

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTIETH SESSION

Official Records



2372nd
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 2 October 1975,
at 3.15 p.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Al-Saffar (Bahrain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BIMAZUBUTE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): I hope I am not too much mistaken if I say that it has been a matter of conscience in order, as it were, to justify the trip to New York that in previous years the representatives of countries of the size of ours have stood up to speak time and again at every session, to remind the world or if not the world—which perhaps thought it could do without their opinions—at least all men of good will and peace-loving men of the interest they also—and perhaps especially they—feel in the arrangement and the harmonious ordering of the affairs of our planet.

2. For some time now much if not everything has been changing. Thus neither military power nor geographical size is any longer the sign or synonym of wisdom and reason.

3. It is without doubt to this positive change in our outlook that we owe the joy and pleasure of congratulating the Prime Minister of Luxembourg on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. His outstanding intellectual and moral qualities and his great competence which have made of him a remarkable statesman in Luxembourg and in Europe, a country and a continent with which Burundi enjoys the very best relations, as he is aware, are also guarantees to us of the success of the work of our Assembly under his courteous but firm direction.

4. On behalf of my country and delegation I should like to pay a well deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, who has just successfully concluded the work of the seventh special session of the General Assembly

and brought the proceedings of the twenty-ninth regular session to a fine conclusion. Our Organization will long remember the decisive victories that were won thanks to the determination of that worthy son of Africa.

5. I should be failing in my duty if I did not immediately discharge the agreeable task of conveying to the Secretary-General the sincere greetings that the Head of State of Burundi, Lieutenant-General Michel Micombero, addresses to him on behalf of the people of Burundi organized within their Parti de l'unité pour le progrès national, on behalf of his Government and on his own behalf, just as he wishes to congratulate all the seen and unseen, known and unknown, members of the staff on their tireless efforts in the service of international peace and security.

6. On 16 September 1975 three new States solemnly joined the great family of the United Nations, thus bringing the number of Member States to 141. My delegation is pleased to see seated as free and independent nations the new African States of Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe. The efforts of the freedom-fighters of those countries, to the great satisfaction of the peoples that supported them in their long liberation struggle for self-determination and independence, have yielded the fruits we had every reason to expect of them. Let us hope that our brothers and sisters in those countries will accept our sincere congratulations and our welcome among us. We are convinced that their experience will be of great benefit to the world Organization.

7. On 24 October 1975 we will celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations. It has accordingly entered a new and decisive phase of its evolution. The recklessness of childhood and the irrational selfishness of young adolescence are over and must now give way to the responsibility of the maturity that is beginning to seep into our Organization.

8. The end of the third United Nations decade coincides with the end of the era of blind power, domination, colonialism and the most outrageous imperialism, a time when the exploitation and plundering of the world by the strong was organized on a grand scale in the name of either liberty or socialism, or simply democracy. That era, which is coming to an end, has seen the slow maturing and arduous birth of the third world, which has come to occupy its place among the strong, a right it enjoys by virtue of the fact that it includes two thirds of mankind on its territory and vast resources under it over which it intends henceforth to exercise full sovereignty.

9. In our view, then, that is the political basis for the new international economic order which repeatedly and in different places has been tirelessly called for by the third world.

10. An attempt has been made to look for aggressiveness in what is simple logic, merely because this offends old habits, particularly that of seeing and accepting as normal the fact that the third world should thank Europe or North America for granting it an infinitesimal share of the profits they are earning from the exploitation of its raw materials.

11. That aggressiveness was also discerned in the solemn declaration on general policy unanimously adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] at its tenth ordinary session—no doubt because the African countries have decided to remain united and to strengthen their vigilance in the face of the manoeuvres of imperialism.

12. That aggressiveness has also been discerned in the conclusions of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August, which solemnly proclaimed the rejection of all forms of subordination or dependence and all interference or pressure—political, economic or military. It is true that the economic declaration adopted at that Conference accused imperialism of having monopolized international economic affairs by monetary, tariff and trade methods.

13. It would be tiresome to enumerate the occasions when the poor have been accused of aggressiveness because they have dared boldly to claim their rights, of which they had long been deprived.

14. Let us merely recall that last year, at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, an attempt was made to put into operation machinery which would do away once and for all with the era of unequal relations among nations. At that time we drew up a Declaration and a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)], an order which would be based on justice, thanks to which and within which co-operation among all States would very shortly—at least that was our hope—bridge the vast gulf dividing the developed and the developing countries.

15. On 12 December 1974 the General Assembly reflected precisely that by adopting the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. I would remind Members that 120 countries voted in favour of that resolution and only six countries voted against it. It is also worth recalling that in the preamble to that resolution the Assembly stressed the fact that that Charter would be an effective instrument for the establishment of a new system of international economic relations based on equity, sovereign equality and the interdependence of the interests of developed and developing countries.

16. Suffice it for me to refer briefly to the Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials which, in February last, at Dakar, highlighted the special problems confronting our countries in this field, and to recall similarly the Lima Conference which was, for the non-aligned countries, an excellent preparatory meeting for the seventh special session and the present session.

17. Although very encouraging and even, in certain respects, an agreeable surprise, the results of the seventh special session did not entirely satisfy our

appetite. We had hoped that at that session concrete measures would be taken to bridge rapidly, if not immediately, the still sadly large gap between our just claims and the substance of the resolution adopted at the seventh special session [resolution 3362 (S-VII)].

18. Certainly the unjust bases of the present economic system are beginning to collapse under the just and constant pressure exerted by the developing countries with an occasional helping hand from Europe which has now decided to make friends and equal partners of its former subjects.

19. However, the just and equitable distribution of prosperity is not something that is going to happen tomorrow, if only because some of those who benefit from the system still consider sharing and equality as catastrophes from which they must protect themselves at all costs.

20. My delegation would like to suggest to those Powers which still favour the absurd situation produced by the old economic order to consider how great would be the advantage to them of anticipating events by fostering the début of a new era in international economic relations, a début that is in any case inevitable. In so doing, my delegation is not unaware of the narrowing of differences which occurred at the seventh special session. We simply wish, while expressing our pleasure at the fact that all States have chosen consultation and rejected confrontation, to express the hope, without undue optimism, that the time for recriminations and threats has passed for ever.

21. The confrontation of former days, objectively speaking, acted as a powerful brake on the execution of development programmes which many people hoped would become the essential activity of the United Nations together, of course, with its major role as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

22. My delegation and my country fervently hope that the practice of consultation will now make it possible for our Organization to transform itself in such a way as to become the ideal instrument of development and the regulator *par excellence* of co-operation.

23. My country, because of its size, is among the smallest States in the world; it is buried within the interior of the African continent, where the density of its population—130 inhabitants per square kilometre—and its galloping population growth—2.3 per cent per year—are making its present situation among the 25 poorest countries on earth particularly difficult. Thus we fully appreciate the great value of the development programme undertaken in Burundi in various fields by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

24. The President of the Republic of Burundi, Lieutenant-General Micombero, misses no opportunity to convey his gratitude and his satisfaction to the Secretary-General and to the directors-general and other leaders of the specialized agencies of the United Nations to whom—and this is something which he has always made a point of saying and which I should like to remind you of here—he has said that neither the current unfavourable situation nor the scope of the co-operation programme can ever justify our country's being drawn into any kind of shameful compromise.

25. Since the interests of our people do not damage those of others, they are our only guide in our options and preferences.

26. It is in this spirit that we shall approach the next phase of our already fruitful co-operation. We feel, in particular, that everything possible must be done to make integrated development action entirely effective and to strengthen it within the framework of the new more favourable arrangements for the poorest countries. Thus we would like to draw your attention to two human aspects of co-operation, since the failure to take these aspects fully into account has been at the bottom of so many failures and unfortunate misunderstandings.

27. The first of these aspects is that, contrary to the current practice in certain organizations, experts should be assigned to national authorities as collaborators and not as judges of efforts, however groping they may be, by the Governments of States, which we never tire of emphasizing are sovereign.

28. The second aspect is that the realistic action of experts in the field should never be overlooked, or systematically challenged, nor above all opposed without serious grounds by headquarters officials motivated sometimes by interests incompatible with those of the States concerned, which are primarily responsible for projects. My delegation, when the time comes, will explain the practical situations to which it wishes to refer here.

29. The seventh special session laid particular stress on special measures to be contemplated for relieving, if not actually satisfying, all the needs of land-locked countries. It has thus been established that these countries, particularly when they have the sad privilege of being among the poorest of the "have-nots", can really make no progress in development unless special measures can be taken in their favour. It seems to me superfluous to remind the Assembly of our constant proposal that guarantees should be given to land-locked countries of free access to the sea. My delegation would simply like to confine itself here to expressing its gratitude to the Secretary-General, who was good enough to propose the creation of a special fund to finance the supplementary transport costs which have to be borne by developing countries with no access to the sea.

30. Our central position on the spine of Africa, where we have today the good fortune to be surrounded only by brothers and friends, has convinced us that safeguard measures will never be watertight and that the new economic order will be illusory unless they are both based on total co-operation and understanding among neighbours, which would form nuclei around which and on the basis of which bigger groupings would be constructed.

31. That is the view of my Government, expressed in these terms by Lieutenant-General Micombero, President of the Republic of Burundi:

"My country is convinced that the establishment of this new international economic order will be brought about all the more rapidly if the victims of the injustices of the present order become more aware of the need for it and do everything in their power to accelerate its establishment. We, for our part, include among these means the establishment,

as soon as possible, of a concrete programme, appropriate machinery and practical instruments for co-operation among all the poor relations of the present economic order, beginning with those whose interests are naturally linked."

That is why we are happy to have launched, along with the sister-Republics of Zaire and Rwanda, the idea and project of an economic community of the great lake countries, which will shortly go into operation and which will be joined, we very much hope, by our friends, which, like us, have borders on the same great African lakes.

32. The delegation of my country to the seventh special session also indicated our interest in the building of various communications between Burundi and its natural partners in East Africa.

33. Beyond this programme of co-operation, which we call local and which we view as being extremely important, my delegation is a fervent supporter of the need for the fullest possible inter-African co-operation; that is the only co-operation, in our view, which would enable our continent to become a serious and credible partner at the very many tables at which countries meet to negotiate and at which its presence is becoming ever more in demand.

34. Whether it is the embryonic Afro-Arab co-operation or the renewal, rather further away, of the Lomé Convention, my delegation believes that Africa has everything to gain by presenting itself at negotiations after having established, at least at the regional level, an internal co-operation programme.

35. Permit me now to turn to some political subjects, some of which have become traditional, in order to give the views of my delegation and my country on each of them, before concluding on the necessary revision of the Charter of our Organization.

36. While, for two thirds of mankind the major item on the agenda is above all development, for others it is disarmament. We are told *inter alia* that nuclear tests should be ended, that the manufacture of inter-continental missiles should be reduced and that it should be agreed that at least no indiscriminate use should be made of a whole arsenal of toys, each more deadly than the other, but which people still do not want to give up.

37. My delegation deplures, and with good reason, the fact that so many billions are spent on the manufacture of deadly weapons, while at the same time millions of men and women are dying—I was simply going to say of hunger.

38. We are therefore in favour of disarmament, provided that it is general and complete. But for it to be general and complete, we must not only prevent the manufacture of new weapons, but decide upon and actually destroy existing stockpiles. Until general and complete disarmament is brought about—and we believe that at present that is not feasible—we think that every State has the right and even the duty to acquire the necessary means for its defence.

39. Among the Powers which boast so loudly about disarmament, some are distributing freely whole shiploads of arms to the Angolan liberation movements. In Burundi we are following with special

attention the development of the situation in the Territory.

40. We firmly support, just as we congratulate, all those who have exerted and continue to exert their influence and talents in an attempt to break the bloody deadlock of the Angolan problem. That was what Lieutenant-General Michel Micombero, President of my country, tried to do when, at the beginning of August, he issued the following urgent appeal to the movements and those who support them in their undertaking:

“The alarming problem of Angola, which is causing us the gravest concern, could easily be solved if all the liberation movements would listen to reason and agree to use the good offices ceaselessly offered to them by Africa.

“We have to note and denounce here the fact that our failure in that country also derives from the enemies of Africa who are arousing on all sides the appetite for power and are trying to persuade their antagonistic *protégés* that victory will come to them through force of arms. We would like urgently to appeal to those supplying arms for this fratricidal struggle in Angola to cease their deliveries. There have already been too many innocent victims.”

41. We continue to hope that on 11 November next, the day scheduled for the independence of their country, our brothers will become free and sovereign once again in an Angola which will be united and, we hope, prosperous.

42. The southern part of the African continent remains subject to Governments whose philosophy is repugnant to the human conscience.

43. In Zimbabwe, the rebel Ian Smith continues to reject the principle of government by the black majority.

44. The Pretoria authorities, whose philosophy of government is based on *apartheid* and racism, continue to flout the international community by illegally administering the Territory of Namibia, which is the responsibility of the United Nations.

45. My country continues to believe that if the United Nations were to demand it—in the final analysis this means if the great Powers so wished—the Organization could compel South Africa to hand over to it the administration of Namibia.

46. Our position on all the other questions relating to southern Africa is identical with that of the OAU. Burundi will never agree to deal with Pretoria or with the Salisbury rebels until they recognize unambiguously the principle of government by the black majority and until they actually and clearly renounce their theory and policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

47. Burundi's position is also identical with that of the OAU on the problem of the liberation of the peoples of Western Sahara and so-called French Somali Coast. Our brothers can be sure of our unswerving support for them in their struggle for self-determination.

48. In the Middle East the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, with the assistance of the

Secretary of State of the United States, have just concluded a new disengagement agreement in Sinai. My country would like to congratulate the Egyptian and Israeli authorities, as well as Mr. Kissinger, on the step that has thus been taken towards peace.

49. In spite of that agreement, tension which could explode at any moment will remain until a final and complete solution has been found. Israel's refusal to restore Arab territories which it has been occupying by force and to recognize the national rights of the people of Palestine is based only on its arrogance, since the Arab countries no longer challenge its right to exist within secure and recognized frontiers.

50. It is for that reason that in that conflict the Republic of Burundi supports the just positions of fraternal Arab countries, in particular those just and peaceful positions of the Arab Republic of Egypt. The Republic of Burundi believes that the efforts now under way to defuse the situation in that part of the world should be encouraged and supported by all Members of the United Nations, and that those efforts should be accelerated and extended to all zones of conflict.

51. Almost 30 years ago the United Nations was confronted for the first time with the Korean problem. The development of the situation in Korea is closely linked with the history of the United Nations. The responsibilities of our Organization are immense in this problem. It was in particular because of the cold war that Korea was divided in order to meet certain strategic needs in Asia. In May 1972 the President of North Korea, Kim Il Sung, formulated the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification of the country and greater national unity. In July of the same year the authorities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and those of South Korea signed an agreement on the three principles of the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. In 1973 the General Assembly confirmed that agreement. However, Korea remains a country divided against the will of its people. That is why my delegation believes that the question of Korea should be settled by the Korean people themselves, without any outside interference.

52. The draft resolution annexed to document A/10191 and Add.1-3, of which Burundi is a sponsor, calls for the dissolution of the United Nations Command, the withdrawal from South Korea of all foreign armed forces stationed there under the United Nations flag, and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement concluded between the parties actually concerned in the Armistice Agreement in Korea. My delegation hopes that at this session the General Assembly will finally adopt that draft resolution.

53. Among the important events of this year, it is fitting to mention the heroic victory of the peoples of Indo-China. The collapse of the imperialist forces in Indo-China confirms the invincibility of a people determined to remain free and independent. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to pay the warmest tribute to those peoples, who are such a credit to us today.

54. The Republic of Burundi, which had always recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Cambodia, welcomes with the greatest joy the

authentic representatives of the Cambodian people to this Assembly. After five years of fierce struggle, they have returned to their seats among us.

55. The satisfaction of my delegation would have been even greater if we had not had occasion to deplore the veto cast by the United States against the admission of the two Viet Nams to the United Nations. My delegation deems untenable the comparison made between the applications for admission of the two Vietnamese Republics and the problem of Korea, a country which, in the view of the United Nations, remains divided against the will of its people, who aspire to its peaceful and independent reunification.

