urgent need for the super-Powers to reach an agreement on "important qualitative limitations and substantial reductions of their strategic nuclear-weapons systems as a positive step towards nuclear disarmament".

32. The fact that the agenda for this session includes items relating to the establishment of three separate nuclear-free zones [*items 30, 31 and 101*]¹—one in Latin America, which covers a territory of more than eight million square kilometres with a population of approximately 150 million inhabitants, and the other two proposed zones respectively for the Middle East and southern Asia—is in itself most significant. It is a clear indication of the position of those States which do not possess these terrible instruments of mass destruction.

33. Because of the reluctance of the nuclear Powers to adopt effective disarmament measures, non-nuclear States seem to be prepared to resort to procedures similar to those which apply in the case of an epidemic: to seek gradually to broaden the zones of the world in which nuclear weapons are prohibited for all time so that the territories of the nuclear Powers will constitute something like contaminated islands, subject to quarantine.

34. The nuclear Powers could there make again a contribution to the strengthening of *détente*. The Soviet Union, the only one not to have done so of the five nuclear Powers to which the General Assembly has addressed so many appeals, can do so by signing and ratifying Additional Protocol II to the Treaty of Tlatelolco;² the United States and France can do so by signing and ratifying Additional Protocol I to that Treaty, to which the United Kingdom and the Netherlands are already parties; and all of the nuclear Powers can do so by offering their unreserved co-operation so that the two proposals submitted to the General

Assembly will become a reality, like the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace adopted three years ago [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*].

35. This year the General Assembly will also have to deal with the report to be prepared by the Secretary-General, with the assistance of expert consultants, on the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council and of other States with major economic and military potential. The report was requested by the General Assembly in resolution 3093 B (XXVIII), in connexion with which the delegation of Mexico had the privilege of taking the initiative. Consideration of that report, which we are sure will contain a well-documented and objective study of the subject, will provide yet another occasion for all States, in particular the nuclear Powers, to demonstrate by deeds their political will to assist in achieving disarmament. That is all the more desirable since the Assembly proposed in paragraph 1 of its resolution something which would constitute an invaluable contribution towards alleviating the economic crisis which afflicts the world, that is to say, "the utilization of a part of the funds thus saved to provide international assistance to developing countries".

36. Lastly, the preparation and convening of a world disarmament conference which would be open to all States, a question which the Assembly has been studying since 1971 and in regard to which it has repeatedly expressed the conviction that it would promote and facilitate the adoption of effective disarmament measures, in particular measures of nuclear disarmament, is something which undoubtedly could give us conclusive proof of a real will for international *détente*. In that connexion, it is mainly China and the United States which will have to overcome the reluctance they have shown hitherto and offer their co-operation, as we have repeatedly asked them to do.

37. The other field, also very broad in scope, in which, as I have already pointed out, *détente* should be felt tangibly so as to win credibility among all the peoples of the third world, is that of establishing a new international economic order which would become a reality within a system that includes an instrument defining the economic rights and duties of States.

38. We are undoubtedly at a decisive moment in the destiny of man. It is urgent that the *détente* among the great Powers should contribute to an objective interpretation of the origins of the crisis which threatens the world.

39. The energy problem, which has recently become particularly acute, is doubtless analogous to, though of infinitely smaller proportions, that which the developing countries who are producers of raw materials have been feeling in reverse. Those countries have for decades been the victims of systematic and growing impoverishment because of the imposition of unfair terms of trade amounting to thousands of millions of dollars. However, since in the present case the most highly developed countries are also affected by the so-called energy crisis, the latter, along with its harmful consequences, may have a beneficial result—that of inflicting a shock similar to the shock treatment sometimes used in the medical treatment of psychiatric ailments.

40. In fact, the industrial Powers, which could view with equanimity and, why not say it, with the ill-concealed complacency of their gigantic importing companies, the collapse in the price of coffee, sugar, cocoa, iron, tin and oil itself, are today experiencing the same effects as those so often felt by the developing countries. We hope that this shock will open their eyes to the urgent need for just and equitable terms of trade between the raw materials which constitute the main source of income of the third world countries and the technology and industrial and agricultural machinery which, in effect, are the virtual monopoly of the developed countries.

41. If we consider the question of energy in that perspective, and even within the broadest framework of trade relations of which it is a part, it must be concluded—at least this is our fervent hope—that, as in the case of various other developments of similar gravity, both are but inseparable symptoms of the profound maladjustments in the international economy. Inflation, food shortages, the tragic possibilities of unemployment, the absence of an orderly monetary system, problems of population, pollution of the human environment and the relative depletion of natural resources are reasons for grave concern for any observer of the contemporary scene.

42. Mexico maintains that, taken in isolation, none of these phenomena is controllable. They make sense only within a global context that at one and the same time encompasses and conditions them. What we must transform is the system itself of international co-existence, not the individual contradictions to which it gives rise. It is an age-old stratification of relationships based on domination that maintains the world of abundance and enlarges the boundaries of the world of poverty. Consequently, it is a question of finding basic answers, new structures capable of subordinating the irrational forces of history to the demands of security, well-being and the survival of the human race. The necessity can no longer be postponed for discovering a real remedy for the alarming situation that confronts the world, instead of resorting to mere palliatives that produce illusory and transient effects.

43. When at the end of the first United Nations Development Decade we realized that hundreds of millions of men, women and children not only were suffering poverty but were still fighting to live in the degrading anguish of poverty, it became obvious, indeed axiomatic, that the international system of exploitation unrestrained by any ethical controls and having as its only incentive the selfish gain of a consumer society, was powerless to solve the problems resulting from growth.

44. At the same time, we learned that, during the first Development Decade, gross world production had risen to \$1,100,000 million. But we also learned that only 6 per cent of that fantastic sum applied to countries having 60 per cent of the world's population, with a per capita income averaging \$200 or less. On the other hand, 80 per cent of that incredible increase had gone to countries with populations barely amounting to one fourth of the world's population, countries that furthermore enjoyed a per capita income of more than \$1,000.

45. It was no doubt because of reasons and facts such as those I have just cited that the President of

Mexico, Luis Echeverría Álvarez, was moved to propose, at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the drafting and adoption of a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, to serve as an instrument which, through mandatory rules of economic conduct, will encourage the development of a framework of co-operation for balanced development. On that occasion, 19 April 1972, the Mexican Head of State spoke words which, in the light of what has since occurred, have today acquired a prophetic sense. It therefore seems to me timely to recall them:

“The solidarity that we are calling for is a condition for survival . . .

“The task to be carried out is one for the present generation; there is no alternative of postponement. We are at the threshold of a structural change in human society that can be brought about only if all nations work together to achieve it.

“If the experience of the decade now ending is repeated in the coming decade, perhaps nothing further can be done to prevent an irreparable deterioration in the relations of the third world with the great industrial nations.

“No balance can be based upon a lack of common consent among the greater part of the world's inhabitants. Our peoples are aware that their poverty produces wealth for others. The hatred accumulated against political colonialism is now rising anew against economic colonialism.

“To construct an economy for peace is, at this hour, the primary duty of the international community. On the other hand, a refusal to co-operate in reducing the disparities among peoples means preventing the principles of the United Nations from acquiring any real content.”

46. To build an economy for peace, an economy from which all nations may benefit equally is the primary objective of the draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States which, as is well known, the Working Group established by UNCTAD in 1972 and entrusted by the United Nations with the task of working out the text of the final draft, has been carefully preparing since February 1973. The General Assembly, in the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3202 (S-VI)] after emphasizing the necessity and urgency of establishing that new order, proclaimed a matter of vital importance that the Charter should be approved at the present session.

47. It is our hope that it will be so and that the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the first step in the work of codifying and developing the subject, will constitute, as the Assembly itself affirms in the Programme of Action to which I have referred, “an effective instrument towards the establishment of a new system of international economic relations based on equity, sovereign equality and interdependence of the interests of developed and developing countries”.

48. The conflicting speeches we have heard in this Hall during the past two weeks and the terrifying facts reported in the course of the deliberations of the joint meeting of the World Bank and IMF which has just ended in Washington, in which the turbulence of the

world economy and the sombre outlook for all countries were endlessly referred to, while at the same time it was affirmed with undeniable authority that hundreds of millions of inhabitants of the third world would die of hunger unless the industrialized nations immediately came to their aid—all these facts make clear that we can no longer postpone using co-operation as the antidote to a possible confrontation, so that the concept of interdependence tempered to accord with equity and the sovereign equality of States mentioned in the Programme of Action I have referred to may acquire its full force, and to contribute to this we should without delay adopt the draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. We hope that the General Assembly will interpret the facts in this way and that it will prove equal to the responsibilities that the present historic moment brings.

49. Mr. RAJARATNAM (Singapore): Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. You have the distinction of being the youngest person ever to occupy that august position. Your youth is, however, a deceptive quality, for you have enormous experience both in the world of diplomacy and in the field of battle. You were a valiant soldier in Algeria's armed struggle for independence. You have been the Foreign Minister of Algeria for more than 10 years. You have also played an important role in the leadership of the group of non-aligned States.

50. I should also like to pay a deserved tribute to Mr. Benites, who has earned our respect for the efficient and impartial way in which he presided over the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

51. My delegation would also like to extend its welcome and good wishes to the three new Member States: Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau.

52. I should also like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for the manner in which he has discharged his onerous duties during the past twelve months. I should like to single out two examples of his positive contributions to the cause of international peace and security. In the case of the Middle East, we all owe him a debt of gratitude for the efficiency and speed with which he organized the United Nations Emergency Force. The Force has played a crucial role in enforcing the cease-fire agreement and the subsequent disengagement agreements. In the case of Cyprus, Mr. Waldheim has also played an important role in bringing about a cease-fire between the belligerents and in the field of humanitarian relief to the more than 200,000 persons who have been displaced by the fighting. The decision of the Secretary-General to order UNFICYP to take over the airport at Nicosia, in order to prevent it from becoming a point of contention between the two opposing forces, was a good example of his initiative and political courage.

53. It would appear, to judge by a number of speeches made at this session of the General Assembly and the reactions to them, that we may be moving away from a long era of political and military confrontations, which for three decades provided the major issues of international relations, to one of economic confrontation. True, what we have heard so far are only the distant rumbles of an approaching storm, but whether

it will gather force and break over us or mercifully pass away will depend on the measure of rationality we bring to bear on our mounting economic problems.

54. We should, however, first recognize that the potentialities for economic confrontation undoubtedly exist. Even our overriding preoccupations with problems of decolonization and cold-war commitments during the past three decades did not prevent economic conflicts obtruding from time to time, though for the most part these were treated as tedious distractions from the more pressing political and military issues.

55. Up to early this year the great industrial Powers, which, until recently, between them accounted for some 70 per cent of the world's income, were supremely confident that they had their economic problems licked into good shape. They sincerely believed that they had established an international economic order capable of indefinite expansion and of providing them with unlimited affluence. A whole new branch of learning called "growth economics" provided the ideology to sustain this optimistic vision of the future.

56. The newly independent countries of the third world, too, had their own grand fallacy. It had for long been their contention that the injustices and poverty which afflicted them were wholly attributable to imperialism and that, therefore, once foreign rule was ended, they would automatically enter an era of plenty and fair shares for all.

57. There were, however, those who questioned whether either of those optimisms was justified and whether rich and poor nations were wise in assigning a low priority to economic problems. They questioned the prevailing conviction that some 138 sovereign States could best promote world prosperity simply by developing strong, independent national economies. They questioned the belief that purely national solutions could overcome domestic economic difficulties.

58. Even as late as last year confidence in the essential soundness of the international economic order was as firm as ever. Such doubts and fears as may have momentarily crept in were dispelled by the unexpected boom of the years 1971 to 1973. It confirmed the prevailing belief that the international economic system had an infinite capacity for self-correction.

59. Today, however, there is a growing feeling that the ups and downs of the world economy are not temporary lapses but symptoms of the gradual breakdown of the economic order put together some three decades ago at Bretton Woods. It is now becoming increasingly clear that unless the Bretton Woods system is replaced by another which more fully accords with the economic realities of today, the next three decades could well be given over to bitter and destructive economic confrontations. Nothing short of a fundamental re-evaluation of the world's economic problems will redeem mankind from distress and upheavals far more universal and more violent than anything we have seen hitherto.

60. All this is not mere rhetoric. The first casualties of the breakdown of the old economic order have already appeared. Many of us do not find it incongruous at all that in this age of affluence and high technology we should be able to start our breakfast every day

with a cursory glance at news of thousands of people dying of starvation. Many knowledgeable experts state that the age of famines has returned but this time on a world-wide scale. Only a few days ago the Secretary-General drew our attention to the fact that today some 32 countries are running out of food and facing economic collapse. Another estimate by Dr. Norman Borlaug, the Nobel Prize-winning American scientist, states that something like 50 million people will die of starvation this year—a larger number than the populations of many countries represented in this Assembly. The actual figure is, of course, open to dispute but what is not in dispute is that millions will die and there is apparently very little the nations of the world, victims of outmoded economic doctrines, can do to save but a fraction of the doomed millions. And there is very little that this Assembly can do to offer these 50 millions any ray of hope, by our speeches or by our actions.

