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*President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Sir Seewoosagur RAMGOOLAM (Mauritius): Mr. President, may I express to you my sincere congratulations on your unanimous election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Your qualities of statesmanship and your dedication to the cause of peace and international understanding are already known to the developing countries. Your approach to the problems of Africa and Europe will provide wise guidance to the deliberations of this Assembly. I wish to assure you of the fullest co-operation of the delegation of Mauritius in the discharge of your responsibility.

2. I should also like to express to your predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, our deepest appreciation for his valuable contribution to the twenty-ninth session and the recently concluded seventh special session of the General Assembly.

3. May I also pay my tribute to the Secretary-General, whose dedication in the service of this Organization continues to deserve our respect and admiration.

4. It is with genuine satisfaction that my Government notes that this august body is steadily approaching universality of membership and, as an African, I am particularly pleased to welcome the three newly independent States of the Republic of Cape Verde, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe to membership in the United Nations.

5. We note with great satisfaction that this session of the General Assembly meets at a time when there is no armed conflict among States, not only because we reject the resort to force in solving international disputes, but also because peace has come as a reaffirmation and a success of the will of peoples to be

masters of their own fate and to live as independent and sovereign nations.

6. We take this opportunity, on behalf of the people and Government of Mauritius, to pay our warm tribute to the heroism and high spirit of sacrifice of the peoples of Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos. We take pride in their victory, which is also the victory of all of us who have constantly supported their just struggle. We call upon the international community and in particular upon the United States, which has special responsibilities in this respect, to co-operate in the reconstruction of these countries ravaged by war.

7. The signature of the interim agreement between Israel and Egypt is a positive step towards a lasting settlement in the Middle East. We hope that this will provide the basis for an equitable and durable peace.

8. The events in Cyprus are a matter of great concern to us. We continue to support that nation's independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty, and non-alignment. We express the hope that the continuation of the talks between representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities will lead to an honourable settlement of all the issues involved.

9. As an African country, Mauritius is particularly concerned with the situation in southern Africa. While demanding that the oppressive South African minority régime implement the resolutions of the United Nations on Namibia and strictly respect the latter's unity and territorial integrity, we pledge our continued support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and interdependence.

10. We condemn all attempts by the white minority régime of Rhodesia to prevent an equitable solution of the Rhodesian problem in conformity with the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe to achieve their country's liberation. We shall continue in our efforts to assure a negotiated peaceful evolution to bring about an early change in Southern Rhodesia.

11. All former Portuguese Territories in Africa, with the distressing exception of Angola, have achieved independence in an orderly and peaceful process. It is our hope, therefore that, before this Assembly adjourns, the violence and bloodshed in Angola will be halted, and that peace and order will have been restored and independence achieved in unity.

12. In regard to the problems of North and South Korea, which continue to preoccupy the United Nations, my delegation is of the view that the United Nations should spare no effort to bring about a reunification of the two States in a manner which takes into account the dignity and prestige of the peoples of both parties. Pending that reunification, the proposals put forward by various Member States should deserve our serious consideration.

13. Mauritius welcomes the results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe as an encouraging contribution to the peace and security of the world. My delegation considers that the real value of this Conference will consist in an effective, strict and full implementation of all the norms and principles of interstate relations enshrined in the Final Act.

14. We welcome the efforts of the great Powers to secure better prospects for peace. The policy of détente has created conditions which will minimize the danger of nuclear confrontation. But in order to make détente a lasting and irreversible process it should be extended to all geographical areas, should favour an effective democratization of international relations and should, of necessity, include disarmament measures. It is with regret that we note, not only the lack of progress on disarmament, but actually the lack of perspective and the failure of this Organization to create a negotiating machinery able to promote disarmament. If one admits that the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is not a United Nations body, then the paradox of a world Organization established for peace and security without a negotiating mechanism in the field of disarmament is evident. While agreeing with the Secretary-General that the structure and procedure of the United Nations, as well as the relation and distribution of functions among different central and regional bodies in the field of disarmament, should be studied and more clearly defined, we call upon him to submit for our consideration concrete proposals and recommendations. The revitalization of the United Nations in this field seems to be a matter of priority.

15. Certain States concerned with security in their respective areas have been advocating the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in their respective areas. It is the duty of the nuclear Powers to give those States solemn assurances that they will refrain from the use of nuclear weapons in those areas. As a member of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], Mauritius is committed, together with the other African States, to the complete ban of any type of nuclear weapons from the African continent and especially from the Indian Ocean.

16. Indeed, Mauritius firmly supports the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. We welcome the consultations under way for summoning, as a first step, a conference of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean with a view to implementing that Declaration through concerted efforts directed towards the elimination of great Power and foreign and imperialist military rivalry and bases from the Indian Ocean, as well as from the littoral and hinterland States. We invite the great Powers and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean to refrain from all actions incompatible with the objectives of the Declaration. We also invite them to avoid further escalation of their military presence in the area.

17. One cannot envisage a lasting peace as long as under-development exists and as long as the world is divided between rich and poor. The eradication of under-development and the more rapid economic and social progress of the countries that are lagging behind are a primordial requirement for the development of

the whole of mankind. In this connexion, the Lomé Convention, of which, Mr. President, you are one of the main architects and which was signed between the European Economic Community and 46 developing nations of the African, Caribbean and Pacific areas, points to a more concrete and realistic approach to the social and economic problems of the developing countries.

18. The final document of the seventh special session of this Assembly [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] also provides useful guidelines for a solution of the problems confronting us. The third-world countries have already demonstrated their willingness to seek agreement through negotiations and it is our conviction that, as time passes, the difference in our viewpoints will gradually diminish as we begin to implement the points of agreement. This evolution in the relationship between developed and developing countries should provide a solid basis for the co-operative undertakings put forth at the seventh special session.

19. The United Nations is the centre where the nations of the world can meet and harmonize their efforts to attain their objectives and where each and every nation must find a place in this large family. The universality of this Organization must at no time be challenged or eroded.

20. The United Nations is entering the fourth decade of its existence, and during that period it has played a significant part in the promotion of peace, co-operation and understanding among nations. It is our duty to strengthen it by preserving its universal character so as to take full advantage of its vast possibilities.

21. I should like to conclude by reaffirming the complete faith and belief of the Government and people of Mauritius in the lofty principles on which this Organization was founded. It is the only instrument which can ensure the future of mankind, provided our faith in it remains unshaken.

22. Mr. JIMÉNEZ (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to express on behalf of the Dominican Government and delegation, and on my own behalf, our most heartfelt approval of the wise choice made by the General Assembly in selecting you for the post of President of the thirtieth regular session, a choice which guarantees the success of our deliberations here.

23. At the same time, I wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for his brilliant and effective performance in guiding the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session.

24. With great satisfaction, I would also like to extend a warm welcome to the delegations of the Republics of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique on their admission to membership in this Organization.

25. I would like to begin by recalling the words I used, speaking on behalf of all participating delegations, at the final meeting of the Conference of Plenipotentiaries for the Revision of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, held at San José, Costa Rica, last July, when I said: "Peace is the foundation of international order and the most effective instrument for human progress".

26. The question of peace is, indeed, central to the life and development of our peoples, and the maintenance and strengthening of peace is the basis and very purpose of international society.

27. We are convinced that, in order to maintain peace, the most urgent problem the contemporary world must solve is that of providing access to modern civilization for those countries which have thus far remained on its periphery, thereby eliminating the inequalities between the peoples of developed and of under-developed countries.

28. It is therefore becoming increasingly necessary and urgent for both powerful and weak countries alike to collaborate in the establishment of a new international economic order that will provide the framework for more just and equitable international co-operation and coexistence. As long as just international economic relations are not guaranteed, it will be impossible to guarantee peace.

29. The philosophy which should govern the policies of all our peoples is that we must not divide the earth, but rather share it.

30. Of course, this is a difficult and demanding task. Nevertheless, we continue to take the optimistic view that, of necessity, the day must come—and indeed there are already signs that it has come—when the developed countries will accept with goodwill and political willingness the legitimate and urgent aspirations of the small countries.

31. This necessary collaboration among peoples was eloquently expressed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI in his famous encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, in which he clearly stated that the duty of brotherhood, which takes the form of a duty of solidarity, social justice and universal charity, is the concern especially of the better-off nations, and that on it depends the future of the civilization of the world.

32. Beset by this vital dilemma, what can a small country like the Dominican Republic do to promote peace, and what has it done thus far? First and foremost, the Dominican Republic will continue to conduct its international relations on the basis of its unqualified adherence to the fundamental principles of international law and the agreements which it has signed. It is convinced that only through respect for law and compliance with basic principles, such as non-intervention, the legal equality of States, the inviolability of international treaties and the self-determination of peoples, can peaceful coexistence among States be achieved.

33. Likewise, the Dominican Republic will pursue its efforts for the establishment and development of regional peace-keeping machinery, within the United Nations framework and representing the common interests and goals of its Members.