56. My delegation would express the hope that the United States will no longer resort to the veto to oppose the admission of States that quite obviously fulfil all the requirements of the Charter.

57. In the three decades of its existence, the United Nations has undergone a radical transformation. Quite clearly, the Organization is entering a new, historic phase which could certainly not have been foreseen at the time of its foundation. Consequently, its Charter should be subject to appropriate review so that the necessary changes can be made to it.

58. That is why we feel that we should continue to consider the matter of a review of the Charter of the United Nations. My delegation believes that important amendments in this regard should relate to extension of the powers of the General Assembly and, above all, a redistribution of the powers of the Security Council.

59. On the question of the right of veto, my country can only wonder whether the United Nations is composed of five States and more than a hundred other State-like entities, or whether our Organization is made up of 141 equally sovereign States.

60. It remains quite clear to us that a country with a great population, exercising sovereignty over vast territory and similarly extensive resources, naturally has—and logically and juridically, therefore, must have—more weight than others which, being smaller, exercise their functions and sovereignty, just as large families do, over smaller areas.

61. However, we believe that the right to defy all others cannot be justly exercised unless it is a matter of safeguarding the interest of groupings larger than national communities.

62. Hence in the absence of the pure and simple renunciation of the right of veto by those who enjoy it today, my Government would hope that this right will henceforth be distributed on a more equitable geographical basis and that, instead of being the exclusive possession of a few States, will become the prerogative of the various continental organizations.

63. I had hoped to conclude this statement on a cheerful note which, I thought, might be inspired by the highly topical subject of International Women's Year.

64. Unfortunately, however, this Year has not been so encouraging as to allow us to forget the poverty and privation which is the daily lot of far too many people in the world.

65. We in Burundi therefore feel that when less than 25 per cent of the world's school-age children have

had any schooling, and when for every 100,000 persons there are only one doctor and less than five hospital beds available to them—and I shall not prolong this list; there would be no point in doing so—there is something wrong with counting heads among those who are privileged, because this would inevitably lead to establishing statistics about those, far too numerous, whom fortune has obstinately forgotten. What is to be gained, indeed, in finding out that there are more women than men, or *vice versa*, among those who can do nothing to ease their poverty?

66. In the circumstances, the International Women's Year has been designed and organized in my country to open the eyes of the women of Burundi to the difficult situation of all, and to the particular responsibilities of women to improve the situation, rather than to make them more aware of the futile or inevitable problems of their sex.

67. With this conviction and with this realism, the women of Burundi have taken part in all international meetings organized within the framework of this Year dedicated to women, of whom Patrice Lumumba once said that in training women we are training a whole generation. We hope this can be done without detracting from their charm and beauty.

68. Mr. MOLINA ORANTES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala wishes to congratulate the President and at the same time to express its pleasure on his well-deserved election to the lofty post of the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. His recognized qualities as an experienced statesman, his broad knowledge of international relations and, particularly, his distinguished gifts as a jurist and his balanced and wise judgement which have proved so valuable in the process of integration which has taken place among the countries of the European Economic Community [EEC] are a guarantee that the decisions to be adopted in this solemn forum will always be imbued with the greatest fairness and the strictest justice and, above all, will serve the lofty purposes of our world Organization. Those purposes must take precedence over secondary political considerations which sometimes divert our debates from the primary objectives of the Charter—the maintenance of international peace and security, the promotion of friendship and co-operation among the peoples of the world and, above all, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and in accordance with the principles of justice and the provisions of international law, and the prevention of situations which may endanger world peace.

69. Guatemala, one of the 51 nations which signed the Charter in San Francisco at a time when the gunfire of the Second World War had not yet died away and when mankind was anxious to ensure for future generations lasting peace based on respect for law and fundamental human freedoms, wishes to pay a tribute to our Organization on its thirtieth anniversary and derives great hope from the significant fact that the number of peace-loving States which today make up our Organization has risen to 141, with the inclusion of the new Members which we are most pleased to welcome to this Assembly—Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe. The delegation of Guatemala wishes to extend to them its brotherly greetings of welcome and pledges its broadest co-operation in any

endeavour designed to achieve our common objectives in this universal forum.

70. The faith which the great majority of nations have placed in the effectiveness of the world Organization in its fundamental task of protecting mankind from the scourge of war compels us to strengthen its foundations and to promote international co-operation in the fight against another equally damaging scourge, namely, under-development, as well as against other ominous dangers which threaten mankind, such as the proliferation of nuclear arms, the growing pollution of the environment, the shortage of food, and social discontent, which in an increasingly interdependent world are creating the enormous economic and technological gap which divides the developed from the under-developed countries.

71. Unfortunately, in the 30 years of the life of our international Organization dark storm clouds of war have not disappeared from the world horizon. Nor can it be claimed that within the Organization total harmony prevails among its Members, for they are today divided into powerful, opposing and combative political blocs.

72. Guatemala, however, maintains its firm hope that, in this new stage upon which we have embarked, we shall strengthen and completely fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter and that the peaceful solutions provided by international law to solve disputes among States will allow us to prevent confrontations arising from the injustices and inequities inflicted upon countries solely by the use of force.

73. Foremost among the problems which most poison relations among peoples are without doubt those which entail the infringement of territorial integrity, since territory is one of the fundamental elements of any State and all nations consider it a sacred and inviolable heritage for which they have always been ready to shed their blood. For this reason, a just solution of territorial conflicts by the diplomatic and judicial means provided for under international law is one of the imperatives of peaceful coexistence among States.

74. Negotiation and mediation have demonstrated their effectiveness as a means of achieving détente in international situations which have become explosive.

75. Recent experience has shown that perseverance, mutual understanding and goodwill between the parties can bring them "step by step" towards a possible honourable settlement of their disputes. We cannot fail to express our satisfaction at the preliminary agreement between Egypt and Israel, the product of patient and tenacious negotiation, and the world is anxiously hoping that this preliminary step will gradually lead to a settlement in the Middle East in peace based on justice and human brotherhood.

76. The delegation of Guatemala also hopes that by means of negotiation solutions will be found for other conflicts which are damaging friendly relations between neighbouring countries or frustrating the desire for the peaceful reunification of divided nations, as in the case of the two Koreas, or which are endangering the territorial integrity and sovereignty of countries like Cyprus. We firmly hope that through negotiations and other peaceful means just solutions for the prob-

lems created by the continued existence of foreign enclaves, which infringe the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States, will also be found. The unresolved disputes which have persisted for many years over the occupied territories of the Malvinas Islands, Gibraltar, the Panama Canal and the Guatemalan territory of Belize, usurped by the United Kingdom, are sources of discontent which cast a shadow over relations among States and interfere with the harmony which is essential to peace.

77. Ever since Guatemala became a Member of the United Nations it has been explaining at this rostrum to the conscience of the world that for more than a century and a half we have been making claims against the United Kingdom for the return of the Territory of Belize, over which my country possesses sovereign rights because it is an integral part of our national territory and with it forms a continuous and indivisible unit, the historic ties of which go back to times before Columbus when Guatemala and Belize were part of the ancient Mayan Empire. These ties were maintained throughout the period of Spanish colonial domination and continue to exist today in spite of the territorial usurpations of the last century.

78. Already in the sixteenth century under Spanish domination Belize formed part of the political entity of Guatemala and it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that for the first time bands of buccaneers descended upon its coast and, in the intermittent periods of peace between Spain and England, engaged in the cutting of logwood, which at that time was widely used in British industry. This anomalous situation was regularized by peace treaties between the two Powers in 1783 and 1786, whereby Spain authorized the presence of British subjects in the area of Belize for the sole purpose of cutting timber and building houses within an area of approximately 2,581 square miles, over which Great Britain expressly recognized in these treaties the full sovereignty exercised by Spain.

79. In 1821 Guatemala won its independence from Spain and on the basis of the principle *uti possidetis*, which is the rule generally applied in the countries of America and, more recently, by the new African States, the territory of the State of Guatemala was the same as it had been under Spanish sovereignty within the administrative limits existing at the time of the proclamation of independence.

80. Shortly after becoming a sovereign State Guatemala began to pursue its claim against Great Britain, whose subjects not only continued to exploit the concessions granted by Spain, but were penetrating further into neighbouring Central American territories. It took the combined efforts of the Central American States, acting jointly both diplomatically and militarily, to recover their sovereignty over the Bahía Islands and the Mosquitia Settlements in Nicaragua and Honduras, to defend Nicaragua against the raids of filibusters and slavers, and to protect Central American sovereignty over the islands and waters of the Gulf of Fonseca. After repeated attempts to prevail upon Great Britain to put an end to its increasing incursions into Guatemalan territory, in 1859 Guatemala and Great Britain signed a Convention which, although it contained the word "limits" in its title, actually entailed the ceding of territory under coercion

covering a total area of 8,598 square miles, the equivalent of 23,000 square kilometres. Great Britain had previously possessed no rights over three quarters of that area.

81. This Convention cannot but remind us of the notorious "trinket treaties" imposed by the colonialist Powers in various parts of the world in circumstances of glaring inequality because of the weakness of the other contracting party.

82. Nevertheless, the British Government never discharged its sole obligation contracted under the 1859 Convention, in spite of the continuous claims submitted by my country, claims which today still remain frustrated. The obstinate refusal to fulfil this obligation and the rejection of several proposals of the Government of Guatemala that the case be taken to arbitration and that an international judicial solution be sought was the reason why the Congress of Guatemala in 1946 declared the 1859 Convention invalid because of the failure of Great Britain to fulfil the compensatory obligation it had contracted, and that is why in 1963 the Government of Guatemala broke off diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. As a consequence of this situation, the parties never reached agreement on the demarcation of the territory in dispute, which remains undemarcated today.

83. At all international meetings, delegations of my country have explicitly and repeatedly raised the matter of this dispute and have made it clear that the rights of the Guatemalan nation over its Territory of Belize cannot be relinquished. When, in San Francisco, we signed the Charter of the United Nations in 1945, Guatemala accepted all the principles and obligations of the Charter, including that of the self-determination of peoples, a principle upon which our very existence as a sovereign State is based. However, we were compelled to place on record the dispute over the Territory of Belize which we have always considered to be an integral part of our own national territory and, as such, falling outside the principle of self-determination. For the same reason, we opposed the idea that Belize might be placed under the International Trusteeship System, and on 26 May 1945 the representative of Guatemala entered a reservation to this effect, which appeared in the report of the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee of the Second Commission, and thus constitutes an official document of the San Francisco Conference. It reads as follows:

"The delegation of Guatemala enters an express reservation to sub-paragraph (c) of paragraph 3, section B, of the trusteeship system to the effect that this system cannot apply to territories belonging to the Republic of Guatemala even though such territories may be the subject of claim or disputes or at present in the possession of another State."

The delegation of Guatemala has frequently made reference to this reservation in the General Assembly and in its Committees.

84. My country has energetically and invariably supported the process of decolonization set in motion by the United Nations as one of its primary purposes, a process which has promoted the birth of many independent States seated in this Assembly today. The records of our sessions and the votes of Guatemala in favour of all efforts to accelerate this process of

decolonization bear witness to our support and, significantly, it was to the representative of Guatemala that the honour fell to be elected to the presidency of the Trusteeship Council in 1958.

85. Guatemala was one of the 89 countries which voted in favour of the historic resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In so doing, we placed unequivocally on record that the resolution, in accordance with the provision of paragraph 6 of the Declaration, was not applicable to the long-standing dispute over Belize, since it categorically states that

"Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

86. The existence of similar situations in other parts of the world was the reason why the 43 sponsors of the draft resolution considered it indispensable through that paragraph to safeguard the cardinal principle of territorial integrity, in order to protect countries against any attempt at dismemberment or secession which might invoke the inapplicable principle of self-determination.

87. At the memorable meeting on 14 December 1960, Mr. Palar of Indonesia explained that his delegation was one of the sponsors of paragraph 6 and that he considered that the situation of the Territory which the Guatemalan delegation had in mind has been taken into consideration in our paragraph 6.¹ At that time, Indonesia was submitting its claim to West Irian, which it rightly considered an integral part of its own territory and which it subsequently recovered. I would remind the Assembly, too, that the enclave of Goa was brought under the sovereignty of India, which considered Goa to be an integral part of its own territory—with the implicit acquiescence of the United Nations.

88. The delegations of Afghanistan, Iran and Jordan, among others, also expressed their agreement with the position taken by Guatemala in the discussion of the final text of resolution 1514 (XV), and on that occasion Mr. Rahnema of Iran emphatically reaffirmed² the contents of paragraph 6 of the Declaration quoted earlier. At the same time, he quite rightly added that the Balkanization of countries is a stratagem of neo-colonialism which applies, for the purposes of domination, the well-known maxim of "divide and conquer".

89. In this regard, the Latin American diplomat Mr. Leopoldo Benites, later to become President of the General Assembly, stated:

"My delegation . . . condemns any attempt to disrupt the national unity or territorial integrity of a country as being contrary to the principles of the Charter and to the foundations of law and peaceful coexistence".³

90. My delegation felt it necessary to summarize on this occasion the roots of its continuing dispute with the United Kingdom over the territory of Belize and the reasons why we come to this world forum every year to reiterate the still outstanding claim which is an affront to the dignity of all Guatemalans.

91. Since a considerable number of new States have joined our Organization and many of them are unaware of the grounds for our claim, and since this Assembly has witnessed some demagogic attempts here to present our case as an expansionist adventure or as a curious form of neo-colonialism—something which is repugnant to the democratic spirit of the Guatemalan people—we feel obliged to make it absolutely clear and explicit that Guatemala remains unwavering in its demand that the United Kingdom desist from its illegal occupation of the Guatemalan Territory of Belize, and that my Government reiterates its conviction that this dispute can be resolved only by the legal and diplomatic means provided for under international law—a view which we hope is shared by the Government of the United Kingdom, with whose representatives my Government has been negotiating for more than 12 years, in an attempt to find a formula for a settlement.

92. The justice of Guatemala's claim has won the support of the States of Latin America, as embodied in many declarations and resolutions, including those approved by the Second, Third and Fourth Meetings of Consultation of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics and in other organs and committees of the Organization of American States [O.A.S.].

93. The sister Republics of Central America have also expressed their solidarity with Guatemala in important regional documents, including the Declaration of Antigua, signed in August 1955, in which they proclaimed their rejection of the survival of colonialism in America and made it clear that the Territory of Belize was an integral part of Guatemala and, hence, of Central America and that action designed to recover that Territory was of concern to all States signing that Declaration; the Declaration of Panama of 1962; and more recently the Declaration of Guayana, Venezuela, signed in December 1974 by that country and the six Central American Governments. In this very Assembly of the United Nations, at the seventh session, Mr. Urquía of El Salvador made the following statement at the meeting held on 10 December 1952:

"Paragraph 3 of the report of the Fourth Committee [4/2296] refers to a reservation made by the representative of Guatemala in regard to Belize Territory. On behalf of the delegation of my country and of three other Central American delegations, I take the liberty of making the following statement concerning that reservation. The delegations of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, considering that the sister Republic of Guatemala has during the present session of the General Assembly declared that it reserves its sovereign rights over Belize Territory, and considering that this is a problem which directly affects the geographical unity of Central America, wish to record their support of the reservation made by the Guatemalan delegation."⁴

94. The Government of my country has repeatedly attempted to seek a judicial solution to the dispute over Belize, but its arbitration proposals were rejected by the United Kingdom in 1880 and in 1937 and the idea of taking the case to the International Court of Justice came to nothing because the parties failed to agree on the procedure to be followed.

95. In order to break this deadlock, the Government of Guatemala and the United Kingdom embarked on a phase of negotiations which began in 1957 and which, with some interruptions, has continued up to the present day. These negotiations have been exploring various formulas for a settlement which, apart from the territorial dispute itself, take careful account of a very important element—namely, the people of Belize, whose interests warrant our total respect and whose friendship and co-operation we deem indispensable to the process of integration of two territories which constitute a single geographic entity. The mutual gravitation of both population groups and their complementary interests indicate that the only viable path for their future development lies through economic and political integration. The Central American States themselves are making major efforts to achieve that kind of integration through a gradual and progressive process in which our peoples have placed all their hopes of achieving the full development of the region and of overcoming the nationalistic quarrels which still create ill will among sister nations.

