

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**

THIRTIETH SESSION

Official Records



**2374th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 3 October 1975,  
 at 3.15 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. SHARÉ (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*):  
 Sir, may I extend to you my congratulations on your election as President of this thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Your election to this office is a recognition of your personal qualities and an expression of appreciation for your services to your country and to the international community, as well as an acknowledgement of the role of your country, Luxembourg, in the international field. I wish to extend my thanks also to your predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for presiding over the last session efficiently, actively and successfully.

2. Jordan would like also to welcome the admission of the three new Members to our Organization—namely, the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the People's Republic of Mozambique—and wishes them success and prosperity.

3. I should like also to express our appreciation and admiration to the Secretary-General, who has invariably proved to be competent and sincere in the pursuance of the goals of the Charter and the aims of the United Nations, and has always taken up the responsibilities of his office with enthusiasm, faith and wisdom.

4. This session is held in an international situation characterized by two major aspects: détente and tension.

5. The first aspect—détente—is a process that has grown slowly, but clearly, in the relations between the two super-Powers and in the various international regions directly affected by those relations, particularly Europe. The second—tension—is a trend that for years has dominated the relationship of the North with the South that is, of the developed industrialized

countries with the poorer developing States, a relationship that we hope will ultimately vanish.

6. International détente is a trend which we hope will expand in scope and take root; we hope to see its link with responsibility in international relations and with global justice reinforced and enhanced. The only essential element without which no secure and safe international community can exist is the safety of the world from a destructive confrontation between the two giant camps, and that is the one basis for international relations. Thus, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was a culmination of concrete and calculated steps to build international détente, and a major advance in the cause of international peace.

7. While Europe is the main arena of this détente, it is our hope that détente will expand its scope, as long as there is agreement between the super-Powers not to freeze the *status quo*, with all its faults and injustices, but rather to lessen the drive towards destructive confrontations so far removed from reason and moral checks.

8. The main source of tension in our contemporary world has, however, shifted to relations between the industrialized States and the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world that suffer from poverty or economic under-development. The basis of this tension may not be new, since it is a reflection of the unequal nature of the relations that have prevailed in several phases of the modern history of the world between the militarily mighty and economically strong nations on the one hand and the peoples under their domination and exploitation on the other.

9. During the last decades the modern world and the United Nations have both witnessed the decline of colonialism as an institution through the virtual fading away of the last remnants of direct colonialism. Yet the world and the United Nations have yet to witness the establishment of equal and equitable economic relations between the developed industrialized countries and the developing nations that constitute the majority of the world. This fact was recorded in all sincerity and clarity by the United Nations at the sixth special session on raw materials and development, which resulted in historic and decisive documents dealing with the subjects of development and healthy international economic relations [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. The countries with the strongest economies and the greatest industrial capability expressed their reservations, thus aborting the possibility of the speedy and successful implementation of those documents. The recent seventh special session grappled with the same issues but in an atmosphere of greater objectivity. This encourages optimism about the future. It was obvious from the seventh special session that agreement can be reached between developing and developed countries

on a common programme of action oriented to narrowing the vast gap between the two groups, activating the development process in the developing countries, and making drastic reforms in the international economic order regarding all aspects of international trade, the transfer of resources, the world monetary system, industrialization and food.

10. The world today requires effective and active movement towards the implementation of this historic programme. For this is the only way to prevent the contradiction between the positions of the industrialized world and the developing world from turning into a confrontation that can only hurt mankind and be detrimental to normal and friendly international relations. The efforts, over the past two years, at the World Food Conference at Rome, the World Population Conference at Bucharest and at other conferences that dealt with industry, natural resources, the environment and technology were ambitious attempts to establish a useful dialogue and to increase the grounds for agreement. However, as is obvious to us all, partial or sectoral efforts, regardless of their occasional successes, are no substitute for a steady, systematic and over-all quest for the establishment of a new international economic order taking into consideration the interdependence of our modern world and the needs of the overwhelming majority of mankind for food, work and dignity in the framework of healthy and equitable international relations. That is what the seventh special session decided.

11. The agenda of this thirtieth session is full of items and issues relating to every aspect of our international life. Many are old and have been recurring year after year; others reflect our changing conditions. As the agenda items relating to economic and technical issues increase, we still find ourselves faced with the old ones reminding us that the United Nations has yet to decide fairly on many of the world's gravest injustices and dilemmas. We have been, and still are, discussing yearly the issues confronting Africa struggling against the continued presence of pockets of racism and colonialism in that dear and great continent. The brave and struggling people of Zimbabwe still face the unyielding intransigence of the racist régime in Rhodesia supported by the racist régime in South Africa, in spite of the flexibility shown by the nationalist movement and its willingness to respond to positive initiatives. There is cause for optimism among the peoples of the world about the results of this struggle in the increased international isolation of these two racist régimes and the disintegration of colonialism in Africa during the past two decades.

12. My country sees a striking resemblance between this situation in Africa and that in the Middle East. In the Arab world—of which the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is an integral part—the past five decades have witnessed the decline of the colonialist presence. As colonialism receded, there remained in the Middle East a racial base of aggression posing an immediate and even a daily threat, not only to the security of the Arab States surrounding it, but also to their very existence. The Assembly is aware that since 1967 Israel has been occupying vast territories after having committed an aggression against three Arab States, namely, Jordan, Egypt and Syria. As a result of this aggression, Israel now occupies an area

three times its size, inhabited by over 1 million Arabs. A large part of Egypt and of Syria is now under occupation and the whole territory of Palestine is under Israeli military occupation.

13. There is no need to recall that with the occupation of all of Palestine, the whole Palestinian people, the people who had inhabited that land for tens of centuries, was divided into two parts: the refugees living outside Palestine, whose plight was created by Israeli violence in 1948; and those living in the Palestinian homeland under the occupation of the aggressive Power. This unnatural and horrifying situation has prevailed in the region since the Israeli aggression of 1967 against the Arab countries. Its origins, however, go back to 1948, when Israel uprooted hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homeland, their properties and their dignity.

14. Ever since its establishment, the United Nations has witnessed the development of events in the region. The United Nations has made many attempts to remedy this abnormal and unjust situation. The General Assembly has since 1948 adopted repeated resolutions recognizing the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties. Yet Israel has with intransigence and arrogance defied those resolutions. Last year, the General Assembly adopted an historic and comprehensive resolution acknowledging the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and linking that right with their right to return to their homeland [*resolution 3236 (XXIX)*]. It also defined the elements of a just peace in the Middle East which are linked with the rights of the Palestinian people as an independent people to sovereignty, a homeland and aspirations. At the same time, the General Assembly acknowledged a fact that was the subject of complete Arab unanimity at the summit conference in Rabat that same year, namely, that the Palestinian Liberation Organization is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

15. The United Nations was aware of the need to tackle the consequences of Israel's aggression against the Arab countries in 1967 and the fall of Arab territories under occupation. The United Nations did outline the basis for an internationally acceptable peaceful solution. Yet, since the adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), Israel has been attempting to undermine the most important of its balanced elements, namely, the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of land by force and the necessity of withdrawal from the occupied territories.

16. Ever since the adoption of that resolution, Israel has obstructed all international attempts, within the United Nations or outside it, aimed at its implementation. It obstructed the Jarring mission, frustrated the various efforts of the Security Council and resisted the attempts of third parties, even those that maintain the closest relationship with it, to make any progress.

17. After the October 1973 war, brought about by the continued occupation, Security Council resolution 338 (1973) was adopted. But Israel persisted in its policy of obstructing any international effort aimed at achieving a real peace in the region based on complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories.

18. Meanwhile, Israel continued to consolidate its occupation and to absorb the occupied territories materially, culturally and in every other way. It planted colonies and settlements in the heart of the occupied lands. It continued changing the demographic and physical character of the territories and exploiting their economy. Even the Holy Places, so abundant in the land of Palestine, were not spared. The occupying Power violated the historic religious character of the Islamic and Christian shrines, defacing them and mutilating their features.

19. The first target of this policy, so alien to international law, was the holy city of Jerusalem. Ever since the occupation authorities annexed the occupied Arab city of Jerusalem to Israel, they have set out to change its character, stifle its spirit and wipe out its identity, in defiance of the repeated resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly deploring such ugly actions.

20. A stark example of what has become of the Holy Places and the historic sites in Jerusalem is what has happened and is still happening to the Al-Aqsa mosque. For after the arson in this great Islamic monument, which took place under the occupation, the Israeli authorities set out to demolish historical buildings in its vicinity and to carry out excavations underneath the walls, thus shaking its very foundations. All this was done without any respect for its status or regard for the principles of international law, which prohibit tampering with historical monuments and the infringement of religious rights under occupation. Recently, Israeli violations were extended to another great religious and historical edifice, namely Alharam Al-Ibrahimi in the city of Al-Khalil (Hebron). Measures taken by the occupation authorities against this shrine have been increased with the aim of erasing the Islamic character of the mosque, progressively banning Moslem worshippers from prayer and eventually transforming the mosque into a Jewish synagogue. Thus, Israel is moving relentlessly towards changing the historical, national and religious character of the occupied territories, while adopting an obdurate stand against all efforts and endeavours to realize a just peace.

