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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh): Mr. President, I should like to join those who have spoken before me in extending to you our sincere felicitations on your election to guide the deliberations of this session of the Assembly. You bring to that high office an outstanding record of dedicated work in the service of your country and for the cause of amity and understanding among nations. We pledge our whole-hearted co-operation to you in the fulfilment of your great task.

2. I wish also to express our appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for his outstanding leadership in the work of the General Assembly's twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session, which followed it.

3. This is the thirtieth anniversary session of the General Assembly. During those 30 years the world has witnessed revolutionary political, social and economic changes. Old issues have receded into the background and new problems have staked their claims for priority. The so-called cold war, which characterized a bipolar world of two super-Powers, is giving way to a multipolar world whose main feature is the self-assertion of the greater part of humanity, whose voice had been stifled by colonialism and imperialism. The political emancipation of the latter world is now leading its peoples to strive for the social and economic emancipation that alone can ensure true freedom.

4. The United Nations reflects this change. The third-world countries now constitute an absolute majority of its membership. This fact calls for a new sense of direction, and a new perception of realities which those used to the old ways find somewhat difficult to accept.

5. At this session we welcome three new Member States—Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe—into the United Nations. We also look forward to welcoming another new Member, the one hundred and forty-second, Papua New Guinea.

6. For small developing countries such as Bangladesh the United Nations provides not only the best, but the only, forum for making their voices heard. Therefore Bangladesh has from its very inception as a sovereign, independent nation pledged its total allegiance to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We support all measures which strengthen the United Nations. Our nation owes a special debt of gratitude to the United Nations system, as well as to friendly countries, for providing invaluable help in our national effort to meet the challenge posed to our country in the aftermath of the destruction and dislocation that accompanied our emergence as a sovereign nation, and the successive natural disasters that followed it.

7. We are convinced that only within an environment of peace can our people reap the fruits of independence and exert their utmost effort to meet the challenge of poverty and ignorance. We have, therefore, pursued a policy of non-alignment based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations, and have sought to promote friendship with all countries. We have developed, and earnestly seek, friendly and mutually beneficial relations with all our neighbours, the countries in our region and, indeed, all countries of the world irrespective of their economic, social and political systems. We have identified ourselves with the hopes and aspirations of the countries of the third world and have actively participated in the deliberations of conferences held by the Islamic, non-aligned and Commonwealth States.

8. Our policies and attitude towards current international issues derive directly from our search for peace and stability. Despite the comforting assertion that the greater the production of weapons of war the smaller the chance of these weapons ever being used, the logical *denouement* of an untrammelled arms race is war. And war in the nuclear age is annihilation. Even without a war, an arms race is an unconscionable waste of resources that are finite and at this time wholly inadequate even to deal with the problems of hunger, disease and ignorance afflicting far too large a proportion of the human family.

9. Bangladesh stands for disarmament: effective and total disarmament; nuclear as well as conventional disarmament.

10. We want disarmament because we want to see the world freed from the scourge of war. No covenant can guarantee peace more effectively than disarmament. And we want disarmament for a selfish reason too: namely, to get a part of the resources that could then be transferred from sterile expenditure on armaments to the life-sustaining production of food. This would also serve the goal of the international community to build a new international economic order that would guarantee a more equitable and therefore more peaceful world.

11. In this context, we welcome the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]. However, may I be permitted to voice the disquiet of a non-nuclear country by pointing out that the mere limitation of nuclear weapons, although a step in the right direction, is a far cry from nuclear disarmament. Of what use is limitation or, to be hopeful, even reduction of the number of weapons when those which remain are made more sophisticated in their variety, accuracy and striking power, with the result that aggregate destructive capability becomes even greater than it would have been without the limitation or reduction? What the world is really waiting for is a world without nuclear weapons, whether strategic, tactical or other.

12. Bangladesh regards the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] as a positive measure to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, especially in the context of an accelerating world-wide spread of nuclear technology and materials.

13. There are, however, two vital issues that arise in this connexion. Non-proliferation was never meant to divide the world permanently into nuclear and non-nuclear nations. While those nations with nuclear capability, either actual or potential, abjured their right to acquire the know-how to "go nuclear", those nations which already have nuclear weapons solemnly undertook to negotiate in good faith not only to limit and reduce those weapons, but to get rid of their entire nuclear stockpile, not in some distant mythical future but in the immediate foreseeable future. Common sense tells us that the longer the delay in bringing about total nuclear disarmament, the smaller is the chance to prevent proliferation.

14. There is also a need to clarify the issue of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Granted that the peaceful uses of nuclear energy are technically feasible, some ways must be found to permit peaceful nuclear explosions under suitable safeguards.

15. The Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed at Moscow in 1963 left underground tests outside its scope. Understandably, underground tests have been carried out vigorously to make the nuclear weapons more destructive. We are naturally in favour of extending the ban to underground tests of nuclear weapons.

16. It is hardly necessary for me to stress that my country opposes all forms of chemical, bacteriological, environmental or geophysical warfare.

17. The initiative for the creation of zones of peace in different parts of the world has gained momentum in recent years. We welcome this trend and believe that it provides a framework within which the threat posed by thermonuclear weapons can be reduced and eventually eliminated. So that such measures may succeed, proposals for the creation of peace zones should be preceded by thorough consultations among the regional countries and must be based on their co-operation and consent. I reaffirm my country's support for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

18. The most straightforward way to deal with the problem of ensuring the security of non-nuclear-weapon countries is to have the nuclear-weapon

countries pledge themselves not to use those weapons against them. In the absence of such formal assurance, the idea has been advanced of creating nuclear-weapon-free zones, or nuclear-free zones in the manner of the 1967 Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco),<sup>1</sup> under which 20, but not all, Latin American countries have accepted the ban on the production, testing, receipt or stationing of nuclear weapons. We support these moves in principle, although we think that there is an important pre-condition to make them operative: there should be detailed consultation with, and a clear consensus among, the countries in the region participating in the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

19. We have consistently supported all attempts to achieve a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. We continue firmly to believe that such a settlement must be based on a complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands, including Jerusalem, and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their right of self-determination, including their right to the establishment of an independent, sovereign State of their own.