34. It is the unswerving position of my country, therefore, to defend and strengthen the inter-American system and its institutional expression, the Organization of American States, in order to provide it with the structure necessary to meet the requirements and realities of our era and to transform it into an effective instrument for finding solutions to the urgent problems of our region.

35. We gave further proof of the firmness of our position recently, this past July, at the Conference of Plenipotentiaries for the Revision of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance at San José, Costa Rica, which adopted a protocol containing revisions to that Treaty, which is the chief agreement guaranteeing the collective peace and security of our continent.

36. Likewise, as a contribution to the strengthening of our regional system and out of a concern for greater harmony among the American States, our country also supported the resolution, adopted by the Sixteenth Meeting of Consultation of American Ministers for Foreign Affairs, which allows each State to conduct its relations with the Republic of Cuba in whatever manner it deems fit in the light of its national interests.

37. With the same commitment, the Dominican Republic will continue to act with its traditional respect and support for the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, thus promoting at the same time its two basic goals of peace and development through international co-operation.

38. In accordance with this criterion, the Government of the Dominican Republic has always supported the decisions of this Organization—which has almost attained universality—in every instance where its intervention was necessary to maintain peace and in every programme and activity undertaken for the advancement of our peoples.

39. We have given our support to the entire United Nations family and its specialized agencies. We hope that political and ideological confrontation and sectarianism will be banished from the latter, for they prevent the specialized agencies from efficiently performing the essential functions for which they were created. There is a suitable forum within the United Nations for every type of problem. The division of labour within the system is effective and adequate and should therefore be respected. If it is not, we will only be contributing to the disruption and weakening of the United Nations.

40. Another significant contribution to peace made by the Dominican Republic and which it continues to make, is the respectful and amicable manner in which it conducts its relations of friendship and co-operation with other countries—from its nearest neighbour to those States situated far from its shores but with whom it is united by special interests.

41. In these relations a special place is occupied by the countries of Latin America and the United States of America, with which the Dominican Republic has long-standing geographical, historical, cultural, economic and political ties. Such ties unite us in the present, have united us in the past, and give us a common destiny in the future.

42. We therefore urge the resumption of the discussions which were to be held between the Foreign Ministers of Latin America and the Secretary of State of the United States at Buenos Aires several months ago as part of the so-called "new dialogue". Such discussions are one way of strengthening and giving new direction to relations between Latin America and the United States.

43. However, the best way for the Dominican Republic to promote peace is to join the countries of the third world in the demands they make of the developed countries and in their pursuit of the just international economic order of which I spoke earlier.

44. We do not seek to provoke a useless confrontation between weak and powerful countries with these demands, nor are we begging for international charity. What we are seeking is a world in which men everywhere can lead their lives with human dignity.

45. Our unity with other third-world countries with respect to these demands is based on the idea of justice. If we can achieve justice, we will have achieved peace.

46. My country, which is making enormous efforts to improve its lot, is aware that we ourselves have the major responsibility for our own development. However, we believe that the social and economic progress of peoples is the responsibility of the entire international community.

47. We believe that every country has the right and the duty to strive for its own development; but doubtless such efforts can bear fruit only if there is concerted and effective international co-operation.

48. We already have a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] to which we have given our complete support.

49. We already have a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*].

50. And we now have the results of the seventh special session of the General Assembly, which came to a close just a few days ago. We have co-operated in all these praiseworthy and necessary efforts but we shall not be satisfied until the Dominican farmer—to whom my Government is devoting all its attention and resources—can exercise his right to the land and his right to enjoy the fruits of his labour. We will not be satisfied, therefore, as long as he does not receive a fair price for his products in the markets of the developed countries and as long as he must pay high prices for fertilizers, tractors and ploughs manufactured, undoubtedly, by fellow workers in more prosperous countries who quite likely set their tables with food grown on the land of our peoples.

51. That is one aspect of the interdependence of which we speak so often today, but it is not the kind of interdependence we seek. We want interdependence with justice, for without justice interdependence is dangerous and explosive.

52. That is why the well-conceived programmes of social and agrarian reform of our country have received the vigorous, militant and unswerving support of our armed forces. They are aware that only a profound process of social improvement can ensure that peace which is essential to development.

53. We in the Dominican Republic certainly do not aspire to imitate the pattern of consumption or the standard of living of other countries. But, we will struggle so that our people live on an increasing scale of well-being and progress.

54. The Government of the Dominican Republic believes that only thus, when a human being is the

object and beneficiary of peace and development, can a more meaningful contribution be made to the survival and improvement of mankind.

55. For all these reasons, my Government has been unrelenting in its pursuit of national progress in freedom. Our greatest concern, therefore, is not to come here before the United Nations to make new statements or to reiterate appeals which have been made so many times before. Our major concern is for all of us to return to our countries with a message for our peoples that the Governments represented here are committed to taking the necessary measures to improve constantly the lives of our peoples.

56. Promises, declarations, resolutions and documents are no longer believed in by our peoples. If we do not take decisive action now, if we do not work together immediately, we will usher in only doubt and indifference, rather than progress and peace.

57. We have carefully studied the agenda of this session and we promise our full co-operation and attention to the consideration of the important questions to be discussed here, particularly the question of the Middle East, where we would like to see a just and lasting peace restored. However, we shall not refer to the questions of disarmament, the uses of outer space or nuclear-free zones, because we come before the United Nations mainly to urge all countries, whether strong or weak, big or small, rich or poor, to join in a crusade to improve the lot of the working man, of the common man living on this planet which belongs to us all and which we must all protect.

58. For these reasons we would not wish to conclude this statement without mentioning the review and appraisal of the progress achieved through the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], which began five years ago. During that period, the developing countries have had to contend with numerous measures in the economic and financial spheres which have affected adversely their efforts to develop their economies. Our countries have also had to bear the negative effects of the monetary crisis, for which no blame can be laid on the developing world, which has borne all the consequences of imported inflation, the tightening of concessionary aid, the high cost of credit in the money markets and, above all, the economic recession. The recession is precisely one of the obstacles to a greater and more rapid liberalization of international trade in behalf of the third world.

59. Owing to the sudden rise in oil prices, the worsening of the international economic crisis has been felt even more acutely by countries like my own, which relies on imports for the whole of its hydrocarbon requirements. The attempts of the international community thus far to compensate for our greater outlay of currency reserves for oil purchases, either in the form of agreements on raw materials or through an increased flow of concessionary aid, are still inadequate to counteract the negative effects. Our economic prospects, which were only recently damaged by violent fluctuations in the complicated sugar market, remain a constant source of concern.

60. It is therefore necessary, on this occasion, in this international forum, to emphasize the urgent need

for measures, if not on a world-wide level at least, in our case, on a regional level, and especially in existing relations between the United States and the countries of Latin America, that would help to maintain fair prices for raw materials and ensure their access to United States markets. We therefore appeal to the spirit of inter-American co-operation for the granting of special regional treatment in the economic and financial relations within our continent. We make this appeal in this world forum because, despite the interdependence of international relations, the regional approach in the political and economic fields should be the rule for coexistence among countries in the same geographical area. This complete identity of aims is underlined by reference to the significant levels of economic activity in Latin America. Estimates show that the population of Latin America in 1974 was 291 million, and its gross national product was \$US 174,632 million. In addition, as a result of economic growth, Latin America's exports in 1973 amounted to approximately \$US 25,000 million, and its imports to \$US 24,000 million. In 1972 Latin America's exports to the United States amounted to \$US 5,700 million, and its imports to \$US 6,600 million. These statistics reflect the importance to Latin America of its trade with other countries and regions of the world.

61. During this period of rapid change, we have seen the United States adopt a system of generalized preferences embodied in the New Foreign Trade Act of 1974. Despite the many favourable provisions that could encourage exports from Latin America to the United States, this law nevertheless contains a number of restrictions and limitations which stand in the way of that goal. It is through the application of such preferences that fairer treatment should be ensured for raw materials from Latin America while awaiting the conclusion of the multilateral agreements which, both within and outside the region, appear to be the logical protection for third-world countries, which are chiefly exporters of raw materials and intermediate goods.

62. This Latin American situation of instability and sudden reversals in the sphere of inter-American co-operation is in marked contrast with the Lomé Convention concluded between the European Economic Community and 46 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. This provides that most products exported by the latter States shall be admitted into the Community duty-free, without tariff restrictions of any kind, and without requirements of reciprocity. That Convention also establishes facilities for promoting trade and technical and financial co-operation. Even more important, the Convention establishes a fund to compensate in part for the depletion of currency reserves caused by fluctuating prices of the chief export commodities of the 46 countries, such as ground-nuts, cocoa, coffee, cotton, palm products, skins and hides, wood products, bananas, tea, sisal and iron products. Sugar is dealt with in a separate protocol.

63. With such an approach, which has outstanding features in terms of international co-operation between highly industrialized and developing countries, despite its imperfections, some of which even have a restrictive effect for other countries in the area, we believe that the possibilities and conditions exist

to enable us to conclude similar agreements in our relations with the United States of America, modelled on this one but adapted to suit our own requirements and realities. It has been evident for some time now that we need a regional approach which meets the requirements of stability and security, and which guarantees the development of our Latin American economies. Any step which the United States might take in this direction would certainly contribute significantly to the strengthening of integration among the countries of the Americas. This opens the way for a more fruitful era of coexistence among our peoples on this continent.