21. It is no wonder, then, that Israel has come to suffer increasing international isolation and lessening world support, even on the part of those States which had previously maintained the closest relations with it. Nor should anyone wonder that this has been firmly and strongly reiterated at the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference, the summit conference of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], and the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned States. Israel therefore stands at a crucial crossroads, and the United Nations itself faces the responsibility of taking decisive and effective measures to implement its own principles and resolutions.

22. The Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan considers that the path leading towards a just peace is clear. It has already stated its established policy and is fully and finally committed to it.

23. Israel should evacuate all the Arab territories occupied by force as a result of the aggression of June 1967, above all, Jerusalem. A just peace will only be established when the Palestinian Arab people

exercise their right to self-determination in their homeland and recover their national rights in full.

24. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is most intimately connected with the Palestinian cause and the cause of the Palestinian people. The people of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan have made the greatest sacrifices throughout the history of this cause and it is committed to defend it until its brothers, the Palestinian people, recover their rights and exercise self-determination in their homeland.

25. The General Assembly has at this session heard the Israeli attempts to alter the nature of the Palestinian question and of Palestinian rights.

26. The Israeli contention was that the land of Palestine extended to both banks of the river Jordan and so, according to this logic, the majority of the Palestinians have been neither uprooted nor expelled from their homeland.

27. This is the meaning of the statement by Israel at this session of the Assembly [2368th meeting] and of the attempt by the representative of Israel to reduce the question of Palestine to a call for negotiations between Israel and Jordan. The land of Palestine is the land of Palestine, and the land of Jordan is the land of Jordan. The close relationship between these two brotherly peoples, the Palestinian and the Jordanian, cannot deter the Palestinian Arabs from their rightful claims to their homeland or from the attainment of their legitimate right to return to their land and properties from which they were expelled.

28. There is no substitute for the termination of the Israeli occupation of the land of Palestine and there is no substitute for the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland from which they were evicted. The entire people of Jordan stands in full support of the brotherly Palestinian people in its just struggle for those goals. Israel must understand this reality if it is to find the road to a just and durable peace.

29. We call upon all the countries of the world, and upon the United Nations, to support these legitimate rights, to help to terminate the occupation and to assist the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

30. My Government, while giving the highest priority to this issue to which we are physically and spiritually committed, does not overlook other global questions of concern to the United Nations and to the peoples of the world.

31. We hope that the current session of the General Assembly will provide an appropriate forum for a useful dialogue on the questions of disarmament. Perhaps the atmosphere of international détente, which was reflected in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, will be again expressed in concrete steps, agreed upon by the parties directly involved, for arms control and disarmament.

32. We support all sincere steps taken in this connexion, whether technical, political or legal, as we support the expansion of the area of the world to be denuclearized. My Government has made its contribution in this field as regards the Middle East by accepting, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolution [resolution 3263 (XXIX)], the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle

East. My Government has made the commitments to the Secretary-General required by the resolution, having signed and ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex].

33. There is a question that concerns the international community and that pertains to the completion of the process of terminating foreign domination in Africa. This question is that of Western Sahara. During last year a positive step was taken concerning this issue when the parties concerned agreed to take the matter to the International Court of Justice to decide its legal aspects. That was a constructive step towards peacefully arriving at the desired objective, which is the termination of foreign domination in that area.

34. We hope and expect that no measures prejudicial to the *status quo* in the area will be taken before the verdict of the International Court of Justice is announced. In the meantime it must be emphasized that, while my country maintains traditional and strong bonds of friendship with Spain, we see no end to this question other than the final and complete termination of Spanish rule in Western Sahara.

35. As for other matters on the agenda of this session, my delegation will do its utmost to make whatever contribution it can to consolidating the efforts of the United Nations and achieving its goals, whether they be the gradual development of a constructive and developed international legal order; the creation of new and more equitable international economic relations; or the development of the United Nations institutions better to discharge international tasks and to serve the purposes of the Charter.

36. During the last years, the United Nations has passed more than one test in which it faced the question of its *raison d'être* and its competence to serve the purposes for which it was created. While the United Nations has repeatedly shown some inadequacies and some inability to decide on issues of justice, it has continued through the years to assert the need for its existence as a unique institution for proper international relations, a forum for continuous dialogue between all international parties and a parliamentary meeting place for all States, big and small. It also continues to be an institution for joint action to maintain world peace and security, and to launch into the world forces of intellectual and moral advancement, even though those forces may take a long time to mature and prevail.

37. We, in my country, and in the larger region from which I come, are aware of the agonizing short-comings of the United Nations. However, we also know that without the United Nations the world would collapse in open chaos and overt conflict over interests and ambitions without any moral or idealistic restraint.

38. Mr. WODAJO (Ethiopia): Mr. President, permit me, at the outset, to express to you the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you preside over this session of the General Assembly. We are particularly confident that your wide experience and wisdom will immeasurably contribute towards making the thirtieth session of the General Assembly as constructive and rewarding as it is an historical landmark in the life of this Organization.

39. To your immediate predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, I need only articulate our profound appreciation for the efficient and skilful manner in which he guided the deliberations of the twenty-ninth and the seventh special sessions.

40. I am also glad to have this opportunity to pay a special tribute to our Secretary-General for his dedication and tireless efforts for the continuous realization of the aims and purposes of the United Nations.

41. On behalf of the Government of Ethiopia and its delegation, it is also my great pleasure to extend a warm welcome to the States that have been admitted to United Nations membership this year: namely, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. By their valiant struggle, the peoples of these nations have once again demonstrated that the tide of freedom and liberty will certainly not ebb until it has engulfed the last remnants of alien rule and oppression in different guises. As we congratulate their representatives for their achievements in widening the areas of freedom and liberty, we look forward to welcoming to this ever-growing family of nations Angola and Papua New Guinea in the course of the present session.

42. Meeting, as we are, at the end of the third decade of the United Nations, it seems to us a worth-while exercise to take stock of the achievements and short-comings of our Organization. We consider such an exercise useful, for it will help us at once to renew our faith in the continuing viability of the Organization and, learning from past mistakes, to address ourselves to charting a better path towards making it an instrument that is more effective and responsive to the needs of mankind in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

43. Change, change on all fronts, has been the most distinguishing feature of our time. Particularly the last 30 years, the period coinciding with the life of the United Nations, has seen an acceleration of the pace of change. In this process the United Nations has played and will continue to play a role.

44. In assessing the Organization's performance in the last 30 years, the central question one should ask today is whether it could have played a more effective role than it has in bringing about some of these changes. Looking to the future, the same question could be asked. What effective role can the United Nations play as an agent of change in the last quarter of this century?

45. The United Nations was created after a period that had seen the consolidation of nation-States in Europe and after two tragic and devastating wars produced by the clash of their interests. After the dismal failure of the League of Nations, the founders of the United Nations thought that, by investing the Security Council with the right to use force on behalf of the international community, they could curb the power of nation-States, thereby hoping to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. By establishing objectives and principles towards which the international community should move, and by providing a framework for international co-operation in the economic and social fields, they also believed they

could promote conditions that would provide for a more secure and peaceful world.

