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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).**

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. M'ALIK (Indonesia): Mr. President, I am profoundly pleased and privileged to offer you the sincere congratulations of Indonesia's delegation upon your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your statesmanship and your untiring efforts and well-known accomplishments in the cause of peace and a more equitable world order are justly recognized throughout the international community. We are confident therefore that, although the problems before this Assembly are grave and many, we will, under your guidance, be able to find satisfactory answers to them. The fact that you have been called upon to serve in this post of distinction at the present moment gives my delegation added satisfaction, for we see in you not only an eminent son of Africa and of the Arab nation but also one of the outstanding leaders of the non-aligned world as well. At a time of great opportunity as well as of great challenge, the non-aligned countries have an important role to play in the promotion of global peace, progress and prosperity. It seems to my delegation most appropriate that these forces for peace and progress are exemplified in the person of the President of the General Assembly.

2. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to convey its deep appreciation to the outgoing President, the representative of Ecuador, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who has shown admirable qualities of leadership in a period marked by momentous events.

3. It is with great satisfaction that my delegation welcomes the new Members of the Organization. Representing a country situated so close to southern Asia, my delegation takes special pleasure in welcoming Bangladesh to membership in the United

Nations. The admission of this new State manifests a further step in the efforts to heal the wounds of war and strife in the recent history of the region and, it is to be hoped, marks the beginning of an era no longer plagued by enmity and distrust but characterized by friendly relations and close co-operation.

4. I would further like to welcome Grenada as a fellow Member in our midst. My delegation is convinced that Grenada's commitment to the principles of the Charter and the goals of the United Nations will enable it to play a significant role in the work of our Organization.

5. Our warm welcome also goes to Guinea-Bissau upon its admission to the United Nations, as we greeted with equal joy its berth as an independent nation on 24 September 1973. The process leading to the independence of Guinea-Bissau was a long and arduous one, spanning almost two decades of political struggle and 10 years of uninterrupted and determined armed struggle. Guinea-Bissau's entry now as a full-fledged partner in the work of the Organization for global peace and progress cannot but be greeted with deep satisfaction.

6. My delegation expects that before long we shall also have the pleasure of welcoming Mozambique and Angola as Members of the Organization.

7. In expressing our satisfaction at the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations, we in Indonesia welcome the recent changes in Portugal's policy *vis-à-vis* the colonial Territories under its administration. A new page has now been opened in the history of Portugal's relations not only with those Territories but also with the continents of Africa and Asia and with all freedom-loving peoples in the world. This development indeed constitutes a beacon of hope for all those who are still fettered by the bonds of colonialism, *apartheid* and racism. But until all peoples who are still denied their inalienable rights to self-determination achieve their rightful place in the world community, the United Nations should not slacken its efforts to further the process of decolonization.

8. The past year has witnessed profound political, economic, social and technological developments which have themselves caused fundamental changes in relations among nations and peoples. As I have just remarked, it has been a year notable both for its great challenges and for its great opportunities.

9. On the one hand, the international community has been confronted with problems of a magnitude and complexity unprecedented in our experience; on the other hand, these very conditions have offered unique opportunities to the Organization and to the world at large. If we possess the necessary vision and courage and, above all, the required political

will, we may yet utilize these opportunities in order to lay the foundations of new economic and political relationships that would move the world closer towards the establishment of a more just and more durable order and towards a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth.

10. The need for change in the character of international relations is now universally recognized. It is clear, however, that as to the nature and the timing of such change, as well as with regard to the modalities of achieving it, wide differences of opinion still exist within the international community.

11. Concurrent with the recognition of the need for change, there is a growing awareness that the problems now confronting the world cannot be resolved by any single nation or group of nations acting on its own; they can be overcome only by the joint efforts of the entire world community which recognizes that global interdependence requires global co-operation.

12. One encouraging result of this new awareness is that the United Nations has been called upon to play an ever-expanding role as the organ of the international community best suited to dealing with the problems created by our increasing interdependence. Thus it may be useful to take this occasion to scrutinize the record of the Organization over the past year and to evaluate the manner in which the United Nations has exercised its growing role in the new international situation.

13. One of the gravest challenges posed to the Organization last year was how to cope with the renewed outbreak of full-scale hostilities in the Middle East, which again jolted the world dangerously close to the brink of global conflict.

14. My delegation is satisfied that the United Nations proved itself capable of meeting that challenge. The substantial role that the United Nations played in establishing the cease-fire in the Middle East and in arranging the troop disengagement agreements in the Sinai and on the Golan Heights is generally recognized. The Organization was equally instrumental in the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force, which has enabled it to act firmly in maintaining the cease-fire. And it is a particular honour for Indonesia to be able to contribute a contingent to the Force at the request of the Security Council.

15. While we may thus be reasonably satisfied with the role that the United Nations has played and will continue to play in the Middle East, my delegation must reiterate its view that unless the root-causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict are removed and until some fundamental requisites are met, no lasting peace can be achieved in that troubled region.

16. An integral and just solution of the Middle East problem can be achieved only if all relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions are implemented consistently. Israeli aggression must be terminated and all Arab territories occupied since 1967 must revert back to their lawful owners. The Holy City of Jerusalem must be returned to Arab custody and Israel must rescind all measures it has taken to alter the status and character of that City. Furthermore, my delegation is convinced that the Middle East will remain an arena

of conflict and bloodshed as long as the Palestinian people are denied their fundamental rights, including the right to self-determination.

17. Indonesia is encouraged by the prospect of peace that has been opened by the Geneva negotiations. But whatever success these negotiations may achieve in all other fields, a satisfactory solution of the Palestinian aspect of the problem will remain a *conditio sine qua non* for the return of a stable peace in the Middle East. The participation of Palestinian representatives in all talks affecting their future is, therefore, a matter of great importance.

18. It is with these considerations in mind that Indonesia joined many other delegations in proposing that the item entitled "Question of Palestine" be included in the agenda of this session [A/9742 and Add.1-4].

19. Hardly had the initial foundations been laid for a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem when another challenge presented itself before the Organization. In July this year the world was startled by the *coup d'état* against President Makarios of Cyprus. This event, and the Turkish intervention which followed, has given the Cyprus problem a dangerous dimension.

20. What we see in Cyprus is the tragedy of two communities compelled by realities to live together but unable to agree among themselves how to do so in peace and harmony. In their implications, however, the recent developments in Cyprus go beyond the unhappy fate that has befallen its two communities, as these developments not only imperil the independence and territorial integrity of that country but also pose a serious threat to the peace and security of the Mediterranean region.

21. My delegation is deeply aware of the complexities of the problem and of its long and bitter political background. It is not easy, nor is it necessary, to try to apportion the blame to one or the other party, as the two communities must continue to live together. What is of cardinal importance now is to get all parties concerned back to the negotiating table to create conditions in which it will be possible for the people of Cyprus themselves to determine their future.

22. Indonesia holds the view that Cyprus should remain an independent, sovereign and non-aligned country. A new constitutional framework should be worked out that can guarantee the rights of each community and enable them to live in harmony with one another, so that a true Cypriot national identity may develop.

23. Allow me now to turn to a conflict in a region nearer to Indonesia. I refer to the ongoing war and bloodshed in Indo-China. The peoples of Asia and, for that matter, people all over the world are gravely concerned that, almost two years after the signing of the Paris agreement, peace still proves elusive in Viet Nam. This agreement could provide a basis for resolving the long and bitter conflict, which in its toll of human lives and material damage far exceeds the magnitude of either the Middle East or the Cyprus conflict. My delegation notes with regret, however, that there is as yet little evidence of the necessary goodwill of the parties directly concerned to implement the agreement, especially that part providing for a

political settlement. Thus the situation is allowed to deteriorate, increasing the likelihood of full-scale war again breaking out in Viet Nam.

24. Indonesia has been in a position to make a modest contribution to the efforts to implement the Paris agreement on Viet Nam through its membership in the International Commission of Control and Supervision. Indonesia will continue to serve in the Commission as long as it thinks that its participation can indeed contribute to the restoration of genuine peace in Viet Nam.

25. In the same way, the tragic situation in the Khmer Republic is a source of deep concern to Indonesia. The sacrifices in human lives and suffering which this conflict has exacted, as well as its potential to cause wider instability in the region, make us fervently hope that a peaceful solution to this problem will be achieved through negotiations among the contending factions of the Khmer people themselves. The way in which this problem is now being presented to the Assembly, therefore, causes the greatest misgivings to my delegation.

26. It remains Indonesia's considered view that the Khmer people should be given the opportunity to resolve their own problems in peace, free from outside intervention or imposition, and to decide for themselves the leadership they want and the system of government under which they choose to live.

27. We are against the idea of the imposition of a government and a leadership on the Khmer people by the United Nations. We would fully support United Nations intervention in the Khmer problem, however, if indeed such intervention would lead to the ending of the fighting among the Khmers and to a peaceful overall solution.

28. We are convinced that to impose a leadership and a government on the Khmer people by United Nations resolution will not bring about a solution to the conflict, will not end the fighting and the bloodshed among the Khmers, but will, on the contrary, intensify and prolong them. Thus, it would be a tragic irony indeed if the United Nations, after so many years of non-involvement in Indo-China, now suddenly decided to intervene, not to bring peace but, in effect, to encourage and prolong conflict and bloodshed among the Khmers.

29. If the United Nations is to take action, then to my delegation's view, it would be more in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter if the General Assembly were to appeal to the contending parties to stop the fighting and start negotiations for a peaceful solution acceptable to all the Khmer people. In this connexion, I would like to refer to the offer made on 9 July 1974 by the Government of the Khmer Republic in Phnom Penh, to start negotiations, with no pre-conditions and with any representative of the Khmers on the other side, in order to find a peaceful solution to their conflict and end the killing among brothers. My delegation believes that this offer should be welcomed by the Assembly as one fully in conformity with the spirit of all United Nations endeavours to seek peaceful solutions to problems through negotiation.

30. Allow me now to reiterate briefly my Government's position with regard to the question of national leadership in Cambodia.

31. We have nothing against Prince Sihanouk or the so-called "Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia". In fact, the Indonesian people respect Prince Sihanouk for his role in the struggle of the Khmer people for independence and sovereignty. But the Khmer Parliament—his own Parliament—elected by the Khmer people in accordance with the Khmer Constitution, deposed him, and he is now making his claim to national leadership as an exile, from the capital of a foreign country.

32. As a matter of principle, Indonesia is against the recognition of a government-in-exile as long as there exists in the country itself a national government which is lawfully established and accepted by the people on the basis of their own constitutional processes.

33. If the Assembly were to embark upon recognition of such régimes in exile this would not only be tantamount to interfering in the domestic jurisdiction of a State but would indeed set a precedent which would endanger the very structure of the United Nations. Today this question concerns the Khmer Republic; tomorrow it may concern another country, perhaps one of those which now support the idea of recognizing a régime in exile because of feelings of solidarity with a person or a group representing certain political beliefs or because of emotional considerations. I would strongly suggest, therefore, that the choice be allowed to remain with the people and that the United Nations not be permitted to introduce the practice of imposing a government upon a people.

34. Ranging further afield in the Asian region, my delegation notes with regret that in the two years following the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972 issued by the Governments of North Korea and South Korea, the dialogue between them has achieved little progress. Prospects for reconciliation have been further diminished now that this dialogue has been indefinitely suspended. We believe that it would be useful for both sides to resume their interrupted dialogue at an early date and exert renewed efforts to implement the principles enunciated in their joint communiqué.

35. This year the Assembly is again considering the question of Korea. My delegation agrees with the view that the United Nations should end its military presence in Korea. It is indeed high time that the state of war which still formally exists between the United Nations and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was terminated. However, as the United Nations military involvement in Korea is based upon a Security Council resolution, it is the view of my delegation that the Assembly should request the Security Council to take promptly the necessary action for the termination of such United Nations military presence. At the same time, my delegation thinks that an alternative machinery should be found to guarantee the continuation of the cease-fire along the armistice line, and that the United Nations should assist, in whatever way is possible, in the efforts of both parts of Korea to achieve reunification through peaceful negotiations.

36. As far as the presence of foreign troops in a country is concerned, it has always been Indonesia's conviction that such presence will not contribute to peace and security. As for ourselves, we cannot accept the presence of foreign troops or foreign military bases on our country's territory. However, every sovereign State has the right to conclude bilateral agreements with other States to allow such presence on its territory for national defence purposes, and as long as it is not directed against another State.

37. If there are focal points of crisis on the Asian scene, there is also a brighter side to the picture.

38. It is with great satisfaction that Indonesia welcomes the formation of the Provisional Government of National Union in Laos. We hope that this achievement will usher in an era of peace and stability in a country that has been a bitter battleground for more than 20 years. We also hope that these developments in Laos will equally contribute to the improvement of the political climate in the region, and serve as an example worthy of emulation by contending parties in other parts of Indochina.

39. Recent developments in South Asia have, as I remarked earlier, opened a new chapter in the political history of that region. Thanks to the statesmanship displayed by the leaders of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the door is open to a new era of greater peace, mutual co-operation and understanding.

40. It is with particular satisfaction that my delegation refers to the developments in South-East Asia, specifically with regard to the efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] to foster more effective regional co-operation. Whereas ASEAN was initially founded to promote economic, technical and cultural co-operation, it has also provided the opportunity to the member countries to deal with political aspects of regional problems as well. We are pleased to note that these activities have led to the development of increasingly closer patterns of co-operation, which in turn have strengthened the Association as a whole, making it more viable and meaningful to its members. Last year's decision to establish a permanent ASEAN secretariat in Jakarta is another logical step forward in the Association's efforts to consolidate its gains, and to give greater coherence to ASEAN.

41. As part of this policy of devoting our efforts and resources to the economic betterment of our nation in conditions of peace and tranquillity, Indonesia, together with other nations in the region, has consistently endeavoured to maintain the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, free from great-Power rivalry and military escalation. To this end, Indonesia has given active support to Sri Lanka's initiatives concerning the Indian Ocean as well as to the relevant United Nations resolutions on this important issue. However, much remains to be done if this idea is to materialize.

42. It is with deep concern that my delegation views the increasing military presence of the great Powers in the region of the Indian Ocean, which poses a serious setback to the efforts of the nations

of the area to keep great-Power arms rivalry out of the Indian Ocean.

43. We should like to urge the great Powers concerned not to continue on their path of arms competition in the Indian Ocean, as the pursuit of such a path will endanger the peace and tranquillity not only of the area, but of the whole world.