20. In Cyprus, we have supported all initiatives aimed at an amicable settlement of the outstanding problems. We firmly believe that no solution of the problem of Cyprus can be lasting which does not take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus. We want to see Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities live in safety, dignity and honour.

21. We believe that the people of Korea should be allowed to pursue the objective of peaceful reunification of their divided country free from outside interference.

22. We are of the opinion that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam should join us in the United Nations at the earliest opportunity. The inspiring 30-year old struggle for freedom and peace that the people of Viet Nam have waged make them pre-eminently worthy of membership in an organization designed to promote freedom and peace in the world.

23. We rejoice that the process of decolonization has proceeded rapidly since the end of the Second World War. Portugal's African empire no longer exists. The last of its territory—Angola—is about to attain its independence. We are saddened by the conflict among the freedom fighters there and we fervently hope that they will resolve their differences at the earliest possible opportunity, without, of course, outside interference.

24. However, the process of decolonization is by no means complete. This becomes evident when one looks at the southern part of the African continent. What may be regarded as a classical form of colonialism is compounded by an obnoxious racism that should have been buried under the debris of the Second World War.

25. We fully support the people of Namibia in their struggle to shake off illegal South African domination as well as the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to establish majority rule. The struggle of those peoples is intimately linked with that of the non-white inhabitants of South Africa, the majority of the population,

to put an end to the régime of infinite brutality and oppression imposed on them by a minority.

26. With Mozambique as a sovereign country, Angola on the way to becoming one and Namibia, under the law, a ward of the United Nations, South Africa has no realistic option but to accept coexistence with the black nations surrounding it. But is the white minority régime willing to terminate its abominable system of *apartheid* and really move towards sharing wealth and power with the non-white majority instead of resorting to political manoeuvres? To my mind, it is no longer possible to flout fundamental human rights and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

27. The Government in Pretoria seems to have seen the writing on the wall. Much praise has been showered on the so-called "change of heart" in Pretoria. But is one sure that Pretoria's conciliatory moves are not tactical manoeuvres to postpone the day of reckoning? We need to be watchful.

28. Gone are the days when economic issues were regarded as matters to be handled by economic experts only. Economics has now become politics. It is Foreign Ministers, and sometimes even Heads of States, who with increasing frequency meet to discuss bilateral or international economic issues. Just as individual States are learning that they have increasingly to take political decisions to intervene and, if necessary, intervene massively to make their economies grow, the international community is learning that political decisions must be made to spare the peoples of the world—or, at least, the greater part of them—from the ill effects of a system which not only splits the world community into a minority of rich and a majority of poor but makes the gap between them grow ever wider.

29. As we see it, the new international economic order that we envisage will have little meaning unless it bridges this gap between the minority of the rich and the majority of the poor. We welcome negotiations foreseen in the decisions of the seventh special session for devising ways and means for a larger transfer of capital and technology from the developed to the less developed countries. Such transfers will fail in their fundamental purpose if they do not help the developing countries, not just to advance, but to catch up with the developed world.

30. While negotiating for such a large transfer of resources must necessarily mean that developed countries voluntarily accept a slower rate of growth for themselves, the developing countries cannot absolve themselves of the responsibility of setting their own houses in order so that the growth benefits their dispossessed majority instead of making their rich richer. Indeed, the developing countries cannot demand the restructuring of the international economic order without restructuring their own socio-economic order. A determination to stand on one's own feet and carry out internal reforms is the necessary condition for making the desired new international order feasible.

31. A sense of collective self-reliance and mutual aid among the developing countries of a region sharing a common destiny needs to be promoted. Conscious of these imperatives, the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh is in the process of drawing up a development plan designed to achieve agricultural self-sufficiency and a better utilization of existing

industrial capacity. It has also launched a comprehensive programme of action to control population growth, to improve administrative efficiency, and generally to create a framework conducive to economic development. While striving for self-reliance, we welcome foreign capital and technology to help us build a solid economic infrastructure that will guarantee sustained growth.

32. After peace, no issue is more essential for the purposes and principles of the United Nations than human rights. Indeed, no issue has so preoccupied the United Nations in so many ways than human rights. To provide equal opportunities to all is a fundamental concept of human rights, and to emphasize it 1975 has been designated as International Women's Year. This was highlighted by the recent World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City. The World Plan of Action and the series of resolutions appended to it<sup>2</sup> should be studied and implemented.

33. It has been said, and rightly so, that legislation alone cannot eliminate the practices, traditions, and even laws which perpetuate discrimination of one sort or another. What is required is education, a change of attitude above all on the part of public opinion. But the United Nations has no option other than to ask all Member States to make full use of the legislative weapon in combating discrimination of no matter what kind—racial, religious, class, sex—and at no matter at what level of the body politic it may be found—social, economic, or political.

34. It is indeed a paradox that one spin-off of scientific, technological progress should have adverse effects on human rights. Among several new problems in this category, I may mention the encroachment on the right to privacy by means of electronic eavesdropping. The all-pervasive destructiveness of modern weapons must also be regarded as a violation of the right to life itself.

35. The issues confronting the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea are of great complexity and wide ramifications. The purpose of the Conference is to create an international legal framework to permit the exploitation of the vast living and non-living resources of the sea for the benefit of all nations, and certainly not simply for the benefit of the handful of countries having the wherewithal to exploit those resources. It is gratifying that the differences among the conferees have narrowed, especially in the two strenuous negotiating sessions held at Caracas in 1974 and in Geneva last spring. Developed and developing countries alike appear to be moving towards the acceptance of coastal States' sovereign rights over natural resources envisaged in the concept of the exclusive economic zone. There is a general consensus supporting such broad zones of resource jurisdiction extending up to 200 miles. While agreement in principle has been reached to establish an international sea-bed authority, differences still exist with regard to its scope and details of its powers. The heart of the problem is whether we can create a truly universal ocean régime to exploit judiciously the underwater wealth of our planet in the collective interest of mankind, and particularly for the developing world. Such a distribution of ocean resources would be commen-

surate with the creation of the new international economic order which is the goal of us all.