64. We know full well that the question of international economic relations is a matter of general interest to industrialized and developing countries alike. One could venture to say, therefore, that the United States cannot have one policy for Latin America in this sphere, and another for the rest of the world, thus abandoning the global approach it has been following in international economic relations.

65. We understand that the problem is a global one requiring global solutions and policies. Nevertheless, this problem is particularly critical to the relations of the United States with Latin America. The United States could therefore work out specific arrangements for Latin America, within its over-all policy and not conflicting with it, that would take into account the geographical, historical, political and economic ties which unite our countries.

66. We feel bound to point out that, in addition to the regional measures we have mentioned, the oil-exporting countries should take other measures at the world level to lower the price of the oil and oil products sold to the developing countries. At the same time interest-free loans with particularly flexible periods of grace and appropriate repayment schedules might be provided from funds placed at the disposal of international financial institutions. The latter facilities might be limited exclusively to making up the difference between current oil prices and those prevailing at the end of 1973.

67. Thus, through co-operation among industrialized nations, wealthy oil-exporting countries and the developing countries themselves, relief could be provided, within a framework of peaceful coexistence, for millions of human beings whom Mr. Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank, recently described as the "under-privileged" who have become the principal victims of the current economic disturbances.

68. Mr. TIANDRAZA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the choice of the General Assembly for the presidency of the thirtieth session has fallen upon you, and in our view it is of particular significance. Luxembourg and Madagascar have for some years now had relations of trust, and we have been able to appreciate, in the Organization to which both our countries belong, your statesman-like qualities and the interest that you have shown in questions affecting the third world. We still remember how you welcomed the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] when a delegation of members of the Group of 77 presented it to your Government. We are convinced that you will continue to display the same under-

standing of our problems and that this understanding will become a positive factor in our proceedings.

69. To your predecessor, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, we should like to convey our fraternal gratitude for the extremely responsible and outstanding way in which he represented first of all Africa, then the third world, and finally the whole international community. The two sessions of the General Assembly over which he presided will remain in the annals of our Organization as sessions which were most fruitful in terms of positive developments and as most promising also for those who have chosen not to despair in spite of prevailing conditions.

70. I should like now, on behalf of my Government, to convey our warmest congratulations to the delegation of Cambodia, which, after five years of revolutionary struggle, has recovered its lawful seat which so-called representatives had usurped with the assistance and connivance of imperialist interests.

71. It would be natural that in an anniversary year we should mention the victory over the genocidal tendencies of racism and the defeat of the false Fascist ideology, and also the hopes which the peoples of the United Nations have placed in our Charter. We cannot forget our immense sacrifices, and those sacrifices are particularly praiseworthy because we were defending values which were often imposed upon us. Not to associate ourselves with this anniversary would be tantamount to denying the principles common to us all. However, we wonder what kind of peace, what kind of justice and what kind of development were in store for the peoples which the technocrats of 30 years ago wanted to associate with their new vision of the world.

72. We do not reject what has been fairly accomplished. But at the present stage of the struggle for the recognition of the rights of peoples and of nations, if we stop and take stock of the situation we shall be found to observe that the peoples subjected to hegemonism and monopoly have recovered their natural cohesion. They have become aware of the tremendous significance of their sovereignty and their independence. They have made progress towards liberation with respect to imperialism and reaction.

73. These facts certainly originated in the events which marked the renaissance of international life. Nevertheless it is true that these facts are of particular value at such a critical time in our history. No one, I am sure, would deny that the established order is now gone forever. No one could remain indifferent to the need for progress in international relations and for true democracy in the building of a new society. There are two opposing and divergent currents, therefore, in our world today, which this year have led to intensive consultations in the political and economic fields, to a re-evaluation of respective strengths and interests, and to a new determination with regard to political measures to be taken.

74. These initiatives were reflected by bilateral or multilateral agreements and by the convening of several conferences. We were entitled, therefore, to expect genuine peace to replace our present precarious peace—a true peace in which the world would be free from uncertainty, where the rights of peoples

and nations would no longer be trampled underfoot by arbitrariness or the conspiracy of silence, and where nations would be able to engage in the free choice of their political and economic destiny.

75. Now it appears that we are allowing ourselves to be increasingly influenced by contradictions, and we are not able to give a satisfactory response to changes prompted by reactionary alliances and impulses. The adoption of a new international code of ethics is necessary. Therefore, we must examine and define objectively what any State, any international or regional organization, can and must do in order to make a positive contribution to the establishment of a system of values and relations which would take account of current realities.

76. We do not think that some people are justified in taking offense when we claim that we have inherited a world order which is at least two centuries old. These are the contradictions which underlie the structures of political, economic, military and technological power; and the development of these structures has given rise to privileges and domination which, in their turn, have led to the division of our world. Let us not forget that the equality of rights, opportunities and advantages were in the past denied in the name of this now obsolete world order. Let us not forget that the inequalities inherent in this order caused a situation where international security depended on one or two countries, a group of countries or a continent. The security which was then offered to us was presented as a series of partial actions, poorly co-ordinated and difficult to integrate within the process of the search for a peace which would benefit all and not just a few.

77. In spite of our differences, we cannot disregard the fact that the maintenance and safeguarding of international security remains the fundamental objective of our Charter. That security cannot be considered at this time as the aggregate of measures designed solely to defend and promote national or regional security.

78. But what security can we expect from a world where the most powerful nations are devoting more than \$300,000 million for producing and developing conventional weapons, perfecting their missiles and other military equipment, and multiplying their nuclear tests? The strategy of certain mutual destruction and the doctrine of nuclear deterrent still hold sway and are now even legitimized by agreements. International public opinion cannot remain indifferent to this situation, which is morally indefensible and the genocidal tendencies of which are obvious.

79. It is difficult to accept the fact that, in promoting a "nuclear civilization", the most powerful nations seem to be pushing the world towards its own destruction by organizing and extending violence on a gigantic scale. That is why we maintain that all security depends on a disarmament which will give priority to the abolition of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, as well as of weapons of mass destruction. We remain convinced that true détente, extended to all nations, whatever their size, requires as a pre-condition the carrying out of a disarmament of this kind. We have no intention whatsoever of minimizing the resumption of certain negotiations, the signing of a document on European security, and the entry into force of the

Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction [resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex]. We must however, recognize that the present arrangements and agreements remain limited and are often discriminatory. It would therefore appear judicious to supplement them, to expand them, in order to integrate them within a global approach to disarmament.

80. If the forthcoming world disarmament conference recognizes this objective as enjoying the highest priority, then we can contemplate in a positive way the creation of a specialized agency where all States will have the opportunity to examine and to decide democratically questions relating to disarmament and control over armaments. It is no longer possible to conceive that the security of the world should depend on isolated initiatives; and because the great Powers have ceaselessly professed to us their good faith and sincere intentions, let us ask them to apply in their own relations the greatest degree of mutual confidence and to recognize that the United Nations remains the appropriate framework for the most significant negotiations. It is on this condition, and on this condition alone, that the areas of insecurity which persist can become zones of peace and co-operation, and that zones of peace which are still being challenged will finally be respected as such.

81. It is an open secret that it is because of this lack of mutual trust among the great Powers, and even among their clients, that the Indian Ocean has become a private preserve for the confrontation of irreconcilable interests. The frontiers of national security of the great Powers have been extended well beyond what seem to be normal. Distrust has prompted them to undertake a systematic policy of mutual surveillance and indeed presence in regions where their immediate interests are not in jeopardy.

82. The focus of tensions has therefore been removed elsewhere. In order to ensure their presence the better, the great Powers have strengthened or reorganized their zones of influence, have sought to obtain others, and have virtually divided the Indian Ocean, as indeed was the case with Africa and other continents at the end of the last century.

83. This situation can only damage the interests of the littoral and hinterland States, whose security and sovereignty are threatened by the activities which have quite rightly been considered as contrary to their national or regional interests. They thought it was urgent to appeal to international public opinion so that the great Powers might reconsider their negative attitude and agree to respect and apply United Nations resolutions relating to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

84. It is in this spirit that the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, which met last month at Lima, adopted a resolution in which three fundamental problems of concern to the region were examined: namely, the elimination of all foreign military bases; refusal of facilities to warships and military aircraft of the great Powers; and the demilitarization and denuclearization of the zone.

85. These questions were approached in a positive manner, and we can therefore consider that, on the

basis of these three general principles, practical measures will be produced to put an end once for all to the re-emergence of foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean, and to ensure the establishment of a true climate of détente and co-operation in the area.

86. The importance we attach to the Indian Ocean does not stem from any arbitrary will for confrontation for its own sake. It reflects the fact that we consider Africa, the Indian Ocean and Asia as an organic whole, where events are politically interdependent both in their causes and their effects. Having disarmed in South-East Asia, imperialism is preparing to retreat to the west, towards the coast of Africa, where colonialism still maintains its last bastions, to provide a kind of refuge perhaps for those known to some people as defenders of the so-called free world.