44. The international community has been seized for a long period with the problem of establishing a new régime of the sea, one which will not only guarantee the sound management and equitable distribution of the ocean's wealth, but which will also accommodate the diverse and conflicting national interests created by existing outdated rules of the law of the sea or by the existence of legal vacuums. As an archipelagic State, Indonesia, by virtue of its geographical composition, attaches the greatest importance to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. This composition brings with it special needs and imperatives relating to the maintenance of Indonesia's national sovereignty, political unity and territorial integrity. At the same time it also entails special responsibilities relating to the interests of the international community, responsibilities which the Government of Indonesia has always been willing to shoulder and to discharge, now and in the future.

45. Indonesia expects, on the other hand, that other States, especially those which, on the basis of previous practice, are enjoying a privileged position in the use of the seas, will adapt themselves to the changes that have taken place and are now taking place in the world. The issues involved in a reformulation of the law of the sea should be approached on the basis of sovereign equality and equity and not on those of power relationships, either economic or military.

46. While noteworthy and encouraging progress has been recorded in several fields in the political sphere, it is dismaying to find that this is not matched with commensurate progress in the field of economic and social development.

47. The picture here is one of gloom and pessimism. In this respect, the world is still starkly divided between developing and developed countries. And it is becoming abundantly clear that, despite strenuous efforts to reverse the trend, the gap between the developing and the developed countries continues to widen with each passing year while the burden of international poverty is increasing rather than declining.

48. This is certainly not a new subject. But it will continue to be raised at every opportunity, not only to demonstrate our concern and anxiety, but also to underscore the point that such an imbalance in international economic growth cannot be conducive to a peaceful, stable and just world order.

49. The series of global crises, thoroughly exposed and analysed during the sixth special session of the General Assembly last May, has thrust into prominence the inescapable reality of interdependence among nations, the interconnexion of problems and the necessity of joint and concerted action to solve them.

50. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)], together with the Programme of Action [resolution 3202 (S-VI)], adopted by the special session, provide us with a broad framework for concerted action to help rectify the inequities and injustices of the present economic system.

51. The world cannot continue to be apathetic or unresponsive to the basic problems of the developing countries which are facing inadequate food supplies, rapid population growth, unemployment, sharp price increases of capital goods badly needed for development, and technological backwardness.

52. As regards the food problem, the assessment of the world food situation clearly shows that, unless effective actions are taken quickly, the food crisis will soon assume catastrophic proportions particularly affecting the developing countries. The forthcoming World Food Conference, therefore, should, in our view, agree on an effective programme of action, comprising co-ordinated international efforts to secure the flow of food aid and provide for world food security and a long-term world food policy. Such a programme should lead to a fundamental remedy of recurrent world food scarcity, *inter alia*, by increasing food production in the developing countries.

53. Closely connected with the problem of food is the problem of rapid population growth in a great number of developing countries. The convening of the World Population Conference in Bucharest last August is testimony to the universal recognition that the population problems faced by many countries are problems of world-wide magnitude and concern which require concerted national and international actions to achieve their solutions.

54. The World Population Conference adopted a World Population Plan of Action¹ as a constituent part of overall economic and social development policies. This Plan of Action has underlined the fact that whatever population policy is pursued, rapid population growth in the years to come necessitates an acceleration of economic and social development through a more just utilization of resources, capital and technology, in the spirit of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

55. The efforts to expand and diversify markets for the commodities, semi-manufactured and manufactured products of the developing countries continue to be adversely affected by world-wide inflation and recurrent international monetary instability, at a time when there is urgent need for increased export earnings and enlarged employment opportunities. The multilateral trade negotiations which are designed to give a new impetus to ever greater liberalization of trade and the improvement of the international framework for the conduct of world trade have not even begun. The decline of official development assistance to developing countries has further affected efforts for the sustained economic and social development of these countries.

56. It is essential, therefore, that substantial progress also be made in these vital areas of trade and development assistance which are crucial to the

efforts to establish a new world economic order. In this context, in the interest of both the developed and developing countries, we earnestly hope that the developed countries could display the required political will by removing whatever reservations they may still have in order to enable the speedy implementation of the Declaration and the Programme of Action. Only in this way and by collective efforts on the part of both developed and developing countries can we move toward a more just, more prosperous and more secure world.

57. The draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which will be considered under agenda item 48² and which is still being negotiated at present, will certainly enhance the realization of the new economic order. It is to be hoped that these negotiations will be concluded successfully to enable the timely submission of the draft to this session of the General Assembly for consideration and adoption. The adoption of this Charter will, we believe, also facilitate the work of the proposed institutional machinery to deal with transnational corporations, whose role and activities exercise an increasingly important bearing on international relations.

58. The whole process of restructuring the present economic system will culminate in September 1975 in the seventh special session of the General Assembly, which will be devoted solely to development and international economic co-operation. All of us have a vital stake in the success of that session and all efforts should therefore be made to enable it to contribute fully to the establishment of the new international economic order.

59. The Indonesian delegation is also looking forward to the successful conclusion of the mid-term review of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], to be held in April 1975. The findings and conclusions of this review will be of particular importance to the smooth conduct of our deliberations in the forthcoming special session.

60. There should also be no doubt that this special session will take into account the results of the World Population Conference, the World Food Conference, the multilateral trade negotiations within the framework of GATT and the Second General Conference of UNIDO, all of which have an important bearing on the realization of the new international economic order.

61. The successful conclusion of the special session will undoubtedly have a positive effect on our efforts to reach agreement at the fourth session of UNCTAD on the new approaches now being initiated by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD in the important areas of commodities, financial and technical co-operation, economic co-operation among the developing countries and transfer of technology.

62. Within the current changing international situation it is worth while noting two developments which will determine in a significant way the stability and resilience of Indonesia in particular and the region of South-East Asia in general during the second half of this decade. I refer to Indonesia's second development plan and to the co-operation of the nations of South-East Asia within the framework of ASEAN.

63. Our second five-year development plan, which started in April 1974, is a continuation and acceleration of the development efforts made during the first five-year development plan. In the second plan, increased food production, the development of agro-allied industries and infrastructure remain the central points of our development strategy. Increased efforts will be made towards accelerating growth in the production of natural resources, including mineral products. The benefits to be derived from those sectors will, we believe, contribute significantly to an increase in domestic products and to the easing of foreign-exchange constraints on development, as well as to the creation of new employment opportunities. That, in turn, will induce a better distribution of wealth and income.

64. In attaining our national development objectives, natural resources will therefore be optimally exploited consistent with the preservation of environmental conditions and the protection of the interests of future generations. The involvement of the people in the development process and in social welfare development will also become focal points of our second development plan.

65. All those activities will need huge funds, far greater than before, in order to increase the momentum of development and to enable us to improve the standard of living of the people. It is the policy of the Indonesian Government, therefore, to direct all efforts to the maximum extent possible towards mobilizing its financial resources for development, including its domestic resources, and at the same time towards increasing export earnings.

66. The magnitude of Indonesia's development efforts is exemplified by the fact that Indonesia's *per capita* income still falls in the lowest income brackets on the international scale, due to the size of our population and its high growth rate. That fact has necessitated substantial food imports, which continue to exert a considerable drain on our foreign-exchange reserves. By way of illustration, despite steady increases in our food production, our annual imports of rice and fertilizers remain on the order of \$US 1,500 million. The recent favourable development in Indonesia's balance-of-payments position should therefore be viewed in the perspective of our huge import requirements to fulfil the basic necessities of the people and of our increased development activities, which far exceed Indonesia's present financial capabilities. Consequently, external development assistance will be required for a further period to complement our domestic financial resources.

67. For those reasons, the Government of Indonesia regretfully finds itself unable at this stage to contribute to the proposed Special Fund to be established under the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. That should not, however, be interpreted to mean that Indonesia does not want to participate in any effort to enhance development co-operation among the developing countries through the machinery of certain specific development funds. In that regard, I can mention Indonesia's active participation in the initiation of the Islamic Development Bank, which is to be established soon and to have as its

declared objective the mobilization of financial and other resources and the promotion of domestic savings and investment among its members.

68. In the same vein, we might also mention the recent decision of the secretaries-general of ASEAN to the effect that specific measures will be taken to alleviate the problems of raw-materials shortages among its members. In that particular case, Indonesia will make an effort to provide some form of aid to the other members of ASEAN within its limited capacity.

69. With regard to regional co-operation with ASEAN, that organization has now entered its second stage of operations. Whereas the first stage was devoted to consolidation, in the second stage ASEAN will have to move more rapidly towards actual realization of economic co-operation in various fields. Particular reference must also be made to co-operation in the industrial field, which will lead to concrete results in the form of setting up ASEAN industrial projects to provide the goods and services necessary to raise the people's standard of living and to improve economic viability.

70. Our summary review of some of the problems and challenges which the international community will have to face now and in the immediate future clearly shows how crucial a role the United Nations can and must play within the prevailing pattern of global interdependence.

71. In the light of the all-encompassing process of transition and change through which the world is going, and in the face of problems it is far beyond the scope and capacity of single nations to contend with, there seems to be dawning a new realization of the necessity to forge a fundamentally different kind of global co-operation and global co-ordination among the nations of the world. No international organization other than the United Nations possesses the inherent capacity, universality and credibility to assume the indispensable task of acting as the central instrument and principal catalyst in this common venture.

72. I cannot, therefore, but whole-heartedly endorse the plea of the Secretary-General, so eloquently summed up in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9601/Add.1], that the widest possible effort and political will on the part of all Member States should be mustered so as to enable the Organization effectively to meet the overwhelming challenges of our time and to be truly fashioned into a lifeline to a better human society in the future.

73. Mr. KIMURA (Japan):* Mr. President, on behalf of the Japanese delegation, I wish to extend my heartfelt congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. At the same time I wish to express my profound appreciation to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, the former President of the General Assembly. I wish to recall that Mr. Benites, with his broad perspective and objective judgement, superbly guided the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly, both

* Mr. Kimura spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

of which were confronted with a number of difficult problems.

74. On this occasion I should like to extend my sincere congratulations and a warm welcome to the delegations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on their admission to the United Nations at the current session.

75. Against the background of the steady consolidation of *détente* among the major Powers, the world is today searching for a new international order based on a just relationship among all States. However, it is also a sobering fact that the world of today is still confronted with the task of bringing about peaceful settlements of local disputes and tensions which have not yet been eradicated. At the same time the world is, on the one hand, exposed to the dangers of frequent nuclear testing and the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and, on the other, it is facing the grave challenge of finding a solution for diverse international economic and social problems which can well affect the whole of mankind. In the present situation of the world, which is confronted with problems of historic gravity affecting both peace and prosperity, it is my firm belief that the only course left for individual members of the international community is to work within the broad framework of international co-operation in seeking to achieve their own prosperity and peace rather than blindly seeking benefits solely for themselves.

76. The successive efforts the major Powers have made during the past few years to seek understanding and co-operation rather than confrontation have resulted in the promotion of dialogues even among States with different political and economic systems. Despite that trend, however, some parts of the world have witnessed the emergence of fresh tensions and disputes and have continued to suffer from instability.

77. With regard to the Korean peninsula, I believe that we should reaffirm the aspiration of the people of Korea to the peaceful reunification of their country, as manifested in the consensus reached in the General Assembly last year,³ and that we should continue, as in the past, to follow developments in the question of Korea, keeping in mind the fact that both the Republic of Korea and North Korea still entertain a common desire to bring about *détente* through their dialogue and increased contacts.

78. In Cambodia, to our deep regret, fighting still continues, and no breakthrough towards a peaceful settlement is yet in sight. I earnestly hope that the unfortunate state of affairs in Cambodia will be brought to an end at the earliest possible date through talks between the parties concerned. For this purpose, all the parties concerned should indeed devote serious efforts to achieving a peaceful settlement of the Cambodian problem, and the United Nations, for its part, should spare no effort to achieve this goal. In accordance with this belief, I consider it encouraging that the Secretary-General made the following statement regarding peace in Cambodia in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization: "I hope also that the time will come when the United Nations may be able to play a more active role . . ." [*ibid.*, p. 7].

79. With regard to Laos, the Government of Japan sincerely welcomed the establishment last April of a National Coalition Government for the reconciliation of the Laotian people, an event which may mark an important turning-point in the effort to establish a lasting peace in all of Indo-China.

80. In the Middle East, the trend towards peace has been gaining momentum since the fourth Middle East war, last October, and Japan, like other peace-loving countries of the world, entertains earnest hopes for the future progress of the Peace Conference in Geneva.

81. The problems which immediately confront the United Nations—the situation in Indo-China, the fourth Middle East war and the recent armed conflict in Cyprus—seem to indicate that *détente* among the major Powers does not necessarily lead to immediate reductions in local tensions. In this regard I wish to commend the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, which have played a significant role in the restoration and maintenance of peace, as well as in preventing the recurrence of fighting in the Middle East and Cyprus. However, in view of the magnitude of the hopes entertained regarding the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, the fact that all past operations were established on an *ad hoc* basis and that the United Nations had to improvise solutions to problems arising from their establishment and administration makes us apprehensive about whether the United Nations can take truly prompt and effective action in the event of similar emergencies in the future. Therefore I would express my sincere hope for the early establishment of guidelines for peace-keeping operations on the basis of lessons drawn from our past experiences. At the same time, I wish to assure the Assembly that the Government of Japan will continue, as in the past, to extend every possible assistance to peace-keeping operations.

82. Another area in which the United Nations is now expected to play an important role is in the solution of various problems with which the African countries are confronted, particularly in the attainment of self-determination and independence by the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the abolition of racial discrimination. I firmly believe that the early solution of these problems will contribute immensely to the promotion of world peace. Accordingly, the Government of Japan welcomes the decision by the new Government formed in Portugal last April to recognize in principle the right to independence of the Territories under Portuguese administration in Africa. I sincerely hope that it will not be long before these Non-Self-Governing Territories accede to independence by peaceful means and are admitted to the United Nations as peace-loving States. In the same spirit, I wish to extend my heartfelt congratulations to the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on its attainment of independence and to the provisional Government of Mozambique, established on 20 September, on its achievement of an important step towards full independence. At the same time, the Government of Japan wishes to reaffirm its unchanging and basic position in opposition to South Africa's policy of racial discrimination and to South

Africa's continued occupation of Namibia, as well as to the white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia. The Government of Japan will continue, as in the past, to observe strictly the relevant United Nations resolutions, including those requiring economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and will continue to provide the fullest possible co-operation with the peoples of Africa for the early achievement of their aspirations.

