

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTIETH SESSION

Official Records



**2373rd
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 3 October 1975,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*):

Speech by Mr. Shevel (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)	407
Speech by Mr. Ahmed (Pakistan)	410
Speech by Mr. Ozores (Panama)	413
Speech by Mr. Puja (Hungary)	417

Agenda item 54:

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East:

(b) Report of the Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East	420
--	-----

President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Chissano (Mozambique), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Thirty years ago, when the Second World War, the most devastating and bloody war in the history of mankind, came to an end, the United Nations was created.

2. The further the years recede into the past, the more vividly human memory grasps the grandeur of the victory over fascism, which immensely influenced the entire ensuing international development, the entire shape of the present-day world. The alliance of peoples worked out in the struggle against fascism convincingly demonstrated the possibility not only of coexistence but also of co-operation among States with different social systems in the interest of strengthening peace and international security. This experience acquires special significance in our own time, when a historical turn is taking place from the period of the "cold war" towards the relaxation of tensions and to ever more stable peaceful coexistence.

3. Changes in the balance of forces in the world arena have led to important shifts in favour of peace and have in many ways determined the development of mankind on the path of progress. Possibilities for reactionary imperialist circles to carry on their aggressive policy with impunity have been significantly reduced. It has become possible to prevent a world war because peoples and the Governments expressing their will fight actively for peace.

4. In recent years the political atmosphere has improved considerably. Détente is ever more notice-

ably becoming the dominant trait of present-day international development.

5. One of the most remarkable features of the present situation is that, owing to the efforts of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, the principles of peaceful coexistence are becoming ever more rooted in inter-State relations, and are translated into law through agreements among States. V. V. Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, has stressed: "The principles of peaceful coexistence are more and more becoming standard in relations between countries belonging to different socio-economic systems."

6. Of substantial significance for the preservation of peace and the improvement of the international climate is the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States which is taking place on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

7. The course pursued by the Soviet Union and the United States towards the normalization of relations, including the elaboration of joint measures to reduce the danger of a nuclear war and to achieve a certain degree of agreement concerning the approach to the solution of several topical international problems, meets the fundamental interests not only of these two States but of all peoples and countries. The irresponsible politicians who base their calculations on the allegedly unavoidable military confrontation between the United States and the USSR should not forget this.

8. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was an outstanding contribution to the improvement of the international situation, the strengthening of universal peace and the development of fruitful co-operation among States on equal terms.

9. The Final Act of that Conference, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, can rightly be called a magna carta of peaceful coexistence. The relations among States participating in the Conference have been put on a solid basis of political principles which repudiate force as a means of settling controversies and elevate into a law of international relations respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the inviolability of frontiers and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. It is of extreme importance that the Conference has created the prerequisites for wider co-operation among European States in the fields of economics, science and technology and also in such humanitarian spheres as culture, education, information and contacts among people. One cannot overestimate the significance of the Conference and its results for the future of all European countries, whose centuries-old history of relations with each other has often been darkened by bloody wars. The results of this Conference go

beyond the confines of the European continent. Even now they are exerting a positive influence on the entire international situation, and the fundamental principles of the Final Act can also be successfully applied to other continents.

10. It has already been justly said here that the main task now is to translate into deeds the understandings reached and to make further progress towards the consolidation of peace and co-operation.

11. Of great importance in the strengthening of peace and in the improvement of the international atmosphere was the ending of the war in Indo-China, whose peoples defended their sovereignty and national independence in a long, difficult struggle against the forces of aggression and colonialism.

12. With a profound sense of fraternal solidarity we warmly welcome on behalf of the Ukrainian people the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam—the entire heroic Vietnamese people—and we express our deep regret over the fact that the position of the United States has thus far prevented both Vietnamese States from being admitted to the United Nations. The Ukrainian SSR most emphatically supports the applications of the Governments of both Vietnamese States for admission to the United Nations. Their admission to this world Organization would serve its interests and would make an important contribution to the cause of deepening détente, strengthening international peace and security and broadening co-operation among peoples.

13. While taking note of the substantive positive changes that have occurred in the international situation, one should not forget that the stockpiling and modernization of both conventional and strategic weapons goes on unabated in the world. The destructive capability of the latter long ago surpassed all the limits of reality. To deprive a potential adversary of his life more than once is senseless, yet the arms race, spurred on by those who profit from the manufacture of weapons, continues.

14. The arms race not only hinders peaceful development; it poisons the international atmosphere. It is the arms race which now constitutes the main danger to the cause of international peace and security.

15. The various "theories" about the "acceptability" of nuclear conflicts, of "nuclear deterrents", of "nuclear first-strike capability" etc., have a direct relation to the arms race and the growing military expenditures. The inhuman thesis to the effect that "nuclear war is not so bad", that each generation allegedly should have "its own war", has also been circulated, and recently even from this rostrum the representative of one country, in his wishful thinking, gloomily asserted that a nuclear war is just around the corner. All this is nothing more than inculcating the idea of the unavoidability of wars, both nuclear and non-nuclear.