36. We believe that there can be a widely acceptable treaty on the law of the sea and that most countries desire this objective. The framework, issues and alternatives have been collected and collated; potential accommodations are also discernible. What is now necessary is the will to negotiate on the substantive issues. The forthcoming session in New York next year is a crucial one for progressing from bargaining positions to concrete solutions. Failure can lead only to unilateral action, to the detriment of all mankind. I hope you will appreciate the seriousness of the position that is posed if no international legal framework on the law of the sea can be achieved within the shortest possible time.

37. Outer space, the use of which has been opened up in the recent past by breathtaking scientific and technological advances, came under the scrutiny of the international community rather negatively, as a ban was placed on its use for non-peaceful purposes. But its potential for peaceful uses needs to be exploited for the benefit of mankind.

38. Two revolutionary space technologies, both developed by the United States, currently preoccupy the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. One is remote sensing by satellite—of enormous beneficial potential in prospecting for mineral resources and gathering intelligence pertaining to agriculture, resources near the surface of the sea, and so on. Two experimental satellites have already given spectacular proof of their usefulness. The other major new technology is direct-broadcasting satellites. Experimental international broadcasting is already taking place, as, for instance, by the United States satellite ATS-6, beaming educational programmes to community receivers below.

39. Both these technologies have complex legal implications. Could remote sensing by satellite take place against the wishes of a given country, or could a satellite broadcasting directly to home receivers be used for purposes deemed unfriendly or hostile by the receiving country? On behalf of Bangladesh, which could gain immensely from these technologies in locating and developing new economic resources and in dealing with such problems as illiteracy, I express the hope that international conventions can be worked out to meet legitimate objections and thus open wide the doors of economic and cultural progress.

40. I come, finally, to the question of reforming the Charter of the United Nations. Undoubtedly, in the 30 years of its existence the United Nations has revealed certain lacunae. We support the idea of consultation among Member States as to how to remove these deficiencies. But in view of the staggering expansion of the role of the United Nations in all fields of human endeavour, our principal preoccupation should be to try to implement more effectively, through an international co-operative effort, the decisions and programmes of the United Nations, rather than to revise the Charter. This is especially so because, although the passage of time has revealed some defects, the United Nations has rendered and is rendering immense services to meet the problems facing the world. Moreover, the failures, when they

have occurred, have been due more to the national egoism of Member States than to any structural defects in the Charter itself.

41. In conclusion, I should like to express, on behalf of the people of Bangladesh, the hope that out of the deliberations at this thirtieth session will emerge better prospects for peace and progress for the peoples of the world.

42. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I should like to recall on this occasion that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg are linked by historical relations of long standing. I wish you much success in the exercise of your exacting mission.

43. Permit me also to welcome the new Member States to our ranks: the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe.

44. The year of the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over fascism in the Second World War has been for us, Czechs and Slovaks, an opportunity to recall the events which had such heavy repercussions on our country, beginning with the ignominious Munich *diktat*, and to reflect upon their causes. Those six long years of the Hitlerite occupation of Czechoslovakia taught us a tragic lesson on the meaning of fascism.

45. However, the people of Czechoslovakia never bowed to the Nazi yoke but combatted it with armed resistance. We therefore remember with lasting gratitude the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, which enabled the Czechoslovak people to build up a truly independent State and to devote themselves to creative work in conditions of peace. As members of the anti-Fascist coalition we welcomed with appreciation the efforts of the nations, united through the struggle against fascism, to build post-war life on the basis of lasting peace, sovereign equality, co-operation and the coexistence of States with different social systems. We are proud that at San Francisco we were among the 51 founding Members of this Organization, which embodied those principles in its Charter. We are pleased to note that, despite many problems, the United Nations has, in the 30 years of its existence, proved its legitimacy and viability and thus gained prestige in international relations. We believe that at the present time it represents the most suitable forum for the solution of world problems.

46. In this connexion, however, we are not concerned merely with historical reminiscences. We are concerned with the logical connexion between the lessons of that horrible war and the task of preserving and strengthening world peace in present conditions, as well as for the future. Consequently, we are concerned with a most urgent and timely appeal for the further expansion of the policy of détente, the development of international co-operation and progress in the disarmament effort.

47. Our country, which in the history of the European continent has not been by-passed by any major military conflagration, has a natural interest in the continued expansion of the process of détente, on both a Euro-

pean and a world-wide scale. Its concrete content, as we perceive it, is the objective that the relations between States with different social systems should be based on such principles as the non-use of force, recognition of the inviolability of borders, settlement of disputes through negotiation, mutually advantageous economic co-operation on the basis of equal rights and the exchange of the achievements of science and culture.

48. The efforts aimed at the implementation of those principles were reflected in the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Through the words of Gustáv Husák, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Republic, Czechoslovakia welcomed at Helsinki the signing of the Final Act adopted by the Conference, that undoubtedly most significant document of our times, representing the political culmination of the results of the Second World War. Our State is prepared to implement the conclusions of the Conference consistently. In order to live, mankind cannot afford a return to the cold war, which could be the first step towards a world Hiroshima. Given the current balance of forces in the world arena, the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems is the only reasonable international policy alternative.

49. A settlement of relations between States in Europe based on the Helsinki Declaration of Principles could serve as a stimulus in the search for similar settlements in other parts of the world, particularly in Asia. Initiatives aimed at the implementation of the idea of collective security on that continent also are regarded by us as rational and beneficial.

50. We note with satisfaction that the policy of strengthening the process of international détente is gradually becoming the determining factor in the work of our Organization also. The term "détente" has already become a part of the political vocabulary of the United Nations. Czechoslovakia, together with the other countries of the socialist community, is exerting every effort so that the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and advantageous co-operation among them may be implemented and become a part of the day-to-day activities of the United Nations.

51. However, we continue to be realistic. The current favourable foreign policy atmosphere notwithstanding, we are aware that the antagonists of the positive developments throughout the world have not given up their objectives, that they continue their attempts to hamper these positive developments. However, those who sow doubts about the importance of détente should realize that they will be fully responsible for playing into the hands of those forces which, for their own selfish interests, wish to return the world to the period of cold war and dangerous confrontation.