83. At this point I wish to invite the attention of the Assembly to the emergence of a situation which, as I said at the beginning of this statement, should be a source of serious concern for all countries, regardless of their size and geographical position, in view of the dangers it constitutes for the survival of all mankind.

84. The first of these dangers is that of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. On 18 May this year, after a lapse of 10 years, another State conducted a nuclear explosion for the first time. Meanwhile the nuclear-weapon States, for their part, conducted intensive nuclear tests, both in the atmosphere and under ground, within a short span of time, in defiance of the opposition of world opinion to these tests.

85. I cannot fail to express the grave concern of the Government of Japan over the possible consequences of the recent series of nuclear explosions which may well open the way to the further proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world. To block such a dangerous trend towards nuclear proliferation is today undoubtedly a matter of the utmost urgency, and the concerted efforts of the international community are urgently required for the achievement of this goal. This is assuredly the well-considered view of the Government of Japan, which is now making the necessary preparations for the ratification of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], in keeping with its fundamental policy of dedicating itself to the cause of peace and renouncing nuclear armaments. At the same time, I wish to state with renewed emphasis that, for the concerted efforts of the international community to become truly effective, it is indispensable that the nuclear-weapon States, which bear special responsibilities, make positive contributions in keeping with those responsibilities.

86. As has been pointed out repeatedly in the past, any effective and lasting measures for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons require the efforts of the nuclear-weapon States, in particular efforts to promote nuclear disarmament, starting with a comprehensive nuclear test ban, and also efforts to produce tangible results leading towards the realization of effective measures to strengthen the security of the non-nuclear-weapon States.

87. In the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, we fully recognize the need to promote international co-operation. To lessen the risk of further nuclear proliferation, however, we should not only strengthen the existing régime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons but also bring nuclear activities of States not parties to the Treaty under safeguards equal in stringency to those of the Treaty. Here again, one can hardly over-

emphasize the necessity for States which supply nuclear technology and materials, and above all the nuclear-weapon States—which are the principal suppliers—to maintain a cautious attitude and manifest a spirit of co-operation with the purposes of the Treaty.

88. In view of the special importance and great urgency of preventing nuclear proliferation in order to maintain peace and security in the world, it is our firm belief that the United Nations—the Security Council in particular—should seriously address itself to this question and should play a central role in dealing with this issue. In accordance with this conviction, I venture to propose that the Security Council be requested by the General Assembly to study possible measures which might be adopted by the United Nations for securing the more effective prevention of nuclear proliferation, taking fully into account the outcome of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to be held in Geneva next May.

89. I should like to observe, in connexion with my earlier reference to the special responsibilities incumbent upon the nuclear-weapon States, that the agreements reached between the United States and the Soviet Union early in July this year, and particularly the agreement pertaining to a partial underground nuclear test ban, do represent a valuable forward step towards the achievement of complete nuclear disarmament. However, I must state also that this agreement, although valuable, still falls far short of giving full satisfaction to the Government of Japan, and we hope that still further efforts will be made in this area by the States concerned.

90. It may be recalled that the Government of Japan submitted a draft convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons⁴ at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament this year. In the same spirit, my Government welcomes the agreement reached between the United States and the Soviet Union last July under which they are considering a joint initiative on this matter. It is my sincere hope that the agreement thus reached between those two countries will produce a breakthrough to facilitate the solution of this problem.

91. I should like now to turn to the second problem that is of concern to the world community in its aspirations to peace and prosperity. This is the problem of the present instability in the world economic and social situation, including the problem of natural resources. As our position was made clear at the sixth special session of the General Assembly regarding the resources problem itself [*2211th meeting*], I should like to deal particularly with the role the United Nations should, in our view, play in the attempt to solve such problems.

92. There exist innumerable problems in the various fields of the world economy, such as energy, natural resources, food, population, the sea and the sea-bed, and the environment, which vitally involve the very existence of mankind. Solutions should be sought for these problems with great urgency. I believe that most of them can be solved only through global, comprehensive and co-ordinated programmes

and, in this context, every country is looking increasingly to the role to be played by the United Nations, the most universal and comprehensive international organization.

93. We held the sixth special session of the General Assembly, on resources and development, last spring and the World Population Conference in Bucharest last August. In addition, the World Food Conference will take place in November. Those Conferences, together with the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was held to establish a new legal order for the sea, provide good examples of the roles now being played by the United Nations.

94. In order for the United Nations to respond effectively to these problems, it has become increasingly necessary to combine and co-ordinate all the efforts of the United Nations family and to make integrated plans for that co-ordination. However, because of the insufficient co-ordination among various United Nations bodies, the activities of the United Nations system as a whole show duplications. There is a tendency for the activities of the United Nations system in the economic and social fields to proliferate without limit, because of the lack of serious consideration in fixing priorities for projects and in setting up new funds and institutions. It is abundantly clear that the United Nations activities will not provide an active and efficient response to the requirements of the age if this situation remains unremedied.

95. Therefore, for the purpose of discharging effectively its responsibilities in the economic and social fields, in response to the expectations of every country in the world, the United Nations assuredly must strengthen its capacity for comprehensively planning and co-ordinating economic and social activities in the United Nations system, with a view to utilizing efficiently our limited financial and human resources and concentrating these resources upon the activities that are most needed.

96. It is, in my view, the Economic and Social Council that should be the central forum for such planning and co-ordination. I should like to propose that the Council, taking into account the achievements of the World Population Conference, and the results that we expect from the World Food Conference to be held in Rome, should study concrete ways to co-ordinate programmes carried out by bodies within the United Nations and outside, while at the same time formulating the vision of "The Earth in the Twenty-first Century" and "The Future of Mankind". I believe that, when such a study is made, the qualitative aspect, which takes into consideration the quality of life, should be fully considered, along with a quantitative approach to the problem of human existence, so that mankind, recognizing the interdependence of nations, can put into effect a rational distribution of the world's limited supply of food and other resources, permitting everyone to lead a life of dignity, worthy of human beings.

97. Although Japan is far from being rich in natural resources, it is endowed with high standards of education and technological proficiency. We intend, by utilizing this endowment, to provide fi-

nancial and technical co-operation for the development of the world economy. In pursuance of those efforts, and in response to the request made at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, my country is now providing the most seriously affected countries with assistance in the forms of commodity aid, debt relief, and aid on a grant basis, by adding at least \$100 million to the level of assistance achieved during the past year, with a view to contributing to alleviating the difficulties that confront those countries as a result of the energy crisis. I am glad to add that we are now considering additional contributions, if necessary. The contribution to which I referred is being provided in spite of the serious effects of the present energy crisis on the economy of my country. I should like to take this opportunity to express our strong expectation that all other potential donors will make similar efforts.

98. I believe it was made clear at the recent special session of the General Assembly that the traditional North-South concept, which has become accepted in the field of economic and social development, should be fundamentally reviewed. I say this because it is becoming obvious that the gap has widened between developing countries with natural resources and others with very limited such resources, and the necessity is being increasingly felt that all countries with the capability to assist, whether in the North or in the South, should strengthen their co-operation in helping to develop relatively less fortunate developing countries. This trend prompts a fundamental re-examination of the traditional concept of how aid should be given. In the provision of aid for development, it is essential to expand mutual co-operation from the viewpoint of equity and solidarity, avoiding the creation of a particular group of countries enjoying prosperity while other groups suffer from severe difficulties. In my view, therefore, those countries which are endowed with capital and technology, as well as those with natural resources, have a duty, as members of the international community, to co-operate in aiding the expansion and development of the world economy by utilizing their special assets. I firmly believe that the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, can acquire useful significance only by taking such an approach.

99. In view of the importance of all the subjects which I have mentioned, we cannot avoid confronting the problem of strengthening the United Nations. One of the problems we face is the fact that the United Nations is prevented from performing effectively and smoothly because of its accumulating budget deficit. I should like to take this opportunity to call once again on all Member States to take concrete action in order to find ways to solve this problem. Together with the strengthening of the financial basis of the Organization, it is also important to emphasize the reinforcement of the organizational framework of the United Nations. More than a quarter of a century has passed since the Charter was adopted, and there has been a great change in the international atmosphere in which the Organization finds itself. It would be desirable for us to face this change and prepare ourselves for future developments,

bearing in mind that the United Nations should not become incapable of adjustment or lack the flexibility that the times require because of the gap between what was expected in the Charter and the changed circumstances. We have repeatedly stated that there is no change, of course, in Japan's support for the basic ideals of the United Nations and the principles of the Charter. But in view of the altered circumstances, we note that the question of Charter review has again been placed on the agenda of this session [item 95]. I should like to emphasize that our intention is to see the United Nations evolve, in fact as well as in theory, into the sole, comprehensive and universal international organization for world peace and prosperity, as the world enters into a new era. We should like to ask the understanding and the support of all Member States for Japan's hopes for this great Organization.

100. In this statement, I have made two proposals on the basis of my firm belief that the role to be played by the United Nations will become more and more important in the world of today, since the goal of a truly stable global peace is still distant, in spite of the basic trend towards *détente*.

101. The first proposal is that the General Assembly recommend that the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, study measures for securing the effective prevention of nuclear proliferation on the basis of the outcome of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The second proposal is that the Economic and Social Council, as the organ for the overall co-ordination of the economic and social problems of the world, be asked to formulate its vision of the future of mankind. Admittedly, the implementation of these two proposals is fraught with enormous problems, and it cannot be completed within a short period of time. Because of the importance and scope of the proposals, however, I am convinced that they deserve serious consideration by the United Nations which is dedicated to the promotion of peace and justice in the international community.

102. Mr. GÜNES (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first I should like to extend my warmest congratulations to you upon your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Your long experience as Foreign Minister of your country, your outstanding personality, recognized by everyone who knows you, your dynamism and—indeed, there is no need to conceal it—your youth, combined as it is with knowledge and ability, all these things are a guarantee to us of your success in the arduous task which you have just assumed and will give a new impetus to our deliberations. It is also a particular pleasure for me to recall here that the Turkish and Algerian peoples cherish mutual feelings of fraternity and esteem which go back very far into history. We would also like to greet you as the representative of a country which has become one of the symbols of the awakening of the African continent. I would add that the excellent relations between Turkey and the group of countries you represent here only serve to add to our satisfaction.

103. I would also like to express my warm gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, Permanent Representative of Ecuador to the United Nations, who so diligently discharged his functions.

104. We would also like to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has spared no effort to maintain peace in such a turbulent period in international life.

105. We are also glad to join in welcoming the new Members of the Organization, the Republics of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. Each of these countries belongs to a great continent—namely, Asia, Africa and Latin America, respectively. We are convinced that the entry of these new Members into the United Nations constitutes a further step towards the realization of universality in the Organization.

106. The presence here of Guinea-Bissau, as it emerges from a remarkable struggle of independence, is, in our view, the manifestation of a new order, whereas that of Bangladesh is a sign of the peaceful conditions that now obtain on the Asian subcontinent owing to the agreement reached with Pakistan after a fratricidal confrontation. Grenada has joined our family as the result of a process which for some time now has enriched the United Nations every year with a new contribution from the Caribbean region.

107. We have learned with great distress of the catastrophe that occurred in Honduras, and that has caused countless loss of human life and considerable material damage. On behalf of my Government, I would like here to state that we fully share their feelings of sorrow and we have the greatest and deepest sympathy with the people of Honduras.

108. It is almost a custom in this Assembly at each session to undertake a general survey of developments that have occurred in the world political arena since the previous session. I have no intention of breaking with this custom, but I shall try to be as brief as I can in this area so that I can subsequently go into further detail on some subjects which, in our view, are of a rather more special character.

109. Nevertheless, I do feel it useful at the outset to say a few words to define the particular position of my country, in order better to highlight its foreign policy and its attitude towards the major international problems. Situated on the borders of both Asia and Europe, having more than half a century ago set the first example of a war of independence, enjoying cultural and historical relations with the countries of the Middle East, seeking to resolve our own problems within the framework of a democratic system, having been obliged, as a result of the circumstances of our time, to take its place within systems of collective defence, having no territorial claims, but requiring that this same attitude be adopted by others—Turkey is pursuing a foreign policy that is the result of all these factors. In the pursuit of this policy, outlined already by Atatürk on the basis of the fundamental rules of international law and confirmed once again when Turkey endorsed the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, our country has shown remarkable continuity and con-

stancy, even through periods of tremendous international upheaval.

110. Having made this point, I would like now to turn to some current international problems. The international scene today encourages us neither to excessive optimism nor to despairing pessimism. This is the reason why I will opt for realism, a realism full of hope, goodwill and benevolence, as is prompted and indeed required by the policy pursued by my country for half a century.

111. The most marked development of the last decade has been, in our view, the *détente* between East and West. Much has been said by previous speakers from this rostrum about the origins and development, the advantages and risks of *détente*. The ideas that have been put forward, while not identical, have at least been similar. That is why I shall confine myself to stressing a few points which seem to me essential.

112. First, there is no denying the fact that in the East, as in the West, there seems now to be a full understanding that no discord, no situation, no matter how disastrous, can possibly be more so than a general conflagration.

113. Secondly, *détente*, which constitutes a stage on the way to the establishment, between East and West and particularly in Europe, of a more stable order that will be more humanitarian and freer from anxiety about war, should not be considered as anything but a means, and not as an end in itself. Its final objective should be true peace based upon understanding and conciliation. *Détente* should be merely a stage on the way to this goal.

114. Thirdly, it should be pointed out that for the first time in contemporary history, if I am not mistaken, three international negotiations have taken place simultaneously to strengthen *détente* in its broadest sense. This, in my view, is an event worth stressing.

115. On the subject of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in which my country is playing a full part, we feel that this Conference constitutes an important stage in the process of *détente*, that it will contribute to the efforts of understanding and co-operation and that it will establish a climate of mutual security. On this occasion I would like to add that, in our view, European security cannot be considered in isolation from that of the Mediterranean and the surrounding countries.

116. With regard to the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe, in which Turkey is participating with a special status, my country, on the basis of the idea that security, like *détente*, is one and indivisible, was particularly in favour of the view that the measures to be taken with regard to forces and armaments in Central Europe should in no way compromise the security of other countries.

117. With regard to the negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms which are taking place in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet Union, we can say that they are only bilateral and commit only those two countries. The fact none the less remains that the scope of these negotiations is not just of interest to the future of those two countries

but is of concern also to the destiny of the entire international community. It is with this comment in mind and in this context that we view the new phase of these negotiations which have just begun a few days ago.