46. The creation of the United Nations was thus predicated on two concepts: first, the belief that through a system of collective security not only would aggression be discouraged but, in the event of actual breaches of the peace, the international community could restore peace by punishing the aggressor; secondly, the conviction that man can shape his destiny by making conscious efforts to eliminate the causes of war and by actively promoting conditions which could nurture peace.
47. How far the United Nations has lived up to these high hopes may be a matter of controversy. What should be remembered, however, is that the United Nations represents one of the first efforts of mankind in organizing the international community by providing for the collective use of force to maintain international peace and security. This concept of collective security has an antecedent in the development of government in our individual societies. Is it not true that Governments in our individual countries are endowed with the capacity to use force on behalf of our respective peoples against those who may disturb peace or infringe the rights of their fellow citizens?
48. The development of government in our individual countries has, however, taken the better part of human existence on this planet, and its evolution has been a continuing process. For, even today, none of us can say that we have found the exact formula that would provide the answers to all our pressing needs. If that is true for individual societies then, considering the nascent stage of the evolution of a central international authority, we should appreciate the road we will have to travel before we can hope to establish a system that can begin to respond in any significant measure to our collective security requirements, let alone to provide each and every solution that may be called for.
49. Judged against this background, there is no question that, as a collective security arrangement, the United Nations has not lived up to what its founders hoped for. The system, built on big-Power unanimity, has been rendered inoperative precisely because there was no agreement among the big Powers on the major problems of peace and security that confronted the world in the post-war years. The vision of continued co-operation among the big Powers—the co-operation born of the exigencies of war—was not only short-lived, but was supplanted by constant tensions and undercurrents of hostility, at times reaching the explosion-point.
50. Because of this general ineffectiveness of the collective security arrangements, the United Nations has not been able to eliminate hostilities in the post-war years. Indeed, localized conflicts which have claimed several hundreds of thousands of lives and caused havoc and untold destruction have occurred all too frequently, and have made thoughtful people wonder whether the United Nations, as an experiment in regulating human conflicts, has not been a conspicuous failure.
51. However, despite the frequent outbreaks of hostilities, in some of which one or two of the big Powers might have been in some guise involved, direct confrontations between the big Powers have not developed into hostilities in the post-war years. That a global conflagration has been avoided is in no small measure due to the role the United Nations has played in providing a forum for tempering disputes or otherwise providing avenues of diplomacy which the big Powers used in order to contain such situations. Even where local conflicts have suddenly erupted in the Middle East, the Congo, Cyprus and elsewhere, at times straining the ingenuity and the resources of the United Nations, the Organization has provided a mechanism for insulating such situations from big-Power intervention or evolving acceptable compromises for their containment and eventual solution.
52. In its role as an active agent of change, and in harmonizing international co-operation in particular, the United Nations has, on balance, fared better. Especially in the field of social and economic co-operation, the United Nations has been an indispensable instrument for innovation and collective action.
53. The greatest contribution the United Nations has made in the post-war years, a contribution to which no price tag of any amount can be attached, is the role that it has provided as a forum for the harmonization of the often divergent and sometimes conflicting views and national policies of its Members. Because of such interaction of views, concepts which only recently were anathema to some overnight became conventional wisdom. As a result, we have today a large measure of agreement upon which we can hope to build new structures of co-operation which could meet some of our needs.
54. Much as we have achieved in building a system of useful international co-operation, it should be clear that we could have done much better if there had been a deeper perception of our interdependence and an awareness of the need for closer and far-reaching co-operation.
55. As we begin the fourth decade of the United Nations, it should be clear that never before has there been a greater need for co-operative endeavours on all fronts. And as we recognize this need, we should also remain ever more aware of the interdependent nature of the problems affecting all of us, and thereby requiring from all of us parallel and convergent actions.
56. The United Nations experience of international co-operation has also taught us a profound lesson. That lesson is that, as we have come to recognize the value of international co-operation, we have at the same time developed a greater understanding of the forces that are shaping our future. Because of this knowledge, more than at any other time in the history of our civilization we have developed the capacity to influence and mould our future.
57. In the remaining quarter of the century, the greatest challenge that awaits the United Nations system of international co-operation is the task of shaping our future in a manner that would best meet the collective needs of mankind. In this undertaking, nothing could be more pressing than the challenge of creating an international economic and social order which would at once further human welfare everywhere and also provide an environment conducive to the promotion of peace.

58. The task of building a propitious environment for peace would also require that, not only the spiralling arms race be ended, but that the world as a whole should begin the actual reduction of armaments.

59. In what follows I should like to make some observations on the three priority tasks which require prompt and concerted international action in the remaining years of the century. These are: disarmament, decolonization and the creation of a new international economic order.

60. As we all know, one of the early items to be included in the agenda was the question of disarmament. Only now it is no longer a single item: it has been multiplied manifold to cover the many aspects of the problem which have steadily grown in complexity.

61. The longer the problem of disarmament has remained unresolved, the more intricate it has rendered the task of reaching agreed solutions. Meanwhile, not only are the armaments industries of the major military Powers devouring vital resources which could be diverted to more constructive purposes, but the very survival of mankind remains in serious danger.

62. Moreover, the longer we fail to tackle the disarmament problem seriously, the more difficult becomes the problem of the reduction of arms. At the rate qualitative improvements in armaments are taking place, it is conceivable that we may, sooner rather than later, reach a point where verification of agreements on disarmament measures will have become well-nigh impossible. When we speak thus of the arms race, we have to take into account the constant qualitative changes. So far the agreements on collateral measures of disarmament that have been reached are of the nature of arms control, in some instances limiting the number of some strategic weapons. None of these agreements, however, can really be said to have arrested the feverish race to acquire better and more effective weapons against anything that a potential adversary may have. The search is, in effect, for the ultimate weapon which would provide a foolproof guarantee for one's security. Although that is an illusion, there is no question that this search is the motivating force propelling the arms race today.

63. The Ethiopian delegation joins all progressive forces in demanding that the qualitative arms race be arrested before we reach a point where, even if the will to disarm might one day be forthcoming, the technical difficulty of verification might pose an insurmountable problem.

64. The international community, especially the super-Powers, should move from arms control to actual reduction of armaments in significant measures. At this thirtieth anniversary session of the General Assembly, we must therefore make the strongest appeal to the Powers concerned to show significant progress towards halting and reversing the vicious race in which they have engaged. In the wake of political détente and general co-operation, we think it is opportune to take bold steps towards genuine disarmament. And this dire need is best summed up in the words of the Secretary-General, when he said:

"I believe that it is vitally necessary, in the interest of the welfare of humanity, and indeed of its survival, that in this thirtieth anniversary year the General Assembly itself should consider a basic review of

the role of the United Nations in disarmament." [A/10001/Add.1, sect. VIII.]

My delegation fully endorses that remark.

65. Another important area in which this Organization has outstanding business pertains to colonialism and racism, particularly in southern Africa.

66. Viewing the situation in southern Africa, we note with great satisfaction that, with the accession to independence of three former Portuguese colonies, the struggle for liberation is now being waged on the frontiers of the last bastion of oppression. None the less, we find the situation in Angola rather saddening. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the three liberation movements will set aside their differences and establish a government of national unity which will enable Angola to accede to independence on 11 November 1975.

67. As regards Zimbabwe, it has now become apparent that the illegal régime of Ian Smith continues to frustrate all efforts aimed at securing a peaceful solution to the problem it has created. One need only observe in this context that, by their persistent refusal to make even the slightest concessions, Mr. Smith and his collaborators have made the negotiations at Victoria Falls not worth the effort. By their intransigence and obduracy they have, in effect, slammed the door on a peaceful solution. It is now up to the international community to take all necessary measures if racial confrontation is to be avoided.

68. The régime in South Africa also persists in its defiance of all United Nations decisions and continues to pursue its obnoxious racial policies. As a consequence, the United Nations embarked upon a course of sanctions, but so far with no apparent effect upon that bastion of racism. What is becoming increasingly perplexing today is the fact that South Africa has not only rendered all our efforts ineffective, but is successfully implementing its policy of turning the bantustans into buffer zones of cheap labour and an outer perimeter for defence.

69. Nor are the sinister activities of the South African régime limited to its own territorial confines. Under the guise of détente and the offer of dialogue, South Africa is endeavouring to extend and establish the system of bantustans in the international Territory of Namibia. My Government strongly condemns these sinister designs.

70. We call upon the international community to intensify its economic, political and military isolation of the racist régime of South Africa until human dignity and justice are restored to the long-suffering peoples in that region.

71. When considering the problem of decolonization, the question of the independence of the French Territory of the Affairs and Issas, or, as it is often called, Djibouti, occupies the particular attention of my Government. As this is essentially a colonial problem, the Ethiopian Government believes that its solution can be found only by the free expression of the wishes of the people of the Territory without pressure or interference from any quarter.

72. It is obvious that global peace and security remain the main preoccupation of the United Nations. Our Organization is a visible and living symbol of

humanity's dedication to the noble pursuit of the twin objectives of peace and security. It is also obvious that enduring peace in an interdependent world must be constructed on the solid foundation of a just economic and social environment conducive to the development and prosperity of human society as a whole. The commitment of the international community to the creation of such an environment is enshrined in Chapter IX of the Charter of the United Nations.

73. To this end, serious efforts continue to be made by the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Many lofty pronouncements have often been made in this Chamber in support of this objective. However, the economic and social conditions of the majority of people in the developing countries is more desperate today than at any other time in recent history.

74. The process of economic development is arduous and requires total commitment. Not only are the difficulties enormous, but they are also multidimensional. I shall now mention only a few.

75. Natural calamities such as drought and flood play havoc with the lives of peoples everywhere with increasing frequency and intensity. In the least developed countries, such as Ethiopia, the grave consequences in terms of human suffering, loss of life and economic setbacks are too well-known to require any detailed recital here.

76. In addition to natural calamities, we are also exposed to an unprecedented combination of unfavourable economic circumstances originating beyond our national boundaries.

77. Falling prices for our exportable raw materials and rapidly increasing prices for the manufactured goods we import reflect the deteriorating situation of our terms of trade and meagre balance of payments. The prohibitive cost of agricultural inputs in the last three years has contributed in large measure to the stagnation of our agricultural sector. For lack of alternatives, we are forced to import expensive technology which, in most instances, does not fully meet our needs. While aid from the developed countries is going down quantitatively as a percentage of their gross national product, debt servicing is claiming an increasing share of our foreign currency earnings.