87. I think this is the place to denounce the obvious collusion between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries and the minority racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. Under the camouflage of gradualism, realism and dialogue, the Western Powers and their allies are permitting these régimes to entrench their infamous privileges and to have recourse to formulas which at best would make it possible for the Africans of Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia to enjoy very doubtful representation.

88. Let us concede that the *apartheid* régime, anathema to all those who claim to be part of universal civilization, must finally disappear. This will give no justification to the thesis of separate development, which the South African and Rhodesian minorities are trying to make us accept, in the name of racism which has not yet laid down its arms. The problem in southern Africa is, above all, a question of human dignity, which the Western Powers are pretending not to understand, quite wrongly forgetting what the triumph of fascism would have caused them in terms of suffering.

89. It should also be pointed out that what can be done in the immediate future in southern Africa is to decide on the place and role of that minority. But are people unduly concerned about what the majority represents? Has thought been given in a responsible way to the fact that this representation, so dear to Western democracies, requires us to oppose generalized attempts at bantustanization and to other attempts at giving the appearance of consultations which actually lead to protection of the interests of colonialism and imperialism?

90. In other circumstances and other places, the Western Powers have insisted on respect for human rights. We believe that the same tenacity which they have shown in settling questions of meetings, contacts and facilities to be provided for individuals should be applied when they come to negotiate with the régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia with regard to the supply of arms and equipment and the future of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

91. We cannot condemn what is now happening in that part of Africa without bearing in mind that colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism form a trinity which makes bold to present to the world seemingly attractive solutions in order the better to lull our

vigilance with regard to situations which are seriously questioned by international public opinion.

92. In the Comoros, for example, all seemed set for that Territory to accede to international sovereignty in the best possible conditions and according to the express commitments of the administering Power. The will of the people was made known. The inevitable passions had been calmed. However, because of a will imposed from the metropolitan country everything was once again called into question. Who benefits from the present uncertainty? Certainly not the people of the Comoros who are asking only to preserve in harmony and unity their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We would have been the first to take pleasure at seeing the people of the Comoros here among us. We very much regret that the policy of maintaining a presence and the difficulties caused by quarters encouraged or tolerated by the administering Power have prevented us from sponsoring the admission of the Comoros to our Organization, an admission which the OAU so keenly desired.

93. The same applies to the question of Djibouti, where the people were "invited" to take a decision on their future in a climate of confusion which did not permit them either to judge, in complete freedom, the importance of their choice or to understand the regional implications of what they were doing. In our common organizations we have heard the arguments of the parties which should be most concerned. Nothing prevents the people of Djibouti from exercising their right to genuine self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

94. Many more examples could be given. We note that the administering Powers consider their delaying tactics as necessitated by respect for the democratic process. We believe it is time to be able to defend one's own interests without having recourse to a facsimile of liberalism or condescending paternalism.

95. On the question of Palestine, we note that some Powers are adopting the same attitude because of the fundamental similarity between the phenomena of colonialism and foreign occupation. They do not mind allowing the Palestinians to be refugees; but when we come to examine the problem in a specific context and reference is made to their legitimate aspirations, reservations prompted by circumspection and prudence prevail over the former considerations.

96. The rights of a frustrated people continue to be opposed by requirements for a security which is for ever being defined. The expansionist and exclusivist ambitions of one State cause some to forget the principles of our Charter and respect for our resolutions. Delaying tactics, half measures and ambiguities become the order of the day where political courage should be displayed.

97. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Palestinians are now ready to rely only upon themselves in the attainment of their objectives in order to ensure their own national identity in a country which is theirs. For our part we have always maintained that security in the Middle East is to be determined primarily by the recognition by all States of the rights of the Palestinians to independence and national sovereignty

and also by the end of the occupation of the territories conquered by Israel.

98. With the passage of time the interests of the great Powers in the region have been allowed to distort the necessary conditions for a just and lasting peace. With regard to principles, however, no compromise is possible; Israel must understand that its intransigence, its territorial and military ambitions, its aggressive practices, its unyielding insistence on absolute security are incompatible with the search for a global solution.

99. In the absence of true progress towards a settlement that would resolve all the outstanding problems, we see no alternative for the international community but to have its resolutions and decisions enforced as rigorously as possible. To that end, account should be taken of the measures proposed by the OAU and the non-aligned movement because they reflect our common and legitimate desire to break the deadlock in which we have been placed by lack of determination and commitment.

100. In another part of the area we find ourselves in a deadlock again. This time a different one it is true. In Cyprus, after the breaking off of the talks in Vienna, the hardening of the respective positions makes ever more unlikely the process of normalization, a normalization which requires that all the parties to the dispute give their support to the principles of peaceful settlement and abide by the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX).

101. The fundamental objectives of our policy on Cyprus should remain the preservation of its territorial integrity, its sovereignty, its independence and its policy of non-alignment, and also the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the end to interference in its internal affairs. In other words, we believe that the two communities, whose national rights must be recognized, should alone be allowed to determine the constitutional and political future of the country. They must enjoy complete freedom in their contacts and talks, so long as they comply with the provisions of the Security Council regarding the inadmissibility of secession, merger or union with any other country.

102. Before ending this chapter on political and security matters, I should like to repeat the position of my Government on the Korean problem. The people of Korea who have suffered from war, division and occupation, are also entitled to peace and security. In this regard, our Organization bears a particularly heavy responsibility because it allows its authority to be usurped and to serve ingloriously as a cover for foreign intervention in the south of the country.

103. We do not think that this responsibility should be lost from sight and the multiplicity of proposals which would transform the prevailing armistice is significant. However, we cannot agree to the proposals made in quarters tending to perpetuate a situation which has so far failed to allow the Korean people as a whole to exercise their right to self-determination or to settle their own problems in complete freedom and sovereignty.

104. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has repeatedly held out the olive branch of peace and concord. As an Organization, we must no longer hide behind legal arguments and the legalities of institutional

procedure in order to postpone the dissolution of the United Nations Command. This dissolution, *ipso facto*, entails the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under cover of our flag.

105. We are convinced that the transformation of the temporary armistice into a lasting peace treaty will create the necessary conditions for the reunification of Korea. That process should in no way be impeded by unilateral initiatives such as the application for the admission of South Korea which, in putting forward its application, deliberately went back on the commitments it undertook in the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972 by North and South Korea.¹

106. This survey of the world political situation, which could not possibly be exhaustive, shows us that the path towards the full achievement of international security is a difficult one. In spite of certain obviously limited signs of détente; in spite of the many different attempts made by our community; in spite of the cautious initiatives of the great Powers, there are still many shadowy zones of insecurity in the world today. It would seem to us right to devote our best efforts to eliminating these zones, but in so doing, we also run the risk of relegating to secondary priority other objectives in our Charter, particularly those connected with economic and social co-operation.

107. The events of recent years have taught us that our deliberations should result, both internationally and nationally, in a general awareness of the problems posed by development, which has become the focus of our attention. Development for us cannot be conceived of as a series of sectoral and disparate actions. The failure of the "strategies" which have been policy for more than 20 years in most countries of the world and also internationally, is symptomatic to the extent that we recognize development as a whole, applying to all men and to every man.

108. It is in this spirit that Madagascar agreed to the adoption of an integrated approach to the problems of development, the solution to which would determine the survival of the majority. There is no need to enumerate once again the just claims made by the developing countries at the seventh special session. We were not entirely satisfied, but we do recognize the efforts of certain industrialized countries towards a constructive joint approach.

109. The incipient progress which we have made should not cause us to lose sight of the urgency and acuteness of the problems entailed by mass poverty. It is important, therefore, that the international community should act, and act promptly, instead of allowing itself to be led by its technologists, its technocrats, into a maze of discussions as to indicators of progress or the necessary pre-conditions for an inventory which would be more than problematical.

Mr. Alarcón (Cuba), Vice-President, took the Chair.

110. Indeed, the economic and social situation in the world remains marked by poverty, by the failure to meet the most elementary needs, and is aggravated by a system of exploitation connected with a power structure which has been established mainly in the industrialized and imperialist countries. This situation must change. Many people recognize this, but differences remain as to means of action and approaches.

111. Thus the concept of "external limits" imposed by the biosphere on human society, and that of "screening" illustrated by the extremist image of a necessary distinction between those who have to die, those who will survive and those to whom assistance will make the difference, are still arguments put forward at the present time. These ideas testify to an extremely conservative vision of the world which relies solely upon quantitative aspects of growth and which is in keeping with imperialist designs and have the effect of reaffirming the hegemony of privileged minorities.

112. To believe, however, that under-development is nothing but a "stage" in economic development might persuade third-world countries to attempt, at all costs, to increase their gross national products in order to overcome their lag and ensure prosperity in keeping with the needs of their peoples. Remarkable rates of growth have been recorded; nevertheless, poverty remains, to the indignation of the international community.