52. As a firm component part of the socialist community of States, a member of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, whose twentieth anniversary we commemorated this year, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic marches and will continue to march along the time-tested path that it has been travelling throughout the 30 post-war years. It is in the very essence of our socialist social system to strive to safeguard

lasting peace and security for the peoples of our country, because only in that way is it possible to implement the ideals inherent in the nature of socialism. The Leninist policy of peace is therefore the foundation of all our activities in the sphere of international relations. It is a policy of principle in keeping with the vital interests of mankind. Proceeding consistently from these principles, in conditions of close co-operation with the socialist countries, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has been improving and developing bilateral relations also with the other countries of the world as our contribution to the creation of a new atmosphere in international life.

53. In the course of the past year that fact has been strongly reflected also in relations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with almost all Western European countries—in particular with France, Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark, but also with Greece, Italy, Portugal, Turkey and other countries. After many years of negotiations, our relations with the Republic of Austria have been regulated on a basis of principle, which proves that, given goodwill and taking into account the existing realities, it is possible to solve even very complicated problems. I can state with satisfaction that at the present time Czechoslovakia has normal, businesslike, constructive relations with practically all countries on the European continent.

54. Thus, through the development of its relations with other States Czechoslovakia not only has created better conditions for its bilateral co-operation but also has helped to bring about conditions conducive to the success of multilateral negotiations on the safeguarding of security in Europe.

55. Czechoslovakia fully understands and actively supports the endeavours of the developing countries to consolidate their independence and ensure their all-round advancement. As for the non-aligned countries, we believe that they are a significant international factor in the struggle for peace, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, and against all forms of international exploitation. We are highly appreciative of the ever-deepening contacts with India, the Syrian Arab Republic, Iraq, Algeria, Egypt, Afghanistan, Iran and the Libyan Arab Republic, with the newly independent States of Africa, and with Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Colombia, Japan, the Philippines, and other countries.

56. In recent years negotiations have been held also on the full normalization of our relations with the United States. Through no fault of ours, however, these negotiations have not brought the hoped for results.

57. In concluding this part of my statement, I should like to stress once more that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is determined to continue to strive for a state of affairs in which reasonable, peaceful relations, based on the principles of equality and security for all countries and on their mutually advantageous co-operation, will prevail throughout the world. This is the position we expressed, during his last visit to Prague, to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose work we hold in high esteem.

58. Of extraordinary significance for the creation of a favourable atmosphere in the world is the improve-

ment of the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. We have therefore warmly welcomed the results of the negotiations between the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and the President of the United States, Mr. Gerald Ford, at Vladivostok.

59. In the period since the last session of the General Assembly a number of important events have occurred in the world which represent success for international efforts for the consolidation of peace and the elimination of hotbeds of international tension.

60. What I have in mind, in the first place, is the historic victories of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. Czechoslovakia, together with the other countries of the socialist community, considered it its international duty to assist the just struggle of those peoples until it ended in victory. We resolutely support the just demand of the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam that these two Vietnamese States, which through their acts have demonstrated their will and readiness to fulfil the obligations enshrined in the Charter and to fight for lasting peace and security in the world, should be represented in the United Nations as full Members.

61. The thirtieth session of the General Assembly should contribute to the liquidation of one of the anachronisms of the cold war and should stand up for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign troops still unlawfully stationed, under the United Nations flag, in the southern part of the Korean peninsula; for the conclusion of a peace treaty; and for the implementation of further proposals by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the creation of favourable conditions for the liquidation of tension and the consolidation of peace in that region.

62. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supports the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful and democratic unification of the two parts of Korea, without foreign interference.

63. The expanding process of détente has created promising conditions for a fundamental settlement of the explosive situation in the Middle East. This situation offers an opportunity to Israel to demonstrate its willingness to observe the United Nations resolutions, to withdraw from all the territories occupied in 1967 and to respect the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people, including their right to establish a State of their own. Czechoslovakia supports the proposal to resume the work of the Geneva peace conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the interested parties, including representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], provided that all delegations will come to the conference table with the aim of restoring a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We are in favour of a comprehensive settlement of this question which would guarantee the right of all the countries of that region to their independent development.

64. We are convinced that the problem of Cyprus can also be solved by political means. Czechoslovakia wishes to voice its continued support for the Government of Cyprus; we reiterate that we are in favour of a just settlement of the Cyprus question on the basis of

respect for the principles of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the ending of interference in its internal affairs and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from its territory.

65. This year a broad campaign was launched throughout the world, as well as in the United Nations, demonstrating solidarity with the people of Chile in their struggle against the crimes and reprisals of the military junta which overthrew the legitimate Government of President Allende. This year's General Assembly should resolutely speak out against the gross and massive violation of basic human rights in Chile, and call for the restoration of the civil rights of the Chilean people, and for the liberation of Chilean patriots, since the junta continues to ignore the United Nations appeals, including General Assembly resolution 3219 (XXIX), and is perpetuating the terror which it has unleashed against democratic forces.

66. Despite the successes of the national liberation struggle in recent years, colonialism in the world has not yet been fully liquidated. The United Nations, too, must step up its efforts so that the colonial anachronisms from past centuries might finally disappear from the political map of our times. The Czechoslovak delegation supports the request for all the administering Powers to work out a binding time-table for the speedy granting of independence to all colonial and dependent Territories which so far have been under their administration.

67. A permanent expansion of the process of international détente is hardly conceivable without a further relaxation in the military sphere. Our premise must be, in this connexion, that disarmament, after all, is an indispensable component and an organic part of the process of international détente. Our State, together with the other countries of the socialist community, has always been an advocate of the need to stop the arms race and gradually to introduce effective measures leading to general and complete disarmament. For us, therefore, a priority in contemporary international relations is the need to achieve positive and concrete results at current disarmament talks. This stems from the profound humanism of the foreign policy of the socialist States. Today the world is overflowing with weapons of the most varied types and their stockpiles continue to grow. Can there be a more human goal than to rid mankind of the danger that these weapons will be used to unleash a world-wide holocaust?

68. We, therefore, attach exceptional importance to the appeal by the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, for the reduction of military budgets of the great Powers, for the limitation and reduction of armaments and the creation of prerequisites for future real disarmament. The arms race is also spurred on by the research and development of ever more destructive weapons. In this situation, when the grave dangers exist of the creation of even more horrible weapons than the nuclear ones, we should like to voice our support for the initiative launched by the Soviet Union at this year's session of the General Assembly proposing to conclude an agreement prohibiting the development and manufacture of new types



of weapons of mass destruction, and of new weapons systems of that type.