78. The failure of the Second United Nations Development Decade and the International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)] to achieve their objectives is fairly obvious and needs no further elaboration. We believe that developed countries and developing countries with surplus funds could do more to ease the difficulties of the poorer developing countries. The criteria determining such assistance will, we hope, increasingly be non-political and need-oriented in outlook.

79. At the international level, the division of labour on the basis of comparative advantage is now a universally recognized principle. That the mix of exportable products must change over time as each country's stage of development changes is also true historically. But the existing system of international economic relations impedes the working out of these principles and freezes the division of labour permanently. Because of tariff and non-tariff barriers which are imposed upon processed and semi-processed exports from developing to developed countries, the devel-

oping countries tend to continue to produce and export raw materials while manufacturing activity is monopolized by the developed countries. This state of affairs, which ascribes a particular mode of production to a given group of States and which does not allow for international mobility, is nothing less than a caste system practised on a global scale.

80. The old international economic order which flourished after the last war and is still in existence cannot be expected to do something it was not intended to do. Its main purpose was to service the needs of the industrialized countries. Looking at the prosperity of those nations today, one cannot but admit that the old economic order has performed its task well. But it remains understandably unresponsive to the requirements of socio-economic development of the third world.

81. It was this recognition which led the developing countries to take the initiative in convening the sixth special session of the General Assembly last year. At that session the General Assembly adopted a Declaration and a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order to revise fundamentally the economic relationship between the developed and the developing countries.

82. My delegation notes with satisfaction the results of the seventh special session held last month and the spirit of co-operation and compromise which characterized the negotiations at that session. We are hopeful that the process of accommodation and the momentum gained during the last special session will continue. If carried out in good faith, we have no doubt that the decisions of the seventh special session [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] would have a favourable impact on the development efforts of the developing countries and lay a solid foundation of international goodwill.

83. The requirements of the new international economic order could only be handled efficiently by a restructured United Nations system. For this reason, the need for the convening of a conference of plenipotentiaries, as was decided by the seventh special session, is both obvious and urgent. My delegation will actively participate in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System.

84. The encouraging developments in world affairs this year are, in our view, of equal importance towards building a just world order: the continuation of the process of détente in major Power relations; in South-East Asia, the termination of the most protracted war in recent history; the preservation of the truce in Cyprus, pending a lasting solution; the signing of an interim agreement on Sinai between the parties directly concerned, and the successful conclusion of the seventh special session of the General Assembly—these are but some of the salient features of the present healthy trend. My delegation welcomes all these developments.

85. We are encouraged by the process of détente which characterizes relations among the major Powers. The contribution of that process to the reduction of tension in the world cannot be underestimated. It is imperative, therefore, that it be continued and further pursued in scope and depth.

86. As I have said, it is also encouraging to note the termination in South-East Asia of the most protracted war in recent history. As I extend our sincere congratulations to the valiant people of Viet Nam, I must state that, as a matter of principle, my Government subscribes to the universality of our Organization on the basis of the provisions of the Charter. Irrespective of geographic location, the question of membership in the United Nations, in our view, should not be qualified by any other extraneous considerations.

87. Any effort exerted with regard to Cyprus during this session or through the good offices of the Secretary-General should concentrate essentially on the preservation of the national unity and territorial integrity of that island. It must at the same time ensure a harmonious and co-operative life for all sectors of the communities.

88. In the Middle East, the momentum generated by the recently signed interim agreement between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel must be sustained with a view to ensuring the legitimate rights and lasting interests of all the peoples in the region. I only wish to express here my Government's appreciation to all concerned for their statesmanship in achieving the recent agreement, which we hope will be a signal beginning towards a final settlement of the Middle East problem.

89. The rapid rate at which contemporary man's level of consciousness is rising *vis-à-vis* his total environment gives us the hope that we are on the threshold of a new era of a truly interdependent human family. At the same time, the worsening socio-economic conditions, the deteriorating quality of life and the feeling of helplessness which are the dominant mood in the developing countries give us cause for serious concern. That there can be no harmony between rising consciousness and increasing deprivation is, in our view, a well-established fact.

90. On the horizon of history we can visualize the age of Aquarius and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse standing side by side. The decision or indecision of each nation assembled here will determine what our choices will be. The heritage of man and the fate of future generations depend on the choices we make now. Let us choose wisely and unselfishly.

91. Mr. DJERMAKOYE ADAMOU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The thirtieth session of the General Assembly is taking place when the curtain has just come down on important events which make our era stand out, and which are a constant reminder that what mankind needs the most is freedom and justice.

92. The 30-year heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the sacrifices made by the Cambodian people testify to the fact that force, no matter how powerful or fierce, cannot bend the will of a people determined fully to enjoy its prerogatives.

93. The Government and the people of Niger, through me, warmly welcome the recent victory of those courageous peoples over foreign oppression. May their example be an inspiration to the freedom fighters of the world, committed to the struggle to liberate their lands and their peoples from colonialism and international imperialism. Much hard sacrifice will be

required for years to come but nothing will stop them from achieving their noble objective.

94. The devotion of the people of the world to freedom was also shown in the struggle of the African people against Portuguese domination. The victory of that struggle may be seen in the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and the independence of certain territories. Last year Guinea-Bissau became independent; this year Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe became independent. That independence was crowned this year at our current session by their unanimous welcome into our Organization.

95. I am pleased to extend the sincere congratulations of the people of Niger to those countries. Throughout their struggle we have always stood by them in their suffering and their sacrifices. Accordingly we are justly proud of their victory. We welcome the membership of those States in our Organization as much as we deplore the absence of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam. Dare we hope that the United States will reconsider its position on that problem in the near future?

96. Another combat, which has also been a combat for liberation, has been the efforts of the countries of the third world to establish a more just and equitable new economic order.

*Mr. Fall (Senegal), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

97. That is a great victory for the third world, but it is no less a victory for the developed countries. It justifies optimism regarding the future because the trail has only just now been blazed towards genuine détente, which we view as an indivisible whole. However, the industrialized countries must not rest content with making promises, they must do their utmost to see to it that those promises are carried out. The countries of the third world must become better organized and they must stand together increasingly, for they are primarily responsible for the well being of their people. I am pleased to announce here that Niger is prepared to work for genuine co-operation with all countries of the world, and in particular with the countries of the third world, convinced, as we are, that as long as the peoples of the world have diverging aspirations, co-operation will inevitably remain an area in which the strong endeavour to bring pressure to bear on the weak. Countries of the third world must then unite even in poverty, for as we have seen unity and poverty can also be a force to which the world at large must pay heed if it is to survive.

98. We wish now to pay a just tribute to the leaders of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, who took the initiative in proposing two special sessions of the General Assembly on the problems of development. With their faith and determination they have as worthy representatives of the third world convinced the world that there is an overriding need to reform the old economic order established and maintained by imperialism. The entire third world is grateful to them.

99. Notwithstanding these many achievements that I have just mentioned, there are a number of trouble spots in Africa where decolonization is not moving ahead as it should. I am referring to Angola, southern Africa, the so-called French coast of Somalia and the so-called Spanish Sahara.

100. On the subject of Angola, much has been said about the plight of the Angolan people. For more than 14 years they waged effectively a relentless struggle against Portuguese colonialism, but now, on the threshold of their independence, they are killing each other. To my delegation what is happening in Angola is much more than a fratricidal struggle for power between the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA], the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola [FNLA] and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola [UNITA]. No sooner does a bright tomorrow seem about to dawn for this country, already ravaged by a colonial war and several centuries of harsh occupation, than from the outside springs up the problem of what the political colour of Angola will be tomorrow. Some States have already gone to great lengths to foment and maintain disorder in the country. It was with some concern that we learnt of the unlimited arms supply policies being pursued by certain Powers towards some of the national liberation movements, and more recently we heard of the intrusion of South Africa's armed forces in part of the Angolan territory. Judging from what has been going on, we must say that there has been flagrant interference, and regardless of where the interference comes from we would say there must be an end to hegemony, an end to imperialism, an end to pressure of any kind, from whatever source. I would beg the leaders of the three liberation movements to realize that by their negative attitude they are running the risk of losing everything they have won, and of imperilling to some extent the future of their land and thus the complete liberation of Africa.

101. The fact that there are still many Africans who are deprived of their right to self-determination and independence, and moreover victims of the discriminatory system of *apartheid* and racism is a source of serious concern to us. In southern Africa the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are still deprived of their fundamental rights and are victims of practices which our Organization has quite rightly called crimes against mankind. It is high time that the entire international community put an end to the continued bluster of Vorster and Smith. We cannot accept that a handful of adventurers, with the connivance of certain Powers which wish to safeguard their petty interests, continue to be allowed to keep millions of human beings in a state of abject subjugation. That is why my country supports the struggle of those peoples, under the leadership of the national liberation movements, and advocates the complete implementation of the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its ninth extraordinary session last April.