113. It is not just a matter of aping the economic development of the developed nations today but of finding solutions based upon the natural environment, the cultural heritage and the spirit of initiative peculiar to each society. Mass poverty should not be considered exclusively from the national standpoint, because this would cause self-sufficiency to take too simplistic a path.

114. Indeed, in Madagascar we recognize that, in order to bring the working masses and the underprivileged out of their more than marginal conditions, we must above all rely on ourselves according to the principle that each State has the sovereign right to choose its own system of development, taking account of its own psychological, sociological and political realities.

115. As a pre-condition our efforts require the mobilization of all the resources of the nation—an action which would have no point without the participation of women. Indeed women constitute one of the pillars of the Madagascar socialist revolution, and we consider it essential to promote not only their dignity but also the task of making them more sensitive to current major problems, their integration in the global development effort and their contribution to the strengthening of peace, particularly in this International Women's Year.

116. We also believe that, in the united struggle against poverty, international co-operation requires a harmonized approach, the provision to each nation of appropriate and adequate means in support of its own efforts and the promotion of a common ideology for achieving genuine development.

117. We are particularly interested in reducing mass poverty because of our socialist policy for bringing about an economic and social development both human and harmonious. The charter of the socialist revolution, proclaimed last month by the Head of State and Government of Madagascar, made the focus of its concern the promotion and protection of the interests of the working masses, by eradicating man's exploitation by man, social injustice and inequality.

118. This presupposes for us the establishment of new socio-economic structures which will make possible the responsible and coherent organization of the masses and the action of the revolutionary power in the process of the democratic distribution of wealth and the factors of production and also in the question of giving highest priority to the restoration of the rights of the most underprivileged.

119. We sincerely believe that this action will be part of the overall search for security for the greatest number, which, in the final analysis, is a pre-condition of national security. When this is guaranteed and effective, the nation will then be able fully to participate in the establishment of a new world of peace and progress.

120. The growing complexity of problems relating to development, disarmament and international security; the will of all nations to make their contribution to this; their interdependence and the multiplicity of options makes it necessary to define common ground. And, in the final analysis, it can only be the United Nations which can do this, and its role should be strengthened in order to permit it to become the true crucible from which the new international order will emerge.

121. We recognize that the United Nations, over the last 30 years, has in spite of everything played a positive role in the maintenance of relative world peace, in the liberation of many countries from colonialism, in the exploration of new fields of co-operation and the development of international law. However, the great Powers have given up neither the obsessive defence of their own interests nor their rivalries, and have in fact gone so far as actually to promote the establishment of fundamental instability in relations among nations.

122. This attitude, which has now been outstripped by the acceleration of the historical process and profound structural changes in international society, has prevented the normal functioning of our institutions and the achievement of genuine progress towards our objectives.

123. Accordingly, 30 years after the end of the Second World War, general and complete disarmament remains an illusion. We believe in general and complete disarmament, but, unfortunately, it has been manipulated by the military Powers. The elimination of racism and colonialism is hindered by the priority accorded by imperialists and neocolonialists to principles of a bygone era. As for development, it has been left to improvisation, since the centre has persisted in its exploitation and domination of the periphery.

124. What we call for is a new international order; this claim is entirely justified. It is quite right to call for a review of the Charter, based on the present Charter but adapted to the need to respond better to the true needs of peoples, to the emergence of new ideologies and the defining of new priorities in fields of activity. This obviously presupposes the acceptance of the principle of democratization in representation, decision-making, execution and even the definition of structures.

125. The United Nations has for far too long been likened to a forum where middle-sized and small nations can put forward their views and their com-

plaints without being assured, of course, that they will be taken into account by the great Powers. We know the results of this approach. If we want our Organization to cease to be the witness of sterile verbal confrontations, we feel that it is urgent to give it greater responsibilities. Thus, in a defined and renewed institutional framework, all nations will be able fully to discharge their responsibilities in the face of a many-faceted crisis which affects and will continue to affect our common civilization.

126. We do not wish to restrict the sovereignty of Member States, because every nation, and even every group of nations, has the right and the duty to take initiatives conducive to peace and co-operation. But we believe that the universal acceptance and institutionalization of these initiatives must take place in the United Nations, which, after all, is the reflection of democratic will.

127. This democratic will, which emerged from the victory of progressive and revolutionary ideas, has replaced, at least at our level, the well-known political will which has often been lacking. It emerged decisively at the sixth special session. It showed that it is capable of positive compromise, while its detractors saw in it nothing but a form of *diktat*. It put a final end to political hegemony, which some had abused with the aid of outmoded institutions and instruments which have gone forever.

128. But it would be poor judgement on our part to wish to impose this democratic will gratuitously. For us it remains the point of departure for a true co-operation no longer based upon servility, obsequiousness or capitulation and therefore more lasting and healthier and more likely to serve the cause of all peoples of the world entitled to peace, development and justice.

129. Mr. KOTSOKOANE (Lesotho): On behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho, I wish to extend to the President my warm congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that this Assembly is going to benefit greatly not only from his unquestionable ability as a statesman but also from his wide experience as a diplomat. To us, his election is particularly significant because it underscores one of the cardinal principles of our Organization, that is, the sovereign equality of States irrespective of their size, wealth or population. I wish to assure him, together with the Vice-Presidents, of the readiness of my delegation to co-operate with him in the discharge of his onerous responsibilities.

130. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate his predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, for the skilful manner in which he presided over our work during the historic twenty-ninth and the seventh special sessions. Through his courage, determination, statesmanship and commitment to freedom and justice, he has rendered yeoman service to the international community.

131. It gives me special pleasure to welcome in our midst the delegations of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the Republic of Cape Verde. Their long, heroic and successful struggle for freedom and

independence bears eloquent testimony to the determination of the peoples of Africa to rid their continent of the remaining vestiges of colonialism and imperialism. The emancipation of these former Portuguese Territories has given impetus to the struggle for freedom and justice of the peoples of southern Africa still under oppression and white domination.

132. We congratulate Papua New Guinea on its accession to independence and we hope it will soon join this Assembly as a new Member. With all these new Members, the United Nations has become stronger and more representative of the peoples of our one world. We of the third world are particularly pleased with this development which is in line with the principle of universality enshrined in the Charter of our Organization. For us, the United Nations provides a useful forum for airing our grievances and seeking redress against exploitation and injustice. We have no qualms or fears about the so-called "tyranny of the majority".

133. This year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations. It is therefore fitting that we should review and assess the achievements and failures of the Organization as the principal instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. To the extent that there has been no major war since the birth of this Organization, the original authors of the Charter can rightly pride themselves in having created an Organization that has contributed to saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war". This, indeed, is a significant achievement, for we are all well aware of the catastrophic consequences for humanity of a major war in this era of lethal biological and nuclear weapons.

134. It is to the credit of our Organization that its membership has grown from the original 51 to 141 in the short period of three decades. Taking account of the sweep of world history, this achievement of initiating, in one generation, a process of decolonization affecting nearly 100 nations, is, indeed, significant in its import for, and impact upon, international relations. As a result of the activities of the United Nations in the political, economic and social fields, the world will never be the same again.

135. The foregoing remarks notwithstanding, an objective record of the United Nations, one that truly reflects its performance, can emerge only if its activities are measured against the yardstick of the broad and comprehensive provisions of the Charter. As a result of localized conflicts in which Member States are directly or indirectly involved, humanity has teetered on the brink of a global war while the United Nations has stood and watched helplessly. All too often, solutions or attempted solutions to such conflicts have come from outside the United Nations system and, in the process, not only has the stature of the Organization been reduced, but its authority has been undermined. Unless immediate steps are taken to rectify this unhappy situation by invoking or altering the relevant sections of the Charter, the next 30 years could see a serious deterioration in the power and influence of the world body.

136. A telling commentary on the weakness of the United Nations system is the fact that, while more than two thirds of humanity lives in poverty, ignorance,

hunger and disease, billions of dollars are annually expended in the production of, and traffic in, the instruments of war and destruction. Over the past 20 years, our Organization has churned out pious resolutions and high-sounding declarations promising to redress existing inequalities between the rich and the poor. All too often, however, such resolutions and declarations have been reduced to agendas for further discussion rather than blueprints for effective action. The blame for these failures lies, not with the United Nations, but squarely with its Member States, which have been unable to reconcile their narrow national interests with their wider international obligations. When, may we ask, is the international community going to realize that the anger, resentment and frustration of the poor are more dangerous and powerful than the most lethal military weapons?

137. We have tried to show that this Organization suffers from institutional weaknesses which affect its ability to respond promptly and effectively to situations that could lead to a breakdown of the present international order. My delegation therefore looks forward to the report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization and hopes that Member States will show sufficient political will to ensure that, as the Organization enters the second 30-year span of its existence, the United Nations will remain an international body capable not only of averting wars but also of ensuring human dignity through co-operation and mutual assistance in the exploitation of the world's resources.

138. The peoples of the third world are suffering from economic and financial ills originating in the industrialized countries of the world. The current international economic disorder, dominated by the economically advanced countries, is characterized by recession, rampant inflation, unemployment and balance-of-payments problems.