96. Guatemala is not indifferent to the fact that the local population of Belize has been growing because of migrations from different sources and because of other demographic factors and that the present population density is five inhabitants per square kilometre.

97. Guatemala is mindful of the interests of these people, who have been acquiring an identity of their own, for in the negotiations over the last 18 years the formulas for resolving the dispute have been aimed at reconciling the rights claimed by Guatemala with the interest of the people of Belize. In this spirit, in 1957, the representatives of the United People's Party of Belize held talks with representatives of the Government of Guatemala to discuss the possibility of a federative association with the latter, but these efforts were frustrated by the action of the United Kingdom Government, which did not view with favour the prospect of Belize's ceasing to be one of its possessions. In 1963, negotiations were resumed with the United Kingdom through the good offices of the United States and later the case was submitted for mediation to that Government. Unfortunately, however, no formula acceptable to the parties was found.

98. Despite the failure of the efforts made so far, the parties to the dispute have not slackened their efforts to find a negotiated solution. Talks have continued until recently, as our Organization has been officially informed, between Guatemala and the United Kingdom with the participation of representatives of the people of Belize. My Government continues to trust that these negotiations will lead finally to a just and equitable solution which will reconcile the interests involved and put an end to the dispute, thus avoiding the engendering of hostility stemming from the resentment caused by unilateral solutions or those which are imposed by force.

99. The self-determination of peoples is a cardinal principle of the United Nations which has been applied to deliver subject nations from the state of bondage in which they were held by the colonial Powers. However, this principle can never be applied, in accordance with United Nations law itself, in the case of territories which are an integral part of a State and which have been forcibly occupied by another State.

which has settled them with outsiders who have subjugated or supplanted the indigenous population, because this would lead to an encouragement of dismemberment of territories which belong to one nation but have been usurped by another.

100. These situations of force which keep a stranglehold on the national territories of States can only be settled peacefully and permanently through the legal means provided for under international law. This is the path chosen by the people and Government of Guatemala, which we hope will lead to a settlement of its century-old claim against the United Kingdom in regard to the territory of Belize, on a basis of justice and equity, so as to avoid the friction resulting from the indignation of a people in the light of a stubborn refusal to recognize its lawful rights over its territorial integrity and the indivisibility of its sovereignty.

101. We are an Organization of sovereign States which have declared their acceptance of the purposes and principles of the Charter. We belong to the Organization on equal terms, and this applies both to those nations which for several generations have enjoyed full international representation and to nations which have recently entered the international scene. We are a free association established for the purpose of achieving the peace and justice to which we aspire through law—through law which teaches us that there is only one justice, which admits of no nuances. What is just for one must be just for others. What is unjust for one is unjust for all. This is something to ponder on, to determine and to agree on our responsibility as independent, sovereign States, if we wish to strengthen the legal principles which are essential to an organized international community.

102. On 24 October next we shall be celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations. Guatemala, together with 50 other nations, has been a Member of the Organization since its foundation and has taken part in all the sessions of the General Assembly and in the international conferences it has convened. We have made our contribution to different bodies, and distinguished Guatemalans have held important posts. In 1968, the General Assembly elected a Guatemalan, Emilio Arenales Catalán, as its President. Our participation in the work of the United Nations has been in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter, which should be interpreted fully and not partially, completely and not in a fragmented fashion, even-handedly and not tendentiously. There is but one law and it applies to everyone, because any kind of opportunistic interpretation which grants rights to some while they are denied to others, offends our sense of equity and justice. Guatemala believes that the Charter and the resolutions to which we have voluntarily adhered should be interpreted as a whole and in a spirit of total equality. These are the conditions for good faith in the fulfilment of obligations entered into and are the means to guarantee the application of international law and justice which are the very foundations of stable and lasting peace.

103. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): My delegation takes its place on this rostrum rather late in the day, when the representatives who have spoken before me have congratulated the President and eulogized his past and present achievements. However, permit me to add the voice of Botswana to the chorus of those who have

preceded me. This is no conventional exercise, for the almost unanimous election of the President is sterling proof of the high esteem in which this body holds him and the confidence we repose in his leadership. We have no doubt that the thirtieth session, under his guidance, will bring additional laurels to his crown. His election is a credit to him personally and a tribute to his country, Luxembourg.

104. The President inherits the mantle of office from Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria. My delegation cannot proceed to refer to the substantive issues before us without first expressing its appreciation of, and congratulating him on, a job well done during the twenty-ninth session. Through Mr. Bouteflika's patience, level-headedness and pragmatic assessment of the mood of the time, he also steered the seventh special session skilfully to a successful conclusion, bringing hope to the hearts of millions of people in the third world. But it is only a hope and we exhort the President to carry on the work so well begun in order that our aspirations might be realized and the economic and social advancement of all peoples might be promoted.

105. One of the major preoccupations over the past several years has been the growing gap in living standards between the developed and the developing nations. It has become imperative to establish the basis for a more just system of international economic relations among the nations of the world irrespective of their economic and social systems, and on the basis of equality. The seventh special session, which concluded its work a little more than a fortnight ago, addressed itself to this very problem. It is not my intention on this occasion to go into the substantive issues. My delegation welcomes the spirit of conciliation and co-operation manifested at that session which enabled us to conclude our negotiations and unanimously adopt a programme on development and international economic co-operation. What now remains to be done is for all countries to commit themselves to the adoption and implementation of a world plan of action. Since our ultimate objective is to establish a new international economic order, we regard what has been done at the seventh special session as a vital step towards that objective.

106. On 16 September the United Nations admitted three new nations to its membership: Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe. Two years ago, and for many years before that, in the face of formidable odds—such as an organized Portuguese army backed up by a long-established colonial attitude and military experience, a determined unrelenting overlordship, weapons furnished by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Western sympathies which were averse, as always, to violence against oppression while professing keen opposition to injustice and inequality—it would have been considered near madness to predict the realities of today. Anyone who did so would have been charged with incitement of the local population—who, so the world is often told, are happy in their humble place, were it not for misguided agitators—and accused of interfering in the internal affairs of a Member State. It is not my intention to open old wounds. I am moved by the thought and knowledge of what the people of the countries we have

admitted to membership at this session have had to endure and what many other people in different parts of the world are suffering and under what pretext they are made to suffer. Today the entire Assembly rejoices, and very few of us stop to reflect on the unnecessary and wanton loss of life which preceded these nations' presence in the United Nations. Very few reflect on the individual role they have played in obstructing the way and prolonging the suffering of oppressed peoples through alliances, political attitudes and the promotion of their individual economic interests when problems of decolonization come before this forum.

107. The regaining of their national independence after many years of colonial domination and their unhindered exercise of self-determination are what the people of Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe have always wished for themselves. They do not love war, but they resorted to wars of liberation and a violent struggle for freedom when the inhumanity of colonialism, which desensitizes all human feelings, proved intractable and determined to remain for ever and to ride them into the ground. It is to be hoped that, even in those areas of the world where colonialism, discrimination and *apartheid* are still rampant, we shall one day be privileged to sit side by side with their national delegations.

108. It is my pleasant duty as the leader of my country's delegation to congratulate the new Members on their regained independence and on their admission to the community of nations. We are confident that, as they assume their rightful place here, they will contribute in no small measure to the implementation of the ideals and objectives of the United Nations and uphold the principles of its Charter.

109. In the past year we have witnessed significant and welcome changes in the revolutionary rebirth of nations not only in Africa but also in Asia. In Indo-China we have seen the valiant people of Viet Nam and Cambodia reassert their right to redefine the national boundaries of their lawful territories and, in keeping with the principle of self-determination, decide on the future political direction of their people. We are disappointed that the applications for membership in the United Nations by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam have met with opposition and we hope, none the less, that the United States will reconsider its position. We look forward to the day when all the independent nations of Indo-China will take their place in this Assembly. The revolutionary wars of liberation in Indo-China have ended and it is our hope that a period of lasting peace will follow. It is our hope, further, that in the peace that follows, the great Power blocs of the world will reconsider their relationships with the small nations and work for a humane and peaceful international order based on respect for and understanding of the rights of all nations, on justice and on co-operation for the benefit of all mankind and in order to promote a common endeavour to find solutions to the political and economic problems which still confront us. My Government believes that the relaxation of tension between the world Powers will become a dynamic process during which the security of all nations will be guaranteed. We believe that this process could constitute a reaffirmation of an abiding commit-

ment towards achieving the desired results in the area of disarmament and respect for nuclear-free zones.

110. My Government believes that, with the end of the war in Indo-China and as a result of the lesson taught by that revolution, cases of direct and indirect foreign intervention in the internal affairs of other States could be abandoned. The outcome of the recent Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki, encourages us to believe that this can be achieved. What remains to be done is further to decrease areas of confrontation and to increase areas of co-operation and mutual trust among nations.

111. The question of Korea is once again on the agenda of the current session. The text which represents the consensus of the members of the General Assembly was adopted on 28 November 1973.⁵ It urges both North and South Korea to continue dialogue to expedite the peaceful reunification of Korea, has not been fully implemented. Consequently my delegation would like once again to call for the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in Korea. We see the removal of the Command and the troops as an essential step in the search for peace in the peninsula.

112. My preceding remarks were a general commentary on the changing world situation. I should like now to refer to some issues in more specific terms.

113. In the Middle East, the roots of political tension and armed conflict—in other words, the issues concerning occupied lands and the deprivation of a people's rights—have been known for a long time now. What has remained elusive in the subregion is peace.

114. From the outset I should like to state that Botswana has never questioned the existence of any State in the region. For this reason my Government continues to consider that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) provide a useful framework for peace in the area. However, the prolonged tension in the Middle East leads my Government to the view that, if Israel wishes to ensure the durability for its own independence and future, it should withdraw from all occupied Arab lands and thus further demonstrate also that it accepts the legitimacy of the national rights of the Palestinian people. My Government supported the granting of observer status in the United Nations to the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] because we believe that organization is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We believe that the strong and active participation of that organization in the current search for a formula for peace is essential, and we hope that the parties concerned will take into account the basic interests of the Palestinians in order to ensure permanent peace in the Middle East.

115. My Government is pleased that some of the parties concerned have since our last session already made some progress in identifying areas in which interim accords are possible. We welcome this development and hope that its momentum will be sustained, so that further relaxation of tension will create favourable conditions for a permanent settlement.

116. We therefore commend Egypt for its magnanimity and the United States for its efforts in the search for peace in the area. The recent accords between

Egypt and Israel may seem minimal, but we regard them as a step forward for the Middle East as they set the pattern for further negotiations and for the settlement of the problem by peaceful means.

117. The volatile disposition of the political conflicts of the Middle East subregion prompts us to see merit in extending the presence and operations of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in that region. For, even allowing for the important role played by bilateral diplomacy in the Arab-Israeli conflict and in the unfortunate Cyprus situation, we cannot help but concede the useful results obtained through the interposition of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in bringing about the disengagement of opposing armies.

118. The desperate situation in Cyprus, which is as much a question of national independence as it is a humanitarian one, is equally of concern to the United Nations. It remains the hope of my Government that the parties concerned in the Cyprus situation will, in consultation and co-operation with this Organization, ensure that the aspirations of the people of Cyprus as a whole are respected and that Cyprus will re-emerge as a sovereign and independent Republic. This presupposes the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island. We hope that the relaxation of political tension in Europe will provide further encouragement for a determined willingness to solve this problem.

119. I fully agree with the remarks of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization when he observed of the Middle East situation that:

"In attempting to achieve solutions of problems which threaten international peace and security there can be no place for despair, however great the frustration, and, in view of the alternatives, there can be no excuse for giving up the struggle."
[A/10001/Add.1, sect. XI.]

120. While we rejoice at the attainment of independence by the new African nations, we are deeply concerned at the turn of events in Angola. Internecine strife has overtaken orderly progress towards independence. Arms continue to flow into that African country, not for liberation, but for self-destruction. We regret the plight of the refugees. Under such difficult circumstances, my delegation strongly calls for non-interference in Angola's affairs. We in the United Nations should speak up, as it appears to us that the Angolan people are not being given the opportunity to settle their own differences by peaceful negotiations. It is our duty also to exhort our fellow men to place their national freedom, their independence and their self-fulfilment before their individual political ambitions. We believe that our brothers in Angola will heed our pleas for an amicable solution to their problem. After they have fought so bravely for independence it would be ironical if that independence were to be postponed on account of their own actions. We urge the Portuguese Government not to use these temporary setbacks as a reason for delaying what they, too, have accepted as the fundamental rights of the Angolan people.

121. For almost one year now determined and sustained efforts have been made to break the impasse

and stalemate in Rhodesia through the Lusaka talks aimed at creating a peaceful atmosphere for a meaningful dialogue between the Zimbabwe nationalists and the Smith régime to achieve majority rule and independence for the country. With every moon that has waxed and waned since then, prospects for an early solution to the problem have swelled and ebbed like lunar tides. As I address this Assembly the Rhodesia talks have entered one of their deepest troughs. This was not unexpected, for the Smith régime, with the reins of power in its hands, has consistently resisted any move to normalize conditions in Rhodesia to enable the African National Council and all its members to conduct their negotiations in the best atmosphere possible. Not all detainees were released; arrests and hangings continued; members of the ANC executive outside Zimbabwe were denied entry, diplomatic immunities and free political activity in the country, despite the concession by ANC to hold meetings in Zimbabwe at the insistence of the minority régime.

122. We remain optimistic, even in the face of such adversity, that the changed circumstances in southern Africa—such as the collapse of the Portuguese empire, the withdrawal of South African forces from Rhodesia, and the determined resolve of the people of Zimbabwe—will compel Ian Smith to face up to the realities of the times and that majority rule will come to Zimbabwe in his lifetime. As members of the OAU we fully support the Lusaka Manifesto⁶ and the Dar es Salaam Declaration.⁷ Botswana will continue to work tirelessly for the unity of the African National Council in order to deny Ian Smith the subversive strategy of driving wedges between its components and sowing seeds of disruptive dissension among them—all to his advantage.

Mr. Chatti (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

123. The Balkanization of Namibia into bantustans is a fact which gives us reason for concern. The South African Government has repeatedly stated that the people of the Territory will themselves decide on their future. We meet today long after the Security Council May deadline has passed, yet the only change is what the South African Government refers to as the constitutional conference in Namibia: the said conference has not in any way minimized our opposition to the Balkanization of the Territory into bantustans nor has it dispelled our fears that the continued refusal by the South African Government to involve the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the United Nations in any talks on the future of Namibia creating unrest and insecurity in the Territory. A constitution which recognizes "particular circumstances" of population groups while pledging to serve "the interests of South West Africa in its entirety" admits the absence of unity as it envisages a confederation of ethnic States. We recognize SWAPO as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia, the party which regards Namibia as a unitary State and is, like us, opposed to the extension of the bantustan concept to this Trust Territory. We consider it vital therefore that even at this late hour the South African Government lift banning orders and release SWAPO leaders from detention in order for them to

participate fully in political activities leading to the independence of Namibia.

124. South Africa continues as an *apartheid* State. We in Africa accept South Africa as a sovereign and independent State, but we condemn its policy of *apartheid*, the religion or article of faith which does not accord the African the same human dignity and fundamental rights as the European. We object to a philosophy and system of government which is based on the maintenance of white minority privilege and black majority exploitation and oppression. We deprecate a form of government which perpetuates white supremacy and minority rule, denying the black majority full participation in the government of its own country.

125. It is noteworthy that there are in that country some white South Africans whose conscience is still alive and who, at the risk of being charged under any of the punitive laws of that country, have the courage to bear witness to the abhorrent nature of the system. I can do no better than quote what Mr. Beyers Naude, the Director of the Christian Institute, said at his trial in Pretoria in November 1973:

"If we, as the white population, do not take seriously the legitimate claims and aspirations of the black population, then it would necessarily lead to estrangement, to bitterness and to a polarization between white and black which can lead to conflict which can possibly result in violence in our country."

126. Human relations in South Africa have reached the stage of bitterness and polarization and there are examples of conflicts and periodic flashes of violence. But the problem of not taking seriously the legitimate claims and aspirations of the black population remains.