118. Disarmament is, without any doubt, one of the most important questions of the day. Turkey is convinced that it is one of the fundamental elements in the establishment of an equitable international peace and a system of common security. My country feels that, to ensure the establishment of this order, a disarmament programme can be applied only under effective international control, embracing both nuclear weapons and conventional weapons. Within this framework Turkey also gives a favourable welcome to the various collateral measures designed to hasten general and complete disarmament, and it is within this framework that we are studying and will continue to study favourably and attentively all proposals put forward or which may be put forward in this field by various countries.

119. A conference on a world scale recently took place on the law of the sea. As my country is a peninsula three quarters of which is surrounded by sea and has more than 7,000 kilometres of coastline, it was quite natural for Turkey to take an active part in the deliberations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held at Caracas throughout the past summer. Some progress was marked at that Conference, particularly with regard to the simplification and clarification of the most important problems before it.

120. In this area we should not lose sight of the fact that the geographical configuration of each part of the Earth is different from that of the others. Consequently, instead of tackling the problem from a uniform or, rather, abstract standpoint, it is indispensable to deal with this subject from a standpoint which, first, will take into account the needs of mankind and also will take full account of the special circumstances and the particular geographical, geological and other features of each region. Thus we sincerely hope that humanity will avoid repeating in the case of the seas and oceans the mistakes which were committed when attempts were being made to resolve the problems of the land.

121. The task awaiting the next meeting of the Conference is certainly a very difficult one, and it is to be hoped that the data submitted to it will be dealt with in such a way that new questions will not arise for certain regions as long as the old ones remain unresolved.

122. We have come a long way since the time when the man in the street, or even the man seated comfortably in his armchair, had no interest in what was happening at the other end of the world or even in a neighbouring country. Happily things are quite different today. High speeds and considerably increased networks and diversified means of telecommunication, with the expanded possibilities of the mass media, certainly have played a large part in this. But what have been even more important, surely, are the feelings of responsibility and international solidarity which have entrenched themselves more and more deeply within the hearts of the most ad-

vanced and the most prosperous nations. This, however, leads me to the rather bitter observation that in spite of this development, there are still millions of human beings living under foreign domination who cannot find enough to eat. This "foreign domination" is not just a political and juridical notion, because at times it also has economic connotations. In a word, colonialism and poverty continue to exist in this world which is technically so advanced and which does have a few sufficiently rich nations in it.

123. On the subject of colonialism, the attitude of my country could not be clearer: the Republic of Turkey, itself being born of a war of independence and having thus set so successfully the first example of an anti-imperialist war, has defended and will always continue to defend the cause of peoples fighting for their independence. That is why the Turkish Government so warmly welcomed the change of policy which has occurred in Portugal with regard to its "former Territories" in Africa. We would like to congratulate the Portuguese Government on its decision concerning the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and also the Lusaka Agreement, which opens the way to the total independence of Mozambique. We have every reason to hope that the same process will be swiftly applied to Angola.

124. However, there has been hardly any change in the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe and in Namibia. Turkey is one of the active members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and has been ever since its inception, and considers that the Council is surely going to become more effective as a result of the unanimous co-operation of the international community and the increase in the number of its members.

125. As for the minority régime still prevailing in Southern Rhodesia, its adoption of the choral movement of the Ninth Symphony by Beethoven, who was one of humanity's great geniuses, as the national anthem, shows that that country is still hoping to lull others to sleep with this music by taking it as a kind of cradle song which will send no one to sleep except itself and will succeed in concealing nothing from mankind.

126. My country continues to condemn *apartheid* in all its forms, and particularly its inhumane application in South Africa. I would like to add, Mr. President, that your presence in the presidential seat this year, a year when we have seen the last vestiges of colonialism crumble, is something which will surely add much weight and liveliness to debates on this question, since you belong to a country which has waged an exemplary struggle for independence.

127. On the subject of the so-called underdeveloped countries and the aid which should be given to them, I shall be more laconic. My colleagues pointed out to me a few days ago the following sentence in a daily paper known for its objectivity and seriousness: "One thousand billion French francs are spent each year on the arms race and 35 billion for public assistance to the underdeveloped countries".

128. Yes, a thousand billion for armaments and 35 billion for poor people. These two figures say

a great deal about what is being done without wisdom and about what could be done if people were a little wiser. In our view, no weapon is more dangerous than hunger and poverty, which threaten a large part of the peoples of the world; we feel that it is in this spirit that attention should be focused on a better utilization of resources.

129. Here I cannot but recall some words of the great founder of our Republic, Kemal Atatürk, who said a long time ago: "If we want a durable peace, we must take international steps to improve the situation of the masses. The prosperity of the whole of mankind must replace starvation and oppression."

130. International economic questions, however, still loom large, casting a shadow on the work of this session of the General Assembly in spite of the special session on the subject held last April.

131. Developments in the economic area in recent years have become so complex that the classic, conventional economy cannot find any solutions for them. The indecision which continues to prevail concerning monetary problems and the rapid expansion of accelerated inflation pose enormous difficulties for all developing countries, whose resources and economic possibilities are limited. Even countries which are relatively little affected by these developments, or those which do not yet seem to be feeling their effects, cannot escape the consequences of a general economic collapse.

132. The famine which has afflicted the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region and Ethiopia, and also the surrounding countries, as a result of the drought, is a serious warning that solutions to the problem of the general lack of food must be sought. In this context the shortage of chemical fertilizer and the price increases affecting production which have occurred this year show the need for a far-reaching solution. Consequently, we await with hope the results of the World Food Conference to be held in Rome next November. We also note with satisfaction the results of the World Population Conference, held in Bucharest last August, given the very close link between the question of food and that of population.

133. The present situation is no longer a problem affecting only certain countries. It is manifesting itself in a form which requires global solutions. The slowing down in the rate of development of industrialized countries signals a dangerous trend for the world economy. The reduction in the rate of rehabilitation of the developing countries can only render even more difficult the efforts aimed at eliminating hunger and poverty. The problem is to ensure a redistribution of wealth and resources.

134. It is necessary to increase the share of the developing countries—a group which includes Turkey—in world economic activity and to contribute towards the establishment of an economic order which would give the people of these countries the opportunity to live as they should. We therefore welcome and support the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, since it establishes the principles of a future economic order. In this spirit, we should also

like to welcome the positive developments which have occurred with regard to the draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. We also hope that the special session of the General Assembly to study the problems of development, envisaged for next year, will succeed in adopting concrete measures to establish this order.

135. The results of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, which met on the initiative of President Boumediène of Algeria, give us ground for hoping that under your aegis, Mr. President, the next special session will be successful.

136. I shall now turn to certain problems liable to have a much wider impact, indeed a global impact—problems which at first sight seem to be of direct interest to a small number of countries or to be regional in character but which, in fact, are still unresolved.

137. I should like to talk about the Middle East first. The conflict in the Middle East has long constituted one of the standing items on the agenda of the General Assembly. Turkey, a country of that region having abundant traditional, historic and spiritual ties with the nations of the area, has had a constantly growing interest in the development of this question. This conflict from time to time reaches culminating points which are liable to lead to a military confrontation between the great Powers and thus endanger world peace, as was the case with the 1973 October war.

138. At the present time we do feel relative satisfaction at the signing of the disengagement agreements on the two fronts. We should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the leaders of the countries directly involved on their wisdom and their spirit of conciliation. We should also like to congratulate the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, who by his tireless efforts has contributed to such a large extent to the conclusion of these agreements. We also wish to welcome the spirit of conciliation shown in this respect by the two great Powers.

139. Nevertheless, in spite of these military disengagement agreements, major problems remain to be solved. Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian territories are still under occupation. The Palestinian people, which has been suffering for a quarter of a century, still remains deprived of its legitimate rights and interests. My country has from the very beginning supported the Palestinian cause. We are gratified that this year the question is a special item of the agenda, and we have high hopes for the outcome of the debate to be held on this subject, and shall follow it with great attention.

140. The military disengagement agreements on the two fronts, which have resulted in the partial withdrawal of Israeli troops, in our view do not constitute anything but a first step towards the evacuation of the occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the legitimate rights and interests of the Palestinian people. Furthermore, with regard to Jerusalem I should like to reaffirm here that Turkey, whose policy has always been opposed to *faits accomplis*, can accept no *fait accompli* with regard to the status of that city.

141. On the subject of the Middle East, I have just stressed that the foreign policy of Turkey is based above all on pacifism and is against *faits accomplis*. I should like to add that by its very nature, the Turkish nation not only does not support oppression but indeed is always on the side of the oppressed, as we have so often demonstrated in this very Organization. That inevitably leads me to talk about the grave problem of Cyprus.

142. I shall explain briefly to the Assembly Turkey's attitude towards this question by summarizing what I have already had occasion to say in various places and at various times. Turkey has spared no effort to find a peaceful solution to this problem by negotiations, interrupted from time to time, between the two national communities. These negotiations have lasted for more than 10 years without leading to any concrete results, indeed, to any results at all. In the meantime, Turkey has constantly had to face *faits accomplis* of increasingly serious scope, particularly since 1963. The most recent and the most serious of these *faits accomplis* was, as we all know, that of 15 July last: a foreign Power undertook a *coup d'état* which it had long been fomenting and the purpose of which was to annex the island.

143. Now, Cyprus constitutes an essential element not only in the balance already established by the Treaty of Peace signed at Lausanne on 24 July 1923 by Turkey and Greece,⁵ but also, by the nature of its international status, of stability and peace in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Middle East region. Any action or intervention jeopardizing the independence and territorial integrity of the island consequently is inevitably a breach of this balance and a danger to peace in the region. We are surrounded in this area by friendly and fraternal countries, for whose security we are as attentive as for our own, and we certainly do not want to change the balance there—a balance which has been so difficult to preserve—because we do not want to do any damage to that security. That is why my country has always attached vital importance to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and international status of Cyprus. Respect for the international status of the island constitutes for us a fundamental element of our foreign policy and is an integral part of our own security. I therefore formally and solemnly deny all the lies that our detractors have spread in the corridors of diplomacy with regard to Turkish policy *vis-à-vis* the Cypriot State.

144. One of the principal guarantees—if not the only guarantee—of this status consists in the recognition of, and respect for, rights based upon the equality of the two national communities that constitute the State of Cyprus. Neither of those two national communities may impose its will on the internal structure of the State or claim to represent that State in international organizations.

145. If, following the *coup d'état* of 15 July last, Turkey, after having sought out all opportunities for contact and consultation and having exhausted all means of negotiation, undertook an operation on the island, it was precisely for the purpose of restoring order, putting an end to chaos and averting any intervention aimed at annexing the island. The operation undertaken by Turkey thus in no way

signifies—and I wish to stress this point—an occupation or annexation of a part of the island. It was not an occupation; quite the contrary, it was an operation designed to prevent an occupation.

146. I must emphasize once again that Turkey continues to believe, for its part, that the negotiations will be resumed within an appropriate framework, making it possible to achieve a speedy solution that will put an end to the sufferings of the two national communities in the island and relax the tensions that are hindering the maintenance of peace and security not only in the island but also in the entire area.

147. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute also to the countries that have contributed to the efforts of the United Nations on the island in the field for the maintenance of peace and security.

148. The problem of Cyprus is too serious to be turned into a subject of polemics for domestic purposes. That is the reason why I did not want to go back, in my statement, to the past, or to speak about the piecemeal extermination to which for more than 10 years the Turkish community has been subjected. I intend to continue in this course and I shall refrain from replying to my colleague, Mr. Mavros, in the tone that he used yesterday evening [2239th meeting]. But I should be remiss in my duty to seek a peaceful and friendly outcome to the crisis that now disturbs us, were I to fail to correct certain allegations or to bring out into the open the intentions that some seek to conceal from world public opinion.

149. My colleague, Mr. Mavros, said in his statement yesterday that the *coup d'état* of 15 July was not carried out against the Turkish-Cypriot community. Does he mean by this that the *coup d'état* was quite harmless and disturbed no one, and that therefore it should not have called for any reaction from anyone at all? I am merely making a note of that.

150. The *coup d'état* of 15 July was directed precisely against the Turkish community and was directly aimed at the annexation of the island to Greece. If Mr. Mavros wishes to see proof of this, I need only quote Archbishop Makarios. In an interview with the newspaper *Le Monde* on 18 September, he said, and I quote his exact words:

“General Ioannides has had a personal grudge against me ever since 1963-1964, at the time when he was a member of the Greek contingent in Cyprus. Through Mr. Nikos Sampson, he requested and obtained a secret meeting with me. At the Archbishop's residence where the conversation took place, he submitted to me a plan involving a general attack against the Turkish community of the island, an attack that would have made it possible to bring about *enosis*. I indignantly rejected his plan.”

That is what Mr. Makarios said.

151. My Greek colleague has not forgotten, surely, that his Government followed—and this was to a certain extent due to the events then taking place—the Government that was in the hands of Ioannides, and that this *coup d'état* in Greece brought ill-famed Sampson to power.

152. I am therefore still wondering how Makarios could have indignantly rejected that proposal. After all, it was very much in keeping with his profoundest desires. What is more, he has never made a secret of it. In fact, on 20 September 1964, Makarios stated, in the *Washington Post*: “For my part, I wish to be something more significant than the temporary President of Cyprus. My ambition is to have my name go down in history as that of the architect of *enosis*.”

153. More recently, in 1970, in interviews granted to Independent Television and the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Archbishop repeated: “If *enosis* cannot be achieved at the present time, its objective remains unchanged.”

154. And finally, last May the Archbishop reminded us, through the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, that: “If he had a free choice between independence and *enosis*, he would support *enosis*.”

155. Was it the independence of the island that Makarios claimed he was safeguarding? Was it the policy of non-alignment of the State of Cyprus? Mr. Mavros said a great deal at the previous meeting about that policy of non-alignment. I should have liked to be able to congratulate him for the respect he shows for the policy of a large number of countries in this Assembly. But I very much fear that this was not his intention. The non-aligned countries are too numerous in this august Assembly, and my colleague intends rather to beg their support as he poses as the standard-bearer of that policy, to conceal, for the time being, the policy of *enosis*.

156. The Republic of Cyprus as an independent State would long ago have disappeared if the resolute opposition of Turkey and the resistance of the Turkish community of the island had not prevented *enosis*, that is to say the annexation, pure and simple, of the island to Greece.

157. To safeguard the independence of the island and see that its policy is respected, there is only one thing to be done, and that is to condemn any attempt at *enosis* or at partition of the island—any attempt that has been made in the past and any attempt that may be made in the future. On behalf of the Turkish Government, I condemn any idea of partition, whether in the past or in the future, and I look for the same condemnation of the idea of *enosis* from the Greek Government. Without that, we shall never be so simple-minded as to believe what we are told here. And I shall continue to wait for the answer to my proposal from the Greek leaders.