139. According to facts and figures supplied by authoritative sources, the international economic situation is depressing if not frightening. In many countries, rates of economic growth have fallen by 50 per cent over the past year. International Monetary Fund studies show that poor countries face a cumulative balance-of-payments deficit of \$35,000 million this year. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development report for 1974 describes the situation as one where the poorest countries are entrapped in poverty and in incipient disaster. Official development assistance is said to be declining from the present 0.33 per cent to a projected 0.22 per cent by 1980, and the purchasing-power of the dollar has decreased by 35 per cent during the past year. The recently announced 10 per cent increase in the price of oil will further dislocate the economies of developing countries like mine.

140. What disturbs us most is the apparent indifference of the majority of industrialized countries to the economic plight of non-industrialized States, from which the former obtain most of the raw materials for their industries. A case in point is the reluctance or failure of most developed countries to transfer at least 0.7 per cent of their gross national product to developing countries by the end of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Only 16 months ago,

this Assembly approved the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]. Nine months have passed since the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] was adopted by this Assembly. Alas, those declarations seem to have been relegated to the limbo of forgotten things.

141. Perhaps some positive action will be taken after the recently concluded seventh special session, which ended in a broad consensus. We welcome particularly the proposals regarding special assistance to land-locked States, the transfer of real resources, the reform of the international monetary system, the establishment of a link between special drawing rights and development assistance, increased food production, and better marketing facilities for agricultural products, both in the raw and the processed forms.

142. In spite of their own economic problems, we hope other industrialized countries will emulate the British example, as expressed at the current session by Mr. James Callaghan, United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs; and "respond with urgency and a sense of justice to the manifest social and economic inequalities in the world today . . ." [2358th meeting, para. 62]. The message of this commendable statement is clear: namely, that in today's interdependent world, no country can exist and prosper in isolation.

143. My Government believes firmly in rural development with agriculture as the pivot. This is clearly reflected in our second five-year development plan, which we are about to launch. By mobilizing local resources and using foreign aid judiciously, we hope to achieve a growth rate of at least 25 per cent in agricultural production. To achieve this high target, emphasis will be placed on projects which have a high employment and training content and which are also directly productive and revenue-earning. In this way, we hope, the incomes of the poor will be raised and the fruits of development will be felt where they are most needed, namely, at the village level.

144. We are extremely grateful to all Governments that are generously assisting us with our rural development programmes. With their continued support and, we hope, that of others, Lesotho can quite easily reach self-sufficiency in cereal grains, such as maize, sorghum and wheat; grain legumes, such as beans, peas and cowpeas; in vegetables; in meat in all its forms—beef, mutton, pork—and in dairy and poultry products. We regard agriculture not only as a stepping-stone to industrialization but as the true basis of self-reliance as well. We are sharply aware of the manner in which some countries, including *apartheid* South Africa, use food as an instrument of their foreign policies.

145. My country has participated actively in all sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Because of the high costs, in terms of both money and time, we hope that every effort will be made to reach final agreement at the next session, to be held in New York early next year. As a uniquely land-locked country, completely surrounded by racist South Africa, Lesotho would like to see a convention which would guarantee not only

its right to free and unimpeded access to the sea, but also its right to share in both the living and non-living resources of the economic zone along the shores in the southern part of our continent.

146. We are confident that a mutually acceptable formula can be found to accommodate the interests of both coastal and land-locked States. In this regard, we think it is time the international community should adopt special measures to protect us against a régime which invokes international law regarding its territory and airspace but treats the international community with contempt.

147. We have watched recent developments in the Middle East with great interest. To the extent that the Sinai disengagement agreement represents a first step towards creating a framework for peace in the Middle East, it is a significant breakthrough. None the less, many fundamental problems remain unresolved. At the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, my Government voted in favour of resolution 3210 (XXIX) because we recognized the inalienable right of the people of Palestine to exist as a nation. In the view of my delegation, therefore, further negotiations on the Middle East question must take cognizance of this vital element, which is recognized in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 340 (1973), 341 (1973) and 344 (1973). Like most members of the Assembly, we recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and authentic spokesman of the Palestinian people.

148. My Government is confident that, with serious determination on the part of all concerned, the nations of the Middle East—including Israel—can find a formula for the full expression of their national identities and existence. It is in the context of this conviction that I wish to reiterate my Government's unequivocal opposition to the occupation of Arab territories and attempts to change their demographic and economic nature for the benefit of Israel.

149. As you know, Lesotho is a small country in a difficult geographic situation. We are, therefore, particularly sensitive to the problem of Cyprus—a small, non-aligned nation—whose sovereignty and integrity have been flagrantly violated. The failure of the United Nations to prevent interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus by other States constitutes the most direct threat to the freedom, independence and sovereignty of small countries, whose continued survival depends on their collective voice and strength under the aegis of this Organization. In the view of my Government, interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus has complicated the task of the Secretary-General, who has indefatigably sought to encourage bicomunal talks in terms of the mandate conferred upon him by General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 367 (1975). That the Secretary-General has managed, in the face of overwhelming difficulties, to keep up the momentum of such talks is a credit to his tact and diplomatic skill.

150. My Government welcomes the ending of hostilities in Indo-China after years of carnage and destruction. It behoves the international community, and this Organization in particular, to replace the indifference with which it treated the Indo-China wars with generous assistance in the urgent task of reconstruction and rehabilitation. In welcoming the

delegation of Cambodia to its rightful place in this Assembly, I should like to express the earnest hope of my delegation that the two Viet Nams will soon attain membership in this Organization.

151. My Government supported the 1973 consensus on Korea,² which underlined the importance of the negotiations then under way between the North and the South. In our view, that consensus provides a sound basis for further discussion of the Korean question in order to avoid a futile debate of charge and counter-charge. Clearly, a continuing dialogue among the people of Korea, unhindered by external interference, is the only solid premise for a lasting resolution of the Korean question. Any solution to the Korean problem must take into account the legitimate misgivings and fears of both sides.

152. The situation in southern Africa has thus far eluded all efforts aimed at removing once and for all the spectre of a racial holocaust which could easily engulf the whole of mankind. The ghost of colonialism and racism continues to haunt millions of people in the subcontinent. Resolutions of this Assembly, decisions of the Security Council, too numerous to cite, have failed to exorcise this ghost.

153. The independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique has demonstrated the illusory nature of a permanent white minority beachhead in southern Africa. The heroic victory of Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO], after 10 years of hard and often bitter struggle, has signalled the end of white supremacy. Taking a leaf from FRELIMO, the peoples of southern Africa are more determined than ever before to free themselves from the shackles of cruel political repression and merciless economic exploitation. My Government has consistently warned of the danger of racial conflict in southern Africa—all too often, it must be admitted, to no avail.

154. As far back as 1966, my Prime Minister, Mr. Leabua Jonathan, tried to establish a working relationship with the South African authorities. He was, in fact, the first African head of State to establish formal contact with Pretoria. Our efforts, which were intended to pave the way for racial understanding and co-operation among all the people of southern Africa, failed because South Africa insisted that all discussions with it must be within the framework of its *apartheid* policies. On its own admission, South Africa has not moved from that position and is busy seeking international recognition on the basis of its *apartheid* policies.

155. In 1969 the OAU adopted the Lusaka Manifesto,³ which spelt out the conditions under which Africa would be prepared to talk to the racists in Pretoria and Salisbury and the colonialists at Lisbon. The Manifesto has now been superseded by the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa, which was adopted earlier this year by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its ninth extraordinary session. *Inter alia*, the Declaration rejects dialogue or détente with the white minority régimes. Specifically, Africa rejects any contacts with Pretoria and Salisbury which do not involve the indigenous people of the country concerned and which are outside the aegis of the OAU.

156. In spite of this unequivocal and uncompromising stand by Africa, South Africa continues to seek international recognition by hook or by crook—without abandoning its obnoxious policy of *apartheid*, which has been the subject of debate in this Assembly for the past 30 years. Its well-greased propaganda machine is causing confusion in our ranks while it goes ahead with its plans to fragment not only its own territory but also the United Nations Trust Territory of Namibia. Anxious to clutch at diplomatic straws, the racist régime is openly boasting about the success of its so-called détente policy.

157. The alternatives before the international community are clear: to continue to condemn and reject *apartheid* until final victory is won, or to abandon nearly 20 million black people to racial discrimination and white domination in perpetuity. To accept any aspect of *apartheid*, whether it be through diplomatic contact or recognition of the bantustans, is to choose the latter alternative. The black majority of South Africa is asking for freedom, equality and justice, not a twilight existence in a fragmented South Africa dominated by a white racist minority.

158. My Government fully supports the African National Council of Zimbabwe and welcomes initiatives from whatever quarter to ensure that the illegal Smith régime is ousted and the will of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe finds expression in the Government of that colony. As the legal authority in Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom should assume its responsibilities and ensure an early and orderly transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority. To leave matters in Ian Smith's inept hands is to court disaster. The African National Council should close its ranks and avoid the political rivalry that is being exploited by the rebel régime and its supporters both in and outside Zimbabwe. Angola, where there is external interference, is a good example of what could happen to a divided Zimbabwe. A propos of Angola, we wish to express our full support for the OAU Conciliation Committee, which was appointed at the recent meeting of the OAU Heads of State and Government at Kampala.