127. Fate and history have placed the white people of South Africa in Africa. They have much to be thankful for and it is but a short step for them to identify themselves with Africa, to fulfil the obligations which such identification entails and places on all of us, and thus to become accepted as full members of the African family. Instead, the white man in South Africa has, for three centuries and a quarter, refused and continues to refuse to admit to himself, privately or publicly, that he is not a European but a South African. South Africa employs every legal device to repel the inevitability of its future character, that of a land where Dutch sailors and settlers, reinforced numerically by French Huguenots, were brought face to face with African people and where the population projections indicate that by the end of the century there will be only 7 million whites out of a total population of 50 million.

128. South Africa is striving hard, through discriminatory legislation, to stem the evolutionary process of nation-building and to bolster a social structure which is doomed to collapse under the weight of its own laws. It works hard to protect its language and its vaunted culture, both of which are distinctively South African. It is trying hard to maintain a *petite* Europe in Africa through the suppression of African aspirations by all the paraphernalia of *apartheid*, behind which it hopes to sustain the outmoded concept of racial purity and preserve intact its Western European ancestry.

129. The establishment of bantustans, which are, after all, glorified native reserves, and their pseudo-independence are further steps in South Africa's segregationist *apartheid* policy designed to preclude the sharing of power with Africans. Bantustans are denounced by the black South Africans themselves except for the Transkei, as the independence they proffer is seen as, in the words of Gatsha Buthelezi, for instance "... pseudo-independence that will make us poor cousins on whom white South Africa can fob off crumbs of charity, making us their economic vassals forever."

130. The Balkanization of South Africa into bantustans is based on the inequitable allocation of land, whereby 75 per cent of the population, or almost 18 million people, are allotted about 13 per cent of the land—land which on account of over-population, overstocking and consequent overgrazing, is denuded and degraded and is continuing to deteriorate—while 20 per cent of the population owns 87 per cent of this piece of African soil.

131. Bantustans spell perpetual tutelage and arrested political and economic development. It is inconceivable that South Africa, with its abhorrence of socialism, would allow the so-called "homelands" the free choice of their foreign policy, their military alliances and self-determination without interference or obstruction. On the economic front, too, the border industries, established to serve the white South African economy through cheap and abundant black labour, will stifle economic development in the so-called "homelands". Bantustans enhance and enshrine racial inequalities and ethnic isolation and heighten ethnic antipathies.

132. The bantustan philosophy is a contradiction of the historical constitutional development of the South African State itself, which developed from independent Boer Republics and British provinces to Union, and from Union to one independent, sovereign Republic of South Africa outside the Commonwealth.

133. The appropriate question to ask is, Why this politically retrograde step from unification to fragmentation? The reason is simply to prevent the full development and expression of African nationalism and to lead it into the blind alley of the bantustans and to make way for unfettered white supremacy. Even though the South African Prime Minister has played a positive role in the search for a peaceful solution in Rhodesia, he continues to deny the South African black people, in their own land, the rights which people from outside the country, if they are white, get so easily. He also continues to refuse to dismantle the *apartheid* apparatus or even to show a goodwill gesture by freeing the political prisoners who are now languishing in South African prisons.

134. For Botswana and for Africa it is not possible to have détente or unconditional dialogue with South Africa as long as the prevailing conditions remain.

135. It is unthinkable that independent Africa can coexist with the inhumanity of *apartheid* or arrogate to itself the role of engaging in dialogue on behalf of the nationalist leaders of the black South Africans who are languishing in Robben Island or some maximum-security State prison, or have been rendered stateless by the harshness of the conditions beyond their control. Any "dialogue" about the situation in

South Africa must be held between the South African régime and the African nationalist leaders who are the authentic representatives of the Africans, and not with any foreign Government or the South African Government-appointed tribal chiefs.

136. My delegation appeals to this Organization, and particularly to the friends and allies of South Africa in the Western world, to do everything possible, by precept and persuasion, to make South Africa appreciate that it is an African country, that its destiny is inextricably bound with the claims and legitimate aspirations, the dignity and the great future, of that great continent and its peoples. Yet, what we are asking for is human equality, majority rule, justice and human dignity for all.

137. Mrs. MAKEBA (Guinea): May I convey to the President, on behalf of the Party-State of Guinea and its leader, the Supreme Authority of the Revolution, Comrade Ahmed Sékou Touré, our warm congratulations on his brilliant election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that his eminent qualities as a statesman and his lengthy experience of international problems will undoubtedly confer a special seriousness on the work of this session.

138. I should also like to pay a special tribute to his predecessor, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, whose remarkable lucidity, assured competence, total availability and, above all, revolutionary courage, have enabled him to discharge effectively the heavy and complex task that was incumbent upon him both at the twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

139. Among those well-deserved tributes I should also like to include a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in the search for peace, the initiation and strengthening of mutual understanding between States and their rapprochement, with a view to more effective international co-operation. I should like once more to assure him of the complete support of the people and Government of the Republic of Guinea. The admirable way in which he performs his lofty and difficult mission in the vast fields of activity of the United Nations commands the esteem and recognition of our people.

140. A careful analysis of the events we are now living through reveals the contradictions opposing international imperialism and the peoples it is subjugating. This reality is clearly proved by the ever-growing dimensions of the courageous struggle undertaken by the different national liberation movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and also by the successes achieved on various fronts by the progressive forces of the world.

141. With the brilliant victory of Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO], Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC], Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA] and Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe [MLSTP] over Portuguese fascism, one of the most retrograde bastions of colonialism has just collapsed, at the same time liberating the Portuguese people and marking an important and historic turning point in the new stage of the decolonization process.

142. May I therefore welcome with militant fervour the admission to our Organization of the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the People's Republic of Mozambique. In welcoming these fraternal peoples, who have written with their blood some glorious pages in the history of Africa's liberation struggle, the delegation of the Party-State of Guinea would like to assure them once more of its militant solidarity and to pay a tribute, through them, to the memory of the heroes, Amílcar Cabral, founder of PAIGC, and Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO.

143. We warmly congratulate the State of Papua New Guinea on its accession to national independence and on its forthcoming admission to the United Nations.

144. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to convey the warm congratulations of the Party-State of Guinea and of my delegation to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to the Republic of South Viet Nam and to Cambodia for the brilliant victory which their peoples have just won over the greatest military Power in the world. The heroic peoples of Indo-China, through their determination and faith in the justice of their cause, have compelled the best equipped imperialist forces to abandon their country, thus confirming the thesis that, however strong, a Power cannot obstruct the triumphal march towards the conquest of its independence and sovereignty by a united and organized people determined to achieve victory. This dual military and political victory, which has been welcomed by all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples, is an inestimable contribution to the realization of the legitimate aspirations of all oppressed peoples.

145. It is regrettable that the rancorous attitude of a permanent member of the Security Council—the United States—has prevented the entry into full membership of the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Those two countries, whose peoples have made heavy sacrifices for the preservation of their national independence and sovereignty and for the realization of the ideals of freedom and peace in the world, could, if they were admitted to our Organization, make a valuable contribution, based on their experience and qualities, to the attainment of the objectives laid down in the Charter. The overwhelming majority which recently expressed itself both in the Security Council and in this Assembly in favour of the admission of those two countries to the United Nations should induce the United States to examine its conscience seriously, reconsider its attitude towards those two States and support their rapid admission to our Organization.

146. While the rejection of the applications for admission of the two valiant Vietnamese Republics has embittered my delegation, we are, on the other hand, pleased to see Cambodia's seat occupied by the authentic representatives of the Cambodian people—one of the fortunate consequences of the victory of the Indo-Chinese over imperialism and its lackeys.

147. While in recent months we have welcomed the success achieved over international imperialism, we remain concerned over the problem of Korea, where the artificial division of the country resulting from the

presence of foreign troops in the southern part creates a situation which threatens peace and security. Moreover, the efforts towards peace being made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are being impeded by the enormous obstacles placed in their way by the Seoul Government, with the encouragement of outside Powers.

148. Consequently, the Party-State of Guinea supports the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its just demand for an end of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea and for the acceleration of the peaceful reunification of the country. Already, at previous sessions, our delegation has favoured the dissolution of the United Nations Command. It is convinced that, during our present deliberations, the General Assembly will be able to adopt measures for the creation of favourable conditions to transform the armistice into a durable peace and to accelerate, in conformity with the desire expressed by both sides, the reunification of the country. My delegation also remains convinced that to admit one of the parties now to membership in the United Nations might jeopardize for ever the chances of this reunification.

149. Besides the situation in the Korean peninsula, other sources of tension no less serious for the international community persist in the Middle East, Cyprus and southern Africa.

150. In the Middle East, the Zionist State of Israel continues not only illegally to occupy Arab lands but also to multiply armed attacks against the neighbouring States. In the view of the delegation of the Party-State of Guinea, the "no war, no peace" situation in the Middle East will finally be settled only when the Palestinian people recover their national rights and Israel withdraws from all the occupied Arab territories. Within this framework, the participation of the PLO in all the efforts designed to achieve a negotiated settlement of the problem remains the *sine qua non* of the success of this process. The Republic of Guinea expresses its complete solidarity with the just cause of the Arab people and in particular with the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people struggling for the recovery of its usurped homeland.

151. The persistence of the Cyprus crisis constitutes a threat to international peace and security. In the search for ways which should lead to a just and lasting solution of the problem, it would be desirable to take into account the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which stresses the equal rights of the Greek and Turkish communities on the island, asks for a negotiated settlement of the constitutional problems and calls upon all States to respect the independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts of intervention directed against it.

152. With a view to reaching freely a mutually acceptable political settlement, based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of the Cypriot people, we encourage the two communities to continue contacts and negotiations with the good offices of the Secretary-General.

153. In southern Africa, in spite of the recrudescence of repression and of the methods of intimidation, the liberation movements of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia are progressing in their struggle against the

policy of *apartheid* and its inhuman practices. With the breaking up of the Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury axis and the pressures of public opinion against its odious régime, the racist Government of South Africa is becoming more and more aware, not only of its vulnerability, but also of the increasingly intolerable character of its position. The rejection by an overwhelming majority, at the twenty-ninth session, of the credentials of the Vorster representatives provides eloquent testimony to this fact. The disarray of the advocates of *apartheid* will now induce them to seek a so-called détente designed to lull the vigilance of the African leaders and to find new subterfuges for increasing their oppression of the peoples of Namibia and the black majority of South Africa.

154. In spite of a scandalous propaganda campaign inspired from abroad and built up around the so-called détente, the racist régime of Pretoria has just unleashed a wave of bloody repression, inhuman torture and arbitrary arrest against the South African population. The much vaunted dialogue should first be established between Vorster and the legitimate representatives of the people, that is, the liberation movements.

155. Using fallacious arguments, the South African Government persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia and in the imposition of the bantustans. In conformity with the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly, Namibia must accede to independence as a single entity.

156. The so-called constitutional conference on Namibia, trumped up by Vorster, and the conference he orchestrated with his henchman, Ian Smith, at Victoria Falls in Rhodesia are manoeuvres designed to reinforce the supremacy of the white minority in southern Africa. The sole aim of Vorster and Ian Smith is to prevent by every means the African majority from achieving power in these countries so as to perpetuate the unrestrained exploitation of their natural resources.

157. The delegation of Guinea hopes that in Zimbabwe the liberation movements will remain vigilant so as to thwart all the manoeuvres designed to divide them or to induce them to proclaim a semblance of participation of the African majority in a puppet Government.

158. It hopes also that the United Nations, after a long period of hesitation, will assume its responsibilities and decide to put an end, once and for all, to a situation in southern Africa which contains the seeds of conflagration.

159. In the same region, and more precisely in Angola, the unstable internal situation created by the clashes provoked and maintained by neo-colonialism constitutes a serious obstacle to the attainment of independence by that country. However, with the considerable efforts continually being made by the MPLA, the authentic embodiment of the interests of the working masses, independence will be won on the date anticipated, 11 November 1975.

160. The situation in the Comoros, a State member of the OAU, is still a source of concern to my delegation, which hopes that the international community will take appropriate steps to preserve the national independence and territorial integrity of that country.

161. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea appreciates the efforts being made to achieve decolonization in various parts of the world and supports all peoples struggling courageously for the attainment of their inalienable rights to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty: in so-called Spanish Sahara, the Seychelles, so-called French Somaliland, the Pacific Islands, and so on.

162. The acuteness of the problem of development and international co-operation has in recent years engaged the countries of the third world in a battle for the liquidation of the old international economic order. Indeed, since the sixth special session of the General Assembly the problem has constantly been a central concern of the international community. The evaluations made during that session made it possible to adopt a Declaration and a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], whose modalities, establishment and basic principles were studied by the seventh special session, which has just ended.

163. The work of those two sessions proved the strength of the awareness and unity of the third world, and particularly the realization of peoples of the interdependence of the modern world. It is particularly interesting to note that, as we face the need for changing, rebuilding and redefining the international economic system, the outdated dogmas and the old ideas of the world are in the process of disintegration. The changes begun are irreversible and are characterized by the revolutionary overthrow of the old order, which upheld the supremacy of the big, powerful and developed countries to the detriment of the small, weak and under-equipped countries.

164. The seventh special session, which revealed the will of all States to reach positive conclusions, though not entirely satisfactory, led to the adoption of concrete measures in the fields of international trade, the transfer of real resources, techniques and technology, monetary reform, industrialization, food and agriculture, and so on. These measures, we dare to hope, will mark the beginning of a new era in international economic co-operation based on the increased and more equitable interdependence of mankind.

165. In any event, it is we, the developing countries, which must help the industrialized countries to co-operate more loyally with us in destroying and redefining the present international economic order in conformity with the new concepts and the new situation. For, as President Ahmed Sékou Touré has stated:

"It is not at all fatal that there has been what is modestly called a deterioration in the terms of trade. This is the normal evolution of an imposed system which is essentially bad. It is absolutely abnormal that the developing countries, the legitimate owners of vast mineral and energy resources and other resources which have been snatched away from their economies and used as the basis for the rich countries' prosperity, should be kept in poverty, although benefiting officially from technical and material assistance. The system is surely a bad one. Therefore, we must break away from it deliberately and as soon as possible."

166. It is in this context that we must understand the action, or rather the reaction, of the developing countries as producers of raw materials. The decision taken by the countries members of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries [OPEC], far from being an act of hostility directed against the capitalist Powers which are the major oil consumers, constitutes essentially the first step in the radical modification of a situation and the liquidation of a system which, if allowed to persist, could only end in a brutal clash between the countries injured by, and the countries benefiting from, that iniquitous situation, a clash which would also swallow up the beneficiaries.

167. We are convinced that the measures adopted at the two special sessions will help to equalize the economic and commercial exchanges between nations and to promote a form of international co-operation which will ensure the well-being and progress of all peoples. These noble objectives, the economic and social progress of mankind, would receive a powerful boost if we could put a stop to the frantic arms race and if all the nuclear Powers made a sincere effort towards general and complete disarmament. Let them therefore decide to release the enormous sums they are now spending on research and the development of new weapons so that they can be used to help overcome under-development.

168. The fortunate changes which have taken place in the political, economic, social and cultural fields in the 30 years of United Nations history have profoundly modified the physiognomy of the international community. Conceived by about 50 countries, the Charter of the United Nations, signed at San Francisco must be adapted to the requirements of the new realities; the Charter must be revised and the Organization must be restructured.

169. The Government of the Republic of Guinea considers that the time has come to review the structures of certain organs of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. The Security Council, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, remains the instrument of the big Powers, which hold the power of veto, the treacherous use of which has been condemned more than once by my delegation. The very criterion which confers this right on the permanent members of the Council is no longer acceptable. Even the continued assignment of permanent seats can no longer be justified after 30 years of existence of the Organization. Hence my delegation, with a view to reinforcing the foundations of the United Nations, renews its proposal for the elimination of the right of veto.

170. In view of the importance of economic and social questions, the operating machinery of the Economic and Social Council should be redefined so as to make it more effective for the primary role incumbent on the Council in the establishment of a new international economic order.