61. This is because, it is claimed, the vast food surpluses of the 1950s and 1960s may not return for a long time—those days are over, so the experts tell us. A major contributing factor—one of the major factors—is that today's population is increasing faster than we can provide food—by some 70 million people a year. Even if there were to be a more equitable distribution of the world's food resources, starvation or near-starvation will still be the lot of millions of people. The claim that modern science and technology can cope with an indefinite population increase is, in my view, cruel, wishful thinking. Generous though nature has been, it has not provided us with infinite resources. There are definable limits to the amount of food that this planet can provide. We have already reached a point where the economic cost of extracting additional food is increasing, partly because of higher production costs. I am told that in the United States, where farming is perhaps the most efficient and most technologically advanced, it has been found that it is more expensive to raise yields from 90 to 100 bushels per acre than from 50 to 60 bushels per acre. Any additional increase in grain yield must cost more.

62. The population problem is more crucial to developing countries than to developed countries and the former's ability to cope rationally with population growth will determine whether they make it into the twenty-first century as free, viable and prosperous States or remain festering, disintegrating areas of despair and violent unrest. It is no accident that famine today stalks and claims its victims only in developing countries. Because those countries have done very little to successfully regulate population growth—and that means regulating population to resources—nature therefore seeks to restore the balance and to be the corrective force, as it has done in ages past, by resorting to famine, pestilence and war. These have traditionally been nature's cures for overpopulation.

63. In the likely event of the world sliding into an indefinite period of economic confrontation, the inability of third-world countries to control population growth will make them particularly vulnerable. Countries with large surpluses of grain for export are limited to a few rich and developed countries like the United States, Australia and Canada. Hitherto, and for many years, these countries have mitigated acute food problems in developing countries through food aid

under various programmes. But it would be optimistic to hope that they will continue to shoulder the whole burden of feeding the ever-increasing hungry peoples of the world.

64. It is my submission that, in an era of unbridled economic confrontation, food could become a weapon, especially if other commodities, too, are converted into weapons in an economic war. It may well be that threats to use food and other commodities as weapons in an economic war may at the moment be nothing more than rhetoric born out of exasperation. But if rhetoric is indulged in often enough and economic frustrations mount, then the temptation to translate it into reality might prove irresistible. And we should remind ourselves that the most devastating of all commodity weapons would be food and the most vulnerable would be countries with large populations and poor food resources.

65. I hope that the recent use of oil as a weapon against industrial countries will not be cited as a precedent for the conversion of other commodities—whether raw materials or industrial products—into weapons in an economic war. The reasons which led oil-producing countries to use oil as a weapon were not altogether invalid or immoral. In a way, the wealthy industrial countries forced the decision. For three decades commodity producers, including oil producers, pleaded with industrial nations to pay more equitable prices for their raw materials. The raw-material producers pointed out, quite justifiably, that year after year for the last 30 years they had been trading on less favourable terms against increasingly expensive manufactured products. The consequence was that poor countries were, to some extent, subsidizing affluence in the wealthy countries. The wealthy nations for their part listened to these appeals with great sympathy and dutifully expressed amazement and concern over what was called the widening gap between rich and poor nations and that was about as far as they were prepared to go. Three decades of pleading did not move the rich nations simply because the poor nations—so the rich nations were convinced—had no leverage more persuasive than verbal and moral exhortations.

66. Anyone rereading the proceedings of the various meetings of UNCTAD would come away with the strong impression that industrial nations had accepted the kind of Calvinistic doctrine that God has already selected for all time the nations that were to be rich and those doomed to be poor and that any action by man to reverse this judgement would be blasphemy.

67. Whatever our other reservations on the use of oil as a weapon, there is no denying the fact that its users managed to get the industrial countries to grant what gentlemanly arguments failed to elicit. It would be understandable if other raw-material-producing countries, whose pleas for equitable prices still go unheeded, should ponder hopefully over the possibilities of forging similar weapons to enhance their bargaining position.

68. However, in my view, the use of commodities as weapons in an economic war would be a disastrous course for the countries concerned and for the world economy. What I should like to do is to draw the attention of the wealthy, industrial countries to the growing economic frustration of developing countries over the

failure of the former to deal equitably with those that produce raw materials. Equally, the producers of raw materials must be conscious of the fact that prices must bear some rational relationship to what the international economic system is capable of supporting.

69. True, many of the economic difficulties encountered by developing countries can be attributed to sins of omission and commission on their part. But what is equally undeniable is that the policies of industrial nations, shorn of their pious platitudes, are basically designed to make rich countries richer and poor countries poorer. As far as I know, no industrial nation has come forward with any systematic policy or plan deliberately to bridge the widening economic gap between it and the poor nations, however much it may deplore that gap in theory. This may be because the industrial countries feel that, except for the oil-producing countries, primary producers have no leverage against them.

70. In my view, such complacency is both short-sighted and unwise and shows an abysmal and dangerous ignorance of the international economic system. It is my contention that, even if poor countries do not have the necessary leverage, such leverage is being applied against all of us by the new kind of international economic system which has today come to maturity. This new system which envelops us all can function smoothly only if the wealth of the world is more rationally distributed. All national economies, even the most powerful and the most dynamic, can survive and flourish only by coming to terms with the international economic system that today is the foundation on which national economies rest. Basic to this system is the acceptance of the interdependence of nations, not as a pious aspiration or piece of rhetoric but as a cold reality. The smooth functioning of this global system today depends on some 138 national units working in a co-ordinated fashion for the common good. If the international economy can be compared to a chain made up of 138 sovereign nations, then, I submit, the economy cannot be stronger than its weakest link.

71. It was the fact of the economic interdependence of nations which made it possible for the handful of relatively underdeveloped oil-producing countries to throw the world economy, and in particular the powerful industrial countries, into disarray. This economic interdependence has grown without our noticing it or even planning it over the past 30 years. Despite intense economic nationalism, nation States have been drawn willy-nilly into a complex network of economic relations world-wide in scope. All but the most primitive of national economies develop and grow more and more through international trade, international exchange. The present crisis into which we are drifting stems largely from the reluctance of national economies to come to terms with the imperatives of the international economic system.

72. That, I believe, is why the present economic crisis into which we are moving is qualitatively different from the great depression of 1929. We cannot hope to get out of this crisis by short-term national solutions founded on a spirit of beggar-my-neighbour. That is why so far the application of remedies tried out in 1929 and in the 1930s is not only proving to be ineffective but appears to be exacerbating matters.

73. What distinguishes this crisis from the earlier one is that it is far more international in scope, involving not, as in the past, a handful of imperial units and a few industrial Powers but some 138 sovereign nations. Since all nations are struggling with inflationary problems, it is clear that we are dealing in fact with a world economic problem. The more we seek to cope with a world problem and a world system in national terms, the worse becomes the crisis, the sharper the conflict between nations, the more inevitable an economic crash.

74. However, given the reality of interdependent economies, the clearer should become the futility of economic confrontations. The use of commodity weapons to hurt foes would be an irrational response simply because it would, in the long run, hurt everyone—foe, friend and eventually the user himself. Like the atom bomb, such a weapon, in an economically interdependent world, would not distinguish between the innocent and the guilty, between the rich and the poor, between the weak and the strong. But if, for want of imagination and courage, we should blunder into economic confrontation, then the first victims must be the weak developing countries. This is already the case. They do not have the resources to stand up to the strains of what must be a long and bitter economic confrontation. Eventually, all nations will be drawn into the struggle. The devastation will be great and only a few battered countries will emerge the nominal victors.

75. That is why it is imperative that we cease trying to put the blame for the approaching economic crisis on this or that country or on the specific action of any one of them. That is the surest road to economic confrontation which, once begun, cannot be halted or reversed.

76. The fault lies with all those who refuse to face the fact that, unless national economies are made more responsive to the imperatives of an international economy, we must continue to flounder hopelessly. If the crisis should persist and worsen, then there is a strong probability that desperation and fear of an inevitable economic collapse could, as in ages past, drive nations to seek the most dangerous and hopeless of all remedies: military confrontation.

77. Mr. MOGAMI (Botswana): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I wish warmly to congratulate you on your election to the office of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a fitting tribute not only to you personally but also to the Government and the people of your great country, Algeria. My delegation is confident that, with your diplomatic skill and the long experience which you have had in the work of the Organization, you will guide this session through to a fruitful conclusion. I pledge my delegation's co-operation and support to you.

78. May I also take this opportunity to express my delegation's gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Benites of Ecuador, who presided so skilfully over the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

79. I wish also to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts and contribution to world peace and devoted service to humanity.

80. For my country and my delegation, it is always a welcome pleasure to see new Members admitted to the United Nations. Thus, I salute the delegations of Bangladesh and Grenada and, through them, extend our hearty congratulations to their respective Governments and peoples.

81. But, on this particular occasion, I wish to beg representatives' indulgence for speaking emotionally on the admission of Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau's admission to the United Nations is to the African continent an act that marks the beginning of a new era in southern Africa—an era which, we hope, shall at long last bring independence and freedom, peace and stability to that region. In our view, nothing will ever be the same again in that part of Africa, following the April *coup* in Portugal. We are happy to see our brothers from Guinea-Bissau among us, we welcome their presence and we congratulate the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau on their victory. We are aware of the enormous task ahead of them as they set themselves to the business of reconstruction and development of their country. We therefore urge the international community to give them material support.

82. It is our hope that the cease-fire of 7 September 1974 between the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] and Portugal will indeed lead to the total independence of Mozambique on 25 June 1975. We welcome that cease-fire and look forward to the admission of Mozambique to membership in the United Nations.

83. In September 1969, on the occasion of Botswana's third anniversary of independence, the President of my country, Sir Seretse Khama, addressed the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session [1764th meeting] from this rostrum. It is now five years since that address, and Botswana has, only a few days ago, celebrated its eighth anniversary of independence, before going to the polls in less than a fortnight from today to elect a new Parliament. It is therefore fitting for me to begin by recalling the belief expressed by the President of my country in the United Nations.

84. I reaffirm the faith of my country in the principles and purposes of the Charter of the Organization. We in Botswana view the United Nations as an effective Organization through which enduring peace and progress of mankind can be assured. We believe that this world body is eminently suited to deal not only with major problems of peace and security for all nations but also with the pressing problems of human rights, self-determination, poverty and economic development. It is our view that what may be regarded as the failure of the Organization is, in fact, a reflection of the world it seeks to serve. To that extent, we share the wish of those who seek to improve it and to make it more effective.

85. The value of the United Nations to small nations, like my own, whose interests may on occasion be threatened, should not be diminished. On the contrary, the Organization should increasingly play a very important role in safeguarding peace and security for us all, in calling the attention of the international community to the pressing economic problems, and in bringing pressure to bear on the colonial and white minority régimes which practise racism and *apartheid*.

86. To my country, the specialized agencies of the Organization continue to be a significant source of

economic development and technical assistance, and we feel honoured to have benefited from such assistance.

87. The events of the past 12 months are of significance to the Organization. When the Security Council adopted resolution 242 (1967) on 22 November 1967, it was hoped that its provisions would be a framework for peace in the Middle East. The Organization of African Unity [OAU] attached great importance to the provisions of that resolution. But peace has continued to prove elusive. The prolonged tension in the Middle East, which led to the October war in 1973, was for my country a truly sad development.

88. Botswana has never supported any view which denies the existence of the State of Israel. Equally, we reject as inadmissible Israel's acquisition of Arab lands through the use of force. Regrettably, both the 1967 and 1973 wars have resulted in such acquisitions by Israel. We urge Israel to vacate those lands, if only in deference to international law, which protects all States alike. In our view, such withdrawal would constitute a serious step towards peace and security in the region. My delegation believes that any settlement of the Middle East issue must also take into account the interests of Palestinians if it is to guarantee any measure of permanent peace in the area.

89. Another dangerous conflict has recently occurred in Cyprus. Apart from membership in the United Nations and in OAU, Botswana is a member of the non-aligned group of nations, and so is Cyprus. The independence of Cyprus should be safeguarded out of respect for the principle of self-determination. We hope and trust that peace and calm will return to that embattled island. We equally hope that, with such calm, that nation's independence will be guaranteed through a negotiated settlement. Consequently, my country does not favour any annexation of that State, or of any part of it, by any Power.

90. We commend the efforts of the United Nations in seeking to restore peace to that country, and hope that the parties concerned will respect its role in this connexion. My country continues in a modest way to contribute to the maintenance of UNFICYP.

91. The consequences of the recent hostilities, which have rendered homeless almost one third of that country's population, are of concern to us. We trust that other nations, particularly the non-aligned, as well as the parties directly concerned, will continue jointly to co-operate with and support the efforts of the United Nations.