69. In various forums, including the United Nations, the socialist countries have always urged that the most destructive weapons be excluded from military arsenals, that atomic energy be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, and the vast sums spent on armaments be devoted to economic and social development needs. Therefore, Czechoslovakia also supports the Soviet proposal to conclude speedily a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests.

70. Of extraordinary importance, in our view, are the negotiations on the reduction of arms forces and armaments in Central Europe, in which we are direct participants. These negotiations should lead to a substantial reduction in the concentration of troops and armaments in Central Europe while maintaining the existing balance of forces. We hope that the new European political realities will open up new possibilities for the Vienna talks, respecting the principle that the security of any of the participating countries must not be placed in jeopardy.

71. The struggle for the liquidation of the material basis of wars is one of the major tasks in current international activities. In view of the fact that disarmament affects all States in the world, we are in favour of a speedy convening of a world disarmament conference, which should give new impetus to the struggle for a world free of weapons and wars.

72. Disarmament efforts are closely connected with the possibilities of solving the urgent problems of the world economy. It is, first, a question of expanding international economic co-operation and exchange of goods, as well as assisting in the economic growth of developing countries.

73. The Czechoslovak delegation is convinced that international détente provides better chances for the settlement of international economic problems and questions of economic development, and the advancement of all-round economic, scientific and technological co-operation. In this connexion, I should like to point out that it is their broad economic co-operation which is one of the decisive factors in the speedy growth of the economies of the socialist countries. A broadly based economic, scientific and technological co-operation among the States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is becoming an increasingly important factor in the development of their national economies, in the increase of the prosperity of their peoples and the equalization of the level of their economic development.

74. The economies of major capitalist countries are undergoing serious disruptions. These negative phenomena have a particularly profound impact on the economic advancement of the developing countries. It is therefore quite understandable that the developing countries are striving to create new international economic relations based on the principles of equality, non-discrimination, non-interference in internal affairs, independent choice of the direction of their further development and effective sovereignty over their natural resources.

75. The recently concluded seventh special session of the General Assembly on questions of development

and international economic co-operation represents a considerable step forward in the introduction of progressive principles into international economic relations. The final resolution of the seventh special session [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] rightly refers to the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], which contain the principles of peaceful co-operation and stress the close interconnexion between the consolidation of international peace and security and social and economic progress.

76. This year our Organization commemorates 30 years of its existence. It is a long enough period for the reasonable principles underlying the settlement of relations among States to gain ground throughout the world on the basis of détente, by overcoming the dangerous policy based on positions of force, cold war and confrontation. However, it was too short a time for such equitable relations among nations to prevail in the world in such a manner as would fully correspond with the need for lasting peace and international security.

77. To speed up the current positive process, when confrontation gives way to dialogue, to assist in the advancement of those countries which have embarked upon the road to free development, to liberate colonial countries and peoples not as yet free—those are the imperatives of our time and the great obligations of our Organization.

78. It is therefore necessary to enhance the importance and the effectiveness of the United Nations in the struggle for world peace and security on the basis of strict respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter. Therefore we have to reject anything that might threaten to undermine our Organization. Such a danger results, for instance, from certain attempts to begin a process of revision of the Charter, as well as from certain proposals put forward in this connexion which are directed against the very foundations of our Organization.

79. It is necessary for the process of détente, for disarmament efforts, for the desideratum of a general economic and social advancement to converge eventually into one fundamental demand: lasting peace based on the coexistence of countries with different social systems, with all the inevitable beneficial concomitants resulting therefrom in the sphere of economic and cultural progress, in the area of a purposeful and organized enhancement of countries and peoples embarked upon the road to development.

80. This must be our outlook not only for the next 30 years, in other words, a long-term prospect, but a prospect for the nearest future as well. A contribution to this end must be made also by this year's commemorative thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

81. Mr. BIELKA (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): Together with all the other Members of the United Nations, the Austrian delegation is delighted that the General Assembly has elected as the President of its thirtieth session Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, a statesman as well versed in inter-

national affairs as he is known for his liberal and democratic views. I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election. It is more than a mere act of courtesy for me to wish such a sincere friend of Austria success in his duties and in all he undertakes.

82. I would not wish to let this opportunity pass of expressing our gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, who guided the work not only of the twenty-ninth session but also of the seventh special session of the General Assembly with remarkable tact and great personal dedication.

83. I also wish to convey my country's warm welcome to the three States which have just been admitted to membership in the United Nations: the Republic of Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe. It is indeed a source of great satisfaction to my country to note that further progress has been achieved in the process of decolonization in Africa.

84. But the admission of these States also constitutes a further step towards giving effect to the principle of the universality of the United Nations, a cause which my Government has always championed and the reason why it supports every effort to admit to this Organization all independent States wishing to join it and accept its Charter.

85. In this connexion, I also wish to express the hope that Angola, a territory still beset by such serious internal upheavals, will find the way to unification of its political forces so that it may attain independence without further setbacks or delays. Otherwise, there is reason to fear that harmful consequences will ensue for the process of decolonization, which could be used as a pretext for delaying the granting of independence to other States.

86. The celebration in the coming weeks of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations will afford an opportunity for a new assessment of its work. Much criticism will undoubtedly be levelled on that occasion because, regrettably, in the past 30 years it has not always been possible to reconcile political events with the principles of the Charter, by reason of the fact that the world economic situation has been such as not to permit certain changes to be made which could have allayed much poverty and suffering, and because human rights are still far too little respected.

87. Yet, when we think of the changes that have taken place in the world in the past 30 years, changes of an extent never before witnessed in the world in so short a span of time and over so wide a range, and when we consider, too, the tensions which such a far-reaching process of transformation inevitably entails, it is almost miraculous that the international community has not been exposed to more serious crises and greater disasters.