171. The Republic of Guinea is firmly attached to the noble ideals of the Charter; hence it expresses its willingness to participate conscientiously and responsibly in the strengthening of the United Nations and in the establishment of links of friendship and co-operation between Guinea and all peoples of the world on the basis of mutual respect for national

sovereignty. In this spirit it welcomes the normalization of its relations with France and with the Federal Republic of Germany.

172. One of the priority tasks of the international community of States concerns the need to find common ground for the elaboration and signature of a convention governing the specific status of the sea-bed régime. Indeed, during the last three sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea the need for the elaboration of a universal instrument has been recognized. My delegation regrets that the attitude of certain Powers has made it impossible to overcome the deadlock resulting from their failure to recognize the sovereignty of States over their maritime space and resources.

173. At sessions of the Conference held at Caracas, New York and Geneva my delegation clearly stated that Guinea has no intention of reducing by one millimetre the extent of its territorial sea, which of course includes the economic zone. With regard to this zone, we respect the principle of freedom of navigation for the individuals and corporate bodies of other nations and also agree to the laying of pipelines and submarine cables in the event of the interested persons requesting authorization in conformity with existing international regulations.

174. The participation of women in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and racism and in favour of progress and peace is of decisive importance. The proclamation of 1975 as International Women's Year constitutes a recognition of women's role and represents an advance towards the liquidation of all forms of discrimination based on sex, which is a serious infringement of human dignity and a flagrant violation of human rights. The promotion of the status of women is not the fabrication of the good conscience of a repentant society; it is a problem to be viewed, not from the angle of sex, but from the angle of human dignity.

175. We must therefore rid ourselves of all the causes of social injustice: indignity, exploitation, oppression and inequality. To this end, societies must be based on democratic and dynamic bases; social relations must favour social equality; and principles and methods must enable each and every one of whatever sex to participate, solely on the basis of ability, in the management and direction of the public affairs of a country, thus paving the way for the happy future of the universal society. Thus the level of development, the achievements of science, technology and economics and the new realities of the world militate in favour of the complete integration of women in political, social and cultural life.

176. The World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico in June and July, adopted measures to accelerate this process of integration. On the application of the decisions of that Conference at the national, regional and international levels will depend the improvement of the status of women and hence of society. The Guinean delegation welcomes the encouraging results of the World Conference in Mexico and reaffirms the unreserved support of the Government for the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year⁸ and the Declaration of

Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975.⁹

177. The Guinean delegation expresses the hope that the work of this session, which coincides with the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, will be crowned with success and will hasten the advent of a world based on justice and peace.

178. Mr. FACIO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Costa Rica is pleased to join in the many congratulations that have been expressed to Prime Minister Thorn on his well-deserved election as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. His diplomatic skill and vast parliamentary experience are familiar to all. His background as the political leader of Luxembourg, a democratic nation where internal political pluralism is effective and where there is respect for the free interplay of divergent opinions, is the best guarantee that he will discharge his lofty functions in the most appropriate manner.

179. I also wish to congratulate the Secretary-General on his enlightening report on the work of this Organization [A/10001 and Add.1]. The profound considerations in the introduction give us much food for thought. I consider that they should be a most important guide for the deliberations of this Assembly.

180. Costa Rica was one of the 51 founding Members of the United Nations. During the 30 years of its existence, we have remained faithful to its principles and purposes. Today, as in the past, we continue to believe that our Organization offers the best opportunities for the international community to maintain peace, to lessen the present enormous danger represented by armaments, and to make it possible in a peaceful and constructive manner to bring about the essential changes in economic and social relations within and among States.

181. That is why my country is not discouraged when the Organization fails in the immediate achievement of some of its objectives, and that is why we rejoice at its repeated successes. My delegation is determined to strengthen the United Nations. We maintain that the best way to do that is to make this Assembly, as well as the Security Council, the key forums where the national policies of its 142 Members are harmonized.

182. Emphasis must be placed on harmonization, because the policy of international coexistence, which consists in the daily application of the principles of the Charter, is not forged by a dogmatic imposition of ideas upheld by a transitory majority upon a minority which is also transitory. An Assembly like this, in which so many Members participate, can be strengthened by its devotion to dialogue and negotiation.

183. Constant confrontation is the major obstacle to the effectiveness of the General Assembly. It highlights the inability of its Members to understand different positions and to engage in the negotiation that is essential if we wish to find the common denominator that will pave the way for effective collective action.

184. To achieve the present strengthening of the Assembly it is not constructive to argue that the leaders of the automatic majorities of yesterday are today the minority. For when the former majority automatically imposed its decisions on the former

minority, the Assembly did not function any more effectively. Therefore, there is no justification for continuing to use a system which has proved to be inefficient merely as revenge against those who were the majority in the past. In that case we would all the losers—particularly the representatives of the small and medium-sized countries, for whom the strengthening of the Assembly provides the best opportunity to build an international system in which key decisions can be taken with our participation, and not in isolation, in the centres of political and military power.

185. This attitude of revenge is even more useless and unjustifiable now that the experience of the seventh special session has proved that it is possible for the General Assembly to function productively by means of a consensus, which is the product of a vigorous dialogue and intelligent negotiation. While all mankind stands to benefit from the agreements that are designed to establish a new international economic order, there can be no doubt that when we manage to achieve it, those who will gain the most from the consensus would be the developing countries, which have so far been the victims of the prevailing system.

186. Votes in which the numerical power of a transitory majority prevail tend to focus the Assembly's attention on the disagreements which exist among various groups. On the other hand, consensus concentrates its attention on what can be done to solve a common problem, although there need not necessarily be agreement on why it is done.

187. The mere fact of adopting by a majority, which is always transitory, resolutions which it is well known will not be complied with weakens the Assembly and lessens the credibility of the Organization. It is better to abandon the relative satisfaction of imposing by majority a controversial point of view that will not be implemented and to continue to negotiate until a consensus formula is arrived at which guarantees implementation.

188. Although we cannot always do without voting—particularly on procedural matters—it is indispensable that the consensus technique should prevail if we wish to strengthen the Assembly. The goal must be anticipated general acceptance, active or passive, of what the Assembly intends to achieve.

189. We must not forget that the 142 Members represent civilizations, cultures, political philosophies and vital realities which are very diverse. The survival and the success of the United Nations depend upon the capacity of this Assembly to include them within its historical context and to absorb whatever is valuable from each. Without trying to do away with that plurality at any time, but rather by respecting it at all times, it is possible to find what is common to all and to convert it into a means of collective action in order to obtain peace, justice and the well-being of all mankind.

190. The consensus technique does not, of course, imply the elimination of debate. On the contrary, it is essential that the different points of view be stated so that the process of negotiation may then begin. Those who are in a privileged position usually scorn as hostile rhetoric what is simply an expression of rebellion against unjust situations. Experience shows that the vehement denunciation of what is unjust is essential. Those who benefit from the *status quo* rarely

accept changes unless they are preceded by energetic demands from its victims. Only when they are convinced that it is dangerous to maintain a situation which has become explosive because of the protests of those who suffer from it are the privileged prepared to discuss corrective means.

191. Once again, the fruitful result of the seventh special session offers a practical example of what I have just described. Without the repeated protest, which grew each day more vehement, of the countries of the third world against the prevailing international economic order, we would never have succeeded in getting the wealthy nations to pay attention to the causes of the poverty of the majority of mankind. Nor would we have succeeded in making the industrialized countries finally agree to negotiate the means of improving the situation of the developing countries.

192. What is more, had there not been the increase in the price of oil through the agreed action of OPEC, it would not have been so easy to achieve the consensus by which the Assembly at the conclusion of its seventh special session, approved the resolution on development and international economic co-operation [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*].

193. For the OPEC decision not only caused a dislocation in the finances of the highly industrialized countries. Above all, it was a very serious challenge to the existing international economic order. Within that order, the industrialized countries were accustomed to having a decisive influence because of their control of the machinery of the world economy, the prices of the basic commodities that they take from our countries, and the prices of the goods and services that the countries of the third world have to purchase from them.

194. Now, for the first time in the history of the modern world, a group of countries removed from the major centres of political and military power—such as the OPEC countries—have taken a decision that fundamentally affects the prices of a basic raw material, despite the desires of those who so far have dominated every facet of international trade.

195. That decision has made it clear that there is no reason to perpetuate the dependence in which the countries of the third world have lived in relation to the sale and marketing of commodities. It has meant that that dependence can even be reversed if the developing countries act together and decisively in the defence of their interests. That is why all the countries of the third world have supported the OPEC decision, although many of those countries, such as Costa Rica, which do not have the good luck to be a producer of oil, are affected by the vertical spiral in the price of oil.

196. But let this serve as an opportunity to issue a warning that OPEC must not take it for granted that this support will continue for any further increases in prices which they may wish to decree, including the increase of 10 per cent which came into force yesterday—particularly since the majority of its members seem to have forgotten their solidarity with the nations of the third world. Nevertheless, we are still hoping that the countries that are newly rich because of their oil exports will give tangible proof of their intention to use their growing resources to finance a system

of economic co-operation which by its scope will differ fundamentally from the systems established by the highly industrialized nations.

197. As I had the opportunity of saying a few days ago in the Security Council, it is Costa Rica's aspiration that all the independent States of the world should be Members of the United Nations. Universality is essential if this Organization is to be truly representative of the international community. And precisely because we have faith in it, we believe that it is not only very desirable but also necessary that all States which have conflicts between themselves should enter and remain within the Organization.

198. That is why we have favoured for many years—and not only now—the admission of the two States into which the Vietnamese nation has been divided. We did not object to admission when South Viet Nam had a capitalistic orientation and was at war with pro-Communist North Viet Nam. Of course, we do not object now when the two States have the same socialist organization of a totalitarian nature. Indeed, those who were against the simultaneous entry have now become their most ardent sponsors.

199. We believe that the indiscriminate application of the principle of universality is in conformity with the criterion that ideological and political pluralism is indispensable for the peaceful coexistence that we all so much welcome. If we do not accept the right of each State to adopt the political and economic systems which, in the opinion of its Government, *de jure* or *de facto*, are most in accord with the historical facts, we violate the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of another State. Without respect for that principle, international harmony is inconceivable.

200. For the same reasons, we have always been in favour of the admission to the United Nations of the two States into which the Korean nation has been divided. We regard as unacceptable the argument that the admission of both States would be an obstacle to their eventual unification. My delegation maintains that, on the contrary, the presence of the representatives of North Korea and South Korea in all the forums of our Organization would make contacts between them easier and would enable the international community to exercise a moderating influence in order to find formulas that would make it possible to overcome the obstacles to the reunification of the Korean people that exist today.

201. The fact that North Korea does not now wish to become a Member of the United Nations is really no reason to prevent the admission of South Korea, which does. That is why I maintained in the Security Council that the refusal to include in the agenda the Republic of Korea's application for admission was an act of discrimination totally incompatible with the principle of universality.

202. Behind that attitude it is not difficult to see the real designs of many delegations. Their refusal to recognize the very existence of the Republic of Korea, while they fully support the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, reflects a dangerous tendency to use ideological and political pluralism only when it is convenient to socialism of a totalitarian nature, and to reject that pluralism when it applies to States that

are scornfully described as satellites of capitalist imperialism.

203. That enables us to place the item entitled "The question of Korea" in its proper perspective. That question has been on the agenda of each session of the General Assembly for 28 years.

204. As is well known, an armistice is, by basic definition, a temporary military agreement suspending hostilities while a peace treaty is negotiated between the belligerents.

205. Regrettably, the temporary nature of the armistice that put an end to the tragic war in Korea has been prolonged for more than 22 years now, and it appears that it will be prolonged for many more years because our Organization cannot, if it acts responsibly, set aside an instrument that was signed by the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces, as the sole representative of one of the belligerent parties, until a peaceful settlement of the conflict has been reached.

206. The division of the Korean nation into two States, each of them supported by the respective sides in the cold war, was never accepted by the valiant people of Korea. The attempt to achieve reunification by force unleashed the bloody war of 1950. Since the end of the conflict, both States have continued to proclaim their unwavering decision to achieve the reunification of their nation under a single Government. That aspiration has been endorsed by this forum. That is why the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session was so pleased to hear that both parties had undertaken talks towards peaceful reunification. And that is why we are discouraged that those talks not only have not progressed but, on the contrary, have led to increased tension.

207. My delegation agrees that the United Nations is obliged to lend its assistance so that a solution can be found to the question of Korea in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

208. In extending that assistance, the United Nations must bear in mind that the basic principle of self-determination must be applied exclusively by the Korean people. The key to the question is to know what that people really wants, or at least what is preferred by a majority that will undertake to respect the opinion of the minority. So far no other authentic formula has been invented for discovering the will of the people than a free vote. This matter concerns two States recognized by a growing number of the members of the international community. The popular consultation cannot be left to either one. A referendum requires supervision of the entire process by our Organization.

209. Here is the crux of the problem, because many Governments do not believe in direct popular consultation. I must confess that for us who have lived within a representative democratic system, their position is difficult to understand. If sovereignty resides in the people, as all admit, we fail to understand how a man, or a group, can legitimately arrogate to itself representation without prior popular consultation. Because for us, I repeat, the only true way to determine the wishes of a people is to consult it through the machinery of a free referendum.

210. Any other way of representing the popular will is based on an assumption which, for us who are democratic, is difficult to accept—namely, that people are not wise enough to choose their own course and, therefore, the choice must be made only by a man or a group which is the self-designated interpreter of the popular will.

211. In order to achieve the ideal of the peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the complete exercise of the self-determination of the Korean people, the armistice must be kept in force since it prevents new military clashes, and we must, by every possible means, bring about a constructive dialogue between the representative of the two States concerned.

212. As a means of giving greater participation to the two Korean Governments in decisions on matters of direct concern to them, we believe it is desirable to dissolve the United Nations Command in Korea. But to that end we must first have the parties directly concerned adopt adequate measures so that, on the disappearance of the military Command of our Organization, there be no fundamental change in the operation of the armistice.

213. That is why we have sponsored draft resolution A/10142 and Add.1-7 now before the Assembly.

214. My delegation would have no difficulty in supporting, in its essential premises, draft resolution A/10191 and Add.1-3, if guarantees are given that force will not be used to unify Korea, and that the political structure and orientation of the unified Korean State is chosen exclusively and directly by the people of the peninsula through the machinery of a free referendum under international supervision.

215. The conflict in the Middle East has for decades cast a shadow on the panorama of the peace of the world. That is why it has been the subject of constant attention by the United Nations. The partial agreements achieved have the nature of emergency measures to halt hostilities. Now, for the first time, an agreement has been reached between Israel and a neighbouring Arab country which does not have armed conflict as an immediate antecedent. The agreement just initiated by Egypt and Israel for a further disengagement of troops in the Sinai is the result of a dialogue which was started before, not after, military confrontation.

216. This agreement, therefore, has a far greater importance than its immediate effects might indicate. Israel and Egypt have proved that it is possible to hold direct negotiations between the belligerent parties in the region. And this is a remarkable improvement in view of the repeated refusal of the Arab States to sit and discuss their problems with the representatives of the State of Israel whose existence they have unrealistically been determined to ignore. Now it can be seen that the result of direct negotiation has no substitute as a means of arriving at a peaceful solution of the conflict. My delegation hopes that the example will have the effect of inducing the other belligerent parties to negotiate directly with their neighbour on agreements which will, in the near future, bring about a lasting peace.

217. I wish to express the admiration of Costa Rica for the valour and statesmanlike vision evinced by the

President of Egypt, Mr. Sadat, and by the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Rabin, in coming to this agreement. I also wish to congratulate the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kissinger, whose perseverance and extraordinary diplomatic skill were so important a factor in negotiating that agreement.

218. It is true that the Sinai agreement is only a first step on the long road towards solution of the Middle East conflict. There remain extremely difficult questions to be solved such as: first, the security of the State of Israel within frontiers which can only be final when a peace treaty is reached that its neighbours recognize; secondly, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories occupied during the 1967 war; and thirdly, the recognition and practical implementation of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine, which includes living in peace within its own State.