92. My country continues to observe with keen interest events in other parts of the world. We know that in South-East Asia fighting is still raging, and that areas of friction and conflict still exist. Closer to us, in southern Africa, wars of liberation are continuing. The relations of world Powers are of immediate interest to us. The possibilities for world-wide conflict and confrontation have yet to be totally eliminated. If, indeed, the spirit of *rapprochement* and accommodation, which has been talked about so much over the past few years, is a new development which augurs well for the future of mankind, it is to be hoped that its forces will be used to eliminate the lingering areas of conflict. We hope that this spirit of *détente*, which

we welcome, does not contain elements which could lead to greater rivalries and greater confrontations.

93. The developing nations cannot be expected to welcome a new development which seeks to serve only the desires of a club of nations, leaving aside other pressing problems of the world which continue to confront the United Nations. It is the hope of my delegation that the developing nations as well as the major Powers will join together, in the interests of peace and security, equality and self-determination, to work for the creation of a new spirit that can benefit all of mankind.

94. Being only eight years old, my country is relatively new to the international scene. However, the aspirations of mankind today are obvious to all of us. None of us can remain aloof any longer. The new spirit of co-operation which I have referred to should address itself to these aspirations by providing solutions to the most pressing problem facing us: the realization of economic and social progress. My Government has committed itself fully to pursuing this task as vigorously as ever. Therefore, in the international context, it is the view of my delegation that economic and social progress is also one of the main concerns of the United Nations.

95. Although this concern has been clearly reflected also by the many conferences held in the past years, it seems to us that those held within the last 12 months demonstrate beyond any shadow of doubt the concern of all Members of the Organization in this regard. And here we can recall the attempts of the sixth special session of the General Assembly on raw materials and development, held in April this year; the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held at Caracas recently; and the World Population Conference, held at Bucharest several weeks ago. In all those Conferences the concern of the world community was the same: economic and social progress—or, more specifically, the ever-widening gap between the standard of living of the developing nations and the industrialized Powers; the world food situation, which is becoming more and more critical; the problem of population management and the equitable sharing of resources; and the havoc wrought on the economies of nations by the energy crisis.

96. Indeed, the eradication of poverty, illiteracy, hunger, disease and other sources of human suffering and misery should remain the concern of us all, individually as well as collectively. Our desire for economic and social progress should be translated into meaningful schemes and programmes of assistance from which the needy and most deserving can benefit.

97. I speak openly on the problems of economic and social progress, fully aware that my delegation is small, and with the full knowledge that compared with other nations our effort or contribution is bound to be small. For indeed, my country has no assistance programmes or financing schemes to offer to the international community. In this regard, we are recipients of aid. However, we developing nations are eager to make any contribution, however small. Thus my country has every reason to be proud of its effort and contribution, given the state of its economic development.

98. My delegation wishes to commend the spirit with which the sixth special session of the General Assembly was convened. Yet we must bemoan the fact that no sooner had that session ended than the enthusiasm for it vanished. The economic situation in the third world has worsened over the last 12 months. Economic growth is at a standstill. In some cases, the reversal of economic progress has been the result, especially following the recent energy crisis.

99. If the apparent lack of enthusiasm is the unfortunate result of pointing accusing fingers at any one group of countries as being responsible for some of these problems, might I add that it is neither the wish nor the intention of my delegation to find a scapegoat. And in this regard, may I compliment those countries, developing or developed, which have come to the rescue of the less fortunate countries.

100. Clearly, the magnitude of recent as well as perennial economic problems has emphasized the need for multilateral action. We hope that the international community, especially those countries with the means to do so, will respond to this situation. The tendency to emphasize either unilateral or bilateral action might prove self-defeating. We must come to the rescue of those among us who need help most.

101. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which convened in Caracas, Venezuela, this past summer, dealt with issues of importance to our community of nations. It is no surprise to my country that the international community should attach such great importance to the development and codification of the law of the sea. This is indeed a welcome development.

102. The Caracas session—and indeed its predecessors—was significant in more than one way. First, it had representation from all sectors of the international community. In this connexion, it broke with past traditions. Secondly, for the first time the Conference has a comprehensive agenda. We were happy to note that most, if not all, interests were reflected in it.

103. My country is land-locked. And while we appreciate the rationale for devising a law which will create order and promote a rational management and exploitation of the resources of the sea, my country, as a land-locked State, has specific interests to protect and promote. Hence our effective participation at the Caracas session and our intention to continue to do so at future sessions. It is vital to my country that the right of free access of land-locked States to and from the sea should be recognized and enshrined in any future treaty on the law of the sea. Equally important is a guarantee in any such treaty of an unfettered transit of goods and persons of land-locked States.

104. We naturally attach great importance to the question of the common heritage of mankind. Therefore, it is important to us that the international seabed be a viable area, and not just a barren left-over. We also attach significance to the type of international sea-bed authority which will be created to govern the area. In our view, the authority should not only control and manage the area and its resources but should also have title to it. Consequently, the authority must be vested with full powers to function effectively as a trustee of mankind as a whole. Above

all, we envisage an authority which would engage directly in exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed.

105. I would like to affirm that my country supports the creation of economic zones by coastal States. However, it is the view of my country that regional land-locked States should participate on an equal basis with regional coastal States in the exploitation of the marine resources of such zones. Equally, the question of scientific research and the dissemination of the results of such research, in both the economic zone and the international sea-bed area, is important to my country.

106. My delegation would also urge that the interests of developing countries which produce land-based minerals similar to those found in the sea-bed areas be borne in mind. We look forward to promoting these interests at the next session of the Conference on the Law of the Sea.

107. Decolonization and self-determination are some of the major preoccupations of the Organization, as are racism and *apartheid*. For many important reasons our white minority-ruled neighbours continue to be our major preoccupation. For my country, the continued existence of colonial and white minority régimes in southern Africa is an everyday reality. One has only to recall the tracts of land on which we have settled several thousand refugees, or the explosions which have already spilled innocent African blood on our own soil, to understand the situation. Hardly a day goes by without our being affected in one way or the other.

108. The emergence of a new Government in Portugal several months ago brought to an end almost half a century of dictatorship in that country. The crumbling of that dictatorship should in real terms signal the crumbling of colonialism in Africa. My delegation is confident that all States Members of the United Nations will feel able to support this view. As for the third-world countries, there can be no doubt about their commitment to this cause.

109. The new Portuguese Government has already made known its preparedness to grant independence to Mozambique and to Angola. My delegation welcomes the cease-fire declaration of 7 September 1974 in Lusaka between Portugal and FRELIMO. The arrangements for the transfer of power from Portugal to the heroic people of Mozambique are, indeed, a fitting tribute to the valiant struggle for self-determination and independence waged by FRELIMO.

110. We hold in contempt the futile attempts by reactionary white settlers in Mozambique to seize control of that African country in total disregard of the constitutional rights of the people and in violation of the constitutional method for the transfer of power to the legitimate representatives of Mozambique. The responsibility of Portugal and of the international community to ensure the success of the transitional Government in Mozambique, so that the preparations are completed for full independence in June 1975, is now very obvious.

111. The reactionary element of the white settler community in Mozambique is inspired by the existence of minority-ruled States in the neighbouring areas. It is in the interest of Portugal and of the entire international community to liquidate the resistance of such

communities wherever such resistance occurs. The total liberation and independence of Mozambique is a further contribution to peace and stability in the region and to peace and security in the continent. We commend the new Portuguese Government for recognizing the right of the people of Mozambique to independence. We salute the heroic people of Mozambique for this victory and in the same vein welcome the Government in Mozambique.

112. In any situation of colonialism where issues are unclear, where directions remain equivocal, and where negotiations remain meaningless, the liberation forces can have no alternative but to intensify the struggle. The right to independence is not negotiable, and, consequently, we reject the notion of referendums. We consider that the freedom movements concerned express the wishes and sentiments of the people of these Territories, and that, in collaboration with these peoples, those movements are capable of engaging in meaningful consultations to work out an acceptable method for the transfer of power. Therefore, we would like, while commending Portugal, to urge that efforts be intensified to speed up the total liberation of the State of Angola.

113. The African countries still feel committed to, and are prepared to honour, the Manifesto on Southern Africa,⁴ signed at Lusaka on 16 April 1969. However, this noble commitment continues to be conditional upon colonial and white minority régimes in southern Africa first accepting fully the principle of self-determination. We urge all of them to adjust to the new situation.

114. We all witnessed a very sad development on 30 July 1974, when 80 per cent of the white voters in Southern Rhodesia—all in all numbering only around 83,000 in an African country with a population of close to 5 million—voted Smith's régime back to power. My delegation finds that intolerable.

115. Instead of negotiating in good faith with the African nationalists, the Smith régime has chosen to harass them while consolidating itself. It can thus be seen why the African people in Southern Rhodesia would vow to dislodge this régime by all means available. We urge the international community to intensify its efforts towards a just solution to the Rhodesian problem.

116. There is no doubt that the United Kingdom has an outstanding responsibility in Rhodesia, and we agree with those who have said that there can be no satisfactory settlement without the agreement of the African people in Southern Rhodesia. We hope that the United Kingdom will intensify its search for a solution of this problem. My country continues to make sacrifices, economically as well as otherwise, in an effort to assist and join with those who seek a lasting solution to this problem. In our view, the search for a solution should take into account the importance of the participation of the recognized leaders of the African people in Rhodesia. A concerted effort should be made to eliminate foreign elements in Rhodesia which could make the white minority régime even more intransigent. The international community should call on those among us who are in a better position to do so to bring the necessary pressure to bear on the Smith régime.

117. As with Southern Rhodesia, the situation in Namibia shows no sign of meaningful change. While, because of our geographical position in southern Africa and our long border with South Africa, the functional relationship between my country and South Africa has not changed in any way, we continue to disapprove very strongly of South Africa's racial policies. And in this connexion, we regret that such policies are being extended to Namibia, a Trust Territory of the United Nations. Namibians are our neighbours and brothers. We have always recognized the legitimacy of their struggle for freedom and independence. My country continues to support General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, the effect of which was to transfer the administration of Namibia to the United Nations. My Government abides by the most recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice with respect to that Territory.¹ Consequently, my country deplores the present situation, as well as the continued suppression of liberties by South Africa in that Territory.

118. My delegation believes that there can be no future for white minority régimes in Africa. However, the choice of whether democracy and equality will come peacefully or through a violent struggle clearly rests with those régimes. The ultimate objective of liberation itself will never be compromised. Adjustment now could avoid a situation which threatens peace and stability in the region. Since its independence, my country has, with little effect, made its own efforts to influence those concerned to refrain from intensifying racial policies and to work for the bringing about of change, in recognition of the rights of black people in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

119. We have called increasingly upon the international community to pay attention to white-ruled southern Africa and the suffering of the black populations there as a result of their being denied freedom, self-determination and equality. We continue to deplore the rigorous oppression and suppression of liberties in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. We renew our appeal to the international community to strengthen its efforts to influence events in the region. In this connexion, it is our hope that all nations of the world, particularly the western countries, will demonstrate in word and in deed their total abhorrence and rejection of the institutionalized system of racism and *apartheid*. As for ourselves, there can be no other way.

120. We have been invited to engage in a constructive debate during the current session. Indeed, proposals have already been placed before us for our consideration. My delegation will respond positively to this when we come to consider the resolutions and decisions which we shall make and adopt at a later stage. Allow me, therefore, to conclude by conveying to the Organization, and through it to the delegations of Member States represented here, as well as to our brothers in the freedom movement, the greetings of the people of Botswana. Our foreign missions and embassies are very few in number. But we have friends in all continents. It remains our ardent desire to have more friends. Our membership of the Organization is in itself a source of strength. We take comfort in the knowledge that our problems are also the problems of our friends.

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Paul Hoffman, former Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme

121. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who wishes to make an announcement to the General Assembly.

122. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: It is with deep regret that I have to inform the General Assembly of the death this morning of Paul Hoffman. With his passing away the world has lost a great friend, and the United Nations a distinguished leader. Paul Hoffman was a man known and respected throughout his country and the world. I am certain that I speak for us all in extending to Mrs. Hoffman and to other members of his family our most sincere sympathy and condolences.

123. Paul Hoffman had a long and distinguished international career. He was appointed in 1948 as the first Administrator of the Marshall Plan. Later, as President of the Ford Foundation and as a member of the United States delegation to the General Assembly, he concentrated his efforts on meeting the needs of the poor in many parts of the world.

124. In 1959 he was appointed to head the new United Nations Special Fund. In that post, worldwide attention was brought to his extraordinary qualities of leadership and purpose as he became a champion of the poor. As the first Administrator of UNDP, he continued to work in support of the developing countries, advocating projects to combat poverty, ignorance and disease. The fact that through Paul Hoffman's leadership UNDP has become one of the major instruments of international co-operation is testimony to his outstanding qualities and his remarkable contribution to the United Nations.