102. In South Africa in particular, the plight of the black population cannot be a matter of indifference to my country. We will not go along with any compromise or dialogue with the minority racist régime there as long as the black people are ignored and slighted in the name of some theory of racial superiority. The South African régime must understand that it cannot for ever defy world public opinion. It must realize that it must eventually co-operate with the United Nations, first of all by returning the Territory of Namibia.

103. Niger makes a solemn appeal to the major Powers to reconsider their stand regarding the South African régime. Our appeal is addressed especially to the three permanent members of the Security Council which in a period of less than 12 months, on two separate occasions and standing together, have vetoed sanctions against a State which, as the whole world realizes, has violated the Charter of our Organization. Regardless of the methods used to give extra time to that régime, which is at bay because of the collapse of the Portuguese colonial edifice, the victory of the forces of liberation is inevitable and the vice it is caught in is growing ever tighter.

104. My delegation welcomes the fact that the international situation is marked by détente at the present time, but that détente is precarious and limited because a number of thorny problems remain to be solved by the international community as a whole if another period of cold war in international relations is to be avoided. First of all, my delegation believes that, to safeguard the atmosphere of peaceful coexistence at present prevailing in international relations, special attention must be given to the question of disarmament. My country is convinced that the question of disarmament is not a matter which should be dealt with solely by those who can unleash the apocalypse.

105. The process of disarmament cannot be successful unless all States participate, for in the event of a conflict no State, great or small, will be spared. This is a particularly serious problem because, according to the statistics, more than \$300,000 million are being spent each year on the arms race. At the risk of repeating what other delegations have already said, I would say that, if that amount of money were used to fight poverty in the world, the lives of millions of dispossessed men, women and children who are in the grip of sickness and hunger could be spared.

106. The policy of deterrence—the prime cause of the unbridled arms race—is the surest way of giving the countries of the third world their own nuclear arsenals. We believe that, in order to avoid that danger and to prevent that waste of resources, there must be general and complete disarmament, which would more successfully prevent a possible confrontation that could only spell the doom of all mankind. That is why we firmly uphold the principle of holding a special session on disarmament which would be modelled on those devoted to raw materials and development. The resources which would be saved by disarmament should be devoted to the development of the least advanced countries.

107. Turning to the Middle East, my delegation reaffirms its complete support for the struggle of Egypt and the other Arab States to recover their occupied territories and for the just cause of the Palestinian people. We are firmly convinced that a just and lasting settlement in that area of the world can be brought about only if the Palestinians are allowed fully to assert their national rights, in particular the right to return to their homeland and the right to self-determination. Any settlement which does not take account of that factor will be doomed to failure. Israel must display goodwill and not continue to deny the fact of the existence of Palestine which, moreover, was recognized last year by nearly everyone in the General Assembly. The OAU and the third world in general

have expressed their willingness for a just settlement to the dispute, thereby demonstrating political maturity and a realistic approach to problems threatening international peace and security. That is why Israel must make full use of the opportunity offered it. We have been much impressed by everything that Egypt has done to bring about peace. My country supports the actions of the Egyptian leaders, for we are convinced that they are by no means prejudicing the rights of the Palestinian people or the principle of the complete recovery of the occupied territories.

108. Turning to the question of Cyprus, my delegation pays a tribute to our Secretary-General, who has made it possible for the two Cypriot communities to establish a frank and fruitful dialogue. We earnestly hope that that dialogue will be pursued under the auspices of our Organization and that the integrity and independence of Cyprus will be respected. Those conditions are a *sine qua non* for a return to peace on the island which, with our own country, share an aspiration for non-alignment.

109. With regard to the Asian continent, after the victory of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples over international imperialism there is only one cloud on the horizon: the question of Korea. On that question my country has always advocated a balanced policy, which is indispensable for a peaceful settlement in the area. That is why we have maintained diplomatic relations with the two Koreas. Niger has always given its support to the dialogue which began in 1972 between the two parties with a view to the peaceful reunification of the country. It is a matter for regret that no progress has been accomplished since that time in efforts to bring about national reconciliation, which is a fundamental stage to be reached before reunification. The Korean problem is essentially one for the Koreans to settle themselves and it is our earnest desire that it should be settled by peaceful means, without any form of interference.

110. At the beginning of this statement I said that the deepest aspirations of the peoples of the world were basically freedom and justice. For the countries of the third world in general and for Niger in particular it goes without saying that justice must be given specific form in economic and social development, by concrete actions based on the desire to build a better world and not by pompous and ineffective actions.

111. My country is one of the 25 poorest countries of the world. That is why for us more than anyone else economic development is a fundamental objective having the greatest priority. That is our essential concern, and the task to which my Government, under the direction of the Supreme Military Council, is devoting itself has no aim other than the well-being of the people of Niger. The terrible drought which we suffered for six consecutive years and which disrupted our already fragile economy has, understandably enough, forced us to take that path. Could we have done otherwise? A great deal has already been said about this long and terrible calamity, the harshest test which these young Sahelian States have had to face since their accession to national sovereignty and the effects of which continue to be felt. Hence, I shall confine myself here to mentioning the lessons we have learned from that tragedy and the efforts we have undertaken to meet any future events of this kind.

112. After six years of severe trial, we have come to understand, among other things, the limits of and above all the constraints attached only too often, alas, to international assistance, assistance which, despite everything, was indispensable to Niger in the present state of affairs.

113. But what we have learned in particular—and this has become our deep conviction today—is that it is absolutely necessary to rely on ourselves before reaching out for assistance. We firmly believe now that no assistance from abroad, however generous, can basically replace our own efforts.

114. On the strength of that experience and with the unshakable determination to help our people rise above poverty, my Government and the Supreme Military Council have set as their objective the achievement of a vast programme of reconstruction encompassing all sectors of activity of our national life. As an example I shall refer only to the reconstitution of our livestock, the establishment of grain reserves and, finally, the "Green Sahelian" operation designed to stop the encroachment of the desert by means of a policy of reforestation carried out by the young people of our country, who have volunteered their services. We should like to take this opportunity to welcome the spontaneous participation of many young friendly countries.

115. It goes without saying that the size of the task ahead requires first of all the mobilization of all the material and human resources of the country. The Supreme Military Council is well aware of that and has organized our young people in such a way as to make them conscious of our national realities so that they can participate effectively in our struggle for development.

116. Similarly, my Government did not wait for International Women's Year to lay the bases for the participation of women in the task of construction that we have undertaken with such determination. Lieutenant Colonel Seyni Kountche, President of the Supreme Military Council and Head of State, recently confirmed that when he said:

"For us, the emancipation of the women of Niger means first of all their active and complete training, training which is itself a factor of progress, because that gives the women of Niger the possibility of playing an economic and social role that is more vigorous and freer."

117. I have just referred to the immense task undertaken by my Government and also to our people's determination to devote all their efforts to it. Alas, however, we have learned to understand that all our efforts will be in vain until a new economic order based on justice and equity has been established.

118. Niger, a land-locked country, more than 1,000 kilometres from the sea, with an area of more than 1 million square kilometres, is among those countries most adversely affected by present conditions. That is why we appeal once again to all the wealthy countries and to the most-favoured third-world countries to support our efforts to rise above our present situation. When we say "support our efforts" we mean, for example, helping us to use our land to the best advantage, to improve our agricultural production, to diversify our crops, to exploit our natural

resources. Niger, which has great possibilities in those spheres, attaches much importance to that aspect of co-operation.

119. In that respect, we are pleased at the successful outcome of the Brussels negotiations and the signature at Lomé of a Convention recognizing a new type of relations between the developed countries and the countries of the third world. We have no hard and fast ideas about the type of relations that should exist between developed and developing countries, but we do feel that this is a step forward in the search for a solution to the problems of the developing countries.

120. As was said quite recently by Lieutenant Colonel Seyni Kountche, President of the Supreme Military Council and Head of State:

“New Niger believes in co-operation—this Niger which has just emerged from a nightmare of six years of relentless disaster that has enabled us to gauge so well the effectiveness and realities of international solidarity”.

121. At this time when the United Nations is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary, my Government wishes solemnly to reaffirm all its faith and confidence in the Organization. In our view, the United Nations is the principal instrument of international co-operation. The seventh special session, to which I have already referred, was a precise illustration of this interdependence of our countries and peoples, which have constantly been seeking the most adequate solutions to the problems facing the entire world.

122. Whether it is a matter of the establishment of peace and security or the establishment of a new international economic order, we note that in the final analysis all these problems are related. That is why we sincerely believe that in this constant search for just solutions to the problems besetting our world today—a task to which the Member States are devoting themselves—everyone, large and small, has a great responsibility. For its part, Niger will spare no effort to defend and encourage respect for the Charter and the rights of States. We intend to work to ensure that international relations are based on the independence and equality of States.

123. But, as must be recognized, the Charter of the United Nations, which is the corner-stone of our Organization, requires some revision now, after 30 years. It must be brought into line with today's realities. That is why we fully supported the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session [*resolution 3349 (XXIX)*], creating the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations instructed to present a report on this question.