158. I have not, however, finished correcting all the false allegations and baseless charges made by my colleague. I reserve the right to do so when we speak on this matter before the General Assembly. My Greek colleague's speech, unfortunately, shows the nature of the atmosphere in which the debate will take place on the future of the two communities, Turkish and Greek, in the island. It is not by letting ourselves be carried away by his style, or with any thought of outbidding each other in national or international public opinion that we shall succeed in finding a solution that is just, equitable and realistic or that we shall assist the two communities to live in peace and—why not say so?—in brotherhood,

side by side, in the same State, forgetting the painful past and looking only towards the future.

159. Before concluding, I should like once again to say that Turkey, situated as it is by geography at the cross-roads of civilizations and also of confrontations, is striving, for its part, to play its proper role in bringing peace among nations and groups of nations and happiness and well-being to mankind. It is a privilege and an honour to be able to reaffirm that in this Assembly, which is doing so much for the peace and prosperity of the world.

160. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I wish to begin by congratulating you most sincerely upon your election to the high office of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is particularly gratified by your election not only because you represent that dynamic country, Algeria, but also because of your own personal talents and skill which are attested to by your distinguished record both as a revolutionary and as one of Africa's longest serving Foreign Ministers.

161. My delegation has every confidence that under your guidance, the noble goals of freedom and justice, peace and progress, will be further advanced, for after all, these are the lofty objectives of Algeria's foreign policy, which, as in the case of my own country—Zambia—finds expression in the policy of non-alignment. In this connexion, I hardly need to refer to your country's role as current co-ordinator of the activities of the non-aligned countries. My delegation is confident that the group of non-aligned countries will, as in the past, make a positive contribution to the success of the work of this session of the General Assembly.

162. It is also my pleasant duty to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, for the efficient and judicious manner in which he guided the work of the twenty-eighth session and the historic sixth special session of the General Assembly.

163. On behalf of the party, Government and people of Zambia, I should like to reiterate the expression of our deep sense of sorrow at the tragic death of President Juan Perón of Argentina, whose contribution to the well-being of his people and to international peace and security will be long remembered by all, and in particular by the non-aligned countries.

164. May I also reiterate the profound shock and grief felt by the party, Government and people of Zambia at the tragic death of Prime Minister Norman Kirk of New Zealand. The new policy of the Labour Government of New Zealand in relation to the situation in southern Africa which was initiated under his leadership will continue to be regarded as a positive contribution to international peace and security.

165. I wish, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate and extend a warm welcome to the delegations of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau on the admission of those States to membership in the United Nations. Their admission is a further step towards the realization of the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations. My delegation is confident that these new Members will play their full part in the achievement of the objec-

tives of the United Nations in accordance with its Charter.

166. During the past year there have been a number of significant developments in various spheres of international relations. It is my delegation's wish to address itself to some of these developments.

167. In keeping with our well-known policy, Zambia continues to attach great importance to developments in the field of decolonization. In this connexion, my delegation welcomes developments in the Portuguese colonies. We should like to commend the liberation movements in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and the Cape Verde Islands, for the recent victories which have crowned their heroic liberation struggle for self-determination and independence. The overthrow of the Caetano régime on 25 April 1974, was a direct consequence of the dynamic struggle waged by the African nationalists. It heralded new and welcome prospects for peace and democracy in Portugal and self-determination and independence for the colonies.

168. We welcome the recognition by the new Portuguese Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent State. We equally welcome the agreement for the granting of independence to Mozambique recently signed by the Portuguese Government and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [*FRELIMO*]. In the light of the good faith which has so far been demonstrated by the Portuguese Government, we look forward to an early commencement of negotiations for the independence of Angola between that Government and the African nationalists. In this connexion, we are gratified to learn that the nationalist movements of Angola, namely the Movimento Popular de Libertação [*MPLA*] and the Frente Nacional para la Libertação de Angola [*FNLA*] have realized the need to unite in order not only to facilitate their negotiations with Portugal, but also to guarantee thereafter a peaceful, stable and prosperous Angola. As is well known, the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*], acting through a committee comprising my own country—Zambia—together with the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zaire, has spared no effort to assist the Angolan people in this respect.

169. We are aware of the manoeuvres made by certain reactionary forces—whatever their motives—calculated to undermine recent progressive changes tending towards the attainment of independence in Angola and Mozambique. We view with dismay, for example, the ill-fated attempts by a band of white reactionary settlers in Mozambique who resorted to disorder and violence in order to frustrate the popular course of events towards independence. However, we are at the same time confident that these shameful manoeuvres by a band of settler desperadoes will be completely quashed.

170. In this regard, we condemn the massing of troops by the racist and minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia along the border with Mozambique. This is a flagrant act of provocation and aggression against the territorial integrity of Mozambique. We equally condemn the malicious intention of mercenaries to perpetrate criminal acts against the people of the emerging State of Mozambique. We urge all countries, in particular South Africa

and the Western countries, to prevent the mobilization of their nationals for such deplorable acts.

171. As the people of Mozambique attain a new status of nationhood, they face real and acute problems in the economic and social fields, the effective solution of which necessitates urgent and generous assistance from the rest of the international community. To this end, Zambia, for its part, pledges the fullest assistance.

172. Zambia has had a long and beneficial association with the nationalist movements in southern Africa. We have profound admiration and respect for the leadership of these movements. Like us in Zambia, these movements are committed to the establishment of a non-racial society in their respective countries. They desire development, peace and security for all their people, regardless of race, colour, religion or ethnic grouping.

173. Notwithstanding the positive developments in African territories occupied by Portugal, the situation in the remaining territories under white racist régimes, in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, continues to deteriorate.

174. We are aware that the illegal régime in Salisbury has intensified its oppression of the majority African population in the face of even more numerous victories by nationalist movements and the growing political consciousness among the oppressed masses. In utter desperation, the rebel régime in Zimbabwe has intensified its oppression. There has been an intensification of such absurdities as collective fines, the closure of African schools and businesses, the creation of prohibited areas along the border with Mozambique, the forced removal of thousands of Africans into concentration camps, the introduction of passes for Africans in the north-eastern region and forced labour for Africans between the ages of 12 and 60 years. The panic-stricken régime has even resorted to widespread detention and torture of the Africans, including the destruction of their food crops.

175. The people of Zimbabwe will settle for nothing less than majority rule. That is the minimum guarantee for peace, security and stability in Zimbabwe. Continued intransigence by the illegal rebel régime would only cause untold loss of life and human suffering, and would only lead to a more resolute armed struggle by the liberation movements. That would be the inevitable consequence of the continued denial of a negotiated peace settlement. The liberation movements and other peace-loving forces have always preferred settlement by peaceful change, but that should not be mistaken for weakness. The liberation movements are not tired of war, and we are not tired of supporting the armed struggle, either.

176. We would therefore urge Ian Smith and his racist rebel clique to have the courage to talk to the authentic leaders of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. In that connexion, it is the inescapable duty of the United Kingdom Government to live up to its responsibilities in respect of its rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom should therefore create conditions propitious for the peaceful resolution of the Southern Rhodesian crisis on the basis of majority rule. My Government deplors

the continued detention of Messrs. Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole, leaders of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union [ZAPU] and the Zimbabwe African National Union [ZANU], respectively, who are the authentic representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. In that regard, we deeply regret the professed inability of the United Kingdom Government to secure their release. It is essential that the leaders of the authentic liberation movements be released from detention in order that they may participate in any negotiations, including the constitutional conference we have repeatedly urged the Government of the United Kingdom to convene.

177. Numerous decisions and resolutions have been adopted by the various bodies of the United Nations on the important question of Southern Rhodesia. One of the significant actions taken by the United Nations was the imposition of economic sanctions against the Smith régime by the Security Council [*resolution 253 (1968)*]. It is, however, disheartening to note that there are still many Members of the United Nations which do not carry out their obligations in that respect. It is even more disappointing to note that States violating those economic sanctions are the ones best able to implement them. In that connexion, as the Assembly is aware, Zambia continues to make tremendous economic and other sacrifices in the implementation of relevant resolutions in order to uphold the principles of justice, self-determination and independence.

178. We are gratified that there are, however, a number of States which uphold those principles in accordance with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. We should like to reiterate our firm conviction that an isolated Southern Rhodesia without external assistance would not have survived an effective and sustained implementation of the sanctions policy. We call upon those States which have continued to violate the United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia faithfully to live up to their obligations under the Charter.

179. As in Zimbabwe, the situation in Namibia continues to deteriorate. The racist and minority régime in South Africa persists in its illegal and repressive occupation of the international Territory of Namibia and thus remains a challenge to the will and authority of the United Nations. Over the past year the people of Namibia have seen an intensification of the reign of terror.

180. In pursuit of its policy of the Balkanization of Namibia, South Africa has resorted to the public flogging of men, women and children alike, arbitrary detention without charge or trial, and banishment. Clergymen and pressmen have been refused entry into the Bantustans in a desperate bid to conceal the extent of the bestiality of the South African régime. As an outward manifestation of the unbridled reign of terror, there has been a mass exodus of thousands of people who have had to flee as a consequence.

181. At this juncture, I should like to pay a tribute to the people of Namibia, who, under the gallant leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], continue to wage a determined armed struggle against the occupation of their country by the racist, Fascist and minority régime in Pre-

toria. My delegation wishes to reaffirm its conviction that their unrelenting struggle, coupled with the United Nations efforts to enforce its resolutions, will in no time culminate in South Africa's total withdrawal from that United Nations Territory. We hope that South Africa will take advantage of the present circumstances in southern Africa to announce a definite short-term time-table to terminate the illegal occupation of Namibia and allow the United Nations to hand over the administration of that international Territory to the people of Namibia.

182. My statement to this Assembly in regard to the situation in southern Africa would be incomplete if I did not refer to the repugnant policy of *apartheid* pursued by the Fascist, racist and minority régime in South Africa. It is a matter of indomitable disgust to us that, despite numerous condemnations by the United Nations and the international community as a whole, South Africa, apart from intensifying this policy internally, has even dared to export it to such countries as Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies in southern Africa.

183. South Africa has long been aware that its policy of *apartheid* is doomed to failure. Conscious of that fact, it has resorted to militarism, the creation of buffer States and acts of downright blackmail. The South African régime is collaborating with the illegal rebel régime in Southern Rhodesia and pouring troops into Namibia, and has conspired with subversive elements to reverse positive developments in the Portuguese colonies.

184. My delegation has noted that for the first time individuals other than whites have been included in the South African delegation to the General Assembly. Needless to say, those persons are victims of circumstance. They are puppets of the régime and their presence here is intended to hoodwink the United Nations and the international community into believing that South Africa is changing its policy of *apartheid*. My delegation condemns that bluff, for it indicates only that South Africa does not take seriously the demands of the international community to bring about genuine change in its policy.

185. My Government urges the South African régime to abandon forthwith its evil policy of *apartheid* in the interests of peace and security in southern Africa. South Africa should emulate the example set by Portugal and accept the inevitability of majority rule. That is the only way it can end its international isolation. That is the only way it can cease being treated as a truly international outcast.

186. The situation in Cyprus is a matter of grave concern to us in Zambia. It was with shock and indignation that we received the news of the overthrow of President Makarios by a group of Greek officers. We immediately condemned the *coup*, for not only was it carried out against the legitimate Government of Cyprus, it was also outrageously dangerous in every respect. Our fears that such a disruption of the hitherto delicate *status quo* would open a new chapter of misery for the people of Cyprus have indeed been vindicated by subsequent events in that country. Today, what is also at stake is the very sover-

eignty and territorial integrity and, indeed, the independence of Cyprus.

187. The crisis in Cyprus has therefore reached dangerous proportions. It glaringly calls for urgent international action to reverse the trend. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus must be preserved at all costs. In that connexion, it is imperative that both Greece and Turkey immediately withdraw their military forces from the island. The presence of the forces of both those countries, in our view, only further complicates the search for a just and lasting peace in Cyprus. Moreover, those forces constitute a danger to the lives of the people of Cyprus. Genuine constitutional order must be restored, and that should, naturally, include the return to Cyprus of the elected President of that country, Archbishop Makarios.

188. We followed with interest the ill-fated Geneva negotiations among Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, the three guarantors of the independence of Cyprus. Quite frankly, we were uncomfortable with the thought of that forum deciding on the destiny of the people of Cyprus without the full, direct and equal participation of the Government of that country. It is inadmissible, in our view, that even an attempt should be made to settle the problem of Cyprus behind the backs of its people.

189. We therefore wish to urge that the legitimate Government of Cyprus be invited as a full and active participant in any future negotiations concerning that country. In this connexion, we take note of the proposal of the Soviet Union for an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations⁶ in which Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, all the members of the Security Council and other countries, particularly the non-aligned countries, would participate. In the light of the failure of the Geneva negotiations, we feel that this proposal deserves serious consideration. We therefore support it in principle. We are nevertheless open-minded with regard to other initiatives or indeed improvements on the Soviet proposal.

190. There can be no doubt that the non-aligned countries have an important role to play in the search for a just solution to the crisis in Cyprus. The situation must not be allowed to degenerate into a hotbed of big-Power rivalries. In this regard, we are painfully aware of the sensitivity of the Eastern Mediterranean region.

191. In the Middle East, genuine peace and security are still but a dream. The last war served to change certain attitudes which had hitherto impeded the search for a just and lasting solution of the problem of the Middle East. A more serious and realistic approach on the part of the big Powers has now led to some progress in this direction. Much, however, remains to be done. We look forward to the forthcoming Middle East peace talks at Geneva with great interest. We remain convinced that only complete Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territory and the full restoration of the lawful rights of the Palestinian people can guarantee permanent peace in the Middle East. In this connexion, it is our view that the Palestinian people have a right, indeed a duty, to be represented at the Geneva talks.

192. Recent reports from South-East Asia are far from encouraging. Many innocent lives continue to be lost in Viet Nam in spite of the Paris peace Agreement, which is constantly being violated. The situation therefore remains dangerous. The international community can ill afford to divert its attention from Viet Nam. A genuine political settlement must be found.

193. With regard to Cambodia, we note that the puppet régime of Lon Nol is still desperately struggling to cling to power. Foreign interference in Cambodia is still rampant. The continuing war in that country has caused tremendous loss of life and destruction of property. We shall continue to support the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We shall also continue to support the efforts aimed at the restoration of the lawful rights of that Government in the United Nations.