159. The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa represents the most serious disregard of the will of the international community of our times. Offers of negotiation by the Security Council are being used by South Africa to buy time for the creation of so-called autonomous areas, that is, ethnically-based mini-States fashioned after its own bantustans. As far as we are concerned, the real test as to whether or not the South African Government is willing or even able to contribute to the eradication of colonialism and racism in southern Africa lies in its attitude towards the Trust Territory of Namibia. In the face of South Africa's intransigence, the attitude of Africa is clearly expressed in the Dar es Salaam Declaration which offers peaceful negotiation with the South West Africa People's Organization as the alternative to an armed struggle. The people of Namibia should not allow themselves to be hoodwinked through bogus constitutional talks designed to entrench *apartheid* in Namibia.

160. Of all the problems of southern Africa none is more serious than racism which blights the lives of millions of people in that troubled region of Africa.

Even such euphemisms as "separate development" cannot mask the ugly face of racial discrimination designed to perpetuate white domination in all spheres of life—military, economic, political and social. His participation in the Victoria Falls talks notwithstanding, Mr. Vorster is still the king of *apartheid*, which is stronger today than it ever was. The fearsome *apartheid* edifice, so carefully constructed over the past quarter of a century, is still intact. In other words, there is no meaningful change within South Africa itself, whose black majority wants freedom and equality and not merely the removal of segregation signs from public parks and libraries. According to an American academic, who recently visited South Africa, Soweto, the African township near Johannesburg, where nearly 1 million Africans live, is "the ultimate ghetto". Over 50 per cent of South Africa's black population lives in the cities without enjoying any civil rights: "Theirs but to do and die"—for their white rulers.

161. We realize only too well that the final solution to the problem of racism in South Africa will have to be found by the people of that country themselves. However, under present circumstances, the majority has neither political nor economic power and can only express their views from a platform chosen by their white rulers, that is, the institutions of *apartheid*. It is therefore the responsibility of the international community to assist, by all available means, in creating a favourable climate for meaningful discussions and meaningful change among all South Africans, including the opponents of *apartheid* who are either muzzled, in gaol or in exile. In the words of my Prime Minister, Mr. Leabua Jonathan: "The bridges of understanding and communication must run to Robben Island as well." Only when this happens will we believe that genuine peace-making efforts are being made to save our subcontinent from widespread racial violence.

162. We wish to inform the international community that the creation of bantustans around our borders is likely to exacerbate relations between us and South Africa. During the past six years we have been engaged in discussions with South Africa on the establishment of a joint commission to examine and make recommendations on existing boundaries between the two States which were fixed by the colonial régime, at that time, the United Kingdom.

163. With the possible launching of the first bantustan next year, we are likely soon to find ourselves confronted with the problem of having to negotiate with pseudo-States under Pretoria's manipulation. As I have already indicated, to have any dealings with the bantustans is to accept Mr. Vorster's grand design, namely, the fragmentation of South Africa into mini-States each of which, including the white area, will eventually seek international recognition. We shudder at the thought, but our territorial claims over the conquered territories of the Orange Free State and parts of other provinces of the Republic of South Africa are valid and cannot be abandoned. Hence our fear of an imminent confrontation not only with racist South Africa but with its bantustans. For us, *apartheid* is a real threat and not just a diplomatic game for the assumption of meaningless moral postures.

164. From this podium last year we expressed our reservations and fears about super-Power détente,

which seemed like a mutual accommodation rather than a genuine search for permanent peace and security in the world. We are therefore gratified with the encouraging outcome of the recent Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which we hope will lead to better understanding not only in Europe, but elsewhere. It is the considered view of my Government that the future of the world lies in co-operation and mutual assistance among all States, large and small, rather than in ideological blocs, economic groups or military pacts.

165. Mr. ZERBO (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Once again I should like to reaffirm in a few words from this podium the perseverance with which Upper Volta stands side by side with all the other nations represented here, unflaggingly shouldering our joint responsibility of freeing mankind from the spectre of war and ensuring for future generations a world of justice and prosperity.

166. May I be permitted first of all to comply with tradition in associating my warm congratulations with those of the speakers who have preceded me, and to say to Mr. Thorn, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, that I am personally most happy at his election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. His experience of international affairs is for us the best guarantee for the final success of our work.

167. I must also address my warmest congratulations to the entire team which assists him, who also bear considerable responsibility for the proper functioning of this session.

168. With regard to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who so admirably guided the work of the twenty-ninth session with the vigour for which he is famous, and has once again proved—if there were any need to do so—his admirable talent as a diplomat and negotiator in the course of the seventh special session which has just ended, we can only express our warmest gratitude to him for the outstanding contribution he has made to international co-operation.

169. And, finally, I wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the dynamism with which he has guided the destiny of the United Nations for almost five years now. His particular solicitude for the least privileged countries and his action for the benefit of the countries of the Sahel have earned him yet more of our gratitude.

170. Thirty years ago, in the city of San Francisco, 51 independent States gathered to create the United Nations. Since then its membership has constantly grown, thus giving this Organization an increasing degree of its primary quality: universality.

171. Last year Guinea-Bissau, Bangladesh and Grenada made their triumphal entry. This year it is the turn of Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Cape Verde. My delegation cannot fail to greet warmly the accession to international sovereignty of those States, our brothers in blood and united to us by a common destiny.

172. With reference to the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, my delegation regrets that the representatives of those two countries do not yet occupy their rightful places

in our Organization. The universality of our Organization has too often been preached from this rostrum for international public opinion to stand silent while the candidacies of these two Vietnamese Republics are blocked because of the opposition of one permanent member of the Security Council. We must therefore hope that the Council will heed the appeal of the General Assembly, and will re-examine promptly and favourably the candidacies of these two countries, because clearly the universality of the United Nations cannot but have a favourable effect on the Organization, since it makes it possible to solve certain international problems in the light of the growing interdependence of the international community.

173. As the result of a new balance of power, which can be seen not only in the ever growing number of Member States, but also, above all, in the nature of their claims and in the new awareness of the need to undertake joint action to alter the system of international relations, the United Nations is striving to strengthen its role as a factor in the settlement of international problems on the basis of satisfying the legitimate interests of peoples and their aspirations to independence, freedom and progress.

174. With their new vision of the world and international problems, one cannot doubt that the countries of the third world have become one of the most active factors for enhancing the role of the United Nations.

175. As I indicated at the beginning of my statement, there can be no doubt that the main problems of our world today revolve around two essential poles: the maintenance of peace and the promotion of economic development.

176. Peace? We perceive the manifestations of it in some regions, whereas in others we cannot see even a passing shadow of it.

177. In Africa, a new wind is blowing since the Portuguese colonialist forces were removed from power. Thus, after Guinea-Bissau, the last Portuguese Territories in Africa have recovered or will recover their independence in 1975. The measures taken by the present leaders in Lisbon have not disappointed our hopes, even though at present serious problems arise, particularly in Angola. The internal war raging there and the rivalries of the popular movements have already handicapped the harmonious development of a country whose every prospect had been so promising. My delegation urges the leaders of the three liberation movements of that country to overcome their difficulties and to work more effectively for national reconstruction. After their well-deserved victory over colonialism, it is truly deplorable that the liberation movements of that country should offer us the sad spectacle we see today, which ultimately benefits only the enemies of Africa. Quite obviously, what unites them is more important than what divides them.

178. In Asia, the problem of Korea remains a matter of concern. I would simply say in this connexion that the explosive situation which is continuing has lasted too long. Are we to leave that country perpetually divided even though the two parties have expressed a real and specific will to reunite in their joint communiqué of 4 July 1972?¹

179. Upper Volta wishes to reiterate its position as I stated it here during the twenty-ninth session: we

demand, first, the dissolution of the United Nations Command; and second, the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

180. In our view, these measures are the prior requirements for any peace agreement likely to lead to an independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

181. It is on the basis of this analysis that Upper Volta joined the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/10191 regarding the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

182. In the meantime, the conflicts in South-East Asia would have rapidly found a happy outcome if the solutions advocated by the non-aligned had been accepted at the right time, in other words to allow peoples to live in peace which have always longed only for their independence and their freedom.

183. In this regard, I should like to make special mention of Cambodia. My delegation rejoices to see that we have among us once again the legitimate representatives of that country who had unjustly been deprived of their seat by a puppet clique in the pay of imperialism. Upper Volta, which, side by side with the progressive forces of the world, has striven for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, rejoices at the victory of the patriotic forces of that country. But can we ever forget the thousands who died because of our lack of action and postponements in the last two years when the General Assembly was dealing with the problem of Cambodia? While it is useless to go back to the past, it is nevertheless necessary to draw lessons for the future: foreign intervention, interference in the internal affairs of other States, the illegal occupation of territories by force, are now enterprises doomed to failure.