124. May the prosperity of our world be shared by all nations, the better to safeguard peace and security.

125. Now, as I conclude my statement, I wish to extend to the President, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere congratulations on his election to preside over the thirtieth session. We believe that his distinguished qualities, which we have had occasion to admire elsewhere, guarantee the success of our session.

126. Mr. TSHERING (Bhutan): On behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Bhutan, I have the

honour to congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. We are especially glad that the leader of a small country, like our own, is at the helm of the affairs of this important session. My delegation is confident that with his statesmanship and experience, the qualities which he has already demonstrated during the past weeks, he will guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion. I should also like to extend to him and to the officers of the Committee the assurances of my delegation's co-operation and support in carrying out the heavy responsibilities in the weeks ahead of us.

127. Allow me also to convey my delegation's appreciation to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for the leadership he gave us during the twenty-ninth and the seventh special sessions.

128. There are today challenges and opportunities which face this world body. The opportunity is to create new life styles based on deep motivations flowing from a search for a better and freer life. The challenge is to accept and adjust to the consequences of the evolution of unequal relations and treatment. On the positive side, there are important recent events and successes contributing towards the fulfilment of the objectives of this Organization. The transfer of power by Portugal to the former colonies in Africa is no mean achievement. With the exception of Angola, all the former Portuguese colonial territories have achieved independence. With the independence of Papua New Guinea on 16 September, 10 of the 11 original Trust Territories have also gained independence. The manner in which these States reached independence is a source of great satisfaction. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that my delegation welcomes the admission of Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe to membership in the United Nations.

129. The General Assembly recently adopted resolution 3366 (XXX) by 123 votes to none, with 9 abstentions. My delegation supported that resolution, which requested the Security Council to reconsider immediately and favourably the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam for admission to the United Nations. We regret that the Security Council again failed to make the recommendation. The Kingdom of Bhutan firmly believes in the principle of universality of this Organization and each new Member, we feel, adds to the strength of this body. We hope that those who are still outside this family of nations will succeed in gaining membership in the near future, so that our Organization becomes not only representative but also more effective.

130. It is regrettable that the attitude of the illegal minority régime not to accept majority rule has so far prevented the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. There also has been little improvement in the situation in Namibia and the United Nations continues to face the challenge. One of the serious problems in South Africa is, of course, the continued practice of *apartheid* and racial discrimination which is in direct contradiction of the principles of human rights and the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. All these reaffirm our

belief that we all must make concerted efforts to make the United Nations decisions more effective.

131. We are gratified that there have been some encouraging developments in the complex problem of the Middle East. We sincerely hope that a lasting solution can be found soon. We believe that negotiations provide the best hopes for a peaceful settlement. Slowness or absence of further progress will undoubtedly increase the risk of renewed conflicts. The consequences of such a conflict will be disastrous for the people in the area and will pose a serious threat to international peace and stability. We are convinced that all the parties to the conflict sincerely desire a peaceful settlement and the basis for such a settlement does exist in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). We do not subscribe to the occupation of territories by force and continue to support the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which need to be restored. At the same time the realities in the area have to be recognized so that all the States can live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

132. The past year has seen some signs of further relaxation of tension all over the world. A gradual process of reconciliation has been set in motion even in South Asia. This region, of which we are the smallest part, has been plagued by a large number of problems, some man-made and some due to natural causes. In our opinion consistent efforts towards a just and durable peace will provide the opportunity to concentrate our attention to the great task of nation-building. We hope the countries in the region will make further efforts for mutual accommodation and reconciliation on the basis of equality and co-operation. The Kingdom of Bhutan is fully committed to the principles of non-alignment and to the aims and objectives of the Charter to work towards peace and stability. Our policy is friendship with all and malice towards none, with mutual respect for sovereignty and independence.

133. It is a matter of gratification that the people in Indo-China have at last found freedom from interference after all the traumatic experiences they have undergone throughout these fateful years. The people of these countries, we hope, will now be able to settle down to enjoy a period of reconciliation and reconstruction in order to build a sound and stable future fashioned according to their own genius.

134. The problem in the Korean peninsula, however, continues to threaten stability in the area. The consensus reached during the twenty-eighth session,<sup>1</sup> which called on the parties to seek peaceful reunification without outside interference, gave us some hope for beginning a year of understanding and fruitful negotiations. My delegation is still of the firm view that the people of Korea should be allowed to solve the problem by peaceful and independent means.

135. During the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly my delegation supported resolution 3212 (XXIX) and we also believe that Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) provided a sound basis for negotiation between the two communities. Bhutan, being a member of the non-aligned movement, supports the Political Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima last August [see

*A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, p. 3*], which called upon all parties to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and the immediate unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops and for continuation of constructive dialogue between the two communities. In this regard, we appreciate the role played by our Secretary-General and the efforts he has been making to help the two communities to solve the problem with greater understanding and a sense of co-operation. We can assure the Secretary-General that his efforts for international peace and stability have our full support.

136. Bhutan is also a hinterland State of the Indian Ocean. The maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is of much concern to us. My delegation has consistently supported the moves and the relevant resolutions at the United Nations. The presence of big-Power rivalry will only build up tension, which will not only disturb stability in the region but will also cause division among the affected areas. In view of this we firmly believe that the area should be free of foreign military installations and foreign bases built in the context of big-Power rivalry. In order that the declaration may be respected by all States, we would support the idea of convening a conference of all littoral and hinterland States with the co-operation of the major Powers and the major maritime users.

137. On the question of global disarmament, my delegation still finds the progress rather slow. We recognize the overriding importance of the United Nations responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, especially in the face of "ultimate weapons" threatening the end of humanity. We are, however, glad that the big Powers have also realized this problem more than ever, as has been stated by the leaders concerned recently from this rostrum. The situation indeed needs to be rectified and we appreciate the proposals that have been made here recently. We support the reduction of the military budgets of the States concerned by 10 per cent and the use of the funds thus saved for assistance to developing countries. Taking these points into consideration, my delegation will welcome the convening of a world disarmament conference to discuss all the options and work towards complete disarmament with the participation of all countries. The need for full preparation towards this end hardly needs to be emphasized at this stage.

138. The global economic situation still suffers from unfavourable destabilizing factors and endangers the economies of the developing countries. The developing countries continue to suffer from depreciation of the terms of trade due to inflation and the inadequate transfer of real resources. As a result, the developing countries are forced to take adjustment measures which are often harmful for the economic and social development in these countries. In fact, in the most severely affected countries a negative growth rate is in the offing. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] has apparently failed to provide the expected remedy.

139. We are, however, encouraged by the definite signs of co-operation now emerging on these matters. The sixth special session stressed economic inter-

dependence on a world-wide scale and also defined the basis for a new international economic order. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] could be regarded as a landmark in the economic and social progress of our Organization. Unlike the sixth special session, the recent seventh special session enjoyed a climate of compromise and negotiations which enabled us to adopt the resolution [3362 (S-VII)] unanimously. Having thus laid the corner-stone, we must progress in the direction of gathering momentum for development in the larger perspective of world economic co-operation.

140. Bhutan is an agricultural country and we have to import the essential materials needed for the sustenance of our economy. We have high potential to expand production for exports. Our minerals, forest produce and potential for hydro-electric power are being harnessed to meet our needs. The life-blood of our economy is road transport. Being a land-locked country, the increased transportation cost adds to our problem.

141. In this respect, my Minister for Foreign Affairs, during the recent seventh special session, in this statement emphasized the peculiar problems of the land-locked and least developed States of the developing countries. The problem of the land-locked States has also been brought to focus recently by the Secretary-General's report on special measures related to the particular needs of the land-locked developing countries [A/10203]. We hope the problem of these developing States will receive attention, as has also been recommended in the resolution of the seventh special session.

142. We in Bhutan, under the wise guidance of His Majesty King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, have been directing our energies to modern lines of economic and social development with the central aim of raising the living standard and opening to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life. Our friendly neighbour, India, with which we have cordial relations, has been helping us generously despite its own pressing commitments. Our goal is to achieve self-reliance and harness our natural resources with the use of modern technology to promote the institutions, values and attitudes of a happy and just society.

143. My delegation hopes that a new law of the sea will emerge from the forthcoming session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to be held here in New York. We fully realize that on such a complex legal subject the harmonization of views of all countries would be difficult to achieve in so short a time. It is, however, a matter of gratification that an informal single negotiating text,<sup>2</sup> on which there is no agreement, has seen the light of day. Geographical and historical factors denied the land-locked and other disadvantaged States the enjoyment of the advantages of States bordering on the sea. Nevertheless, we hope the legitimate rights and interests of all States, whether coastal or land-locked, will be recognized so that all nations can participate in the sharing of the resources of the sea and the ocean floor. We believe in the establishment of a strong sea-bed régime to regulate the exploration and exploitation of the sea. Keeping these considerations in view, my delegation would be willing to work towards an acceptable new law of the sea that

could guide all the nations in exploring and exploiting the riches of the vast sea.