194. We note with concern that no progress has been made in the dialogue between North and South Korea sanctioned by this Assembly at the 2181st meeting of its twenty-eighth session. The foreign forces stationed in South Korea have continued to interfere in the internal affairs of the Korean people. Sadly, these foreign forces are in South Korea under the United Nations flag. Their presence in South Korea is inimical to the interests and aspirations of the Korean people and to international peace and security. It is an impediment to all efforts aimed at the peaceful reunification of Korea. Those forces cannot but be an embarrassment to the United Nations, under whose flag they operate, as they act contrary to the wishes of the Korean people and seek to promote the interests of a foreign Power. The General Assembly therefore has a duty to decide that they should be immediately withdrawn from South Korea so that the dialogue we encouraged last year can go forward unimpeded. The United Nations must protect the interests of the Korean people and help to create an atmosphere conducive to the realization of their cherished goal of reunification.

195. My delegation also wishes to make it clear that we are strongly opposed to the preposterous suggestion, made in these halls last year, that North and South Korea be admitted into the United Nations as separate entities. We view this as a manoeuvre calculated to perpetuate the division of Korea. We therefore reject in advance any similar suggestions this year.

196. We in Zambia, along with other non-aligned countries, have always maintained that *détente* can become a permanent feature of international relations only if it does not remain limited in scope and if it does not ignore the legitimate interests of other countries. We have stressed the imperative and urgent need for solutions to all problems confronting mankind as a whole and for the establishment of an international order truly based on justice, security and progress for all.

197. Who can deny that the process of *détente* has in recent months been put to a severe test? Contrary to the expectations and hopes of the international community, hardly any progress has been made in strengthening *détente* and making it irreversible. Because of its limited character, it remains

as precarious today as it was yesterday. It is no exaggeration to say that this whole process has in fact suffered stagnation.

198. The last war in the Middle East brought the world close to the brink of a direct super-Power military confrontation. The crisis in Cyprus has more than demonstrated the vulnerability of small countries when the interests of more powerful countries and military blocs are involved.

199. For *détente* to be viable it must mean a new commitment to the principles of the United Nations. It should be recognized that genuine international peace and security cannot coexist with the concepts of spheres of influence and hegemony. It is such tendencies which provoke aggression, interference in internal affairs and acts of subversion against other countries. Consequently they are responsible for world crises. They therefore constitute the most serious threat to international peace and security.

200. The year 1974 has been a particularly bad one since the inception of *détente*. No progress has been made in limiting big-Power rivalries, whether in the arms race or in the pursuit of so-called strategic interests. The arms race continues with even greater ferocity. Nuclear weapon tests have continued to be conducted both in the atmosphere and underground. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have not yet yielded any positive results in the field of disarmament. Yet the proposal for a world disarmament conference remains but a dream.

201. It is the opinion of my Government that the recent nuclear weapon tests, both in the atmosphere and underground, have once again highlighted the urgent need for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. They are also a grim reminder that half-hearted and even discriminatory measures on disarmament, such as the partial test ban and non-proliferation Treaties, cannot work. What the international community needs is not making nuclear weapons the preserve of a few countries but rather the total elimination of such weapons.

202. That a world disarmament conference should be convened as soon as possible is, in our opinion, all the more imperative in the light of the lack of progress in the existing disarmament forums. Our position in this regard remains that the conference should allow for the participation of all States on an equal basis. We deem the participation of all nuclear States in the conference to be particularly essential. In this connexion, nuclear disarmament cannot but be our number one priority. In our opinion, the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has served a useful purpose. Guided by its report [A/9628], we hope that the General Assembly will make another positive move aimed at reconciling the differences among Member States concerning this proposal.

203. It has been three years since the General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. Yet hardly any progress has been made in the implementation of the provisions of that Declaration. There have been a number of disturbing reports about the intensification of big-Power rivalries in the Indian

Ocean. We are particularly concerned at the agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom to expand the United States military base at Diego García. We condemn this project and urge its immediate abandonment, for not only does it flagrantly disregard the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, but also it is likely to encourage even greater big-Power rivalries in the Indian Ocean.

204. In our view, there is absolutely no justification for the intensification of the big-Power rivalries in the Indian Ocean in this so-called era of *détente*. We believe that, instead of promoting such rivalries under the label of so-called containment of one another, the big Powers should exercise mutual restraint at a conference table. We would hope that the big Powers would respect the wishes of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean and cooperate fully with the efforts of the international community to preserve the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

205. The current session of the General Assembly is meeting in the aftermath of the historic sixth special session of the General Assembly, which was convened to consider exclusively and for the first time the vital subject relating to the problems of raw materials and development. The special session, as we are all aware, was a most significant event which culminated in the consensus adoption of two important documents, namely, the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

206. The special session served to highlight the fact that, since the sordid and sad chapter of slavery came to a close and foundations were laid for a community of free nations, economic relations among nations have undergone only a cosmetic change. Instead, there has been a remarkable change in the sharpening and sophistication of instruments of exploitation of the weak and poor nations by their more powerful and privileged counterparts. This has contributed in no small measure and, not unexpectedly, to the widening and deepening of the present gulf between the poor and the rich. This sad state of affairs has been aggravated by the recent deterioration of the world economic situation, and constitutes a threat to the security and survival of many economies.

207. Profound economic events over the past year have dramatically demonstrated the interdependence of the international community. One of the important results of the special session is the universal recognition of interdependence among nations and the interdependence of problems of trade, development, finance and the international monetary system.

208. Global inflation has continued unabated, particularly in the industrialized world, resulting in increased costs of essential capital goods, fertilizers, food and other manufactured products imported by developing countries. We are equally familiar with the emergence of scarcities, particularly the acute problems of food, which is the most basic commodity. In addition, although the recent increase in petroleum prices has served to emphasize the need for equitable and fair returns for the export products of the developing countries, it is also a fact that serious adverse consequences continue to be

experienced by the developing countries. A combination of these factors now poses the danger of imminent collapse and even disaster for a number of economies.

209. The current turbulent economic situation facing the international community presents unprecedented challenges and opportunities. All of us represented at this session know the exact limits of our capability to contribute to the necessary immediate and long-term measures to alleviate and forestall those problems which have befallen or might affect various countries, particularly those developing countries most adversely affected by the current world economic situation.

210. It is now, more than ever before, readily recognized that co-ordinated action, on the national and international level, is essential in order to resolve the closely interrelated problems confronting the international community. The series of important world conferences on such issues as population, food and industrial development, culminating in the special session on world development and international economic co-operation to be convened next year, clearly demonstrates the essential need for concrete action.

211. In this connexion, my delegation welcomed the timely adoption by the special session of the Special Programme to provide emergency relief and development assistance to those developing countries most seriously affected by the recent economic events [see resolution 3202 (S-VI), sect. X]. We are confident that all countries in a position to contribute will respond favourably in order to meet the target set for the United Nations emergency operation as a matter of urgency. Urgent and positive action is essential, on both a bilateral and a multi-lateral basis. It is encouraging that a number of countries have indicated their willingness to contribute to the Special Programme.

212. Although we recognize and appreciate the significance of emergency relief and assistance, it is the view of my delegation that our preoccupation with emergency relief should not detract from the urgent solution of basic long-term commodity and payments problems as called for in the Programme of Action adopted by the special session. Indeed, we hope that the solemn concern in the emergency field will create conditions conducive to the solution of basic problems, which would in the long run serve to lessen the need for emergency debt and similar relief.

213. There is already evidence of a downward trend in prices of those products that have gained in recent commodity increases. Urgent international action is therefore necessary to arrest any further decline in the price levels of those products, and to institute, as well as to encourage, appropriate programmes, where necessary, designed to achieve and maintain just, stable and remunerative prices for the exports of developing countries. To this end my delegation looks forward to the possible uses of indexation, currently under study, as a means of dealing with the terms of trade situation of developing primary exporting countries.

214. My delegation believes that from the recent economic events there should have resulted a greater understanding of the mutual needs and interests of producers and consumers, both countries and companies. The time is now ripe for a dispassionate appreciation of the legitimate needs of consumers for assured supplies at reasonable prices, and of producers for greater real earnings, increased exports, stable markets and favourable terms of trade, particularly for the developing countries. It is also in the interests of both consumers and producers to ensure the rational exploitation and utilization of resources. We consider these to be the most important motives behind the formation of such producer associations as the Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries, of which Zambia is a member together with Zaire, Peru and Chile.

215. In the vital area of commodities, every possible encouragement should be given to the promotion and strengthening of economic co-operation among developing countries. The need for such closer co-operation, especially among developing producers, acquires an important dimension in the light of the recent invaluable work by the Group of Eminent Persons appointed by the Secretary-General in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1721 (LIII) to study the impact of transnational corporations on the development process and on international relations.

216. It is Zambia's earnest hope that the successful implementation of the acceptable recommendations of the Group of Eminent Persons will result in the maintenance and strengthening of co-operation between the host countries and their respective transnationals, with due regard for the exercise by the host countries of effective control in the management and operation of the various branches of their economies. In this connexion, we look forward to the work of the Special Intersessional Committee on transnational corporations to be convened shortly.

217. In the field of commercial policy, justice could only be achieved by the implementation of the cardinal principles of non-reciprocity and preferential treatment in favour of developing countries.

218. The operation of the generalized system of preferences for approximately three years now has been of some benefit to developing countries. However, we are familiar with the limited character of the benefits that have so far accrued from the system and its need of improvements. Zambia also welcomed the Tokyo Declaration adopted last September, and it is my delegation's cherished hope that the multilateral trade negotiations within the framework of GATT will soon get under way.

219. Concerning the international monetary system it is disheartening to observe the limited progress, if any, towards its reform. The hopes that were generated at last year's Ministerial Meeting of the Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues, of IMF, held in Nairobi, Kenya, have not yet been fulfilled.

220. Other issues facing the international community relate to the recycling of surplus funds of the oil-exporting countries accruing from their recent increases in petroleum prices. These are, undoubt-

edly, issues with important ramifications in the trade, financial, investment and other fields. My delegation would like to express the hope—and there are already grounds for expressing confidence—that oil-exporting Member States will genuinely play their part in the measures necessary for both the current and long-term situation.

221. The international community is now familiar with and agreed on the key problems confronting man and his environment. We have before us, for example, such important initiatives as the International Development Strategy for the United Nations Second Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], the draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, still under discussion, the concept of collective economic security also under consideration and, most recently, the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. In all these complementary initiatives the vital elements of equality and equity in international relations are at the centre.

222. We therefore have before us instruments designed to achieve an equal and equitable partnership among all nations, rich and poor, big and small. For us to achieve a lasting and honourable partnership, we must fully recognize the pivotal role of justice and fair play in our relations. And, in the final analysis, the attainment of equality and equity in international relations is contingent upon the deliberate exercise of political will in degrees commensurate with the present requirements and future priorities.

223. The fact that the United Nations has convened three conferences on the law of the sea within a relatively short space of time demonstrates without question the importance that humanity attaches to an equitable solution to the problems that States experience in relation to the sea, the sea-bed and the subsoil thereof, and the resources of the area. The task before the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is a momentous one. There are many issues before it. Most of those issues reflect possible conflicts between the national interests of different States. Yet in all these, the Conference must surely strive to arrive at just solutions and to do so speedily.

224. The position of my delegation has clearly been stated on various occasions before, that is, at sessions of the now dissolved Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, at the first substantive session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and at previous sessions of this General Assembly. Apart from the subject of the right of access to and from the sea of land-locked States and that of adverse effects of sea-bed mining on the economies of developing States-producers of similar minerals, my delegation attaches great importance to the need for a satisfactory solution to the problems of limits of national jurisdiction.

225. That being the central issue for the Conference, it does not only merit very careful consideration, but also needs to be examined with particular attention to the principle of the common heritage of mankind. Lack of suitable solutions to the fore-

seeable problems may lead, in the future, to boundary disputes such as the international community has through the years experienced with respect to land-locked countries. By convening the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the United Nations has provided an opportunity for exercising foresight and for finding lasting solutions.

226. My delegation is of the view that the recognition of the common heritage of mankind as defined in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV) goes a long way towards reducing the likelihood of such disputes. Consequently, it is regretted that the Conference is still being asked by some States to recognize national claims of extraterritorial coastal jurisdiction which, if adopted, would significantly undermine the common heritage of mankind. Besides, the common heritage exists for the benefit of all States, whether they be land-locked or coastal.

227. It is the opinion of my delegation that it is necessary for the Conference to take fully into account the study of the Secretary-General on the economic significance, in terms of sea-bed mineral resources, of the various limits proposed for national jurisdiction⁷ and contained in the records of the now dissolved Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction.

228. In order to arrive at a just and equitable solution to the problems raised by the question of extraterritorial jurisdiction in the adjacent sea-bed, ocean floor and subsoil thereof, the Conference might very well consider the possibility of establishing rights to resources of the area for all States belonging to a region or a subregion jointly. In our view, this would be one of the best ways of ensuring that all States, whether land-locked or coastal, derive benefits from ocean space resources which are rightly the common heritage of mankind.

229. It is generally gratifying to note that the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea has proceeded with dispatch to respond to its global responsibilities. It is noted, for instance, that it has invited representatives of liberation movements to participate as observers and has agreed to reach its decisions on matters of substance by way of consensus.

230. Finally, and not least, my delegation would like to express our profound gratitude to the Government and people of Venezuela for their overwhelming hospitality and satisfactory facilities offered to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea during its second session held in their beautiful capital, Caracas, for 10 weeks during the months of June, July and August this year.

231. In this address my delegation has referred to a few of the many and complex issues facing the international community and of which the current session is seized, and to which it will no doubt pay the fullest attention. We are mindful of the fact that, under the auspices of the United Nations, Member States have individually and collectively achieved some, albeit limited, progress in finding solutions to a number of contemporary problems. This limited progress must be maintained and consolidated. The momentum generated by the process of nego-

tiation, as, for example, in various world conferences intended to promote a peaceful, just and equitable settlement of international issues, should be maintained.

232. A great deal, however, remains to be done. In view of the universal recognition of the interdependence of States, we should utilize the numerous opportunities available to face outstanding global challenges to international peace and security, and to the economic and social advancement of all peoples. In this and other areas, it has become obvious that the responsibilities devolving on the United Nations and its membership have acquired unprecedented dimensions.

233. It goes without saying that the quest for peace in international relations has acquired a broad appeal for a world whose history has been replete with violence, poverty and insecurity of increasing scope and magnitude. We have consistently advocated the restructuring of the United Nations system to allow it to cope better with the rapidly changing circumstances. In this regard, we have repeatedly pointed to the imperative need for, *inter alia*, the revision of the Charter of the United Nations, with particular regard to the democratization of the Security Council.