125. I have personally known and worked with Paul Hoffman for many years, and I recall particularly his selfless sense of responsibility and determination to make UNDP an effective international instrument for economic development. In a realistic and pragmatic manner, without illusions about the difficulties he faced, he believed passionately in the importance of making multilateral development work and in the noble aims for which the United Nations stands.

126. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As President of the General Assembly, I should like to add my own expression of condolence to Mr. Paul Hoffman's family, to you, Mr. Secretary-General, and to the American people, who have lost a great and distinguished servant and humanitarian. Paul Hoffman will be sorely missed by all those around the world who knew, loved and respected him. His memory will long serve as a symbol of selfless and unswerving devotion to the cause of the betterment of all mankind.

May I request representatives to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Paul Hoffman.

The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.

127. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): One of the memorable moments of my life came last June when I was privileged to present the Medal of Freedom on behalf of the President of the United States to

Paul Hoffman. I hoped that by my remarks then more people everywhere would come to recognize Paul Hoffman's great achievements for mankind.

128. Paul Hoffman was one of the giants who helped to create a new and better world out of the ashes of the Second World War. Those of us who today try to carry forward the great work he helped to begin can only marvel at his vision. The world is poorer because of his passing, but we are enriched by the memory of his great achievements.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

129. Mr. SCHACHT ARISTEGUIETA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before beginning my statement may I express on behalf of Venezuela our condolences and our grief on hearing the sad news of the passing of Mr. Paul Hoffman. He was more than a United States citizen: he was a citizen of the world. His devotion and activity not only in the cause of freedom but also in that of helping the poor will be a lasting example to all Governments and peoples of the world.

130. I should like to begin with a most cordial and friendly message of solidarity from the people and Government of Venezuela for the noble efforts of co-operation which this great Organization is making for development, good understanding and peace among its Members. Despite the diversity of the economic systems and the degrees of development of its Members, the United Nations provides all of them with the most favourable atmosphere for the presentation, analysis and solution of their individual and collective problems, thus giving a clear example of what can and must be achieved through dialogue for the benefit of mankind as a whole in all the diverse aspects of present-day life, beset as we are by the most complex circumstances.

131. The United Nations undoubtedly represents the best effort that the mind and soul of man have been able to devise in this century for the realization and strengthening of man's oldest and most constant dream: freedom and peace. It was thus that our own liberator, Simón Bolívar, saw it, and to that end he struggled to the day of his death, he who was the Father of our Venezuelan homeland and of five other nations of the Western hemisphere. It was thus that he anticipated by more than a century the very conception of an organization for which he drew the guidelines and which is similar to this Organization to which we have the honour of belonging.

132. Venezuela shares in full solidarity the pain and anguish of its sister Republic of Honduras at the vast material damage and loss of life which it suffered as a result of the recent hurricane which devastated that country. The people and Government of Venezuela have been co-operating from the very first moments of the catastrophe, mobilizing available resources to assist the affected townships.

133. We wish also to extend to the Government and people of Peru our sympathy and sorrow in the natural calamities that have recently befallen that brother nation.

134. Without disguising my own personal pleasure at this first opportunity given to me to enjoy the honour of addressing this world parliament, it is with satisfaction and pride that I discharge the pleasant duty entrusted to me by the Government of Venezuela of paying public tribute to the eminent Latin American who preceded you, Mr. President, in your high office. Mr. Leopoldo Benites carried out with talent and skill the delicate tasks entrusted to him by the General Assembly, not only at the twenty-eighth session but also at the sixth special session and later on his visits of goodwill and understanding to a number of Member States of the Organization. Among them, my own country enjoyed the privilege of welcoming him as a distinguished guest, as befitted his high office. We Latin Americans in particular are justifiably proud at having been so ably represented by this experienced and invaluable statesman, who fulfilled the highest and noblest task that the Organization can require of any person.

135. Mr. President, I wish to extend to you the warmest and most sincere congratulations of the Government of Venezuela on your well-deserved election to preside over the present session of the General Assembly. I am sure that under your efficient guidance we shall successfully complete the delicate tasks entrusted to us. For Venezuela and the Venezuelan people it cannot but be a source of satisfaction to see a distinguished son of Algeria elevated to occupy such a high post, for Algeria is a country linked to our own by close ties of friendship which date back to the days when the valiant people of Algeria were struggling for their independence. Today, Algeria and Venezuela stand together in the just struggle which is being fought so that the peoples that are still oppressed may achieve the recognition of their inalienable right to both political and economic freedom and independence.

136. We stand together also in the effort to achieve an international society where a more just social and economic order prevails, and therefore an order that will be more equitable. We stand together—Venezuela and Algeria, united as we are with all the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and, in general, the third world—in the constant and unrelenting struggle to bring about an international society which will lead to a more equitable distribution of the wealth of our planet, in order to benefit all mankind and put an end to the odious differences between great and small countries, between weak and powerful nations, between rich and poor peoples. We in Venezuela believe the time has come to refine and combine our efforts to make a reality of the much advocated but as yet theoretical principle of the legal equality of States. For this to become an actual fact and be reflected in genuine conquests of contemporary mankind, we must put an end to the privileges enjoyed by the few to the detriment of the many. It is imperative that we at long last effectively assist the peoples who have up to now been dominated selfishly by the hegemony of certain countries in a system in which great masses of men, women and children have been kept in intolerable material and spiritual wretchedness. That reality has sometimes been covered over with the mask of apparent aid that in some cases has resulted in the creation of a new form of economic dependency.

137. I am particularly pleased, too, to express to the Secretary-General our gratitude and support for his constant dedication to the United Nations and for the invaluable services he has always rendered to the Organization, and for his political, economic and social endeavours.

138. On the occasion of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, we enjoyed the honour of a visit of the Secretary-General, to whom the Government and people of Venezuela extended the hospitality which is due to so exalted a personality.

139. We in Venezuela are convinced that the time has come to encourage and to carry out jointly among all States the adjustment and transformation required by the new international economic order that was proclaimed by the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

140. The United Nations has many accomplishments to its credit; but when decisions have to be made, hesitations arise and vested interests tend to take over and in many cases the pressure of the strong over the weak becomes manifest. This proves the need for a thorough and genuine restructuring of the Organization, which is rapidly progressing towards universality.

141. My country has always asserted the need to transform the Organization into a true international forum, a place where pressing problems of all kinds that beset the international community can be aired and studied freely and objectively. That is why it is a matter of particular gratification for my country to welcome the three new States that have just joined the United Nations, namely, Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau.

142. Two of those new States emerge into independent life after a lengthy period of colonial domination, and, as far as Venezuela is concerned, we cannot hide the fact that in the specific case of Grenada we are especially pleased. Not only is Grenada our close neighbour, located in the Caribbean, but also, we are linked by ties of friendship and co-operation based on the search for a real and honest Latin American integration for the mutual benefit of our peoples, so closely linked by history and a promising common destiny.

143. The admission to the United Nations of each new State that emerges into independent life highlights once again the invaluable work done by the United Nations in this field.

144. The phenomenon of decolonization is an irreversible historical process. The latest events in Africa prove—if proof is still necessary—that no Power can hope to keep under the colonial yoke those peoples that aspire to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

145. Regardless of whatever form colonial domination may adopt, it is a fallacy to perpetuate the subjection of a people that sooner or later must end by liberating itself, as had just been done by the former so-called Overseas Provinces of Portugal. I avail myself of this opportunity to offer to the Government of Portugal our most heartfelt congratulations on its change of stand regarding the colonial question, an action which ennobles Portugal in the eyes of the peoples of the entire world.

146. Along this same line of thinking, we are pleased to take note of the fact that Spain has clearly expressed its intention to comply with and implement General Assembly resolution 3162 (XXVIII), so as to terminate the colonial régime in the Spanish Sahara. It will thus be implementing the principles contained in resolution 1514 (XV), in defence of the interests of the population of that Territory. Also, by inviting the United Nations to be present during the process of self-determination, Spain is complying with the relevant United Nations decisions and reaffirming its support for the principles of decolonization that have been advocated and championed by the Organization.

147. In the twenty-ninth year of its existence, the United Nations will have to face the collapse of one system and direct its efforts to the creation of a new one, one more in keeping with the reality of a rapidly changing world.

148. Thus far, our system of coexistence has been characterized by the existence of independent and dependent States. The development, wealth and welfare of the former were nourished by the subordination and submission of the latter and the exploitation of their natural resources. At present, thanks largely to the work done by the United Nations, that relationship of dependency has changed and given way to a relationship of interdependence. The crisis threatens to display features more marked than those that are beginning to emerge in those countries that developed their industry according to their own exclusive needs and desires. The present period of transition and expectation is unprecedented in the history of mankind. For the first time mankind is becoming aware of the fact that it is, in fact, one and indivisible. Well-being and the benefits of culture and civilization, in general, must be shared more—far more—if they are to be genuinely lasting. All States should have access to markets and to technology. Each must contribute its share, but not for the excessive benefit of some and to the detriment of others.

149. The developing countries are now sovereign States, aware of their rights, of their duties and of their potential and ready at all times to defend their permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. The developed nations achieved their positions through the purchase of raw materials and sources of energy at unjustifiably low prices.

150. The well-being of one third of the world has hitherto been achieved at the expense of the other two thirds: a single industrialized country, with only 6 per cent of the world's population, uses for its own benefit more than half the mineral resources of the world. The emergency situation the world is experiencing calls for concentrated efforts to seek and apply corrective measures urgently and promptly. The need has become obvious for rational management of renewable and non-renewable resources that would take into account the interests of all countries.

151. A confrontation on a world scale to effect a redistribution of markets and raw materials will not have to happen if we, the States Members of the United Nations, as consumers and producers, are reasonable enough to hold an open dialogue, with the aim of seeking equitable formulas for understanding on the basis of new definitions of the terms of trade that will redress the long-standing and unfair treatment by the

developed countries of those on the road to development. To reconstruct the system along lines consonant with the new international dynamics and requirements will require bold and vigorous efforts that may at last make possible a world based on equality, justice and equity—the only viable conditions for the achievement of that co-operation which is the basic source of well-being and peace.

152. As we see it, the Assembly is the appropriate forum for that purpose. It was created for that end and not as an arena for the uttering of threats by those who possess the dubious privilege of controlling the means of international intimidation and force. Here we can and must find new formulas for peace, co-operation and understanding.

153. We hope that during the present session the work in regard to the happy initiative of President Echeverría of Mexico will be crowned with success and that we may be able to adopt the draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, a project to which Venezuela has at all times given its whole-hearted backing.

154. The developing countries, aware of their responsibility, advocated the convening of the sixth special session of the General Assembly in order to discuss openly and plainly the bases for new mechanisms for the harmonious conduct of international relations, in accordance with the present world situation.

155. The initiative of the developing countries has led to one of the most important steps ever taken by the United Nations. I am referring, of course, to the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the corresponding Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] which were adopted in May of this year. Thus the developing countries wished to anticipate the emergency situation which has arisen lately, to the real or potential detriment of the entire international community and particularly to the detriment of those countries whose economies are especially vulnerable.

156. We are bound to recognize that, despite the great efforts made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the emergency operation that the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to launch as part of the Special Programme of the Programme of Action has not got under way as successfully as it should have. The majority of the developed countries have adopted a "wait and see" attitude—as though the onus of the financial burden of such an operation should fall on the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). These countries in defence of their common interests have after many years of effort managed to attain their rightful position in a world where their main, and at times only natural, resource is squandered—a resource which is as vital for them as it is for the rest of the international community.

157. We believe it imperative to insist that neither Venezuela nor the other petroleum-exporting countries will in any way shirk their responsibilities in the present situation—a situation that is undeniably financially favourable to them but certainly not one where there is real wealth and no grave problems. We, the petro-

leum-exporting countries, have tried to tackle the difficulties created by the new situation, in which, besides oil, many other factors of equal, if not greater, importance have had a powerful effect, factors such as the inflation that affects the whole world and that has been generated primarily by the industrialized States.

158. In keeping with this view, Venezuela has pledged contributions to help in facing the difficulties of the present situation that amount to a considerable sum, according to the financial structure and capacity of our country. I must of necessity draw attention to this matter, even if only in generic terms—not immodestly, but as an objective demonstration of the position adopted by my country in this field of international economic co-operation.

159. The financial contributions made by Venezuela are equivalent to 1.2 per cent of its gross national product, and it is relevant to point out that the pledges made by the industrialized countries to assist the developing nations along these lines in most cases do not even reach one per cent of their gross national product.

160. The financial contributions pledged by Venezuela include \$100 million for the Special Programme; \$500 million for a trust fund to be operated by the Inter-American Development Bank, \$150 million for the Trust Funds of the Andean Development Corporation, the Central American Development Bank and the Caribbean Development Bank; and for the latter we have set up a special fund of \$10 million. We have also made a contribution of \$450 million for Special Drawing Rights which are the equivalent of \$540 million for the so-called oil facilities of IMF. Venezuela is also ready to contribute to the Fund of OPEC, and intends to help encourage agricultural and industrial development projects in the countries of the third world. We are thus ensuring the fulfilment of one of the targets of the recently created Venezuelan Investment Fund, which is to strengthen international co-operation.