219. My delegation considers that Security Council resolution 242 (1967), supplemented by its resolution 338 (1973), contains all the necessary elements for the solution of these problems. The difficulty resides in the fact that application is hampered by those who would try to destroy its harmonious balance by the immediate application of the paragraphs of those resolutions which are to their liking, and the indefinite postponement of the implementation of the paragraphs which are not.

220. I believe that this deadlock can only be overcome when all the parties involved in the conflict evince the same determination, perseverance and flexibility which Egypt and Israel demonstrated in the direct negotiation of the disengagement agreement for Sinai, which has deservedly been the subject of so much applause in this Assembly.

221. Two important decisions, both taken at the meetings held in the month of July 1975 in the capital of my country, are proof of the intention to strengthen the inter-American system which, on a regional basis, helps to achieve the purposes of the United Nations. One relates to the reform of the inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of 1947, and the other, the lifting of sanctions which have been imposed on the Republic of Cuba since 1964.

222. The inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, as its name indicates, is not a military alliance, nor is the idea behind it to take advantage of States which are not parties. Basically, it is a covenant for the defence, in a spirit of solidarity, of a State party which is the victim of aggression from within or outside the continent. We consider the Treaty to be our best instrument for national defence, and on this we based the decision we took in 1948 to do away with our armed forces.

223. This led us to co-operate enthusiastically in the reform of its text, not only to adjust it to the new conditions of inter-American policy, but also so as to avoid dangerous expansionist interpretations, as had occurred in the case of Cuba.

224. The new text which was approved in San José no longer gives such flexibility to the consultative organ which administers the Treaty, to impose sanctions on a State unless it is for very serious acts which constitute genuine aggression in accordance with the definition adopted by the United Nations.

225. Therefore, in future, the consultative organ cannot interpret that a given ideological definition or a heterodox form of political organization adopted by a Government of the Americas can be considered tantamount to aggression which affects peace in America and which, consequently, justifies pacifying action or the imposition of sanctions.

226. The measures taken against Cuba in a very debatable implementation of the Treaty were the result of the cold war, which is now thawing out. Their application for more than 11 years had made them obsolete and turned them into a source of disagreement within the inter-American family.

227. That is why Costa Rica was determined that the organ of consultation itself, which in 1964 decreed the prohibition of States members of OAS maintaining diplomatic, consular or trade relations with Cuba, should make that inoperative.

228. That purpose was finally achieved during the sixteenth consultative meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of States members of OAS held at San José on 29 July 1975.

229. The Government of Costa Rica hopes that, by eliminating that cause of friction in inter-American relations, a more propitious atmosphere will be created for dedicating the efforts of the inter-American system to improving the conditions of life of our peoples.

230. There still remains a vexatious item in inter-American relations, and that is that the Isthmian Canal Convention of 1903¹⁰ is still in force. As long as Panama does not recover the full exercise of its sovereignty over the entire territory of the Republic, as long as an unacceptable colonial enclave remains in the very heart of that sister nation, the Latin American countries will not be free of the apprehension caused by the presence of a world super-Power within the inter-American community.

231. The negotiation of a new canal treaty which recognizes the just aspirations of Panama has become a test case as regards the sincerity of the inter-American policy of the United States. The cause of Panama is not that of Panama alone; because of its very merits it has become the cause of all Latin America.

232. Peace and security through disarmament were the principal objectives of the founders of the United Nations. Regrettably, so far nothing really effective has been done even to limit the arms race, much less to disarm Member States.

233. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report on the Work of the Organization, severely criticizes this situation. He points out the discouraging fact that in a world increasingly concerned with the problems of social justice and economic development total expenditure on arms exceeds \$300,000 million per year.

234. The international traffic in arms has become a sadly profitable business, to the extent of more than \$20,000 million per year.

235. It is not only the great Powers which are involved in this arms race; small and medium-sized States waste resources which they should devote to solving their grave internal problems on acquiring weapons, which in most cases they use only to subject their own peoples.

236. The Secretary-General was quite right when, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the signature of the Charter, he appealed urgently to nations large and small to give proof individually of moderation in acquiring arms, while intensifying their efforts to negotiate agreements leading to disarmament.

237. It is a great satisfaction to state that Costa Rica welcomes and puts into practice the appeal made by the Secretary-General. Since 1948 my country has dissolved its armed forces and since then has spent not a penny on instruments of war.

238. For Costa Rica the objectives of disarmament, or at least of arms limitation, are clear: first, to ensure peace by eliminating or limiting elements whose only purpose is war, secondly, to liberate resources so as to increase economic and social co-operation.

239. At present the amounts disbursed by developing countries for military purposes are 20 times higher than expenditure on development assistance. In 1973, for example, the developed countries allocated 6.6 per cent of their gross national product to military expenditure, while they contributed only 0.26 per cent to development assistance.

240. If the great Powers were to channel 1 per cent of the resources they devote to military expenditure to international economic co-operation there would be more than \$2,000 million more for assistance to peoples who are trying to find a way out of poverty. This would represent an increase of 20 per cent on what is now spent on that noble purpose.

241. For the reasons I have stated, my delegation has supported and will continue to support every measure proposed in this Assembly intended to reduce military expenditure and to promote disarmament. We take all proposals made at their face value. We refuse to attribute to those proposals propagandist intentions or attempts to gain a position of advantage in the arms race—objections raised by other delegations which are more suspicious or less interested in the solution of the problem.

242. In order to express in a single sentence all the importance which we attach to this matter, I should like to end my statement by saying that for Costa Rica the disarmament question in itself justifies the very existence of this world Organization.

243. Mr. FRANCK (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): In the name of Mr. Jean-Bedel Bokassa, President-for-Life, Marshal of the Central African Republic and President for Life of the Mouvement de l'évolution sociale de l'Afrique noire [MESAN], of our great single national party, on behalf of the Central African people and on behalf of the delegation that I have the honour of leading, allow me to extend our most sincere congratulations to the President on his election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. In fact, the States represented at this anniversary session of the Assembly, by entrusting to the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg the task of leading our work, paid a particularly well-deserved tribute to a great statesman and at the same time gave proof of their recognition of his beautiful country, which has always made remarkable efforts in favour of our Organization, thus assuring it of support in its search for a lasting peace, security and

well-being for all human beings living on our planet. My country, the Central African Republic, is indeed very happy at this choice in view of the relations of friendship and co-operation which link it to Luxembourg within the framework of the European Economic Community.

244. We should like to include in this tribute the Vice-Presidents and the other members of the General Committee.

245. My delegation would also like to avail itself of this opportunity to offer its most fraternal congratulations to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, who successively presided over the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session of the General Assembly. Thanks to his competence, courage, dynamism and integrity, that worthy son of Africa was, during our debates, able to create a dialogue in which the spirit of candour, consultation and co-operation prevailed.

246. We should also like to pay a tribute and express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, who, with his staff, is sparing no effort to infuse into our Organization all the vitality needed to achieve its noble objectives.

247. Thirty years ago, on 25 June 1945, after a war that had imperilled the balance of the world, men of goodwill meeting in San Francisco founded our Organization, which thus succeeded the League of Nations.

248. Those who wrote the Charter gave the United Nations precise objectives: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

249. It would be advisable to emphasize that such noble ideals could not but claim the allegiance of the States which then enjoyed total freedom. Therefore it seems very important to consider the role our Organization has played during these 30 years of its existence and to trace the path Member States should follow to correct the mistakes of the past and to make this Organization more efficient in future.

250. If it seems difficult to draw up a balance sheet that is complete and satisfactory in all fields, nevertheless concrete results have been obtained. Some conflicts have been solved peacefully through the efforts of our Organization. All the major problems of our time—decolonization, women's rights, population, food, raw materials, the environment, and energy, to mention but a few—have been tackled, and world conferences have been devoted to them, particularly this year. It goes without saying that these changes have been favourably received and represent positive progress which honours our Organization.

251. The activities pursued by the specialized agencies have been appreciable and, as was declared in

this Assembly on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations on 20 October 1970 by Jean-Bedel Bokassa, President-for-Life, Marshal of the Central African Republic, "our Organization is journeying step by step towards universality and will embrace, in what we hope will be the near future, all those nations that have espoused peace and justice."¹¹

252. My country, the Central African Republic, feels legitimate pride in greeting, through its spokesman, myself, the States of Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe, which have just acceded to independence and have taken their places in all dignity among the members of the international community. At the same time my delegation would like to welcome the fact that Papua New Guinea is to be admitted to the United Nations in October 1975.

253. At the same time we must unfortunately note that difficulties are being encountered in the implementation of some principles of the Charter and a considerable number of resolutions, so that peace is constantly troubled by the existence of many armed conflicts in many parts of the world.

254. The armaments race continues at a frenetic pace, although disarmament and détente are ceaselessly preached.

255. Entire nations are bound by the chains of colonialism and of racist contempt, while neo-colonialism continues to subjugate peoples that have recently attained their freedom and are trying to maintain and consolidate their interests.

256. The world economic situation continues to deteriorate, in particular in the developing countries, under the baneful influence of a galloping inflation caused by monetary disorder. The huge gap separating the highly industrialized world, where waste is not infrequent, from the other world, which is a prey to hunger, disease, ignorance and poverty, is widening to the detriment of hundreds of millions of human beings.

257. Mr. Jean-Bedel Bokassa made a forceful denunciation of this in the General Assembly. He said:

"We believe also that the United Nations specialized agencies should be freed from the abusive influence of certain States which do not hesitate to delay, even to thwart and to boycott, consideration of background material presented by certain other States whose political leanings are not to their liking."¹²

In the same spirit, the President also stated:

"Attempts either partially or completely to destroy the territorial integrity of States are still common among the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists, for whom the independence of States must be only a screen to enable them to perpetuate their exploitation.

"Despite the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States and the principle of respect for national sovereignty, certain States continue to organize campaigns of slander and disparagement in their national press against other States."¹³

258. This background allows us to affirm that peace and social justice, two fundamental concepts of the

Charter of the United Nations, need sustained efforts on the part of our community for their concrete implementation.

259. The Central African Republic, which draws its political strength from MESAN, our great national single party, is the work of Barthélémy Boganda, its founder President. This great African figure, venerated leader of our nation, based his action on the philosophy of *zo kwe zo* which means "equality among men". His worthy successor, Mr. Jean-Bedel Bokassa has, by the principle of *zo a yeke zo* consecrated "dignity and respect" for man in its most noble sense.

260. It is obvious, therefore, that in the Central African Republic we believe that whatever the nature of the dispute or conflict that divides two countries, two communities or two individuals, it should be solved by negotiation and consultation, not by violence.

261. In our review of the situation, we noted the positive progress made through the efforts of our Organization. Nevertheless, several hotbeds of tension exist throughout the world.

262. In the case of southern Africa, the Central African Republic is following developments there with great interest and my delegation endorses the statement by the current President of the General Assembly:

"May we hope that the still faint signs of progress we have detected these past few months will gain in strength and scope and that the movement thus begun will lead to the desired result within a reasonable period of time? It would in any event be wise for the authorities who still hold the key to the situation to make the necessary concessions in their own interest." [2351st meeting, para. 54.]

263. As regards Angola, the Central African Republic, my country, is concerned by the strife among brothers which divides the three national liberation movements and would like to reiterate the appeal it made at Kampala and Lima to the political leaders of Angola to find a basis for the peaceful settlement of their dispute, and to do so before 11 November 1975.

264. In the same connexion, my country is convinced that the good offices now offered by the OAU to our brothers, the Angolan leaders, will be accepted in the interests of their peoples.

265. The so-called "Spanish Sahara" is another burning contemporary problem which is of great concern to all of us. We base our hope on a rapid and reasonable solution to this question. Thus, the advisory opinion that the International Court of Justice is to give on the situation prevailing in this Territory will no doubt guide our Organization in taking a decision.

266. The Middle East, to our great regret, is still a cause of great concern on account of the tension and anguish that prevail there. In fact, the bloody clashes which dangerously shook this region in 1967 and in 1973 are covering more and more areas not strictly concerned by the conflict. Therefore it becomes urgent that solutions to the resolutions adopted by the Security Council should be found for the restoration of a just and lasting peace in the region, as well as recovery by the people of Palestine of their legitimate rights.

267. However, the Central African Republic is following with great interest the easing of the situation which began with the step-by-step policy of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Henry Kissinger. My country encourages the efforts undertaken along this path and hopes that in the relatively near future they will lead to favourable conditions for negotiation.

268. As regards the question of Cyprus, the Central African Republic, once again, deplores the failure to implement resolution 3212 (XXIX), unanimously adopted by the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975). It is clear that this situation aggravates the crisis, which can make the situation, already complex in this region, even more explosive.

269. We believe that the solution to the Cyprus problem is to be found in the fact that all foreign interference should be eliminated in order to ensure the harmonious coexistence between the two communities within the same State.

270. In South-East Asia my delegation welcomes the newly restored peace in that part of the world. It expresses the wish that the international community should study the present situation in the two Viet Nam and that measures of assistance and aid should be taken in their favour.

271. While on the subject of Cambodia, the Central African Republic welcomes the return to the international community of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and would like to express once again our sympathy towards it.

272. As regards the question of Korea, the Government of my country continues to believe that the most realistic means for a peaceful solution is, and continues to be, the continuation of the dialogue and the broadening of exchanges and co-operation between the two Korea with a view to activating an independent and peaceful unification of the country in conformity with the text of the consensus adopted by the members of the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.⁴

273. By sponsoring draft resolution A/C.1/L.708, on the urgent need to implement fully the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula, my country only wishes to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

274. The Central African Republic is in favour of the admission of both Koreas to the United Nations, although reunification—which has to be peaceful and independent—should continue to be the ultimate objective for these countries, taking into account the joint north-south communiqué published simultaneously on 4 July 1972.¹⁴ We believe that application for admission to the United Nations is the sovereign right of a State and that this should be examined in conformity with Article 4, paragraph 1 of the Charter.

275. Is it necessary to recall that the first request was made on 19 January 1949 and that in resolutions 296 (IV), 817 (IX), 1017 (XI) and 1144 (XII), the General Assembly successively affirmed that the Republic of South Korea was fully qualified and should be admitted as a Member of the United Nations? South

Korea with a population of over 34 million inhabitants, represents two thirds of the total population of the Korean peninsula and is a member of almost all the specialized agencies and bodies of the United Nations. It has diplomatic relations with a great majority of the States Members of our Organization.

276. In view of all these considerations, the Central African Government unreservedly supports South Korea's application for admission to the United Nations.

277. The interest that the Central African Republic has in all the questions that I have just mentioned does not make it lose sight of the importance of specifically economic problems and the problems with which it is directly confronted.

278. In fact, a developing country, one of those which are least advanced economically, the Central African Republic, on account of its land-locked situation in the heart of Africa, occupies an exceptionally difficult position which deserves to be studied with great attention.

279. The irony of destiny has also made the Central African Republic, a country of contrasts in which floods and drought alternate, subject to the influence of two important seasons: a rainy season with violent storms which devastate plantations and cause floods, and a long dry season which has harmful effects on crops and causes a maximum lowering of the waters. Thus, for many months the traffic on the river Ubangui is hindered. This is the only important waterway which now allows us access to the sea.

280. Because of this, the Central African Republic has been fighting for 15 years for the construction of a railway which, in addition to correcting its land-locked situation, would allow us to develop additional forest production corresponding to annual volume of felled trees of 500,000 to 600,000 cubic metres, and therefore promoting new agricultural production, the export of which would benefit from advantageous tariffs. With this railway network it would become possible to define a genuine policy of development, the more operational conditions of which would make the economy of the Central African Republic much more dynamic.

281. Then it would be possible to create in the various regions a group of units of forestry production which would include saw-mills, and factories for wood-working, wood peeling, making paper pulp, and so on; to develop new agricultural crops in these same regions; and to increase the existing production throughout the country, thanks to the stimulus provided by the decrease in the cost of transport.

282. Furthermore, the large volume of traffic by rail would favour the supply of imported products at reasonable prices, and the benefits to the purchasing power of the consumers and would lead to a general rise in the standard of living of the population.

283. There is no doubt that the construction of a railway which would make transport easier in the Central African Republic would have a very healthy impact which would enable us to achieve the development objectives fixed by our Organization for the establishment of a new world economic order.