88. We must not forget that during the last 30 years—in contrast with the previous three decades—the community of nations has been spared another world war, even though, unfortunately, numerous armed yet territorially limited or localized conflicts could not have been prevented. Nor should we forget that during the last 30 years, as a result of the decolonization process, many new States whose peoples were able to attain freedom and independence, thereby transforming the

maps of Asia and Africa, have come into being. We should remember that the cold war period, which aroused grave fears as to its possible dire consequences, has led to and has been superseded by a policy of détente, which culminated this year in the signature at Helsinki of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It is to be hoped that the guiding principles thus approved will now find practical application in inter-State relations and that an actual, and not merely verbal, détente will thus be attained.

89. Without the sustained efforts of the United Nations and its organs these results could hardly have been achieved, and I should like to associate myself here with the appreciation which many speakers have expressed to the Secretary-General and his collaborators. If nothing more has been achieved, the fault should not be laid at the door of this Organization, whose activities are governed by the sovereign will of its Member States, and whose decisions and resolutions often do not find the compliance essential to international co-operation.

90. This co-operation is further threatened by a number of conflicts, which have so far remained unresolved simply because it has not proved possible, despite a great many efforts, to translate the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions into reality.

91. In the Middle East conflict, of course, a further significant step towards a just and durable peace settlement in the region has been made possible by a new troop disengagement agreement between Israel and Egypt. This step must, however, be followed by others in the near future in order to prevent the emergence of new tensions and in order to bring to the peoples of the Middle East, in particular the Palestinian people, the just peace that the United Nations has for so long been demanding in its resolutions.

92. On the other hand, no substantive progress has been achieved on Cyprus, although, thanks to the good offices of the Secretary-General, it has at least been possible to maintain the basis for negotiations between the representatives of the two communities. Now, as in the past, my Government attaches the greatest importance to the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It hopes that the sense of responsibility of the States and communities directly involved in the conflict will ensure the maintenance of balance and peace in the eastern Mediterranean. My Government also hopes that through further negotiations it will be possible in the near future for a satisfactory arrangement for the future coexistence of the two communities to be found, and believes that any unilateral action would have a serious prejudicial effect on such possibilities.

93. The United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean are essential to the preservation of peace in those crisis areas and to the development of political efforts aimed at finding peaceful solutions to such problems. For this very reason these operations warrant the support of all the States Members of the United Nations. At the same time, there must be a readiness to make available to the Organization the relatively modest financial resources which it needs for the maintenance of these operations.



94. The failure so far to reach a just settlement of the conflicts in the eastern Mediterranean is not only having a harmful effect on security in Europe. Regrettably, it has also led to the outbreak of severe disturbances in Lebanon, with the result that a country so exemplary in its liberal and democratic outlook and in the peaceful coexistence of its various religious communities, is now encountering serious difficulties, which we sincerely hope it will be able to overcome.

95. In southern Africa, too, it has not yet proved possible to find solutions that are in keeping with United Nations resolutions. Admittedly, in recent months prominent African statesmen have tried to institute measures which might serve to ease tension. However, success has so far eluded them. More than ever before, it is to be feared that any further delay in the adoption of such measures which take into account legal obligations and human rights requirements might lead in the end to an armed conflict in the region with all its unforeseeable consequences.

96. Happily, the bloody conflicts in Indo-China have ended. Many millions of people in that part of the world can now for the first time in decades live a life free of war. My Government, which consistently called for an end to the bloodshed in Indo-China, welcomes this development and hopes that it will be possible quickly to heal the wounds inflicted by war on the peoples of the States concerned. Austria seeks good and friendly relations with the States of Indo-China and is also prepared, to the extent of its modest means, to contribute to their reconstruction.

97. While a hotbed of tension has thus been eliminated in South-East Asia, a critical situation persists in Korea which might become a threat to the stability of the region. My Government maintains diplomatic relations with both States on the Korean peninsula and it will support all measures likely to contribute to a relaxation of tension, rapprochement and a trusting dialogue between the parties concerned.

98. International co-operation is also threatened by a constantly increasing production of arms, on which this year alone some \$300,000 million have been spent. For years disarmament talks have been going on in Geneva with only negligible results, while the negotiations concerning a reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe, which have been taking place in Vienna for some two years now, have so far proved fruitless.

99. With growing impatience world public opinion is awaiting progress in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] between the United States and the Soviet Union and it is becoming increasingly alarmed as the prospects grow more remote of fashioning the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons into an effective instrument against the danger of nuclear war. The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty has proved most disappointing.

100. Without the necessary will on the part of the major States to achieve a disarmament that does not affect the balance of power or jeopardize security, it is to be feared that the disarmament negotiations will not produce any results in the future either. Nevertheless, my Government will continue to uphold the idea of a world disarmament conference, and it hopes that, with the conclusion of the Conference on Secu-

rity and Co-operation in Europe, conditions have now improved for achieving a reduction of the gigantic arsenal of conventional and nuclear weapons. Above all else, it is by developments in this field that world public opinion will measure the success of the policy of détente.

101. The success or failure of international co-operation will, however, be substantially influenced by the outcome of the economic and social negotiations which are ever-increasingly dominating the political world scene. It is in this very field that the United Nations has been able to take particularly useful action. It has made successful efforts through some of its bodies, such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, and through the convening of a number of large conferences, which have made it possible for the international community to become aware of the necessity and urgency of establishing a new and more just economic order and also to gain acceptance for the perception that the necessary measures can be implemented only by means of trustful co-operation and not through hostile confrontation. In this respect the seventh special session was an event full of promise, of which my Government takes a very positive view.

102. The consensus by means of which its final document [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] was adopted has been universally assessed by all as an act of genuine political wisdom. But this same political wisdom compels us to translate into reality as rapidly as possible the decisions taken in the interests of the economically disadvantaged countries.

103. One of the most important objectives of the Charter of the United Nations was the realization and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, it cannot, unfortunately, be denied that the conduct of certain Member States in this field leaves much to be desired, despite all the efforts of the United Nations and all its resolutions and decisions. The number of political refugees alone, already totalling some 14 million persons, shows how little fundamental human rights and freedoms are respected in many States. In 1974 alone, 2,250,000 persons fled their homes for political reasons.

104. It is especially deplorable that not all States have yet renounced the use of torture and other inhuman and brutal forms of interrogation to which political prisoners are often subjected. This is nothing less than an abominable violation of human rights and a total disregard for human dignity.