161. The foregoing is simple, but I think appropriate and a clear demonstration of the stand of the President of Venezuela, Carlos Andrés Pérez, and his Government in this respect, but I feel that it is also appropriate to supplement the information by mentioning the position taken by my country in the preparatory session of the World Food Conference, that is, that there should be no acceptance of discussion that assessment of contributions to international organizations can be specifically based on oil income, for we contend that such contributions must be based on national per capita income with special consideration given to those developing nations which are going through difficult economic situations.

162. In line with this argument, let me refer to the Declaration and Programme of Action that proclaimed the new international economic order. As might have been expected, the reasons that led the General Assembly to take such action at that time are still valid, so the process of implementation must be speeded up vigorously. If that holds true regarding the emergency situation, which continues to deteriorate with all its real or potential risks to the entire international community and particularly to those countries whose economies have been most severely affected, it is also true in regard to the medium- and long-range pro-

grammes that are intended to set the new international economic order in motion. Both aspects are indissolubly linked. For all efforts to be tightly and coherently co-ordinated on a world-wide scale, the totality of measures making up the Programme of Action must be fully implemented.

163. As an immediate step, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, it is necessary that the United Nations possess sufficient resources to be able to attend expeditiously to urgent needs and to ensure a certain balance in the distribution of the total resources of the emergency operation. Furthermore, the Government of Venezuela attaches special importance to the prompt beginning of the activities of the Special Fund, failing which the Special Programme provided for in the Programme of Action will not be fully realized, as was so cogently pointed out by the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Leopoldo Benites, at the beginning of this session [2233rd meeting].

164. The present critical situation which the world is going through will not be resolved without a convergence of all efforts at the international level which will also take in the overall problem of raw materials. In the measure that correlation and balance is struck between the prices of raw materials and manufactures, we shall strengthen the possibility of putting a brake on the inflation which has been unleashed in the industrialized countries, the damaging effects of which no one has escaped and which might lead to a profound crisis with unforeseeable effects on all mankind.

165. Furthermore, the delegation of Venezuela considers it necessary to reaffirm before this great Assembly, where representatives of almost all the States of the present international community are represented, some of the ideas expressed by the President of Venezuela, Carlos Andrés Pérez to the President of the United States of America, Gerald Ford, a few days ago in an important document which is already on public record [see A/9784]. This defines the position of our head of State in the light of the address made to this very same General Assembly [2234th meeting] by the head of State of the most highly industrialized country of all the already developed nations. The President of Venezuela felt bound to define quite clearly and firmly what he and his Government feel regarding issues as vital and crucial for the present and future of our developing nations, as was the statement made by the Head of the Government of the United States, the host country to the United Nations.

166. The categorical statements made by our President not only have enjoyed unanimous support among all the political sectors which make up public opinion in our country, but have also received solid endorsement by highly authorized spokesmen and great personalities of many nations. We obviously consider this to be a signal honour, and it also proves how accurate are the ideas contained in that weighty document. In substance, it is clear and simple—but it is also eloquent since as our Head of State has averred—truth is always clear and simple:

“The raw materials produced by our countries were purchased year after year at prices which were never in proportion to or in equilibrium with the prices of the manufactured goods which our countries require for their development and which have been purchased largely in the United States,

not only for geographical reasons but also because of the credits tied to the United States economy that have traditionally been made available to us.”

Particularly as regards Latin America, our President's letter adds:

“For many decades, we in Latin America have persistently demanded just and equitable treatment by the developed countries and primarily, of course, by our neighbour and traditional friend, the United States of America. We have repeatedly pointed to the impoverishment of our countries . . .

“Each year we, the countries which produce coffee, meat, tin, copper, iron or petroleum, have been handing over a larger amount of our products in order to obtain imports of machinery and other manufactured goods, and this has resulted in a constant and growing outflow of capital and impoverishment of our countries.

“In Latin America, as in the other developing countries, we can assert that the developed countries have been taking advantage of the fundamental needs of the Latin American, Asian or African man. To cite the particular case of Venezuela, petroleum prices showed a steady decline for many years, while our country was obliged to purchase manufactured goods from the United States at ever-higher prices, which, day after day, restricted even further the possibilities of development and well-being for Venezuelans.

“The establishment of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was a direct consequence of the developed countries' use of a policy of outrageously low prices for our raw materials . . .

“The world food crisis is a consequence, *inter alia*, of the high prices at which the developed nations sell us agricultural and industrial machinery and other inputs essential to agriculture and the growth of our economies.”

The President of Venezuela also maintains in his letter to the President of the United States of America that the Government of Venezuela agrees with the view expressed by him in the United Nations to the effect that “a world of economic confrontation cannot be a world of political co-operation” but our President goes on to say:

“The economic confrontation has been created by the major Powers, which refuse to allow the developing countries equal participation in the search for an indispensable balance in the terms of trade. Within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Venezuela has not used nor will it use its energy resources as a political weapon because that is not and never has been the purpose for which that organization was established; rather, its purpose was to protect the basic wealth extracted from our subsoil at prices that have never compensated for the costs of our imports and of the technology needed for our development.

“ . . .

“We see no other way to confront the economic totalitarianism that has been coming to the fore in business and world trade”—said our Head of State—“and portends as much evil for the world as was

threatened by political totalitarianism in the form of Nazi fascism, against which your great country fought, rendering the world a heroic and splendid service that earned the gratitude of all mankind.

"The World Food Conference which FAO is preparing to hold in November will not be able to achieve its lofty objectives if we in the developing countries do not succeed in guaranteeing remunerative prices for the raw materials we produce, prices that are in the necessary and fitting balance with the prices of the manufactured goods we import."

And President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela concludes with the following telling remarks:

"In view of your important statement in the United Nations, I wish to place on public record this statement of Venezuela's position and the willingness of my Government to work in an international forum to establish a balanced relationship between the raw materials produced by our countries, on the one hand, and the manufactured goods and technology, on the other, which are possessed by the developed countries and are in essence the source of economic marginality and growing poverty in which over half of mankind continues to live. Venezuela perforce takes a sympathetic view of any attempt at finding solutions to the great problems of our time in global terms, but only if a global perspective does not mean that the large countries will prevail over the small countries. It would be dangerous, ineffective and harmful for global and universal solutions to lose sight of the fact that the world includes us as well. It cannot be supposed, Mr. President, that consumers are limited to one part of the world."

167. The ideas quoted above are equally applicable—or similarly apposite—to the nature of bilateral or multilateral relations which, in the economic field, have been applied in terms of trade between the few industrialized countries of the world and the many that are painfully embarked on the road to their own economic and social development.

168. The phenomenon is not characteristic nor exclusively that of a few countries but is common to all, both developed and developing, the only differences being those of degree and form. But, as I pointed out at the beginning of my address, what is at the root of the matter—and I want to emphasize this—is that while political independence has slowly but progressively been achieved over the centuries by the members of the international community, their economic independence, as well as the economic interdependence among them, will brook no further delays. The political values of the international community have, almost unperceived, been replaced by economic values; a skilful manipulation of incalculable magnitude has taken place whereby the clumsy hegemony of the powerful over the weak—which was generically referred to as "colonialism"—has given way to an equally imperialistic but less obvious attitude that has been called "neo-colonialism".

169. Permit me, without unduly prolonging this speech, to make a few remarks concerning some of the items on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly. We are all aware that the main

problems in the Middle East still await solution. We believe that perhaps the best forum in which to seek such solutions is that provided by the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East—if, that is, that Conference is given the determined support of the Organization and if, within the framework of the United Nations, the great Powers co-operate frankly and fully. Venezuela, as an eminently peace-loving nation, is mindful of the law and advocates international co-operation, and will always support any action aimed at achieving a truly just settlement which will respect the rights of all the parties involved in the conflict.

170. Another case that must be settled within a wide political consensus of the parties involved is that of Cyprus. In that matter the United Nations must play the role assigned to it by the Charter. The interference of third parties in the evolution of domestic policies must be totally barred and the principles of self-determination and non-intervention enshrined in the Charter must be fully and effectively ensured. As the Secretary-General points out in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, it is obvious that the effectiveness of the United Nations in the solution of the Cyprus problem hinges basically on the support which the Member States may give to the decisions of its organs, as prescribed in the Charter.

171. In these situations of conflict, Venezuela fervently hopes that the decisions of the Security Council will be complied with and that the parties concerned will abide fully by the peace-keeping measures adopted.

172. With regard to general disarmament in all its aspects, I should like to stress the special interest of Venezuela in this matter. We adopt a practical approach to the subject from the point of view of international security, and therefore in the hope of achieving world peace, for peace that rests on fear is always precarious.

173. The total prohibition of the use of chemical weapons is the least that the Assembly should achieve at the current session. The manufacture and use of such weapons conflict with the elementary principles of humanity and the fundamental values of mankind, as well as the spirit of the texts and instruments which the international community has drafted and pledged itself to respect and ensure respect for. We would go so far as to say that, even if the Charter of the United Nations did not exist, we should still be justified in protesting against the use of weapons which represent scientific progress only in relation to mass destruction and which highlight the most primitive and bestial instincts of destruction. If world wars and their tragic lessons do not provide arguments capable of dissuading nations from procuring even greater powers of collective destruction and devastation, we can hardly be optimistic about the achievement of harmonious progress for mankind.

174. In speaking of this tragic and negative aspect of weapons of mass destruction, the peace-loving nations hope that a total ban on nuclear-weapon tests, including underground tests, will soon be implemented. Venezuela is especially gratified to note that on 31 March 1976 a test ban will come into force.

175. It might seem that we, the smaller nations, can adopt this attitude because we do not have the

“commitments” of the nuclear Powers, but we believe that nothing could be further from the truth. It is those “commitments” that may make victims of the weak because they amount to admitting as a yardstick of the greatness of a State its power to destroy, including even the danger of annihilating all mankind.

176. There can be no doubt—and herein lies the root of the problem—that disarmament will be broad, complete and viable only when the moral values of our civilization change. It would seem at times that most of the leaders of the great Powers are themselves possessed by a series of doubts, suspicions and reservations which do not reflect the grandeur of their nations. We have no doubt that everybody will agree that it is precisely the great Powers which must set the example, since on them depend the manufacture, distribution and use of nuclear weapons. It is they which in some cases solve their balance-of-payments problem by the sale of weapons; they stimulate conflicts, sponsor wars, dismember nations and withhold vast resources from the solution of the great economic and social problems which confront mankind.

177. Venezuela is by tradition among those States which support the total prohibition of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and nuclear tests. We also support negotiations aimed at creating nuclear-free zones all over the world, as has been done already in Latin America. In this connexion, Venezuela is also in favour of holding a world disarmament conference at the earliest possible moment.

178. As was rightly stated in this same forum in 1962 by the then Foreign Minister of Venezuela, Marc Falcón Briceño:

“Nations which have no powerful army and which use no language other than that of principle”—as in the case of Venezuela—“firmly maintain that the problems plaguing this world in crisis can be solved by peaceful means”—recognized by international law. “... In keeping with the ideal of peace—which is the very basis of our world Organization—the Charter of the United Nations tells us ‘to practise tolerance’ and ‘to live together in peace’. That is an ideal which cannot be achieved overnight. The history of mankind has been different, but its long and dramatic past has given rise to the conviction that war is not a solution, that it is always better to negotiate than to fight. It is in order to negotiate that we who constitute the United Nations have come together here. If only the great Powers, too, might be guided in their deliberations here by that spirit of understanding and faith in principles. If only those great Powers might forget that they possessed the most destructive weapons hitherto known, and might, like the small Powers, the unarmed Powers, rely on a surer and more human arsenal in their international disputes: on international law and the procedures laid down in our Charter, which are the only civilized means of solving any kind of problem between the States Members of our Organization.”⁵

179. In matters of human rights, our position is, has been, and will be consistent and unchanging. We shall defend them wherever they may be in jeopardy. We advocate their strengthening wherever they are not practised with sufficient determination, we support the

institutions that protect them, and will raise our voice to call for their full implementation. Many of the subjects to be discussed by the Assembly are, in one way or another, connected with human rights. Injustice, inequality, discrimination, breaches of the peace—all these are violations of human rights, and these very violations are a contradiction of the very essence of our nation.

180. I wish to repeat that Venezuela is ready as always to support any proposal, any measure, calling for an investigation of the facts whenever there may exist a presumption that human rights have been violated, whether directly or indirectly. We advocate that jointly we should draw up a realistic balance-sheet of the social and economic situation of the world, as we are convinced that the inevitable relationship between underdevelopment and respect for human rights will be made manifest by us. The United Nations must continue its struggle to bring us ever closer to the ideal of social justice, the goal to which we all so earnestly aspire.