284. But, to be truthful, it must be stressed that the efforts undertaken by Mr. Jean-Bedel Bokassa since 1966, when he acceded to this highest office of the country with a view to starting this process for our land-locked country encountered the strong and hidden resistance of powerful interests with the sole aim of boycotting the project and crystallizing the existing situation.

285. However, the building of the railway continues to be our highest priority because it must be the backbone of our economy.

286. Faced with difficulties of all kinds the head of the Central African State has decided personally to undertake action at both the national and the international level, in order to make more clear to his people and to the international community the important place its Government assigns in its development programme to the problem of changing the land-locked situation of the country.

287. That is why Mr. Jean-Bedel Bokassa addressed a message on 1 January 1974 to all Central Africans, whether by origin or adoption, and to the world in general, declaring 1974 to be the year of overcoming the land-locked situation of the Central African Republic.

288. Thus the 1976-1980 five-year development plan for the Central African Republic makes this objective its number one priority.

289. For some time, following the appeal of our Head of State, some international financial organizations and certain friendly countries, having understood the good reason for this decision of the Central African Government in this area, have been showing interest in this project.

290. I should like to stress also the very great importance that we give to the rapid building of the trans-African road from Mombasa to Lagos. This road will also serve the Central African Republic and will certainly contribute to African unity.

291. My delegation appeals to the specialized agencies for financing and development to pay special attention to the problems of the least developed countries, the land-locked countries and the island developing countries.

292. The Central African Republic is among these and it should therefore be given concrete help in the form of special international assistance, particularly in the spheres of agriculture, stock-breeding, mines, tourism, water and forests.

293. That is why my delegation firmly endorses the decisions taken at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September 1973, and confirmed at Dakar in February 1975 by the Conference of the Developing Countries on Raw Materials, at Lima at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries last August and, more recently, by the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

294. Before closing this chapter in which I have reviewed very briefly the situation in my country, I should like to add that, having immense natural resources, the Central African Republic opens its doors wide to all public and private investments,

from whatever source, provided our national institutions and our national sovereignty are respected.

295. In that regard, the Central African code of investments offers very favourable conditions, including the exemption from certain fiscal and customs taxes, for various periods of time, depending on the size and the category of investments, and the provision of land on which plants can be constructed.

296. The third world, which is the reservoir from which the industrialized countries draw almost all the raw materials used in their factories, includes 70 per cent of mankind, but lives on only 30 per cent of the world's income. Of a population of 2,600 million people, 800 million are illiterate, nearly 1,000 million suffer from malnutrition or starvation and 900 million have a daily income of less than \$0.30. These figures brought to our attention in reliable documents are sufficient evidence of the blatant injustice of which the peoples of the third world are victims.

297. That is why the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in 1973, "expressed its concern at the constant deterioration of the economic conditions of the developing countries which see the gap separating them from the industrialized countries grow all the time."

298. Two years later, at Dakar, the Conference of the Developing Countries on Raw Materials declared that the present structure of international trade must be replaced by a new international economic order based on principles of equity and justice in the interest of all the peoples so as to correct present injustices and not create new ones.

299. The discussions which took place during the seventh special session of the General Assembly have clearly demonstrated the determination of the third world to benefit from a better world, a world both more equitable and more human.

300. For their part, the industrialized countries have admitted the principle of a more concrete and active co-operation aimed at removing the enormous gap separating them from the developing countries.

301. My delegation gives its firm support to the decision taken by our Organization, which requests the permanent members of the Security Council to reduce by 10 per cent their military budgets and to use a part of the funds thus freed for assistance to developing countries.

302. As far as the Central African Republic is concerned, the developing countries should not expect everything from the industrialized countries. They must endeavour to seek solutions to their development problems at both the national and regional levels.

303. On this specific point, the Central African Republic is working in this direction by mobilizing all its resources within the framework of Operation Bokassa, which is a philosophy of economic, cultural and social development, as conceived by Mr. Jean-Bedel Bokassa, on his accession to the highest office of the land on 1 January 1966.

304. In the face of the present crisis which has shaken the world and of which the first victims are the third-world populations, the developing countries must

promote solidarity that should lead to a strengthening of active co-operation among them.

305. May I be allowed on this occasion to launch a fervent appeal to all the countries which say they belong to the third world, but which have been favoured by nature and Providence, to invest with full confidence in the less privileged countries.

306. Is it necessary to speak of the trade situation resulting from the aggravation of the monetary crisis, which has stifled the development of the third world? The share of the third-world countries in world trade, which is already modest, is diminishing all the time, while the terms of trade are continually deteriorating. The transfer of resources from developed to developing countries has been decreasing, whereas the volume of the external debt of the latter has quadrupled during the last decade.

307. Under these conditions, a fundamental reform of the world trade system is one of the priority objectives to respond to the exigencies of development, as was so well stressed by Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, in his statement of 1 September 1975.

308. All aspects of this reform are of the highest interest to all developing countries because it is not necessary to prove any further that the monetary and financial system as conceived at Bretton Woods has been serving only the interests of the developed countries without taking into account the specific needs of the developing countries.

309. The new international monetary system, for the creation and functioning of which the developing countries must participate on the basis of equality with the richer countries, must be absolutely universal. It must guarantee the stability of the flow and terms of financing of international trade. This new international monetary system must recognize the conditions and the specific needs of the developing countries on the basis of a preferential treatment, in conformity with the declaration of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries at Algiers.

310. I cannot pass in silence the very important problem of technology. Indeed, the technological needs are considerable in developing countries in general and in Africa in particular.

311. Of course, much technology has already been transferred to developing countries since the end of the Second World War, but those countries were not able to benefit from such transfers for two fundamental reasons: first, the technology transferred is not adapted to the economic realities of the countries involved; and, secondly, the technology market is dominated by transnational corporations and the developed countries continue to maintain their dominant position under the old economic order owing to the fact that all advanced technology is still dependent on them. To that one must add the very high cost of technology, patents, rights of ownership and trade marks.

312. The international code of conduct for the transfer of technology which was envisaged in the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] should make

possible access on easier terms to a modern technology adapted to the needs of the developing countries.

313. As far as the transnational companies are concerned, one must fully recognize that several aspects of their activities very often clash with the strategy and objectives of the development of third-world countries.

314. The measures stressed in the recommendations of the Group of 77 and in the Lima Programme for Mutual Assistance and Solidarity¹⁵ concerning foreign investments by the private sector clearly indicate the scope of the pernicious practices of those companies and also show the concern with which the developing countries are viewing this problem.

315. My delegation feels that the working out, the adoption and the speedy implementation of a code of conduct for the transnational companies will make it possible to exercise global surveillance of the operations of those companies. The principles that should govern that code are the following: respect for the laws and regulations of the host country; recognition of the right and privilege of the host country to nationalize the companies if such nationalization is considered the best solution for that country to exercise its sovereignty over its natural and other resources; non-interference, of any kind, in the domestic affairs, political or other, of the host country; abolition of unfair commercial practices; and reinvestment in the host country itself of an important part of the profits made.

316. The geographical situation of my country, to which I referred a few moments ago, makes it necessary to interest ourselves at a high level in the problem of the law of the sea.

317. In accordance with the Lima Programme for Mutual Assistance and Solidarity of August 1975, the international community must assist the land-locked developing countries by facilitating their exercise of the right to free access to the seas.

318. If the principle of freedom of the high seas, as defined by international law, is accepted by all, it is appropriate for the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof to be regarded by everybody as the common heritage of mankind.

319. The rational exploitation of those resources is of vital significance for the economic development and promotion of the well-being of all peoples.

320. My delegation feels it important and urgent to request our Organization to establish an international authority capable of assuming effective control over the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the high seas for the benefit of all.

321. As regards the establishment of a new international economic order, which is a matter of prime concern to us today, the Central African Republic considers that the food problem must be given the greatest attention. In our view it is urgent to increase the volume of food aid to the developing countries, and particularly to those which are subject to floods and droughts. The specific needs of each country must be taken into account.

322. In order to achieve these objectives the developed countries should considerably increase the

volume of their assistance to the developing countries in the field of agriculture and food production.

323. They must facilitate, without reservation, access to their markets of agricultural products, especially food, coming from the developing countries in the form of either processed or unprocessed goods.

324. They must also undertake all other necessary measures of adjustment.

325. Those are the economic views of my delegation which we wanted to submit for the Assembly's consideration.

326. On the social level, is it still necessary to reiterate before this Assembly the manifold and severe problems facing the third world in this sector? It is my duty to do so as long as more effective methods and strategies have not been developed for the radical elimination of hunger, early mortality, unemployment, illiteracy and the other scourges which afflict the developing countries.

327. In this respect, my country pins its hopes on the objectives of the seventh special session, which has just concluded its work. If I revert again to the new international economic order it is because of the very close correlation between economic and social problems, the latter being nothing more than the fortunate or unfortunate consequences of solutions applied to the former.

328. Anachronistic commercial and industrial systems, together with inherited methods of cultivation, are responsible for the poverty of millions of human beings.

329. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent to such realities. That is why it must do all it can to encourage the highly industrialized countries, those which possess advanced modern technology, to share their secrets and place their scientific expertise at the disposal, at little cost, of the underprivileged countries for the sake of a better future for all mankind.

330. As I have said, my country is also suffering from the effects of natural phenomena which hinder our constant efforts to improve our people's standard of living. I refer to climatic influences. In this regard, it is my painful duty to report to the Assembly the consequences of the floods which beset Bangui, the capital of the Central African Republic, in the second half of August 1975. In addition to two deaths, hundreds were injured, and some 13,000 people were rendered homeless.

331. These natural disasters which our people must face every year are not conducive to the improvement of their social well-being. Thus we appeal to all friendly countries to help us find lasting solutions to this problem.

332. May I now be allowed to draw up the balance sheet of measures taken for the emancipation of women by our Government under the enlightened guidance of Mr. Jean-Bedel Bokassa.

333. We are very happy and proud to have a woman as Prime Minister and Vice-President of our only political party, MESAN, as well as three other women holding ministerial posts in our present Government.

334. With regard to employment, the only requirements for access to the highest posts are professional

qualifications and efficiency, and of course both sexes are assured of equality of pay and opportunity. Thus it is that countless women occupy responsible positions in the public sector: education, the legal profession, customs, health, the labour inspectorate, social security, finance, law enforcement, and so forth.

335. Thus, discrimination on grounds of sex is non-existent in the Central African Republic.

336. Everything has been done to allow our women to take their full responsibility as workers. We have many centres for the care of mothers and children where nutritional education for the mother supplements the medical care provided for the child. A very elaborate system of pre-school education is available to children from three to six years of age, thus freeing the mother to pursue remunerative economic activities, whether in handicrafts or agriculture. Special training schools and community development agents place their experience at the service of the population to help raise their standard of living.

337. Inasmuch as our programme of activities in this field must be expanded to cover the entire country, we urgently solicit the technical and financial assistance of such United Nations specialized agencies as the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme, and the United Nations International Children's Fund.

338. My delegation deeply appreciates the results of the first World Conference of the International Women's Year, and fully supports the Economic and Social Council resolution 1959 (LIX) concerning the World Conference of the International Women's Year, which will shortly be submitted to this Assembly for approval. In this spirit we shall support all efforts to proclaim the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace in order to strengthen and implement the recommendations and resolutions adopted at Mexico City.

339. Similarly, we consider it most desirable that a substantial special fund be provided for the speedy implementation of the objectives of the programme of the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year,⁸ adopted in June of this year in Mexico.

340. Finally, in order to make possible a periodic evaluation of the situation of women in the world, the General Assembly at this thirtieth session should decide to hold in 1980 the second World Conference of the International Women's Year.

341. In the second half of the twentieth century our planet has so excelled in inventing and constructing an awesome panoply of deadly weapons that the search for conditions conducive to détente and durable peace is now the constant concern of the United Nations.

342. The discussions regarding the grave question of disarmament and security are of interest to the entire international community because in the present situation an armed conflagration would have deadly and unimaginable consequences.

343. It is also fitting to stress that those involved in the negotiations to settle the question of disarmament and of the reduction of tactical and strategic weapons are marking time, because the Powers directly concerned are making insufficient efforts in obedience to their desire to maintain so-called zones of influence which they arrogated to themselves at Yalta.

344. The past decade has been particularly encouraging with regard to decolonization. In the course of it the United Nations has welcomed into its midst a considerable number of countries which were formerly maintained in a state of degrading and abject dependence—degrading both to the peoples concerned and to their colonizers themselves.

345. My delegation is firmly convinced that the desperate situation of our brothers of southern Africa will inevitably result in solutions in which the respect and the dignity of man can prevail. The efforts already undertaken in this direction deserve all support and encouragement.

346. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, which dealt with the question of raw materials, and the seventh special session, held a month ago to discuss the important question of international co-operation, have defined the objectives of the creation of a new more just and more humane world economic order.

347. During the next decade our Organization, one of whose basic objectives is development, will have an important part to play in giving practical and operational effect to the objectives defined at the two historic and important sessions held in 1974 and 1975.

348. The geographical and structural obstacles to be met with in certain developing States and their socio-political circumstances in many cases constitute hurdles which Governments will have to overcome in their efforts to meet the obligations inherent in the implementation of their development programmes.

349. The press exercises a very pronounced influence on public opinion in the developed countries, and it is often said that it represents a fourth world Power.

350. My delegation therefore wishes to make an urgent appeal to the conscience of mankind to make of the press an objective channel through which may flow a current of opinion favourable to the promotion of development and co-operation.

351. Finally, the burning question of disarmament and security, the difficulties caused by racial discrimination and by the implementation of the Articles of the Charter relating to the countries still under foreign domination, the energy crisis, the monetary disorders, galloping inflation and the deterioration in the terms of exchange—all constitute a set of equally important problems which our Organization must tackle in a spirit of consultation, realism and perspicacity.

352. Mr. NKHOMA (Malawi): I bring to this Assembly warm and fraternal greetings and best wishes from my President, Ngwazi H. Kamuzu Banda, and the Government and people of the Republic of Malawi. It is my President's sincere hope and belief that the deliberations of this session will be guided with wisdom and maturity in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and a willingness to reach compromises on any divergent issues that may come before it.

353. On behalf of the Malawi delegation and on my own behalf, I wish to offer the President heartfelt congratulations upon his election to the high post of President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. His election is viewed by the Malawi delegation as an expression of the appreciation felt by the United Nations of the peaceful and constructive work which the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg has done in various international forums. Our two countries are far apart geographically, but our peoples have for a long time had each other's respect and understanding. In his high office, to which he comes armed with distinction and obvious talent, I am confident that his understanding, knowledge, vision and rich experience in the United Nations will play a vital role in ensuring the successful deliberations of this session of the General Assembly. To this end, I wish to assure him of the full co-operation of the Malawi delegation.

354. I wish also to pay my country's tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for the able manner in which he conducted the deliberations of the twenty-ninth session of our Assembly.

355. If we look back over the annals of our Organization, the events of last year stand out remarkably as milestones on the road to the realization of the aims and purposes of the United Nations. Of all the recent developments, the termination of the 500-year-old Portuguese empire has been of great importance. This year we all participate in an enlarged Assembly with the admission of newly independent States. Permit me to express our hearty congratulations to the leaders and the peoples of the States of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe and to welcome their leaders here on behalf of my President and the Government and the people of the Republic of Malawi. Their admission is not only consistent with the principle of universality but it also gives the world body a truly representative character.

356. It gives me great pleasure to welcome our neighbour, Mozambique, to this Organization. The President-for-Life of the Republic of Malawi, Ngwazi H. Kamuzu Banda, has already stated on more than one occasion that the Government and People of Malawi greatly rejoice in Mozambique's independence. He has said that Malawi is happy that Mozambique is now a free and independent sovereign State. He reiterated what he said many times, namely, that Malawians and Mozambicans were one and the same people and that the boundaries between the two countries were "not of God's making and not of our own making, but of other people's making, the former colonial and imperial Powers". He also emphasized that our "policy towards free and independent Mozambique is, and always will be, the traditional Malawi policy. That policy, as everyone knows, is one of good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation and, when necessary and possible, helpfulness to neighbours."

357. While my delegation is happy that Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe are now independent, we are deeply distressed that at a time when independence in Angola is on the doorstep the loss of life in that country has been and continues to be heavy.