184. But if, there, some hopes are warranted, peace elsewhere is threatened nevertheless by other hot-beds of tension. Thus, in Africa, despite favourable developments in the Territories which were under Portuguese domination, the situation in southern Africa still remains alarming.

185. *Apartheid* persists despite the warnings of the international community. Likewise, South Africa continues to occupy Namibia with impunity and pursues its policy of bantustans.

186. However, the racists of South Africa are reduced more and more to isolation, not only by the international community but also on their home ground, because Portuguese decolonization has left it deprived of bulwarks.

187. Nevertheless, we must pursue, and wage more vigorously, the international struggle against the South African system, because we must, unfortunately, admit that at this level many States have systematically ignored decisions which they themselves helped to draw up.

188. Last year the General Assembly took a firm decision concerning the representatives of Pretoria after the triple veto which paralysed the Security Council [*resolution 3207 (XXIX)*]. That legitimate decision was in accord with the idea we have of the

United Nations in its task of peace and of safeguarding human dignity.

189. Upper Volta, for its part, endorses the position clearly reaffirmed by Africa during the last extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU held at Dar es Salaam: no dialogue is possible with the South African authorities so long as we do not clearly perceive signs of a radical change in policy envisaging the granting to the majority of their legitimate rights.

190. The Middle East crisis has also become, in many respects, and far more than it was, the key world problem which is shaking the entire edifice of international relations; it is a threat to peace and security and puts the entire international community to the test. This crisis, which constantly moves back and forth between wars and uncertain truces, is more acute and more explosive than ever.

191. Apart from the withdrawal from occupied Arab territories, a lasting peace in that region must include the recognition and granting of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

192. Thus, while justly appreciating the results of the new disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel, we hope that the dynamics of peace will not therefore be interrupted. In the meantime, what we all want is to move in the direction of collective security, a security which must, above all, proceed from general and complete disarmament.

193. Concerning that problem, Upper Volta can but recall its past position: namely, that it is urgent to seek ways and means to protect mankind from the nuclear disaster which threatens it because of the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons.

194. It is comforting to note that the problem of disarmament holds an important place on the agenda of this session. Is this not the signal that disarmament is what we all hold dear? However, we are bound to confess that so far we have not achieved the results which we were entitled to expect.

195. Upper Volta is nevertheless happy at the initiatives which here and there begin to see the light of day. The establishment of nuclear-free zones is undoubtedly one of the most certain ways, if not to prohibit nuclear weapons in a region, at least to control them effectively. That is why last year we supported the resolution on the necessary denuclearization of the African continent [*resolution 3261 E (XXIX)*]. Similarly, we have taken good note of the preparation of a world disarmament conference. While it arouses certain apprehensions, it nevertheless remains a stage which could be decisive in the disarmament process if it is prepared by countries having the required political will.

196. To judge by the circumstantial and structural difficulties which are a source of serious concern in the field of international economic relations, this is no time for optimism.

197. The situation of the countries most seriously affected by the present economic crisis remains grave. Indeed, according to estimates by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, cereal imports of 32 of those countries rose by \$3,000 million

in 1974-1975 and amounted to a total of \$5,000 million; their need to import fertilizers rose to \$1,500 million.

198. Whereas it had been estimated that the unmet financial needs of these countries would rise to \$2,300 million by 1975, everything leads us to believe that the needs will exceed \$4,500 million.

199. The international assistance promised will amount to approximately \$1,500 million. The deficit to be covered is therefore approximately \$3,000 million.

200. Most of the more seriously affected countries are still in a critical situation which is even more serious than it was in 1974, when the deficit had been estimated at \$1,700 million.

201. The situation of these countries is worsening because of the steady deterioration in their terms of trade. The shocking rise in the price of fertilizers, fuel and food-stuffs, aggravated by inflationary pressures becoming more and more acute in the developed countries, is accompanied by a marked decline in their export earnings because of the recession in the developed countries.

202. It is therefore essential and urgent to have these countries benefit from new favourable measures so that their debt burden will not reach an unbearable level and that they will be able to obtain sufficient quantities of food and fertilizers at reasonable prices.

203. The unfavourable climatic conditions which have affected certain regions in recent years have resulted in bringing to light the weaknesses in the structures of agriculture, particularly in Africa: the lack there of adjustment in the ownership structures and cultivation methods to production requirements; lack of access to means of production; the insufficiency of the infrastructure, such as access roads and storage installations. The way in which the Africans themselves have at the State level taken all the necessary measures leads us to believe that there is need for outside help.

204. On a short-term basis, measures are needed to ease the economic difficulties created by the shortages caused by natural catastrophes.

205. On a long-term basis, consistent efforts should be made by the international community to support the development of the agricultural potential of the developing countries. In this connexion Upper Volta hopes that the Agricultural Development Fund will soon become operational and that it will have resources to finance agricultural projects mainly devoted to the production of food, in particular investments to build new fertilizer factories in the least advanced countries, which would do away with all the uncertainties of fertilizer supply and ensure production at a better price and the financing of investments in the processing industries of agricultural products.

206. Upper Volta is essentially an agricultural country and we have decided to promote our social and economic development by taking the rural environment as the ultimate goal and vehicle for our actions. Our national experience in regard to community development will enable us in time to reach the poorest workers through outside contributions of production factors which will make it possible to increase production and productivity while safeguarding the cultural and rural traits which are factors for harmonious social and economic progress.

207. The most distressing problem for Upper Volta and other Sahelian countries is the lack of water resulting in the encroachment of the desert. It is in the hope of a solution to this scourge that we proposed to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly the convening of an international conference on preventing the encroachment of the desert [*resolution 3337 (XXIX)*]. We hope that the work of the conference will be deliberately directed towards the solution of theoretical and practical problems which will constitute the elements for a genuine programme of international action.

208. The urgent implementation of special measures for the least advanced countries and the land-locked countries is all the more necessary since these countries are the most vulnerable in the developing world. The tragedies which these countries have lived through have quite eloquently proved the need to take corrective measures so as to enable them to deal successfully with the upheavals of the world economy.

209. The measures advocated for their benefit have remained a dead letter in the commercial sector. While we are justified in being gratified at certain measures in regard to technical and financial assistance at the bilateral and multilateral levels, the fact remains that those measures are very far from meeting expectations. For those countries, the multilateral financial institutions are still, alas, far from their mission of being development banks. The rigidity of their procedures for action, and in particular their strict adherence to standardized profitability calculations, place them beyond the reach of projects covering the rural world of the least advanced countries.

210. We hope that the desired changes will be made as soon as possible in the methods of action by these institutions so as to enable the least advanced countries duly to benefit from the general measures adopted for all the developing countries within the framework of the United Nations Second Development Decade.

211. Since the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, several international gatherings have been held, including the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the World Conference of the International Women's Year, the Dakar meeting on raw materials and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at Lima. All these Conferences have had the merit of better defining a coherent and complete framework of action within which we should place our various efforts to establish a new international economic order.

212. The seventh special session has just ended. It made concrete progress in the direction of solving priority problems. There was unanimous agreement on an integrated programme and the indexing and automatic transfer of resources to finance development, which deserve to be emphasized as having set the framework and objectives for negotiations which will be held between now and the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

213. The results of the seventh special session have clearly shown the primary role which the United Nations could and should play as the setting for agreement and negotiations with a view to applying the guiding principles defined in the Declaration and the Programme of Action for the New International Economic Order and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. But, of necessity, Member States, individually or collectively, must resolutely undertake to comply with the obligations to which they have subscribed in all sovereignty, despite the temporary difficulties they may encounter. Only such an attitude can restore credibility to the United Nations in the eyes of the developing countries after the failures so far encountered in the effort undertaken within the framework of the two Development Decades, because, contrary to the impression spread by a certain press, failures are not to be attributed to the procedure of decision-taking but to the lack of goodwill manifested by the developed countries in carrying out the commitments to which they have subscribed.

214. The new structure for the economic and social sectors of the United Nations should rather strengthen its role as a negotiating centre while making the Organization more capable of following and regularly checking the attainment of objectives jointly decided upon.

215. We are convinced that we have now made a start towards better co-operation among nations. Perhaps it would not be superfluous to meditate upon the words of the late U Thant, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, who said:

"Are we much longer to allow blind economic forces to prevail in relations among men in the name of that untenable thesis that social sciences are incapable of progressing at the same pace as physical science? We have arrived at the crossroads of history. Rich and poor countries alike have a choice: either they move forward towards a community of international prosperity that is planned and coordinated, or they separately follow different paths towards an unplanned future, a future of chaos."

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/10250/ADD.1)

216. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I call the attention of members of the Assembly to the second report of the General Committee [A/10250/Add.1]. The General Committee recommends the inclusion on the agenda of the current session of an additional item entitled "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons", and the allocation of the item to the First Committee. May I consider that the General Assembly

* Resumed from the 2355th meeting.

adopts the recommendations of the General Committee?

It was so decided.

217. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Chairman of the First Committee will be informed of the decision just taken.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 24, item 41.

³ Manifesto on Southern Africa. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.*