234. Despite its shortcomings, we would like to reaffirm our confidence in the United Nations and to express our earnest hope that the Organization will soon undertake appropriate changes in both its structure and orientation in order to enhance its ability to carry out its responsibilities with unprecedented vigour and determination. Zambia, for its part, will continue to render its modest but positive contribution to the Organization, in the fulfilment of the purposes and the principles enshrined in the Charter.

235. I believe that all of us assembled here have the opportunity of a lifetime to change the face of the world for the better, given the political will to do so. Let us, therefore, recognize the imperative need to abandon old myths in the face of new realities. Let us not seek to adapt the solutions of yesterday to the problems of today. Let us not live in the past. Let us live in the present and look forward to a bright future for all with confidence and determination.

236. Mr. FRYDENLUND (Norway): Mr. President, on behalf of the Norwegian delegation, I have the great honour to congratulate you on your election as President of this Assembly. I can assure you of the full co-operation of my delegation in your important task.

237. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General raises the following question: how is the United Nations responding to the formidable challenges that face the nations of the world, and in what ways can its performance and capacity be improved? I would like to take up this issue from the viewpoint of a small country which considered its membership in the United Nations a corner-stone of its foreign policy.

238. When we consider the tasks and challenges confronting the world community today, there are two basic considerations that stand out: the one

is the gravity and the magnitude of the tasks ahead; the second is the urgency involved.

239. Such fundamental problems as the arms race, the population explosion, the gap between the rich and the poor, the scarcity of resources, global inflation, pollution, food crises and so on, indicate the magnitude and scope of the tasks facing the world today. These problems are of concern to all nations because they concern mankind's possibility for survival.

240. The second main consideration is the time factor. Time is not on our side, and the question is whether or not we have sufficient time to cope with all these problems before they become truly unmanageable. What we need is a new sense of urgency and new approaches for common solutions of the many new tasks. What we need is international action and international management of mankind's common problems and tasks.

241. In this connexion, I would like to stress the importance of the international conferences that have taken place or are to be held this year under the auspices of the United Nations. Last spring the sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and development, was held. The World Population Conference has just been concluded. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea had its first session in Caracas this summer and will resume next year. The World Food Conference is about to be opened.

242. Those and other international conferences are important milestones in the work of the United Nations. Decisions have been taken. Declarations of principle and programmes of action have been adopted. But more important still is the follow-up of these decisions, and, unfortunately, the conclusion must be drawn that so far the follow-up of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, as well as of the decisions taken at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, has not been marked by any strong sense of urgency. The efficient implementation of these decisions will require sacrifices from big and small States alike, and not least from those countries whose economy has recently been strengthened considerably as a result of improved terms of trade.

243. For its part, Norway is committed to participate to the best of its ability in the efforts to promote increased global economic and social solidarity. We attach special importance to the Special Programme in favour of the most severely affected countries, and we would earnestly hope that this Programme will gain wider support and be fully implemented as soon as possible.

244. The United Nations will have to play a central role in the implementation of declarations and programmes of action already adopted at these various conferences. But here again we are faced with the question raised by the Secretary-General, how can the United Nations discharge its responsibilities? That question will undoubtedly be an important item on the agenda for the special session of the General Assembly to be held in 1975. There is, however, one aspect of this issue that I would like to

comment upon today, and that is: how can the idea of collective economic security and solidarity best be realized within our present institutional framework? How can we best co-ordinate and direct the wide range of ongoing activities in the economic and social fields? This poses the question of the future role of the Economic and Social Council.

245. In the Charter a unique role in the promotion of economic and social progress and development has been entrusted to the Economic and Social Council. The question is, however, whether the Council's working methods today are fully adequate to deal effectively with the many important tasks attributed to it. Subsequent to the recent enlargement of its membership, the Council is more representative of the world community than before. However, we ought to consider how we can make the Council more efficient and increase its importance in order that the United Nations would be better equipped to deal with economic and social problems. Here I have in mind not only the long-term development problems but also acute economic crises, as well as emergency relief operations.

246. More frequent participation of cabinet ministers in the sessions of the Council is one possibility. An alternative—and one more in line with my thinking—is to transform the Council into a body in permanent session, that is, some kind of security council for economic and social affairs. For Norway, which hopes to become a member of the Economic and Social Council again as of next year, the question of how to strengthen the Council will be a central issue in the months ahead.

247. Also in the field of international disaster relief and longer term relief assistance, there is an urgent need for increased efforts with a view to improving efficiency and co-ordination. Much remains to be done, and the measures taken so far have not always yielded the expected results. The world community must give increased priority to disaster relief.

248. As a State Member of the United Nations, Norway has considered it an important task for the Organization to develop a more suitable system and machinery for dealing with violations of fundamental human rights. We have repeatedly had the experience that Member States invoke the principle of non-interference in matters within their domestic jurisdiction when attention is drawn to violations of human rights. However, such violations concern the world community as a whole and have a negative influence not only on relations between individual nations but also on the international climate in general. That is the reason why we have worked for the creation within the United Nations system of a post of High Commissioner for Human Rights.

249. We have recently received an increasing number of reports of torture and brutal treatment of prisoners in various parts of the world. The United Nations must now give increased priority to this question. By creating an alert world public opinion and by working systematically within the structure of the United Nations, we must seek to ensure that the individuals are effectively protected against torture and other gross violations of human rights. In this connexion, I would like to pay a tribute to the work carried out by Amnesty International and

the campaign against torture which that organization has launched.

250. At a time when the world is confronted with very serious economic and political problems and when the need for global and regional co-operation is greater than ever before, we experience in all our countries and in all parts of the world a trend back to bilateralism and increased nationalism in international politics. This is not in the interest of any country. It is, however, first and foremost, the small countries which will suffer from such a development. This trend towards bilateralism is perhaps even more pronounced in matters of peace and security. Here, however, the situation is fundamentally different.

251. Under the pressure of the modern weapons of mass destruction, a *rapprochement* has developed between the great Powers, as well as a common effort to co-operate in order to limit the arms race and prevent local conflicts from developing into a direct confrontation between themselves. It should, of course, be in the interest of all countries to support this development. Whether we like it or not, the question of peace and war will to a large extent remain the responsibility of the super-Powers.

252. Nevertheless, this development confronts us, the smaller countries, with a dilemma. On the one hand, we are vitally interested in and dependent upon the continued *détente* and co-operation between the big Powers. On the other hand, we are not interested in this co-operation taking forms that could undermine the international system of co-operation or hamper the efforts to build a world community based on the United Nations.

253. We, the smaller countries, cannot escape this dilemma, either by automatically accepting everything the great Powers have agreed upon or by *a priori* condemning this co-operation or this agreement simply because we have not been consulted. What the great Powers are doing is developing a common conception between themselves of how peace can best be secured. This is necessary; but the smaller countries must also develop their conception of how the world community should be organized, and this should not be in opposition to the great Powers and their co-operation but should form a necessary supplement and act as a necessary corrective to the co-operation between the great Powers.

254. This conception, or the task of the smaller countries, must therefore lie in working for a strengthening of international co-operation through the United Nations which will secure international peace and at the same time make it possible to achieve the necessary peaceful changes in the political, economic and social structure of the world. And in working for this, we the smaller countries have a common interest, regardless of our geographical location, whether we are rich or poor and irrespective of political or ideological differences. Part of this small-Power conception must also be to tie the great Powers as strongly as possible to the United Nations and encourage them to make full use of the Organization. It is only through constructive interaction between the small and the large countries, and through the use of the United Nations machinery, that the

potential of the Organization to meet the challenges of our time can be developed.

255. The current session of the General Assembly has on its agenda a number of important political questions of current interest, such as those of Cyprus, the Middle East, disarmament and the situation in southern Africa. The Norwegian delegation will come back to some of these questions during the consideration of the respective items on the agenda. I shall therefore limit myself here to some brief remarks on these subjects.

256. The situation in Cyprus continues to be a source of concern and anxiety. However, we can now discern certain trends in the negotiations between the leaders of the two communities on the island which give reason for some optimism. We hope that in the longer perspective these may lead to real negotiations with a view to achieving a just and lasting solution based on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Such a solution can be obtained only by peaceful means and not by military force.

257. As I already mentioned, the Norwegian delegation will in a later statement discuss disarmament problems on a broader basis. However, today I shall stress the importance which my Government attaches to the earliest possible cessation of all nuclear tests and to the need for the problems of nuclear proliferation in connexion with tests for peaceful purposes to be considered seriously now in the United Nations or in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. I would also underline the importance of the continuing efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union to reach agreement on further limitations in the field of strategic weapons systems.

258. This year we welcome Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau as new Members of the Organization. This brings the United Nations even closer to fulfilling the principle of universality, a principle which Norway considers to be of the utmost importance.

259. The admission of Guinea-Bissau is also a manifestation of the encouraging developments with regard to the abolition of Portugal's colonial rule in southern Africa. I should like to express the deepest appreciation of my Government for the important decision taken by the Portuguese Government to prepare, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, for the rapid and peaceful achievement of self-determination and independence by the peoples in the colonies.

260. In South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia, the white minority régimes continue to suppress the African populations and to violate fundamental human rights. As far as Norway is concerned, we shall fully apply the sanctions which have been decided upon by the Security Council against Rhodesia. We shall also continue strictly to observe the arms embargo against South Africa and to work for intensified international pressure against oppression and racial discrimination in these areas.

261. It is only natural that the international energy situation and its financial and economic implications will be a main theme in the debate during this session of the General Assembly. Several speakers

have already stressed the gravity of the situation. It goes without saying that the Norwegian Government is also most concerned about these problems, and that has relevance to the dual position in which Norway finds itself.

262. On the one hand, Norway, as part of the industrialized world is greatly dependent upon stable supplies of energy being ensured to other industrialized countries at manageable prices. On the other hand, Norway, as an emerging net exporter of gas and oil, is preoccupied with the same problems, such as the pace of exploitation and national control over natural resources, as the other producer nations.

263. In view of this dual position, my country has an obvious national interest in avoiding confrontations and crises between producers and consumers, and we shall to the best of our ability contribute to solutions that can ensure a sound international economy and take due account of all legitimate interests, in particular the needs of those developing countries dependent upon imports of oil.

264. Finally, I should like to stress how important it is for the further development of the world community that we arrive at a comprehensive solution of the many outstanding questions related to the law of the sea. As a major shipping nation, as a producer of oil and gas from the continental shelf and, first and foremost, as a nation whose coastal population is overwhelmingly dependent upon the resources of the sea, it goes without saying that my country attaches great importance to the need for reaching international solutions to these problems as soon as possible.

265. The Norwegian Government had hoped that it would have been possible during the first session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to reach agreement on certain basic principles for a package solution. Well, the Conference did not succeed in this. Nevertheless, we noted with satisfaction that the first session of the Conference succeeded in creating a good basis for further negotiations next year, which we hope will succeed in achieving a comprehensive convention relating to the law of the sea.

266. Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to join my colleagues who have extended to you their warm congratulations on the occasion of your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your qualities of statesmanship will actively contribute to the success of the tasks of the session and the achievement of additional important goals. These same qualities were those of your predecessor and have earned him our deep appreciation and gratitude.

267. I also take pleasure in acknowledging the sincere and continuous efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the course of fulfilling his duties and responsibilities and with the aim of consolidating the Organization.

268. The wide range of items on the agenda of this session represents to us, a people of the third world, a good step in the right direction as well as a very important stage in the strengthening of the ability

of the United Nations to discharge its basic responsibilities.

269. I note with optimism and appreciation the special attention that is being paid to industrial and agricultural development, particularly the efforts aiming at the establishment of funds for development, population settlement, health, child-care and nutrition. I also note the role of the specialized agencies in offering expert assistance to the developing countries. The deplorable situation of millions of persons who suffer from poverty, disease and ignorance at a time of great scientific achievements by mankind not only is a cause for sorrow and shame but in itself constitutes a cause for doubting the morality of our civilization and the truth of its human values. We are therefore called upon to treat the inhuman situation of these millions by eradicating its root-causes. This can be done through the establishment of a new world order of economic development that will provide to every developing country the kind of financial and technological assistance it needs. To this end we should work towards the creation of a favourable international climate devoid of tension; towards arresting the tidal wave of armament acquisition which has spread to small countries; towards confronting all forms of aggression with courage and determination; and towards rechannelling the huge sums of money that the powerful countries are expending on destructive weapons, in order to meet the needs of construction and development in those countries that lag behind as a result of subjugation by imperialistic and exploiting Powers.

270. The State of Qatar, firm in its belief that international co-operation constitutes the sound basis for all human progress is, in addition to its interest in building up its own strength, doing its utmost to contribute, in co-operation with its sister Arab nations, to the realization of a comprehensive regional and Arab development plan. It is, further, anxious to participate in a number of development activities in Africa and Asia and in the world at large. I shall refrain from giving the details of these efforts, but I earnestly believe that they are in the direction that we all seek and support.

271. My country, always welcoming every step towards international understanding, hopes that this understanding will spread to encompass the entire world community. We further believe that the achievement of the goal of international understanding and amity is contingent upon the peaceful and just solution of international problems within the framework of the Charter and the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations. It seems natural, while talking of just solutions, to refer to the resolutions and recommendations of the Organization aimed at halting the chronic state of war that has existed for over a quarter of a century and that is commonly known as the Middle East crisis, I especially note the earnest efforts that are being made at present with the aim of implementing Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 339 (1973). These efforts have kindled great hopes of arriving at a just and honourable settlement of the crisis.

272. In this context it is important for me to reaffirm a basic fact that faces all efforts made previously

and being made at present to resolve the Middle East crisis. That fact is that the cause of the people and the land of Palestine lies at the root of the crisis; it is its origin as well as a continuous source of its exacerbation. Ignoring this fact has consistently led to the failure of international arrangements for the resolution of the crisis ever since the question of Palestine was first put before the General Assembly in 1947. Persistence in ignoring this fact will, quite naturally, not lead to new results. If the problem of the Palestinian people is still viewed as one of relief, employment and assimilation; if the land of the Palestinians is still viewed as an area of human agglomeration, with no borders and no existing structure; or if it is regarded as nothing more than a secure Israeli boundary liable to alteration and modification, then one must conclude that such an attitude is in conflict with the Charter of the United Nations and with its noble aims and purposes.