181. The policy of *détente* which, as has been said, is indivisible and is being applied among the great Powers with promising results, should be extended to the countries of the third world for the solution of their problems. Venezuela has advocated and will continue to support ways and means that will also bring about *détente* in our hemisphere. In this connexion, I wish to thank the Minister for External Relations of Cuba for his expression of support for Venezuela and its Government during his statement in the general debate [2258th meeting] when referring to the stand taken by President Carlos Andrés Pérez in defence of the interests of the Venezuelan people and of the developing nations. Those expressions reflect the desire of our Governments to normalize relations between two Caribbean neighbours, whose past history has more than once found them united in the defence of the interests of Latin America.

182. Furthermore, and still speaking specifically of Latin America, including all the nations of the Caribbean, of which mine is one, President Carlos Andrés Pérez has, since he assumed office, been encouraging the holding in Caracas of a meeting of Latin American Heads of State or Government. The purpose of such a meeting would be to adopt practical measures to help solve our common concerns and meet our joint needs, thus taking advantage of the singular historic opportunity presented to our peoples. This initiative has been warmly welcomed by the majority of the Governments consulted.

183. Venezuela is always ready to contribute, to the extent of its abilities, to building a new international order, and in this task it offers its co-operation as a country which, though small, has profound democratic and liberal convictions, is a convinced lover of peace and freedom, and a conscientious observer of the principles of non-intervention and self-determination of peoples.

184. In the present picture—in the main discouraging and sombre—there is nevertheless one positive and encouraging aspect in that we can meet here, with our different points of view, and at times our conflicting interests, and still leave no doubt as to our firm determination to avoid the kind of confrontations in the world

that have thus far proved ineffective as a means of solving problems.

185. Those of us whose responsibility it is to govern must strive with all our strength and intelligence to combat the state of fear and of constant uncertainty facing the common man of today. We must not forget that partly because of that very state of fear and concern over a future that threatens us not only with wars, but also with misery and want, there can be no other possible alternative but that of a constructive dialogue for peace, for security, and for economic and social justice.

186. In closing, may I be allowed to make a firm declaration. Venezuela is fully aware of and accepts its responsibilities within the unstable scenario of our time. We will fulfil them, and we will do so with the unshaken determination to contribute to a fruitful and united co-operation among all the peoples of the world.

187. Mr. AL-SUWEIDI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We have learned with great sorrow of the passing of Mr. Paul Hoffman, the former Managing Director of the Special Fund and Administrator of UNDP. A man of international fame and stature, Mr. Hoffman rendered great services to the United Nations, and I wish, on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, to extend our condolences to his family and to the delegation of the United States.

188. Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I extend to you, on behalf of the Government of the United Arab Emirates, our congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly reflects the confidence placed in you and the recognition by the international community of your proven abilities. We share the pride in your election, which we consider as an expression of appreciation of the important role played by Algeria in defence of the interests and rights of the third world.

189. We wish also to convey our gratitude to Mr. Benites, who presided over the previous session with great ability and wisdom.

190. We also thank the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to strengthen the United Nations and to increase its efficacy for the preservation of international peace and security.

191. It gives us the utmost pleasure to welcome the three States that joined the Organization at the current session, namely, Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. We are confident that the admission of these new Members will strengthen and increase the effectiveness of the United Nations. We are ready to co-operate with them, both bilaterally and within the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

192. We consider the inclusion of the question of Palestine as a separate item in the agenda of the current session as an event of great importance. The question of Palestine will now be considered in all its basic and immutable elements. Implicit in this inclusion of the item is a realization by the United Nations that its previous consideration of only certain aspects and consequences of that question were inconclusive and could not lead to a just and lasting solution which would

preserve peace in the Middle East and save it from any further tragedies of war and destruction.

193. The United Nations has in the past considered in different organs some of the aspects and consequences of the problem of Palestine and has adopted a number of resolutions and recommendations. This, however, did not prevent the aggravation of the problem by Israel's continued aggression against the people of Palestine and the denial of their rights in their ancestral homeland. It did not prevent Israel from attacking the Arab States adjacent to Palestine, prolonging the exile and dispersal of its people and preventing it from the free exercise of its inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination.

194. Important developments and events have taken place in our area in recent years. One of the most significant of these has been the assumption of full responsibility by the people of Palestine for the liberation of its land and the restoration of its rights. It was incumbent, therefore, upon the United Nations to respond and adjust to these new developments and events by considering the question of Palestine in all its fundamental aspects. That was achieved by the decision of the General Assembly—with one dissenting voice, that of Israel—to include the item in the agenda and allocate it to the plenary Assembly.

195. We view the allocation of the item to the plenary Assembly as another proof of the recognition by the United Nations of the importance of this question. We fully support the proposal of inviting the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to participate in the deliberation of the item in the plenary Assembly. No objective or realistic consideration of this item can take place without the participation of the principal party—the people of Palestine—through its sole and legitimate representative, the PLO. Accordingly, we shall fully support the invitation extended to the PLO to participate in the deliberation of the plenary Assembly on this item.

196. We believe that any resolution that may be adopted at the end of the debate on this item should include the following principles: first, a reaffirmation of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine; secondly, a reaffirmation of the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination, without external interference, and the guaranteeing of its national independence; thirdly, a reaffirmation of the right of the Palestinians who were expelled to return to their homes and lands; and fourthly, a reaffirmation of the right of the people of Palestine to use all means to attain its rights, including the right to self-determination.

197. In calling for the reaffirmation of these rights, we are in fact reiterating a position of principle which we have always taken in supporting the people of Palestine, a position inspired by the fact that these rights are based upon the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and are fully in conformity with the rules of international law.

198. Our position on the question of Palestine is known to all. We have often stated our views regarding the aggressive nature of zionism and denounced Israel's aggression and occupation of Arab territories. We shall, nevertheless, state in greater detail our views during the discussion of the question of Palestine and other relevant items. We should like, however,

to reiterate now our demand for Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories. We shall continue to extend every possible assistance for the achievement of that goal.

199. The United Arab Emirates supports the decision of Mauritania and Morocco to bring the case of Al-Sakya Al Hamra and Wadi Al Thahab—or the so-called Spanish Sahara—to the International Court of Justice. We appeal to Spain to act in a manner that will preserve Arab-Spanish friendship, a friendship which we, for our part, endeavour to develop and strengthen.

200. We were gravely concerned at the unfortunate events in Cyprus this year and were grieved at the tragic loss of innocent lives which further exacerbated the state of tension and instability prevailing in our area. We earnestly hope that all outstanding problems will be resolved in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and on the basis of justice and equity.

201. I wish to add my voice to that of my colleagues who preceded me in welcoming the policy of the new Portuguese Government which is based on the recognition of the right to self-determination and the granting of independence to its former colonies. We appreciate the resolve of the Government of Portugal to pursue that policy and, to end, once and for all, the last vestiges of colonial rule. The way has now been opened for the establishment of friendly and cordial relations between the Arab world and Portugal.

202. Since the founding of our State, the policies of the United Arab Emirates have been based on the principle of support for all peoples in their struggle to attain their freedom, to exercise their right of self-determination, and to preserve their territorial integrity. This is why we have supported, and will continue to support, without reservation, the African liberation movements, and will extend all possible financial and moral assistance to them.

203. We are gravely concerned at the inhuman treatment, by the Government of South Africa, of the indigenous population of that country, and the continued denial by the racist régime in Salisbury of the rights of the African majority in Zimbabwe. The policies of *apartheid* and the oppressive rule of minority racist régimes are an intolerable affront to human dignity and a challenge to world opinion. All previous United Nations resolutions dealing with the problem have remained unimplemented. This failure is mainly due to the continued co-operation of certain States with South Africa and the racist régime in Rhodesia and their refusal to implement the United Nations resolutions calling for sanctions against them. We have imposed a total embargo on the shipment of oil and are strictly applying this policy. We renew our appeal to the States which still have extensive dealings with the two racist régimes to cease forthwith their co-operation with them and to participate in the efforts of the African States and the United Nations to deal effectively with this problem.

204. We welcome the initiative taken by Egypt and Iran to include the item entitled "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East" in the agenda of the current session. We earnestly hope that the discussion of this item will lead to the adop-

tion of a positive resolution for the establishment of such a zone.

205. As a major oil producer and exporter, my country is interested in the current debate on the world economic situation. To understand and appreciate the point of view of the petroleum-exporting countries, it is necessary to go back a little in history. Oil, a precious, exhaustible and irreplaceable mineral, has been exported in great quantities to meet the ever-increasing demands of the developed countries. The companies which controlled the international flow of this vital commodity have utilized wasteful methods of production, which resulted in the rapid depletion of the oil reserves of the producing countries. While keeping the price of crude oil artificially low, these companies made huge profits on the down-stream operations related to oil trade, that is, shipping, refining and distribution, from which the producing countries were totally excluded.

206. Low prices of crude oil made it difficult for the producing countries adequately to meet the rising costs of their development requirements. This inevitably stultified their growth and seriously retarded their progress. In addition to providing huge profits for the foreign companies, cheap and plentiful energy gave substantial tax revenues to the governments of the consuming countries. It also enabled the industrialized nations to achieve a rate of economic growth which far outstripped that of the developing countries. As a result of all this, the developed countries entered into a period of mass consumption and unrestrained material indulgence, at a time when most of the countries of the third world were barely managing to stay above mere subsistence levels.

207. As far as the oil-exporting countries were concerned, any benefits which they may have derived from increased production were wiped out by the sharp rise in the prices of manufactured goods in the developed countries. Thus, the rapid growth in the industrialized countries had no corresponding beneficial results for the rest of the world. On the contrary, foreign aid lagged far behind the great increase in the gross national product of the developed countries. The gap between the developed and developing countries steadily widened. This widening gap, as we all know, had been the object of lengthy and futile discussions in the Organization and its specialized agencies for over two decades. The decision of the oil-exporting countries to extricate themselves from the vicious circle of over-production and low prices has ended an iniquitous situation and halted the exploitation and squandering of valuable resources that had been going on for decades. Now the oil-exporting countries will be able to absorb the vast increase in the price of manufactured goods and to protect themselves against the consequences of the rampant inflation in the developed countries. We believe this new situation will be beneficial for the developing countries, and may have some indirect benefits, even for the developed countries.

208. For the developing countries, it means that some economic power and wealth will be in the hands of small countries like themselves; countries that have neither the desire nor the ability to carve up spheres of influence, countries with no imperialist ambitions and no wish for political and economic domination

over others. We are confident that this shift in the balance of economic power will contribute to narrowing the gap between the developed and developing countries. Evidence of this can already be seen in the very high percentage of the gross national product of the oil-exporting countries presently allocated to assist the developing countries. Let us take the example of my own country. We have during 1974 given to developing countries in grants and soft loans no less than \$700 million, which represent more than 15 per cent of our gross national product. In addition, we have increased the capital of the Abu-Dhabi Development Fund to \$500 million to finance projects in the developing countries all over the world.

209. I am now happy to announce that my Government, in response to the appeal of the Secretary-General, has decided to contribute \$10 million to the Special Programme of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. We have also asked the Secretary-General to allocate \$500,000 of this amount to the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator to be spent on relief work in Honduras.

210. Many of the exporting countries would have preferred to produce just enough to meet our development requirements and those of the other developing countries. Such a reduction of production would have helped us to conserve our precious and irreplaceable asset and would have eliminated the necessity of investing our surplus in uneconomic investments in the developed countries. But we realized that such a drastic and sudden reduction would have inflicted hardship on other countries, and might have caused a serious dislocation in the world economic order, which ultimately would have been detrimental to our interests. So we increased our production by nearly 20 per cent, in spite of the obvious economic disadvantages of such an increase.

211. Although the Arab countries were not the ones which initiated the rise in oil prices, we, as OPEC members, are bound by the decisions of our organization. In any event, the way to deal with the problem is not by threats and counter-threats, not by hostility and confrontation, but through understanding. It is not logical to deal with the price of oil in isolation from the prices of manufactured goods and other commodities. In other words, the problem of oil prices should be considered within the general framework of the world economic situation. We have already taken steps in this direction by instituting co-operation, based on mutual friendship and respect, with Western Europe. This example is worthy of emulation, because the interdependence of the world economy leaves us no alternative but that of co-operation and mutual accommodation. This fully conforms to the attitude of the Arab nation, of which my country is an integral part.

212. We are a small country and our people, who have lived for centuries in conditions of appalling poverty and privation, are at long last looking with some optimism to a future free from the scourges of poverty, ignorance and disease. Our people, long neglected and forgotten by the world, are now lending a hand to other developing countries to help them in their difficult task of providing a decent life for their people. We do this out of self-interest, as well as out

of a sense of duty towards others. Most developing countries are potentially rich in human and material resources; we have great confidence in their future. Our modest capital investments in their development will yield rich rewards for us as well as for them and will help us to work together to create a new world, free from poverty and want.

213. Mr. TARCICI (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation was very much moved by the sad news, which we heard a short time ago from the Secretary-General, of the loss to humanity in the death of Paul Hoffman. It is a loss to science, technology and experience. Mr. Hoffman, with his unrivalled knowledge, his keen interest in humanity, his zeal in the service of mankind and for the acceleration of the development of the developing countries, was an example to all. To his wife and family, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the United States delegation we express our condolences.