358. In like manner, Rhodesia is a similar case. My delegation cannot but express its satisfaction that the policy of dialogue and negotiations is being accepted as one of the ways of achieving peaceful solutions to the problems of that country. As believers in the philosophy of contact and dialogue as the only practical way of solving the problems of southern Africa, we welcome the efforts which have been made during the past year by the leaders of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa and others towards a constitutional settlement in Rhodesia and, at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Kampala from 28 July to 1 August, Malawi has in its own way kept abreast of developments and has taken part in one way or another in the quest for a solution of the Rhodesian problem.

359. We are also concerned that Namibia continues to be a problem and that no just solution to it has been found. We hope that the discussions that have continued to take place between the various leaders in that country will lead to a satisfactory solution.

360. The Government of Malawi continues to follow with interest the evolution of events in the Middle East. Our concern over the state of affairs prevailing in that region is due to our conviction that international peace is indivisible. In this connexion, I would like to applaud the role which the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger, has played and continues to play in the search for a durable peace in that area. It is a matter of great encouragement and relief to most of us that an interim peace agreement between Israel and Egypt has been signed. The success of that agreement will depend on the good will of all the nations involved in the crisis. It is our sincere hope that a more lasting agreement will be achieved so that permanent peace can be attained in that troubled area.

361. Turning to South-East Asia, my delegation is happy to see that the wars which characterized life in that region have come to an end. At least there is no more loss of life or damage to property.

362. I should like to say a word or two about an economic achievement which has been realized on the African continent and of which Africa must be very proud. I am referring to the ACP-EEC convention of Lomé signed by the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific [ACP] and the countries of the European Economic Community [EEC]. That Convention, which was signed in Lomé, Togo, in February this year, brings together 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific States in a global effort to rationalize trade relations with the EEC. The ACP group of countries is a unique association which brings together States of varying colonial backgrounds and, in most cases, of conflicting post-independence ideologies. However, the very fact that such countries could negotiate and come to a unanimous agreement is an encouraging sign that we can bury our differences if we want to achieve a common goal.

363. There is no doubt that the ACP group of countries bargained convincingly with the EEC, and through the concessions inherent in the Lomé Convention, they are bound to gain. We, in Malawi, are proud to be parties to the ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé and we shall do all we can to ensure that these African,

Caribbean and Pacific countries' relations with Europe are maintained to the benefit of all concerned.

364. It would be remiss on my part if I did not express once again my country's appreciation of and gratitude for the assistance which we have received and continue to receive from the United Nations and its economic, social and technical agencies. This assistance has been and still is of vital importance in our struggle to create a truly viable economy and achieve a state of meaningful economic as well as political independence. I also wish to place on record our gratitude, not only to the United Nations and its specialized agencies, but also to those Member States of the world body whose generous contributions have made it possible for the agencies to fulfil their commitments.

365. We have been an active Member of this Organization for more than a decade now. During this time, we have seen the United Nations grow both in functional bodies and in the responsibilities assigned to it. There is a tendency in the United Nations to try to expand it. However, we are not against progress and expansion. On the contrary, we believe that society is by nature dynamic and, bearing that in mind, its institutions must grow in order to respond to changing circumstances. But there are certain standards and patterns of growth which any institution must adhere to in order to maintain its shape and to remain within reasonable proportions. It is the feeling of my Government that the expansion of the Organization has been out of proportion.

366. I am referring to the emergence of numerous functional bodies within the United Nations family which purport to perform specialized activities. We are indeed aware that, with the strides being made in scientific and technological sophistication, the world has become more complex. But are we not making it more complicated by continuing to create more organs to perform essentially the same traditional roles? More and more United Nations specialized bodies are being created. Usually, the functions of the new bodies are not clearly defined, but, all the same, Member States have to contribute to their financing and the annual budget of the United Nations continues to be revised upwards. In this connexion, the Malawi delegation supports the need to restructure the United Nations economic and social system as recommended in the report of the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System.¹⁶

367. We feel that steps ought to be taken to arrest this over-expansion of United Nations functional bodies. In order to take this step, a review of the United Nations system is called for. It is my country's feeling that most of the functions now being performed by the specialized bodies could be adequately discharged within the machinery of the traditional United Nations specialized agencies.

368. We feel also that, while the existing specialized bodies of the United Nations, such as the Economic Commission for Africa, the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Environment Programme, and so on, have done much commendable work in their respective fields, they still have a lot to do if they are to sustain their credibility. Experience has shown us that these organizations have over the years tended to hold more seminars and dwell more on the theoretical aspects

of the various problems which face mankind today. We think that the time has come for these bodies to talk less and act more and that they should refrain from holding numerous seminars and engaging in voluminous paper work instead of concentrating on finding practical solutions to our problems.

369. Before I conclude, allow me to reiterate once more my Government's belief in the policy of contact and dialogue or contact and discussion as the only practical way of solving most of the world's political problems and conflicts. Speaking on this very rostrum in 1964 my President, Ngwazi H. Kamuzu Banda, made it clear that Malawi believes passionately in ideals for which the United Nations stands; that is, world peace, security and justice. We believe that these ideals can be realized through peaceful discussions among nations and not through threats or violence. We believe that, had the policy of contact and discussion which my President initiated been adopted among nations, most of the problems and conflicts which confront mankind today would have been solved long ago.

370. Before I come to the end of my address I want to thank the President, the Secretary-General and the members of the Assembly very much for their patience and indulgence in listening to my country's views on some of the pressing problems of our times. May the spirit of contact among nations and communication of ideas which symbolize the objectives of this Assembly continue to enrich our minds and broaden our outlook on the major issues facing the international community. To that end, allow me to assure the President that the constructive efforts of the United Nations towards those goals will enjoy the full support of the Government of the Republic of Malawi.

371. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

372. Mr. GALLARDO MORENO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation will study with the attention it deserves the statement made here by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala in relation to the question of Belize in order to decide whether or not to make another statement on the matter.

373. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): We heard earlier this afternoon a statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala in which he asserted his country's claim to the Territory of Belize, and did so in terms which, if they were heeded by this Organization, would deny to the Government and the people of Belize the unimpeded exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

374. It will, I think, come as no surprise to the Assembly if I say on behalf of my Government that Guatemala's attitude is regrettably anachronistic and devoid of any legal foundation. Other speakers so far in this general debate—namely, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica, Barbados and Guyana—clearly share our view.

375. The Foreign Minister of Guatemala devoted much of his time to an examination of the history of Belize. It will be observed that, by his own admission, the Republic of Guatemala has never at any time occupied the Territory now known as Belize. The

British title to the Territory has been unequivocally recognized by Guatemala in the past.

376. However the Guatemalan case may now be put, there is no doubt that it rests on a very late and a very artificial attempt to unsay that clear recognition and to undo the clear facts of the past 150 years and more.

377. If there is a real and respectable legal issue involved, it concerns no more than the consequences, as between Guatemala and Great Britain, of a mutual failure in the last century to carry out a provision of the Convention of 1859, to which the Foreign Minister of Guatemala referred. What that provision required was the joint construction of a cart road as a means of communication between Guatemala City and the Atlantic coast. I really do submit to this Assembly that a quarrel over a cart road could, if necessary, be settled directly between the Governments of Great Britain and Guatemala. It is quite irrelevant to present-day realities. Indeed, I might observe that, if the construction of the cart road would settle this dispute, perhaps even at this late hour my Government would be prepared to consider constructing one.

378. So far as the Government and the people of Belize are concerned—and it is Belize's future, after all, that we are talking about—the question at issue is quite different and is very simple: Why they, almost alone of all the peoples in this world, should be denied their right to self-determination and independence, for which they have waited so long.

379. Twelve years have passed since Belize, then known as British Honduras, achieved full internal self-government. There are many delegations in this room who are familiar with the pattern of decolonization to which my Government has adhered elsewhere in the world. When internal self-government was introduced in Belize, it was never expected to be more than a transitional stage before early independence, and independence which we, for our part, have repeatedly and publicly stated we are ready to grant and for which Belize has been anxiously waiting for years.

380. We have no desire to remain in Belize a moment longer than the people of Belize want us to. The sole obstacle to the independence of Belize has been, and is, Guatemala's continuing desire to assert its control for the first time over a people whose history, culture and way of life are, and have always been, quite different from its own.

381. The Foreign Minister of Guatemala made reference to past proposals that Belize should have some form of associated statehood within the Republic of Guatemala. Under such a system, if I understand its features correctly, Belize would not have had responsibility for its own foreign affairs and defence, nor even, perhaps, for its own internal security. I need hardly say that this proposal was, and is, quite unacceptable both to my Government and to the Government of Belize, which has always stood for independence.

382. Indeed, such a proposal amounts to putting the clock back, since Belize at the moment enjoys a large amount of delegated responsibility in the conduct of its external affairs, particularly in its relations with the Caribbean Common Market of which Belize is a member.

383. In any event, it is not what the people of Belize want. They want independence and they want full independence as equals. Their stand has received unanimous support this year both at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in Jamaica and, more recently, at the Lima Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries. Neither my Government nor the Government of Belize has ever adopted an intransigent attitude. I would take this opportunity, if I might, to reaffirm publicly that we are both very ready and have always been ready to discuss any constructive suggestions for economic co-operation, better communications, special access to Guatemalan goods in Belizean ports and so on.

384. It has, however, always been a basic premise of any such agreement that Belize, like everybody else, will enjoy independence and sovereign equality. These two countries are neighbours. They will have to live with each other. The Government of Belize sincerely desires good relations with the Government of Guatemala. But good relations can hardly be maintained so long as the Government of Guatemala insists that Belize should have only subordinate powers.

385. It saddens me in many ways that I should have to take the floor to reply to a representative of Guatemala. My country has excellent relations with Guatemala and, indeed, with all of Latin America. We desire to improve those relations in all ways possible. It was a solemn moment for the British when we were invited to take part last year in the celebrations to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Ayacucho, which brought independence to Latin America. The events of those tumultuous years saw the rise of national consciousness in Latin America. It saddens us that Belize, which has a strong national consciousness of its own, should be denied the freedom to exercise it, and that by a country which itself 150 years ago shook off colonial rule.

386. In short, my Government desires to act in accordance with the principles of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and in the light of the expressed wishes of the people of Belize. We much regret the circumstances which have delayed the independence of Belize. But we continue to hope that, with the agreement of all concerned, a settlement may yet be reached which will permit Belize to proceed to independence with its territory intact.

387. We desire a peaceful and an honourable solution to this matter. It is our firm conviction that a solution which accords with the principle of unimpeded self-determination for the people of Belize can yet be found by pursuing the path of negotiation. We, for our part, will continue to work to that end.

388. Mr. MANGAL (Afghanistan): In the statement made this afternoon by the Foreign Minister of Guatemala, mention was made of Afghanistan in connexion with the position of Guatemala with regard to a specific paragraph of resolution 1514 (XV) and the amendments thereof by that country. In order to set the record straight, I would like to state the following. According to the record of that historic meeting, we consider the mention of the name of Afghanistan in the context referred to in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Guatemala as being made in connexion with the procedural aspect of that debate.

389. Mr. MOLINA ORANTES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala finds itself obliged to reply to some of the ideas expressed by the representative of the United Kingdom.

390. In the first place, that representative referred to the desire of his country to apply the principle of self-determination in order to grant independence to the Territory of Belize to which Guatemala—as I explained during my statement at today's meeting—has laid claim for over a century.

391. This claim has been called anachronistic and devoid of legal basis. Now, as to its being anachronistic, that is a word that does not exist in legal language. A claim that has been maintained uninterrupted for over a century cannot be qualified as anachronistic, particularly when it is based on just titles and legitimate rights. In law you can say that, if a claim is not maintained, with the passage of time it becomes null and void. But it cannot be capriciously described as anachronistic because it goes against a principle such as that of self-determination, which, as I said before, Guatemala has constantly upheld, though always with the express and categorical reservation that that principle is not applicable when it in any way affects the national unity or the territorial integrity of a country. And this is the case with regard to the claim that Guatemala maintains.

392. It is true that there is a legal question involved in this matter which concerns the Convention signed by Guatemala and Great Britain in 1859.

393. As the representative of the United Kingdom pointed out, his country then committed itself to building a road which, a hundred years ago, was of vital importance to my country. The offer now made to us to fulfil that obligation is somewhat belated. It is this offer which can be considered "anachronistic". We are not now asking for a road to be built because it no longer has the importance it had 100 years ago. What Guatemala has stated is that, in any bilateral convention, the fulfilment of obligations by one party is subject to fulfilment of obligations by the other; that is why we consider that this Convention of 1859 is null and void, because Great Britain did not provide the compensation or consideration that the Treaty called for.

394. In all treaties—and this is known to all jurists—there is an implicit condition, that is to say, that if one of the parties does not fulfil its obligations, the other party does not have to fulfil its obligations, either. That is what Guatemala has invoked in order to consider the Treaty of 1859 as null and void.

395. We oppose the principle of self-determination and independence because Guatemala, when it was admitted to the United Nations, did so as a sovereign nation, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Charter and with the reservations which my country has always maintained. It is in conformity with all the rules of the game that my country is willing to fulfil its obligations; but in those rules of the game, as I said previously, the principle of self-determination cannot be applied to what is considered part of our national territory. That is Guatemala's position.

396. We have been trying to find a formula which would reconcile the interests at stake and, as I said

previously, we are not unaware of the presence of a growing population in Belize which is not indigenous; it is the product of migratory currents. In any case, it is a population which deserves respect, and in our territorial dispute we have tried to reconcile our territorial dispute with the interests of the population of Belize. But we would not like the rights claimed by Guatemala to be completely set aside, and that is why we have today reaffirmed that we maintain this claim.

397. The argument that Belize desires independence is one that I very much question. Undoubtedly the party which is in power in the local government has made statements along those lines, but we have reason to consider that there are other sectors of the population that do not have the same views. There is a percentage of the population of Belize which is of Guatemalan origin and therefore considers itself bound to our country more than to the United Kingdom. It represents a different independence movement.

398. We are convinced that being part of one geographical unit obliges us to use every means, our goodwill and our imagination to try to find a formula for two peoples that have to live united for the rest of their lives. What Guatemala wants is to continue the dialogue which has been so fruitful, here in the United Nations, a dialogue where we shall consider with goodwill and with an awareness of the need to respect the interests at stake, the interests of the population of Belize. But it should also be said that the interests of the Republic of Guatemala, which has maintained this claim for over a century, must also be respected.

399. We were indeed surprised by what the representative of the United Kingdom said concerning a declaration of the non-aligned countries. Unfortunately, Guatemala could not be heard at that Conference. My Government is convinced that, if the views of the Guatemalan Government had been heard there, the legal basis of its statement would undoubtedly have ensured that this declaration would not have been adopted. We can only hope to appeal to the sense of justice of the countries which were present there. Had they known the views of both parties in this difficulty, certainly that declaration would not have been adopted. It is a pity, therefore, that the voice of Guatemala was not heard at the Lima Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries.

400. I am grateful to the representative of the United Kingdom for his concluding words, because he desired—and we agree with him—to try to find a peaceful and honourable solution to this problem which has caused a deterioration of the relations between Guatemala and the United Kingdom. As he stated, we should make greater efforts at a future stage of the negotiations, bringing to them all our goodwill and all our patience, convinced as we are that this is the only possible path by which to arrive at a satisfactory solution for all parties in this difficulty.

The meeting rose at 8.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 947th meeting, para. 10.

² *Ibid.*, 946th meeting, para. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, 933rd meeting, para. 171.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 402nd meeting, para. 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, item 41.

⁶ Manifesto on Southern Africa. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

⁷ Adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its ninth extraordinary session held from 7 to 10 April 1975.

⁸ See the document which was issued subsequently, entitled: *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's*

Year (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.

⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. I.

¹⁰ For the text, see *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949*, vol. 10, Department of State publication 8642 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 663.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1875th meeting, para. 114.

¹² *Ibid.*, para. 136.

¹³ *Ibid.*, paras. 117 and 118.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.

¹⁵ A/10217 and Corr.1, annex.

¹⁶ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.7.