273. To disregard the natural desire of the Palestinian people for freedom and self-determination in its own land, and to ignore its legitimate aspiration to the establishment of a national entity where it could bind up its wounds and cast off the burden of destitution that has weighed on its shoulders and its conscience for many years, would constitute open encouragement to the Israeli spirit of aggression. That spirit of aggression has attempted and continues to attempt to procure all of Palestine—a Palestine without Palestinians—and to thwart the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain its rights. The Israeli aggression has not contented itself with the collective and individual terrorism that it has practised since its presence in the occupied land. It has indeed gone beyond that to haunt and pursue the Palestinian refugees everywhere. The daily strafing and bombardment of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon is well known. I believe that the report of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [A/9613 and Corr.1] includes details on the total destruction of the Nabatya camp in southern Lebanon as a result of an air-raid.

274. The auspicious war of October-Ramadan has left a deep imprint in so far as it served to acquaint the world with the realities of the Middle East crisis and to provide certain facts about the strength, condition and intentions of the parties concerned. In the light of these facts and for the purpose of averting a new and very powerful military conflict, it has become the duty of all, inside the Organization or outside it, to work actively and in a positive manner to ensure the implementation of the conditions of a just peace in the area. Such a just peace can be attained by implementing the Security Council resolutions and the recommendations of the General Assembly through ensuring the withdrawal of Israel from lands occupied in 1967 and through the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. This ought to be accomplished without any repetition of the bloody spectacle of the Syrian city of Quneitra. The blowing-up by Israel of every house, mosque and church before its withdrawal from that city is a clear indication that the Israeli spirit of aggression views all international peace-making efforts as undesirable pressure.

275. I note with regret that a State Member of the United Nations has ignored the Special Committee formed by the Organization for the purpose of investigating Israeli practices in violation of human rights in the occupied territories. That Member State, further, has prevented the Special Committee from performing its role, thus acting in flagrant disdain of the resolutions of this Assembly. Everyone here knows that the abject violation of human rights in the occupied territories, in total disregard of elementary human, religious and moral principles, is the real reason why the Special Committee was prevented from carrying out its assigned tasks. If this indeed is the reason behind the Israeli position, scornful as it is of the United Nations, does it stand to reason that we should allow it to pass without curbing or punishing it?

276. The recent bloody and regrettable events in Cyprus have led to an increase in tension in the region of the Middle East and have added a huge and new international problem to those of the international community in general and those of the Mediterranean region in particular. It is our great hope that the parties concerned will appreciate that the implementation of United Nations resolutions aiming at the settlement of international conflicts is considered to be among the primary means for consolidating the authority of this Organization. Any weakening of this authority would be detrimental to the structure and prestige of an organization to which all humanity looks for the realization of international peace and security.

277. It is quite natural that the painful and bloody events that the Middle East is experiencing today and their increasing acuteness impel us to support the Iranian proposal for creating a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East [A/9693]. It appears clear that if Israel does not become a signatory to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, then the accelerating danger of military conflict may assume a more ominous form.

278. My Government welcomes the step taken by the new Government in Portugal regarding the problem of imperialism in Africa. We hope that the representatives of Mozambique and Angola will join us in this Organization, so that both these nations will occupy the important place among us that they deserve.

279. The arm of liberty will continue to strike at the last remaining bastions of colonialism in Rhodesia, South Africa and everywhere else, until these bastions fall and vanish for ever from our world.

280. I would also like to welcome the new States that were admitted as Members in the Organization at this session, hoping that their presence with us will have a positive bearing on the strengthening of international peace and security.

281. We have pinned great hopes on the accomplishments of this session. I pray to God to guide us in transforming these hopes from the realm of studies, proposals and recommendations to the realm of realization.

282. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those representatives who have asked to exercise their right of reply.

283. Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union made an allusion to Chile this morning [2240th meeting] which we do not wish to let pass unanswered. Besides being a gratuitous slander on our nation, this allusion is a confession of the presence of the Soviet Union behind the campaign against the prestige of my Government.

284. What occurred in Chile was not a Fascist *coup d'état*, which would be totally foreign to our traditions and political heritage, but rather the failure of a Soviet plan, a failure which is now a sore point with that country. The Soviet Union must invalidate, by any means, the testimony of a witness who knows from experience what an incipient Communist régime is.

285. It is very difficult to demonstrate to free men what a régime of Soviet inspiration implies. Intellectually it is an extremely difficult task, an almost impossible one, in view of the half century of massive Soviet propaganda, irrational and repetitive, a propaganda that bases its success not on reason but rather on repetition by different people and different groups, of different colours and with different accents, of a lie which has been losing ground in the minds of the majority. This was the technique practised by Hitler, and there are also certain similarities with the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, which made possible the partition of Poland and led to the beginning of the Second World War.

286. It is different in the case of millions of peoples who knew the reality of Soviet communism and who were able to escape. They are very dangerous witnesses who must be silenced at all costs. That is why we can understand why the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union made such a reference.

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

287. With respect to human rights, we should like to recall that many organizations have visited Chile, in addition to the International Red Cross, and have acknowledged the fact that in Chile they are able to act freely. We have stated, and I repeat it here, that we are ready to comply with all our obligations as Members of this Organization and in accordance with our own philosophy, which recognizes human rights not only because of our international commitments, but also as a consequence of our views on the value of human beings and of their rights, based on our historical experience and cultural heritage, which is Western and Christian.

288. The Government of Chile invites the Government of the Soviet Union to take a similar position and to make it possible for the International Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations to visit its gaols and concentration camps, so that the words of the Soviet representatives will no longer resound within this hall as hypocrisy.

289. Mr. MAVROS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): My colleague, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, has quoted certain statements of Archbishop Makarios which were taken out of context and in which reference was made to the union of Cyprus with Greece.

290. I should like to recall that in all those texts Archbishop Makarios attempted merely to explain to the people of Cyprus not the reason why *enosis*—the union with Greece, which he himself considered impossible—had not occurred, but rather why, from among all the regions of the world, Cyprus was the only one to be deprived of the right of self-determination. It is evident that the Foreign Minister of Turkey did not use that argument because he believes in the danger of *enosis*, but because he finds himself in a difficult position to explain what is taking place in Cyprus today.

291. The union of Cyprus with Greece is impossible because it is Greece itself which sacrificed the right of Cyprus to self-determination upon the altar of its long-term relations with Turkey. In order for *enosis* to come about, the will of Cyprus is not sufficient. Greece must desire it also, and by the Nicosia agreements⁸ Greece not only excluded *enosis* for all time but also assumed, as a guarantor Power, the obligation to protect the independent régime of Cyprus.

292. My eminent Turkish colleague moreover seems to have a rather short memory, and he has sought oratorical effects here in the Assembly rather than the truth. I did indeed state yesterday [2239th meeting] that Greece rejected both *enosis* and partition, the division of the island. By that statement I was not propounding any new political line on the part of the Greek Government. I was simply reiterating the policy that Greece has followed since the signing of the Nicosia agreements to which I have just referred, a policy that I simply wished solemnly to reaffirm before the Assembly yesterday. Greece respects treaties and honours its signature.

293. As regards the *coup d'état* of 15 July, whose purpose was to overthrow Archbishop Makarios, Mr. Günes referred to certain statements which in fact belie the statements made by his own head of State, Mr. Ecevit, and also Mr. Denktaş, the head of the Turkish community. The two heads of State have stated categorically that the *coup* was not aimed at the Turkish community. Mr. Günes said he condemned any attempt to partition the island in the past and that that applied also to the future. But, quite conveniently, he forgot the present. He forgot to say whether he also condemned the invasion of the island by Turkish troops. He forgot to tell us whether he condemned the abolition of its independence and its territorial integrity. He omitted to tell us whether he condemned the uprooting of 200,000 inhabitants of the Greek community who are living as refugees under deplorable conditions. He also failed to say whether he condemned the violations of the cease-fire agreements he himself had solemnly signed.

294. In conclusion, the Cyprus tragedy will not be resolved by force, whatever the fire-power of the occupying forces may be. No one is strong enough to be able to ignore world opinion, which is revolted at what is happening in Cyprus. The Cyprus crisis is not an affair of two communities on Cyprus; it is not an affair of Greece and Turkey. It is a matter of concern to all represented in this hall whose independence and territorial integrity will be threatened

if the law of force and arbitrariness prevails over law itself.

295. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): When some of us—I suppose the vast majority of the people of Cyprus—wake up in the morning, we think what has happened is a nightmare, that it could not really be true. Today, hearing the Foreign Minister of Turkey, and having come from Cyprus, I thought for a moment he was speaking of a situation on another planet. To say the least, he tried to oversimplify matters. Well, that is understandable when one speaks before this world body. But, on the other hand, this world body cannot ignore the facts.

296. Analysing the foreign policy of his country, he cited, among others, the principle that his country was against *faits accomplis* anywhere. He spoke in the context of different problems, including the Palestinian problem, and he went on to speak of the *fait accompli* in the case of Cyprus in the sense that what Turkey had tried to do through the military operation—that is how he described it—was to avert the annexation of Cyprus by Greece. In other words, he gave the impression that the purpose of the *coup* of 15 July was the annexation of Cyprus by Greece.

297. I do not want to go into detail concerning that *coup*, but perhaps I may remind the Assembly of what one of the characters in that *coup*, who appeared to be the Foreign Minister for a few days, said the very first time he appeared on television. He made an appeal to the Turkish Cypriots, saying, "My dear Mr. Denktaş, do not be afraid. We have nothing to do with *enosis*. We do not believe in *enosis*. We do not want *enosis*. All we wanted to do was to overthrow Makarios."

298. But it is quite clear and obvious—and I do not think it requires military experts to confirm this—that the plan for the invasion of Cyprus was ready much earlier. I do not think that a plan could have been prepared and put into effect just a few days after the *coup* unless, as I said yesterday, Turkey had some information about the *coup* beforehand—and that creates all sorts of questions and raises all sorts of problems.

299. The Foreign Minister of Turkey spoke of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. He said Turkey wishes to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Well, I think the time has come—at least in the specific case of Cyprus—to try to interpret what "sovereignty" means in the case of Cyprus. What does "independence" mean? What does "territorial integrity" mean? When, for example, he asks for the exclusion of *enosis* and agrees on the exclusion of partition, would he also include divisive arrangements which might lead to partition?

300. He tried to make it appear that the operation was a kind of peace-keeping operation or an operation to prevent something happening. Well, you do not do that by bombing towns and villages, civilian populations and hospitals with napalm bombs; you do not do it by killing; you do not do it by raping; you do not do it by means of all the things that happened in Cyprus.

301. In the United Nations it is often said that it is best not to enter into polemics but rather to try

to be constructive in debates. Of course, in this particular case it depends on what one means by "polemics", because in presenting the facts one has to say what happened.

302. However, the Foreign Minister of Turkey spoke of negotiations for the solution of the problem and for avoiding polemics. He said that Turkey did not want partition, that Turkey did not want *enosis*. He said, I repeat, that the reason why Turkey invaded Cyprus was to prevent *enosis*. Now, let us be practical—and I come back to what I said last night in a different way. *Enosis* and partition are excluded. Would he be prepared to state categorically here tonight that all the people who have been uprooted from their villages will be allowed to go back to their homes? That is number one. Number two is this. If these forces, these 40,000 troops and all these tanks have, as it was made to appear today, gone there for a simple operation, when are they going to be removed? Are they going to stay there and are the people to be kept away from their homes until a settlement comes about? In other words, are the troops going to be kept there and the people to be kept away from their homes as tools in the negotiating machinery?

303. One day negotiations must take place. The problem must be solved through negotiations. However, for some peculiar reason—or at least it may sound peculiar to some—we simply do not want to negotiate in isolation. We want the world to be present. We want the world to be a witness. We want other people to be present. Is that too unreasonable, if the intentions of Turkey are genuine? We want other people present, because if we agree on the principles that there will be an independent, sovereign Republic of Cyprus, that its territorial integrity, which means unity, will be respected, that the people who have been displaced and removed from their homes are going to go back to their homes and that all the troops are going to leave Cyprus—and, as I said yesterday, we are even prepared to consider for a period of time a policing of the country by United Nations troops—if all these principles are accepted, why negotiate privately in the corridors and, as it was described by a speaker today, in a dark room?

304. We are a small country; we are the victim of the aggression; and I think it is only reasonable to expect the world to take a stand on these principles and to request the world Organization to assist us in negotiating, and not leave us in isolation. It may be the kind of conference suggested by the Soviet Union⁴—and we welcome the suggestion—or it may be something different, but I think it would really be too much to say that we are unrealistic in expecting that. After all, everybody speaks of "realistic solutions" or of "realism". What is the interpretation of that? Does "realistic" mean that we must submit to force? Does it mean that we must accept a solution that would be imposed upon us? It may be easily imposed—we do not deny that. The force is there. But is the United Nations going to allow that? For some peculiar reason, therefore, we should like to negotiate publicly. We should like to establish the principles in public, and that is where we shall see what the intentions of Turkey really are.

305. Mr. GÜNES (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I speak merely to assure my colleague, Mr. Mavros, that I neither omitted nor had the intention of omitting any question or problem concerning the island of Cyprus. As I emphasized in my general statement a short time ago, I said that I was going to respond to some of the aspects of some of my colleague's statement, and therefore I continue to say that the necessary answers will be provided in the course of a general debate on the item in the General Assembly which I hope will soon take place.

306. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I should like, Mr. President, with your permission, to rectify an obvious error. The Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr. Ecevit, has never said that the *coup d'état* of Sampson was a domestic matter. I think my colleague is very poorly informed concerning this point. Moreover, had Mr. Ecevit said that, it would have been an obvious error on his part, because in the United Nations itself Mr. Makarios has indicated that the *coup d'état* was an invasion with the object of achieving *enosis* and that it did in fact also affect the Turkish community.

307. Perhaps I may add another point, to which we shall be able to return later. I wonder what the United Nations Forces have been doing for years in this Republic of Cyprus, on this island, if not defending the Turkish Cypriots, who number approxi-

mately 140,000, as compared with the Greek Cypriots, who number almost 500,000. I surely could not be made to believe that these 140,000-odd Turks were so courageous that they could overcome 500,000 Greeks. I do not think that as between a Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot there is such a great difference in physical strength.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

NOTES*

¹ *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3), chap. I.

² Subsequently adopted as resolution 3281 (XXIX).

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, item 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex II, document CCD/420.

⁵ League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XXVIII, No. 701.

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

⁷ A/AC.138/87 and Corr.1.

⁸ Treaty of Guarantee (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475); Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (*ibid.*, No. 5476); Treaty of Alliance between the Kingdom of Greece, the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus (*ibid.*, vol. 397, No. 5712).