105. The Austrian Government will continue to support every effort made in this Organization for the abolition of the death penalty, which it finds utterly reprehensible and condemns particularly as a punishment for political offences.

106. As long as the policy of *apartheid* is practised in South Africa, as long as hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees find no national homeland, as long as the Members of this Organization, under strong suspicion of violating human rights, can refuse entry to a study group of the Commission on Human Rights or engage in endless delaying tactics, the voices which denounce such injustices must not fall silent in this Assembly. For this reason I welcomed warmly the

initiative taken by my Belgian colleague, Mr. van Elsandé, with regard to the debate which is to take place at this session concerning ways of improving the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, that we should also consider ways and means of guaranteeing the dispatch of commissions of inquiry, together with criteria for determining their composition and method of work.

107. We must, however, recognize and praise the commendable efforts which the United Nations has made and continues to make with a view to enhancing respect for human rights and humanizing man's relations with his fellow men. For example, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees is striving unrelentingly to ease the bitter lot of these people who have had to abandon their native lands, usually losing their goods and possessions in the process. Austria regards it as a special duty to support these efforts. Since its admission to the United Nations 20 years ago, Austria has granted asylum to some 400,000 political refugees, many of whom have found a new home in Austria. For the past two years Austria has received approximately 4,000 refugees from various continents, without distinction as to race or creed.

108. Equally commendable are the efforts of the United Nations with respect to the development of international law, especially humanitarian law. In this connexion I should like to mention that Austria has given its firm support to the initiatives of the United Nations and the International Red Cross for the recodification of the international law of war. It welcomes the progress achieved at the two earlier diplomatic conferences in Geneva devoted to this question and it is seeking, together with other States, an international prohibition or restriction on the use of certain conventional weapons which cause needless suffering.

109. As a land-locked country, Austria also has a great interest in the successful conclusion of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

110. Many major United Nations conferences on the codification of international law have been held in Vienna recently, the latest being the conference this year which adopted the Vienna Convention on the Representation of States in Their Relations with International Organizations of a Universal Character. Since its admission to membership in the United Nations in 1955, Austria has increasingly become a country of international meetings and also the host country for larger international organizations, in particular organizations in the United Nations family. If my country aspires thus to serve the international community and especially the United Nations, it is because it is firmly convinced that it is particularly well qualified to play this role by reason of its permanent neutrality. The headquarters buildings for the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the International Atomic Energy Agency are being constructed at the expense of the Federal Government and the City of Vienna and will be completed by 1978.

111. Through the construction of these buildings, Austria is making a contribution designed to ease the financial burden of the United Nations, whose budgetary difficulties will once more be before the General Assembly this year. My Government is convinced that the optimum use of these premises serves the interests of the United Nations and it hopes that the

Secretary-General's proposals in this regard will be received favourably by all Member States.

112. It was five years ago that my Government first informed this Assembly of a proposed agreed solution whereby Austria and Italy provided for the extension of the autonomy of South Tyrol and for a relevant timetable agreed to by both States. Since this question was the subject of General Assembly resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI), I again wish to report on the situation to the General Assembly in accordance with past procedure.

113. I am happy to be able to state that efforts to enact remaining measures concerning the autonomy of South Tyrol continued during the past year and that a certain amount of progress has been achieved. If these efforts have, however, not led to a final conclusion, it is because these measures involve difficult problems. However, I should like to express the hope that it will be possible at a very early date to resolve this question in a satisfactory manner.

114. The great changes, both technological and political, which have taken place in the world in the past 30 years, and which will undoubtedly continue to take place, require more than ever before trustful co-operation in this Organization if mankind is to escape total annihilation. The United Nations has become more indispensable than ever before. My Government can therefore only whole-heartedly subscribe to the observation made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization. He said:

"It is widely acknowledged that in our present world there is no rational alternative in international relations to the principles and procedures of the United Nations. Discussion and compromise are the only known alternatives to oppression, conflict and bloodshed. Unilateral and bilateral diplomacy are no longer enough and must be supplemented by collective action and multilateral diplomacy." [A/1000/ Add.1, sect. XXI.]

115. Upon signing the Final Act of the Conference at Helsinki, 33 European States, together with the United States and Canada, agreed upon guiding principles which are to guarantee the further friendly coexistence between States having different political systems. At the seventh special session a resolution was adopted by consensus [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] which should allow for the promotion and establishment of a new economic order. In both cases only decisions on guiding principles were taken.

116. The next decade will show whether this promising beginning will be followed by the implementation of these principles. This will determine whether the world of tomorrow will know less tension, less suffering and more justice. For ourselves and for the United Nations, as we celebrate its thirtieth anniversary, we hope that this goal will be fully achieved.

117. Mr. MOTEE'A (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me pleasure to express to you, Mr. President, our sincerest congratulations on the occasion of your election as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. We wish you success in your post and are fully confident that your abilities and experience will allow us to produce fruitful results in our work. It also gives me great

pleasure to praise the outstanding role played by your predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, in directing the work of the seventh special session and the twenty-ninth regular session, which we can truly say were two of the most important sessions the United Nations has held in its history.

118. I should like to express our appreciation and thanks for the sincere efforts which the Secretary-General is making to ensure the implementation of the principles of the Charter and the achievement of the goals of international life.

119. It gives us great pleasure to welcome three new Members to our Organization, namely Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Mozambique after the long and bitter struggle waged by their peoples against the colonialist occupation forces, as a result of which they were able to attain their freedom and to reassert their national independence. As we welcome the admission of these new, friendly States to our Organization, we look forward with confidence to the not-too-distant day when we shall be able to welcome Angola and Papua New Guinea to our Organization.

120. Perhaps it would be appropriate here to mention the unfortunate negativism which has prevailed over the deliberations of the Security Council on the applications for admission to the United Nations submitted by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam. The action taken by the United States for the second time to debar these two States and to obstruct their just demands to become Members of the United Nations is indeed deplorable. In spite of that, however, we are happy to see the legitimate Government of Cambodia take its seat here among us after a long and bitter struggle against the activities of foreign agents and foreign interference in that country's internal affairs.