144. My delegation supported the establishment of an *ad hoc* group to review the Charter of the United Nations. A mere review of the Charter, we feel, does not and cannot mean the complete revision of the Charter, nor do we feel the need to do so. In this thirtieth year of the United Nations, however, we believe that the time has come to have a look at some of the provisions in the light of present needs and realities.

145. My delegation firmly believes that with the constructive attitude of all its Members, big or small, rich or poor, the United Nations is still a viable body and the only one that exists to help man in the pursuit of peace and in the elimination of poverty, sickness and other problems. The narrow confines of national interest of all of us here will have to be made more flexible to accommodate the lofty ideals of the United Nations. The hopes of all mankind depend on how soon we act on these problems and how we face this challenge.

146. Mr. AL ZAWAWI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to extend to the President, on behalf of my delegation, our heartfelt congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I am fully confident, that, with his known sagacity and prudence, he will lead the meetings of our session to success, and he will, no doubt, fulfil to the best of his ability the great responsibilities entrusted to him.

147. I am also pleased to avail myself of this opportunity to express here my delegation's appreciation of the President of the previous session of the General Assembly, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria. Thanks to his abilities, all those historical and important decisions and recommendations were adopted during the twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session.

148. I am further pleased to commend the great efforts exerted by Mr. Kurt Waldheim in fulfilling his responsibilities as Secretary-General of the United Nations towards achieving the Organization's objectives of maintaining world peace and security.

149. In the name of my country's delegation, I extend congratulations to Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe for the victory they have been able to secure, and for the independence achieved by dint of their own efforts. I am deeply gratified to see the delegations of these States take their places here among us. The Sultanate of Oman shares the world community's aspirations that the world will, in the near future, witness the disappearance of all vestiges of colonialist and racist régimes.

150. This year several encouraging positive steps have been taken along the path leading to the consolidation of international peace and security and of consolidating détente among States. However, there remain many pressing international problems which are closely intertwined with the issues of world peace and concord. Those require special consideration and attention.

151. The cruel situation imposed on the Palestinian people, and in which they have been forced to exist, makes it incumbent on this Organization to take strict and more effective measures to put an end to the afflictions and the sufferings of these people. Their rights were flouted and denied, their wealth pillaged and their property usurped. Nor was this the end of the matter, for they were further driven away from their country, and their very existence as a people was questioned, and some went even as far as to deny their existence.

152. Peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved unless Israel withdraws completely from all the occupied Arab territories and fully recognizes the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The second disengagement agreement between the Egyptian and the Israeli forces in the Sinai is a significant step towards peace and constitutes further proof of the fact that the Arabs prefer a peaceful solution.

153. However, we should bear in mind that that step will not by itself bring peace. All peace-loving countries and the United Nations, as an effective international Organization, should do their utmost to take effective steps for the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), both of which call for the total withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories and for Israel's return to the pre-June 1967 borders and its full recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people.

154. The fulfilment of these conditions is a prerequisite for a just and durable peace in the Middle East. The intransigence of the racist régime in Israel; its defiance of international law; its disregard of the United Nations Charter and various resolutions; its determination not to heed world public opinion, which calls upon it to desist from its illegal practices in occupied Palestine, to refrain from repeated aggressions against southern Lebanon, to withdraw from the territories of three Arab States Members of the United Nations which Israel has occupied by armed aggression and to abandon its plans to Judaize and change the character of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and Hebron—all constitute a serious blow to the chances of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

155. My delegation joins with those who have called for the strongest and severest sanctions against Israel, and in so doing continues to uphold the principles of this Organization in response to its close interpretation of the Charter and the expectations of the peoples of the world in regard to the United Nations.

156. The tragedy of the Holy Al-Ibrahimi Mosque calls for our undiverted attention, and it is our view that this Organization should put an end to the flagrant violations by the Zionist authorities of Islamic and non-Islamic Holy Places in the land of Palestine. The Al-Ibrahimi shrine is an Islamic mosque, in the full sense of that term, and its sanctity and holy status should be preserved. Aggression against any part of that Mosque constitutes a violation of Islamic sanctities.

157. The concern of my Government for the consolidation of world peace and security lies behind its full support for the efforts aimed at the declaration of zones of peace and nuclear-free zones in the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, South Asia, Africa and Latin

America. The establishment of those zones would pave the way for the world at large to live in peace and to be secure against these lethal weapons. My Government further supports steps taken towards putting an end to nuclear tests. In this regard, it does not approve of any action that may adversely affect the environment and consequently expose man's health and welfare to danger and disturb world security.

158. The Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] should be based upon the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Chief among these are, first, that all Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State; secondly, that States shall refrain from intervening, either directly or indirectly, in the domestic affairs of any other State; thirdly, that States shall achieve international co-operation in economic and other fields on the basis of equality, mutual respect and benefit for all.

159. In this connexion, I regret the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Democratic Yemen [*2371st meeting*] to the effect that his country supports a bunch of outlaws in the southern part of my country. This constitutes a flagrant interference in our domestic affairs. It is a violation of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and is absolutely unacceptable to us. I ask Democratic Yemen, which is a neighbouring country with which we want nothing but understanding and co-operation, to desist from such interference in the common interest of our two peoples.

160. In the economic sphere, we are happy to note that the concept of the economic interdependence of sovereign States is an established reality nowadays. This is an indication of a definite and positive change in the political atmosphere as a result of which we are also witnessing a new political will to look seriously and effectively into the problems and obstacles that are hindering the economic and social progress of developing nations.

161. In this regard, a new formulation of economic relations between industrialized countries, on the one hand, and the developing countries, on the other, with a view to working out a new pattern for those relations based on equity and reciprocal interests has come to be a highly pressing and important matter, as stipulated in the resolutions of the General Assembly's seventh special session.

162. Coming now to my country's position with regard to the important issues which urgently require solution, I deem it necessary to refer to the session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was held from 17 March to 10 May 1975. It was hoped that the Conference would complete a convention that would govern all matters related to the law of the sea. However, the session came to an end without achieving any significant progress in reconciling the views of Member States. That has rendered conditions even more difficult for the attainment of an over-all agreement on the law of the sea.

163. In its internal legislation, guided by the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, my country has adhered to the concept

of innocent passage through territorial waters, including straits. Our legislation on the right to innocent passage through territorial waters has taken into consideration, in the first place, the interests of international navigation and the need to ensure the continuous and regular movement of shipping, on the one hand, and the protection of its own security and sovereignty, on the other. I wish to affirm here that that legislation is meant first and foremost to serve international navigation itself.

164. In conclusion, I should like to say that the attention of the whole world is focused on the United Nations as a court of last resort. We have spoken of the positive trend in the political climate and of the birth of a new political will. Needless to say that the primary task before this Assembly, which is meeting in just such a climate is to translate that will into concrete action designed to produce just and reasonable solutions to the problems confronting us all, whether rich or poor, developed or developing.

165. Throughout history my country has always been an apostle of peace and an advocate of friendship and understanding among peoples. We have always called for understanding and co-operation among countries. Consistent with that record we firmly adhere to and stand by the principles of the United Nations. We have complete faith in its role and its responsibilities.

166. Mr. GÁLVEZ (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As we begin the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, I should like to convey to the President the sincere congratulations of my delegation on his well-deserved election. We wish him every success in his term of office. I consider it highly significant that this session is being presided over by a worthy representative of a small country, which, though not having great economic or military resources, is a living and eloquent example of the finest legal traditions. That fact alone renews our confidence in the Organization and prompts us to look towards the future with greater optimism, for it is the future of mankind.

167. I also wish to express the appreciation of my delegation, my people and my Government to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for the splendid work he is doing as Secretary-General which is apparent from the report on the work of the Organization he has submitted to the Assembly [A/10001].

168. A year ago, at the beginning of the twenty-ninth session, the Chairman of my country's delegation, from this rostrum [2260th meeting], spoke movingly of the death and desolation left behind by hurricane Fifi after it had torn through Honduras. He also made what was not a request but an urgent plea to our Organization and all the countries represented here. That moving appeal did not fall on deaf ears. The Organization, acting in an orderly and effective manner, mobilized its human and financial resources on behalf of my country. It is my duty here to pay a tribute to the excellent work done by the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Coordinator, the United Nations Emergency Operation, the United Nations Development Programme and the Economic Commission for Latin America.

169. The international community acted in a no less prompt and generous manner. From the four corners of the earth, regardless of distance and ideological differences, the assistance which my country needed, first for its survival and secondly for its reconstruction, was forthcoming. Once again it has been shown that distress unites men and nations.

170. As the representatives of your countries and Governments, please accept, for your demonstration of genuine solidarity, the expression of the everlasting gratitude of the people and Government of the Republic of Honduras.