214. Mr. Hassan Makki, our Deputy Premier and the head of our delegation, has been unable to be here in time and I have been entrusted with the reading of the text of the statement of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic on his behalf.

215. Mr. President, I should like to offer you our warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to preside over this session of the General Assembly. Your unique personality, your wide knowledge, your great experience and your successful and sustained struggle for liberty and development were and will remain the motives that led the international community to entrust you with that important duty. If our sister Republic of Algeria is rightly proud of you it is because you represent also the noble continent of Africa, that vigorous continent which looks forward to a better future and which is trying to take its proper place in the world community, thanks to its successful struggle to eliminate colonialism and repugnant and condemned racial concepts. We reaffirm that our delegation will do its utmost to co-operate with you in the successful fulfilment of the great task which you are now undertaking.

216. Our unreserved faith in the Charter of the United Nations and our unconditional support for the principles on which this world Organization is based reaffirm our trust in the choice of yourself to occupy your high post and express the conviction of the international community regarding the great role which is being played by the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria in the field of international co-operation and in the restructuring of world, international and economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

217. My delegation would like to pay tribute on this occasion to the President of the previous session of the General Assembly, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who in his presidency combined prudence and ability.

218. My delegation would also like to welcome and express its warmest congratulations to the Republic of Bangladesh, to Grenada and to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on their admission to membership in the United Nations.

219. I am very pleased to inform the General Assembly about developments in modern Yemen, which is trying strenuously to emerge from the era of isola-

tionism and underdevelopment, an era in which it was deprived of the benefits of modern civilization, science and technology.

220. Two weeks ago Yemen celebrated its national day. Thanks to our victories over underdevelopment, reaction and stagnation, we are now harvesting all our potentialities and resources and moving forward in great strides towards a better and more promising future that will restore to this Arab State its ancient glories that were described by the world of the time in terms of the wealth of Saba and Arabia Felix. We have opened wide the doors of Yemen to all that is useful, so that we may take advantage of, and bring to our country and to our sons, the blessings of knowledge and development and all that can lead us to prosperity, while adhering fully to our moral principles and religious precepts. For this reason, we have drawn from modern concepts provisions for the latest type of democratic institutions and progressive constitutions that are in keeping with our religion and faith and our traditions, which are based on consultation and justice. We are now applying the best administrative system that can ensure the attainment of our ideal objectives.

221. In the field of education, we have built and are building hundreds of schools and institutes in order completely to wipe out ignorance and illiteracy, and we have established a young and ambitious university. We have sent out missions to our sister countries and to other friendly countries in order for them to learn as much as they can, in collaboration with UNESCO, in their particular fields of specialization.

222. In the field of public health, we have built and are building hospitals and clinics. We are recruiting our own doctors and all doctors coming to our country from our sister countries. In this area we are co-operating with WHO to the extent that we can, with a view to eradicating epidemics and disease.

223. In the field of social affairs and labour, we have established a special ministry and enacted modern laws for the purpose of developing our society and ensuring social justice in its highest concepts. In this area we are co-operating with the ILO.

224. Also in the field of labour, for purposes of ensuring communication in all its forms, we have built many roads. Strenuously and indefatigably, we are completing a vast, country-wide network of roads that will link the coast with the hinterland, passing through very lofty mountains exceeding 3,000 metres in altitude, connecting the cities with each other, on the one hand, and with the countryside on the other. We have also built a modern port on the Red Sea and are engaged in building two other ports. Through telecommunications, we have connected Yemen with the whole world: by telephone and telex and with modern airports and international airlines. In collaboration with ITU, we have built a network that can be considered among the most modern.

225. In order to develop agriculture—and our country is, first and foremost, an agricultural one, cultivating a variety of crops in different areas—we have created modern farms and are trying to improve irrigation by both surface and underground water. In this field we are collaborating with FAO.

226. We are also working in other fields of activity, seriously and arduously, with the aim of ridding ourselves as rapidly as possible of the heritage of underdevelopment by advancing along the road to development and growth, in order to guarantee a dignified life to the 8 million people of our country. I wish to take this occasion to thank our sister countries and the other friendly countries that have extended their assistance to us in generous fashion and with no strings attached.

227. After a period of stagnation, our co-operation with the technical agencies and various bodies of the United Nations and the international financial institutions has grown, and every year witnesses an increased understanding of the needs of Yemen on the part of these important agencies. This increase in their understanding results in an increase in the credit that can be extended to our country, thus assisting us greatly along the path of growth and development. Yemen also is thankful for the assistance that is being extended to it by UNDP and by other financial institutions that have provided us with assistance.

228. We all know very well that the object of including the name of Yemen among the 25 developing States is to implement all the resolutions adopted by the international community with a view to pushing forward this group of nations as quickly as possible; and we are sure that the assistance of our friends and the help of the international community will fail in reaching that objective unless we, the peoples and Governments, work hard and exploit all our resources, as we are now indefatigably engaged in doing. We also believe that the inclusion of our country's name in the list of the 25 developing countries is an additional incentive for us to step up our goal of development. We have learned from our own experience and from that of others in positions similar to ours that the development of our economy merits all our care and understanding and an open mind.

229. There have been developed some limited industrial and economic enterprises that could be successfully undertaken by government. The other enterprises, however, need capital, initiative, experience, expertise and personal effort, and for that reason my Government has enacted the most liberal laws for the purpose of encouraging investment on the part of both national and foreign capital with a view to bringing about a renaissance that will provide prosperity for the country and an honest and dignified living for the increasing numbers of our ambitious youth.

230. We have recently signed two agreements for investment in, and prospecting for, oil off our shores, and we sincerely hope that this economic co-operation will succeed, so that we can dedicate all the income and revenue from this valuable resource to raising the standard of living of our people and developing our country.

Mr. Ghorra (Lebanon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

231. Together with our brothers in the southern part of Yemen, we look forward with great hope to the happy day when the total and natural unification of Yemen, within its historic boundaries, which is the ambition of every Yemeni, can be achieved, so that

the Yemeni people as one can fulfil its ambitions and aspirations for development, prosperity and happiness, thanks to the historic unity long cherished by all the people.

232. Permit me to turn, particularly on the occasion of the mention of oil, to the position of Yemen regarding all the problems and questions which have been referred by the Organization to its Economic and Social Council.

233. In this Hall the President of the United States dealt with the question of energy and food all over the world. While my delegation shares the United States President's concern about energy and food, I would draw attention to the fact that oil and gas are limited in quantity and are not renewable. For this reason it is the duty of all humanity to do its best to economize and cut down on its consumption of this resource, so that mankind will not soon be deprived of it; and this particularly as oil not only can be used as energy but also, as a raw material, has thousands of derivatives that can benefit mankind, in the form of medicines and other things.

234. Every scarce non-renewable resource that is of benefit to all must be the concern of all people and they must fix its price in relation to its scarcity, its importance and its value. However, as there are a number of developing States still in need of oil to help them to ensure the quick pace of their development, it has become necessary to help those developing countries facing oil shortages to acquire oil at reasonable prices. This can be achieved through assistance in kind or by other practical steps which the oil-producing countries are taking now, and for which we thank them. We heard evidence of that a few moments ago from the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Emirates.

235. As for food and the vital need for it and the fears resulting from the decrease in food production, I can say that the Preparatory Committee of the World Food Conference has paved the way for holding the Conference this November in Rome in order to deal with this vital question. The Conference may reach practical solutions, such as the establishment of special funds to finance the increase of crops, to facilitate the acquisition of fertilizers at reasonable prices and to supply high-quality seed and other practical measures. My delegation also shares the views expressed on this question by the Foreign Minister of our sister Republic of Kuwait, Mr. Al-Sabah [2249th meeting], regarding the agricultural policy followed by some developed countries which give financial subventions to farmers in return for which they refrain from cultivating large tracts of land, in order to ensure a decrease in food production and a considerable rise in prices. It is worth mentioning that the present corrective change in the price of oil is not the reason for the rise in the prices of foodstuffs and other goods. That has been substantiated by the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom himself in his address before the General Assembly, when he said that "the unprecedented world-wide economic boom of recent years led to higher commodity prices prior to the recent increases in world oil prices". [2240th meeting, para. 219.]

236. The international community has witnessed during the past nine months—that is, since the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly—many events

and developments which have given proof of the effective role played by the international Organization in developing international relations and have revealed the growing strength of the non-aligned movement and the new positions gained by this movement along the path taken by the developing countries in reaffirming their political independence and national sovereignty over their natural resources.

237. The initiative of President Houari Boumediène of Algeria that led to the holding of a special session of the General Assembly to discuss raw materials and development was a true indication of the readiness of the third world countries and their seriousness in assuming historic responsibilities for development, on the one hand, and on the other, in reasserting their independence and their true desire to establish a serious dialogue with the industrialized countries on a basis of equality in order to discuss the serious defect in the international economic and monetary system.

238. Here I must refer to the continued monopoly by a few States of the resources of the sea. We hope that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held at Caracas, which dealt with this problem in a practical and realistic manner, will reach at its forthcoming session in March an agreement that will ensure an equitable and just distribution of the tremendous resources of the sea, so that the developing countries, which have been deprived in the past of justice in that distribution, will have a share commensurate with their needs.

239. We also hope that the eminent personalities of this world will accept the principle of respect for the sovereignty of all States over their territorial waters, including islands and straits, because it is inconceivable and not in the interest of world peace that the fleets of big naval Powers should continue roving the seas of the world without observing or respecting the sovereignty of the small States. In particular those States feel pain when they see the fleets of those Powers approaching their coasts carrying the most lethal weapons of destruction and devastation, including horrendous atomic weapons. We also hope that the seas, including the Indian Ocean, will become zones of peace and security and not zones for dangerous military rivalry. We sincerely hope on this occasion that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, of which Yemen has the honour to be a member, would arrive at proposals that would lead to avoiding this continued military rivalry between the big Powers in this part of the world whose importance is growing as a result of the growing importance of oil along its shores.

240. After having reviewed recent problems and their positive and negative impact on international relations, we would put on record here the viewpoint of my delegation and the view of my country towards some questions which are before the General Assembly.

241. The problem of colonialism and foreign occupation remains a factor which causes anguish for humanity's conscience and which hinders the progress of peoples, who have been the victims of the crimes of colonization, towards liberty, independence and prosperity. Depriving more than 20 million people of their inalienable right to live free on their own soil and to take part in building a prosperous society, in which

justice prevails, runs counter to the spirit of the modern age and is not in keeping with the great developments that have been achieved by twentieth-century man.

242. It is to be regretted that colonialism and the colonization of Sakiet El Hamra and Río de Oro, of the African Arab Sahara, which is erroneously called "Spanish Sahara", has not ended. My delegation would denounce the continued colonization of the Arab land and finds it necessary that Spain and the international community should take the necessary steps to end this anomalous situation at this late stage of decolonization. The international community should not accept any measures which would ensure the perpetuation of domination or colonization, whether overtly or covertly. For this reason we support totally the moderate and prudent step which has been taken to place the case of this African-Arab territory before the International Court of Justice as a measure to put an end to colonization in all its forms.

243. Although we welcome the spirit of realism shown by the new régime in Portugal and its pragmatic stand on the question of some colonies in Africa, we would appeal to them to end all colonial régimes in all parts of Africa which are still under Portuguese domination, particularly in Angola, by granting it, without delay, its legitimate right to self-determination and independence. What we have heard from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal enhances our optimism and our hope.

244. The cause of liberty and decolonization in Africa has not come to an end. Namibia is still groaning under the yoke of oppression and barbarism practised by the racist régime of South Africa. Despite the world's appeals which have been addressed by the United Nations to the minority régime in Johannesburg—the intransigence of this minority racist régime and its slighting of world opinion remain unchanged. We have reached the point of no return at which it is useless and futile to issue further resolutions and appeals. In the face of this situation it is the duty of the United Nations, with all its 138 Member States, to take drastic action which would ensure the compliance of South Africa with the resolutions of the General Assembly. We stress the responsibility of Member States to respect and observe their obligations and implement the resolutions on embargoes adopted by the United Nations.

245. The problem of Southern Rhodesia reflects a particular situation which is identical with what had taken place in occupied Palestine. In both cases, British colonialism had given foreign adventurers and terrorists the opportunity to occupy the two countries and, by encouraging them, to impose their domination over the indigenous peoples of those countries through terrorism and slaughter. We all remember how Great Britain withdrew from Palestine and abdicated its responsibilities as a mandatory Authority. It repeated the same operation in Southern Rhodesia, neglecting its international obligations towards the League of Nations and then towards the United Nations.