*Mr. Erdembileg (Mongolia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

121. The General Assembly is holding its thirtieth session in the light of positive political events in various parts of the world. One of these is the escalation of the armed struggle in Oman under the leadership of the popular democratic liberation front of Oman and its heroic struggle against foreign interference aimed at achieving national independence and sovereignty both for the people of Oman and for their territory. Another is its persistent opposition to the setting up of United States military bases on the island of Masirah, near Arab oilfields.

122. I should like now to refer to the success of the liberation movements in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia against world imperialism. Their great victory has proved to the world that the perseverance of the popular masses and their participation in organized armed struggle should be considered one of the most important demonstrations of bravery, confronting as they did the most powerful State in the world with its destructive weapons and armed forces.

123. The achievement of independence by the new African States after a long, bitter struggle, the escalation of the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa and Rhodesia against racism and racial segregation and in favour of their legitimate rights, the downfall of fascism in Portugal, have opened the way for national progressive forces to carry out their own

national policy in the absence of aggressive pacts. The opposition of the masses against imperialist domination in South America, particularly in Puerto Rico, where the people are struggling for independence and the right to self-determination, the resistance of the people of Chile to military fascism there, and the emergence of Cuba from the imperialist blockade which was imposed on it—all these important events bear witness to the fact that the balance of power is shifting against world imperialism. The current phase represents a progressive and victorious stage against oppression and foreign intervention.

124. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are today winning great victories for independence and liberation, yet imperialism in its various forms obstructs their aspirations while imposing its policy on these territories and exploiting their natural resources. Military conquest and imperialism remain unchecked, acting either through States which are their agents—such as Israel and South Africa, by deploying their intelligence machinery to overthrow progressive national forces or by mobilizing its cartels to tie down some of the developing countries by means of economic relations which could ensure their continued subservience, thus thwarting the aspirations of their peoples to independence and development.

125. In the Middle East the United States continues to support Israel with arms in its persistent rape of Palestine, thus making its people homeless; Israel's continued occupation of Arab territory; its repeated aggression in southern Lebanon and its barbaric bombing of Palestinian refugee camps. This is all done in pursuit of the mirage of destroying the political and material existence of the people of Palestine and imposing its own conditions on the Arab peoples. The continuous supply by the United States of arms to Israel—sophisticated weapons including long-range missiles to persuade it to withdraw a few kilometres from the occupied territories—is the reward of aggression and a source of bitterness.

126. Israeli insistence on occupying Arab territories since the June 1967 war is indeed a flagrant example of blackmail that is rejected by the international community, as is its continued support of the United States Government. My country strongly denounces support of Israel in any form by any country, and rejects the idea that the United States, as a supporter of Israel, is qualified to mediate in the Middle East question and not to rely on the principle of unconditional withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied after the June 1967 war and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their full national rights by setting up a secular Palestinian State. All such attempts are doomed to fail and will not bring peace to the area.

127. The PLO, which has recently been admitted to full membership in the non-aligned movement, is the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. If the basic reasons for the conflict in the Middle East and the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine are ignored, nothing can be achieved. Meanwhile, Israel continues its manoeuvres aimed at dividing the united Arab front and establishing its aggressive policy. The General Assembly at its current session must put an end to Israeli practices which are contrary to the Charter and violate its principles. We therefore ask that the strongest sanctions be

imposed on Israel, including the suspension of its membership in the United Nations and its expulsion.

128. If Israel represents racism and coercion in the Middle East, then the two racist régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa, which practise racial segregation and racism, are preventing the black majority from exercising their legitimate rights in their own countries. We support the heroic struggle which the African peoples are waging against the racist minority régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. The United Nations must face its historical responsibilities firmly and allow the people of Namibia to attain its independence and sovereignty. On more than one occasion my country has expressed its full support for the liberation movements throughout the world in their legitimate struggle for victory against colonialism in its various forms and against racism and imperialist hegemony.

129. With regard to Cyprus, we feel that the true way to solve the Cyprus question is through the liquidation of military bases and the evacuation of foreign forces. Then the parties concerned can start negotiations under United Nations supervision for the maintenance of the unity of the people of Cyprus and the strengthening of Cyprus so that it may follow a policy of non-alignment.

130. In spite of recent victories obtained in South-East Asia by the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, the Korean question is still attracting the attention of the world. The insistence of the United States on its continued presence in South Korea, providing that régime with arms and instigating aggression against the North, will only increase tension in that part of the world. Democratic Yemen supports the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its request for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea and its desire to bring about unity by peaceful means and have a united Korea admitted to membership in the United Nations.

131. The interest of the world is focused on disarmament and the peaceful use of nuclear energy. If this is not achieved, the threat to international peace and security will remain. We in Democratic Yemen like others in the developing countries welcome these new trends to put an end to and prohibit the use of nuclear weapons and explosives and to direct nuclear energy to the service of development, peace and progress. We support the convening of a world conference on disarmament; we also support all the pleas to establish nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

132. My country believes that the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] should include the regions bordering the Ocean and the islands within it. We should like to support the proposal that the Middle East be declared a nuclear-weapon free zone and to ask that the prerequisite for signing a declaration to that effect should be a commitment to show goodwill and to implement it.

133. The General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session, took a new step forward economically by adopting the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. It also took the resolutions and recommendations adopted at the sixth special session as a basis for understanding the prevailing trends in the world economic order. The restructuring of economic relations on the basis of co-operation and equity, while an attempt is made to seek economic independence and self-reliance in the national economy, will help considerably to alleviate the effects of the economic crisis.

134. Economic integration and co-operation among the developing countries, particularly those countries which export energy and raw materials, are indeed important. We should like to note the recent trend towards isolating the countries producing oil and other raw materials and linking them to the capitalist economy, while making full use of their natural resources and exploiting them. The developing countries must be alert to and stand up to these neo-colonialist methods that seek to destroy their unity and exploit their resources and natural riches.

135. The loftiest ideal to which our peoples aspire is the strengthening of the foundations of justice, peace, prosperity and fruitful co-operation. We sincerely hope that the General Assembly, at this thirtieth session, will justify our confidence and the aspirations of our peoples to the attainment of these sublime human principles.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A and chap. III.