171. May solidarity and understanding among the great and the small, among the wealthy and the poor, among the developed and the under-developed be permanent. May new structures for international trade be created and, as a result, may there be greater justice in the distribution of the world's production, with our only goal being the pursuit of the betterment of mankind.

172. My delegation takes special pleasure in welcoming to our Organization the representatives of Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe. Honduras has always sympathized with those who were fighting to wipe out colonialism. For that reason we whole-heartedly welcome this new step towards greater human dignity, and we are indeed impressed by the understanding and willingness to rectify past errors in the process of liberation shown by the new régime in Portugal.

173. In the specific case of Mozambique, the fact that Honduras was a member of the fact-finding committee inquiring into the killings that had been denounced there brought us into direct contact with the courageous struggle of that people for freedom. That fact served only to increase our admiration for its patriotic sacrifices, and so we are particularly pleased to see that delegation take its rightful place in this Organization of free peoples.

174. My delegation welcomed the recent agreement between the representatives of Egypt and Israel. We believe that that is another important and positive step towards peace in the Middle East, in which the United Nations has played a prominent role. Once again, it has been shown that, when there is political will on the part of those involved, any conflict, no matter how complicated, can be settled in a dignified and civilized way, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of our Organization.

175. Of great concern, however, are the situations of conflict which exist today in Latin America and which are a constant threat to peace. Such is, in fact, our assessment of attempts to delay a settlement of the problem in the sister Republic of Panama and the satisfaction of its just claims to full sovereignty over the Canal Zone. Panama's cause, inasmuch as it is a just one, is also our cause. Honduras hopes that reason and common sense will prevail, and that there will soon be a just and equitable agreement that will safeguard solidarity in our continent.

176. My delegation furthermore wishes to say that Honduras will stand by the sister Republic of Guatemala in its efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute pending with the United Kingdom over

the Territory of Belize, which, legally and historically, has always been a Central American territory.

177. My Government is and always has been in favour of a total, simultaneous and definitive settlement of the differences existing between Honduras and El Salvador. Those problems not only affect the two countries concerned, but they also have a negative effect on the integrated development of the Central American region. In the search for a solution, my country has always maintained that there is no conflict between States that cannot be resolved through the application of the established principles of international law.

178. In connexion with this important matter, I take great pleasure in announcing in this Assembly that, to this end and in the same pacifist spirit that characterizes the foreign policy of Honduras, yesterday in the Commission of the Thirteenth Meeting of Consultation of American Ministers for Foreign Affairs whose headquarters are in Washington, I presented a draft general treaty, with the request that it be transmitted to the Government of El Salvador. If the other side demonstrates the necessary political will, that draft could be the basic working document for a suitable settlement that would lead to a return to normal relations in Central America.

179. The year 1975 has special historic significance for events of outstanding importance have occurred in its course: it was designated International Women's Year; the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea took place during that period; and it marked the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations.

180. It is fitting and proper that the world Organization should have recognized the intrinsic worth of women and the important role that they have always played, at times indirectly, in the working out of the destiny of mankind. It is with pride that I can say that in Honduras for the past century women have enjoyed civil rights and that two decades ago they obtained full recognition of their political rights.

181. Our legislation has eliminated all forms of discrimination by sex, and so it is that today the women of Honduras are working effectively in public administration and in private enterprise, thereby taking part in the difficult and continuing task of developing the country.

182. Honduras is a country bordered by two oceans which contain important natural resources that can go a long way towards meeting the economic and food requirements of our people. For that reason the multilateral negotiations on the utilization and exploitation of the resources of the sea, which were initiated by the United Nations in General Assembly resolution 2750 (XXV), adopted on 17 December 1970, are vital to us.

183. For this same reason we have taken part in the discussion of most items and questions relating to the law of the sea. It has been our constant belief that the only feasible agreement that can be reached should be based on recognition of the legitimate rights of the various members of the international community, regardless of their level of development or geographical location, and on the need to reconcile the interests of States.

184. At the third session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva from March to May of this year, the documents of the session held at Caracas, containing proposals on the peaceful uses of the seabed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, were discussed. After further analysis of those documents, and after discussing previously unexamined issues, the committees of the Conference were requested to prepare an informal negotiating single text covering the items discussed by those Committees.

185. We appreciate the difficulty of reaching agreement on rights and claims which are the subject of controversy between the developing States and the major maritime Powers. Progress in this area notwithstanding, we believe that we could advance much further if we were to establish a separate body capable of bringing about a peaceful settlement of disputes of this kind. That body should be made up of specialists closely acquainted with the meaning of freedom of the seas, with the claims and rights of developing nations, and with their permanent sovereignty over their natural resources.

186. We are deeply convinced that there must be an international régime governing the oceans and recognizing the legal equality of States, on the basis of mutual co-operation. That is the only way to ban the rule of force and the economic hegemony which usually victimizes those countries lacking the power freely to assert their rights over the use of the sea and its resources.

187. On the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, Honduras wishes to say it has full confidence in the Organization. We have always believed that there can be no peaceful coexistence among States if there is no respect for the rules of international law.

188. It has often been said that this is a legal and political Organization. We might even state that it is more political than legal. Because of its dual nature, it has in fact managed to survive for three decades. However, we believe that we should be aware of the fact that political considerations, though at times they may seem to be of overriding importance, should never lead us to adopt illegal resolutions. Whenever might makes right, even in resolutions of international organizations, it is a denial of the rule of law.

189. It is precisely to strengthen our Organization and to make the rule of international law ever more effective that my delegation has become a sponsor of the draft resolutions calling for a review of the Charter in order to make it more relevant and more nearly perfect.

190. Over the past 30 years the world has undeniably experienced the most spectacular scientific and technological advances in its history: geographical distances have disappeared, thanks to present-day means of communication. Day after day, medicine is discovering miracle drugs and surgical techniques never before dreamed of. Gigantic computers capable of performing in seconds calculations that might have taken years to perform have opened up the gates to outer space, while at the same time successfully unravelling the secrets of the atom. Nevertheless, all this progress has not brought about peace in the

world; it has not eliminated the constant threat of thermonuclear conflagration, which could well destroy the world in a matter of seconds. We have not even been able to do away with international terrorism, which endangers innocent human lives and causes great loss of life. And we have not done so because, deliberately or not, we have failed to take into account the need to bring about the well-being and betterment of mankind, because we have failed to understand that it is for the benefit of man that there is scientific and technological progress, and because we fail to appreciate that there are ethnic groups and human communities, and even nations, that continue to be the victims of injustice and whose dignity continues to be flouted.

191. Poverty, ignorance and injustice have always been and will continue to be an inexhaustible source of violence. It is not enough for us vigorously to condemn all forms of violence, nor is it enough for our Organization, through its specialized agencies, to carry out studies that merely bring out in cold statistics the iniquitous conditions in which more than half of the world's population live. The international community must give up its traditional passive attitude and decide to play an active part in the search for practical, permanent solutions to the tremendous problems besetting mankind.

192. I do not believe that there is anyone who would object to justice guiding every aspect of international relations. I believe that the differences existing here between the industrialized and the developing countries relate more to procedure than to substance. For years now, the world Powers have imposed their policies on the weaker nations, and in certain cases have even threatened economic pressure or have used force. Furthermore, the sudden emergence of the third world, with its demands for justice and its increasingly effective methods for making its voice heard, has brought us practically to the stage of confrontation. Everything points to this being the wrong course of action. We must engage in a frank and constructive dialogue in order to bring out areas of agreement and settle controversial issues through the use of reason based on good faith. Intransigence, regardless of the source, will never help us produce the just solutions which we seek.

193. Because of its magnitude, this task requires the joint efforts of all, of great and small, of rich and poor. The times require it, and the survival of mankind demands it.

194. The resolution adopted at the seventh special session of the General Assembly [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] prompts us to believe optimistically that we are on the threshold of a new era in international relations and that the emergence and growth of effective co-operation among nations in their striving for human betterment and a more just distribution of resources and wealth will prove to be the hallmark of the last quarter of the twentieth century.

195. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of El Salvador has asked to exercise his right of reply.

196. Mr. ROSALES (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In reference to the remarks made by the Foreign Minister of Honduras with respect to the difference between El Salvador and Honduras, I should like to state very clearly to this Assembly that El Salvador has always strongly desired to settle this problem, which is still pending between two neighbouring countries and brother nations.

197. This is proved by the various consultations which have been held at Mexico City, with the Mexican Government as mediator, and in other cities here in the United States. Furthermore, talks have been held at the presidential level in Managua, in San José and in Guatemala. Consequently we are the first to hope that the drafts which have been submitted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras—and which have not yet been seen by my delegation, or even, I believe, by my Government—will provide, as he says, the bases for a worthy settlement of the problem.

198. We realize that this problem affects not only two neighbours but also the whole region of Central America. Hence, it is therefore the unwavering policy of the Government of El Salvador to promote worthy and peaceful solution to this dispute.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 24, item 41.*

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, vol. IV (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.V.10), document A/CONF.62/WP.8.*