246. The bloody events which have taken place on the island of Cyprus since 15 July last and the regrettable developments which have taken place after the military *coup* that overthrew the constitutional Government headed by Archbishop Makarios is one of the dangerous negative points in international relation-

ships. Though we do not want to dwell on this problem in detail, we would strongly support the resolutions adopted by the Security Council. We also reaffirm our special concern for and strong awareness of the territorial integrity of the island and the independence of the Republic of Cyprus and its position as a distinguished State among the non-aligned countries.

247. The world as a whole will not rest until racial discrimination and *apartheid* as practised in southern Africa and Rhodesia are completely eradicated. My Government would support all resolutions and measures adopted with a view to ending *apartheid* and racial or ideological discrimination. How could a man, or a thinker, or an institution, or any Government condemn colonialism and the flouting of people's rights and racial discrimination, without mentioning the noble Palestinian people and their sad fate, and without welcoming the most recent resolution adopted by the United Nations, which has duly recognized this basic and important problem of the world by deciding to deal with it for the first time after a great many years of neglect.

248. Here in the General Assembly Hall the Palestinian problem will be dealt with. Is the world entitled to continue to remain silent before the oppression and tyranny practised against an entire people, exceeding three and a half million in number, of sons of Palestine? This Holy Land was chosen by God to be a place of peace and tolerance and not to be a place of tyranny, oppression and injustice. We are sure that the historians of the United Nations will consider this session to be one of the most important sessions ever held by the Organization and that they will call it the session which reinforced the basic rights of the Palestinian people.

249. Everyone engaged in politics all over the world is now convinced that the noble people of Palestine is worthy of all care and appreciation because this heroic struggling people has proved without doubt and very clearly its genuineness and resolute determination to recover its legitimate rights with unprecedented courage. It has faced and is now facing challenges resolutely and with faith, a fact which has compelled the whole world to admire this people which has risen to its historical responsibilities and has proved its ability to shoulder the heavy burden which has been thrown on its shoulders very recently by the failure of the world community to recognize its basic legitimate rights and the continued injustices of the aggressor. Everybody shares our certainty that there can be no solution to the problem of the Middle East before the Palestinian people has recovered its inalienable and legitimate rights and any sustained neglect of those sacred rights will inevitably result in the further deterioration of the situation in the whole area, a fact which would endanger the whole world.

250. How can what is called the "Middle East problem" be resolved completely and radically unless a solution is found first to the problem of the Palestinian people whose rights have been denied and who has been expelled from its homeland and has been under the rule of a foreign invader? It is now high time that the world should come to its senses and deal with the cause of the disease, and not be content to avoid its complications and extend its symptoms. For this reason, my Government warmly welcomes the sensible

resolution adopted by the United Nations to deal with the Palestinian problem within the proper context and with due care, that is to say, in the General Assembly, and gives the representatives of this noble Palestinian people every chance to explain its cause, to defend it and to put forward practical solutions for it. The bitter experience through which this people has passed has taught it how to contain and deal with the cause of the tragedy facing it, how to defend its legitimate rights and to abide by the concepts and democratic and human principles which have been voiced by it on all occasions.

251. We are sure that the international community which knows what zionism is and which fully realizes its dangers, and knows who the Palestinian people is and what are its rights, will listen to the explanations of the Palestinian delegation from this rostrum and will support that delegation as it has done so far in all the various political and non-political conferences and meetings whether held within the United Nations or outside it.

252. My delegation expects the United Nations to abide by the provisions of its Charter, that is to say, to give the Palestinian people its full untrammelled right to return to its fatherland and to restore to the whole people, regardless of whether they return to their fatherland or not, the right to practice sovereignty and full and immediate independence.

253. I reaffirm that my Government has unshakeable faith in the fact that unless this people is restored to its rights and unless it is given the right to sovereignty and independence in its fatherland, there will never be any lasting peace in the Middle East, and the world's conscience will never be at rest because of the continuation of this tragedy. That is why we call for its radical solution on a just basis. If that is not done the whole area will be engulfed in a destructive war which, in turn, may become a world calamity.

254. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Chile to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

255. Mr. JARPA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): After the extraordinary display of slavishness and servitude by the Soviet satellite countries yesterday we thought the circus was over, but this morning the representatives of Byelorussia and Hungary made use of this rostrum to defame Chile once more. This makes it necessary for us to intervene in the debate.

256. Byelorussia is not an independent State: it is a part of Soviet territory and its delegation has confined itself to a parrot-like repetition of the things the Soviet representatives have been saying for some days. The delegation of Byelorussia has no identity or ideas of its own and obviously its opinions are not worthy of our notice.

257. As for the representative of the present governing régime in Hungary, let us see what moral authority he has to come here and talk about freedom, independence and human rights. In its resolution 1004 (ES-II), the General Assembly states the following:

“ . . .

“*Convinced* that recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people

to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedom and independence.

“*Condemning* the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights,

“ . . .

“*Noting* the communication of 1 November 1956 of the Government of Hungary to the Secretary-General regarding demands made by that Government to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the instant and immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces,

“ . . .

“*Noting* that the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary has resulted in grave loss of life and widespread bloodshed among the Hungarian people,

“*Taking note* of the radio appeal of Prime Minister Imre Nagy of 4 November 1956,

“1. *Calls upon* the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the people of Hungary and from any form of intervention, in particular armed intervention, in the internal affairs of Hungary;

“2. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory;

“3. *Affirms* the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being;

“4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, to observe the situation directly through representatives named by him, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest moment. . . .”

That resolution is dated 4 November 1956. Later, resolution 1005 (ES-II) was adopted, in which:

“*The General Assembly,*

“*Noting with deep concern* that the provisions of its resolution 1004 (ES-II) of 4 November 1956 have not yet been carried out and that the violent repression by the Soviet forces of the efforts of the Hungarian people to achieve freedom and independence continues,

“ . . .

“*Considering* that foreign intervention in Hungary is an intolerable attempt to deny to the Hungarian people the exercise and the enjoyment of such rights, freedom and independence, and in particular to deny to the Hungarian people the right to a government freely elected and representing their national aspirations,

“*Considering* that the repression undertaken by the Soviet forces in Hungary constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers,

"Considering that the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Hungarian territory is necessary,

"1. Calls again upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay; . . ."

Later, in resolution 1006 (ES-II), the General Assembly said:

"Considering that the military authorities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are interfering with the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies urgently needed by the civilian population in Hungary,

"1. Calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standards and principles of international law, justice and morality . . ."

In resolution 1007 (ES-II), the General Assembly said:

"Considering the extreme suffering to which the Hungarian people are subjected,

"Urgently wishing effectively to eliminate this suffering,

" . . ."

"1. Resolves to undertake on a large scale immediate aid for the affected territories by furnishing medical supplies, foodstuffs and clothes;

"2. Calls upon all Member States to participate to the greatest extent possible in this relief action . . ."

Later, the General Assembly appointed a Special Committee to report on the situation of the Hungarian people. In adopting that report in resolution 1133 (XI) the General Assembly said:

"Recalling its resolution 1132 (XI) of 10 January 1957, establishing a Special Committee, consisting of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay, to investigate, and to establish and maintain direct observation in Hungary and elsewhere, taking testimony, collecting evidence and receiving information, as appropriate,

"Having now received the unanimous report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary,

"Regretting that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities in Hungary have failed to co-operate in any way with the Committee,

"1. Expresses its appreciation to the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary for its work;

"2. Endorses the report of the Committee;

"3. Notes the conclusion of the Committee that the events which took place in Hungary in October and November of 1956 constituted a spontaneous national uprising;

"4. Finds that the conclusions reached by the Committee on the basis of its examination of all available evidence confirm that:

"(a) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations,

has deprived Hungary of its liberty and political independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental human rights;

"(b) The present Hungarian régime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

"(c) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has carried out mass deportations of Hungarian citizens to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

"(d) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has violated its obligations under the Geneva Conventions of 1949;

"(e) The present authorities in Hungary have violated the human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Treaty of Peace with Hungary;

"5. Condemns these acts and the continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly;

"6. Reiterates its concern with the continuing plight of the Hungarian people . . ."

258. Those are the countries or Governments which come here and talk about freedom, independence and human rights! How long is this farce going to continue? All of us know that these subjects do not concern them one bit and that there is no problem of human rights in Chile that can justify this campaign undertaken against us by the Soviet Union and its satellites. There is a political matter though: a developing people which has emancipated itself from Soviet influence. Let all other developing countries realize what it costs to be non-aligned in this world in which so much is said about independence and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

259. That is the only reason for the Soviet campaign. There are no economic problems. It has been said here that the economy of Chile has fallen into the hands of transnational corporations and monopolies. But not one name has been produced in support of this, because no company in my country has fallen into foreign hands in the past year when there has been a nationalist government of renewal in power.

260. It has been said here that there are thousands dead. Yesterday they were being counted up. If it were true, the territory would be completely depopulated. It has been said here that the workers are idle, that they have been sacked en masse. How, then, can we explain that there has been an increase of almost 40 per cent in production? There was an increase of 50 per cent in agricultural production this year. Our industrial production has risen to the point where it can satisfy all the needs of the country. I think we should find that the mining industry has risen too high, if we were to take a look at a few price indices for the more important minerals.

261. But Chile is a country with open frontiers. Last year we invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations to visit Chile. That is an open invitation for him to accept when his work allows. We have invited all the official international committees and the International Red Cross to visit Chile, and we have been grateful for any suggestions they have made. Those countries which are criticizing us here ought to do the same. I urge them to do the same: open their frontiers and allow the International Red Cross to

visit their prisons and other places of detention—as they can do in Chile.

262. We want to live in freedom; we want to live in peace with all the nations of the world; we want to maintain good relations with all free peoples that will respect our independence and our sovereignty.

263. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, I should like to state that I have asked for the floor to make a brief statement as representative of the Byelorussian SSR and as Chairman of the Group of Socialist Countries. It is not the slanderous affirmations of the gentleman who was at the rostrum before me and who in no sense represents the Chilean people that are compelling me to take the floor; rather, it is the general profound concern of the socialist countries over the situation which has existed in Chile from the day the Fascist military *coup d'état* was perpetrated against the constitutional Government headed by President Salvador Allende, an outstanding figure in the national liberation movement who devoted his life to the cause of the freedom of the Chilean people.

264. It is offensive that agents of the Chilean Fascist military Junta should speak from this rostrum, where President Allende addressed us, solely to express slanderous inventions. What they have said here testifies to the impotence of that Junta, which is the spiritual successor of Hitler's fascism.

265. If we are to talk about character and what it represents, the Byelorussian people, which lost every fourth citizen in the fight against Hitler's invaders, are familiar with the character, manners and methods of fascism. Our people made their substantial contribution to the victory over Hitlerism a universally recognized contribution to the establishment of the United Nations, and we are proud that we are consistently struggling for freedom, democracy and social progress.

266. In solidarity with the Chilean democrats and patriots, allow me once more to express our profound respect to the memory of President Salvador Allende. Let me recall his words in his last address to the Chilean people, his people. He said over the radio on that fateful day:

"I believe in Chile, in its future. I believe that others will overcome this time of hardship and bitterness in which treachery prevails. You must be confident that people worthy of building a better future will once again follow this path."

267. Yesterday afternoon the representatives who spoke here expressed their attitude towards the counter-revolutionary *coup d'état* in Chile. They strongly condemned the arbitrary behaviour of the Junta, the persecution of democrats and the atrocities and illegal actions of the Chilean authorities perpetrated in gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights adopted by the United Nations. They requested that the influence of the United Nations and the great

authority of the President of the General Assembly and that of the Secretary-General be brought to bear in a demand for cessation of the Fascist terror in Chile to save the lives and improve the lot of the Chilean democrats and patriots persecuted by the Junta.

268. At their April 1974 meeting the Warsaw Pact countries adopted and issued the following statement:

"The crimes of the Chilean military Junta have been condemned by world public opinion, including all the progressive freedom-loving forces in Latin America. The time will come when the Chilean people will reject with scorn all those who are trying today to revive the spectre of medieval inquisition and obscurantism.

"In their struggle, the people of Chile can continue to count on the consistent support of the peoples of the socialist countries. The participants in the conference resolutely demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalán, Clodomiro Almeida, Anselmo Sule and of all the other incarcerated Chilean democrats and patriots.

"The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty participating in the conference of the political Consultative Committee call on all other States who cherish the cause of progress on this planet to come out in defence of the human rights, the dignity and value of the human personality in Chile. They appeal to world public opinion to unfold still further the campaign of international solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle against the bloody terror and for the restoration of democratic rights and freedoms in their country.

"Conference participants express the deep conviction that the Chilean people will be victorious in the struggle to restore democracy and the genuine independence of Chile."

269. That is the statement of the socialist countries on cessation of the persecution of the patriots in Chile. It reflects the general position of the socialist countries and is an expression of the solidarity of the peoples of our countries with the people of Chile.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

² *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3), chap. I.*

³ *Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 634, 1968, No. 9068).*

⁴ *See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.*

⁵ *Ibid., Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 1138th meeting, para. 52.*

⁶ *See Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1974, document S/11276, annex IV.*