16. It is regrettable that a State Member of the United Nations, and furthermore a permanent member of the Security Council, should use the lofty rostrum of the United Nations for the irresponsible dissemination of ideas which are in flagrant contradiction to the generally recognized purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Instead of making his

contribution to the common cause of the struggle for the strengthening of international peace and security, the representative of that Power strives to increase tension and to sow animosity and hatred among States. In fact, he virtually instigates new military conflicts.

17. If one discards the verbal chaff from the statement of the representative of China, it can easily be seen that he comes out against peaceful coexistence, the relaxation of tension, disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons for all time. In other words, the Maoists are against the consolidation of international peace and security; they are against the achievement of the main objective of the United Nations, which is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Their vicious anti-Sovietism, although disguised, in several cases, in pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, only emphasizes the proximity of their positions to those of the most reactionary imperialist and revenge-seeking circles and their collusion with those circles.

18. The new-born apologists of war, the enemies of détente, fiercely resist the positive processes now taking place in international relations. It is our universal duty to isolate these enemies of peace rather than to allow them to return mankind to the dangerous times of the "cold war".

19. Indeed, while, thanks to the efforts of peace-loving countries—primarily those of the socialist community—it has been possible to avert a world nuclear war, so-called local wars using conventional weapons have repeatedly broken out in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. Millions of human beings have perished in these wars which have been unleashed as a result of the unwillingness of reactionary forces to reconcile themselves to the liberation of peoples. To prevent imperialists from unleashing wars and military conflicts is the most important task confronting the United Nations and all of peace-loving mankind. If that task is fulfilled, the elimination of wars from the life of society will become a complete reality.

20. The primary requirement of our time—indeed the imperative need of our time—is to seek a reduction and then the cessation of the arms race, in order to advance along the road to general and complete disarmament.

21. As a result of the efforts of many States, important agreements have recently been achieved which have led to a considerable reduction in nuclear tests, to the prohibition of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, to the ban on the placement of those weapons in outer space, on the sea-bed or the ocean floor, and to the prohibition of the development, manufacture or stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons.

22. As at the beginning of the "nuclear era" three or four decades ago, mankind is now on the threshold of new, even greater scientific achievements, the results of which can also be used for military purposes. What happened to discoveries in the nuclear field may happen again to possible discoveries in other fields of scientific and technological progress if measures to prevent this are not taken now. As Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stressed:

"The level of present-day science and technology is such that there arises a serious danger of the development of still more frightful weapons than nuclear arms. Human reason and conscience dictate the need for erecting an insurmountable barrier to the development of such weapons."

That is precisely why we welcome and fully support the new significant initiative of the Soviet Government regarding the conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems based on such weapons.

23. Each year, the persistent voice of the overwhelming majority of States is heard from this rostrum calling for and demanding the immediate cessation of nuclear testing. Another proposal of the Soviet Union submitted at the current session also fully corresponds to these appeals: the proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear tests [see A/10241, annex]. It appears to us that attitudes towards this proposal will serve as a reliable criterion in determining who genuinely supports real measures to curb the arms race and who opposes them. We are convinced that the adoption of the proposals of the Soviet Union will bring mankind considerably closer to the solution of the most important question of our day: the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and then their removal from the arsenals of all States.

24. It is more than high time that the comprehensive prohibition of chemical weapons—one of the various types of weapons of mass destruction—should be taken as a measure of practical disarmament. The United Nations must once again come out in favour of solving the problem of the prohibition of chemical weapons in the nearest future.

25. Taking into account the scope of the arms race and the importance for the present and the future of mankind of curbing this dangerous process, it is necessary for the energetic efforts of the countries of the socialist community aimed at the solution of the disarmament problem to be adequately supported by the efforts of all States Members of the United Nations. Abundant opportunities for this will be provided by a world disarmament conference. However, the preparatory work for the conference should be stepped up since, owing to the resistance of one or two countries, this work has been proceeding at a slow pace.

26. The implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly relating to the non-use of force, the prohibition for all time of the use of nuclear weapons and the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council still retains all its importance.

27. After the elimination of the hotbed of military conflict in Indo-China, the Middle East remains the most explosive area. The United Nations has repeatedly examined the situation in that area and today everybody, or perhaps almost everybody, agrees that to achieve a final settlement of this problem it is necessary to liberate all Arab lands seized by Israel in 1967, to secure the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to the estab-

lishment of their own State, and to guarantee the rights of all countries of the Middle East to independent existence and development.

28. The Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East is the proper body for a comprehensive examination of the ways to settle this problem. What is hindering that settlement? First of all, it is the aggressive policy of Israel, supported by its patrons, which cherish the quite groundless hope that the problem of the Middle East can be settled at the expense of the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab peoples. This explains the delaying tactics in the resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference and the desire to postpone to the Greek Calends a comprehensive settlement and to replace it by so-called partial measures.

29. The speediest possible resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference—certainly a conference which should be seriously prepared and in which the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] should participate—is the surest way to a settlement. That Conference, I would note in passing, could not only examine this problem in its entirety, but could also take decisions on partial measures which, of course, should be implemented in conjunction with the general settlement and within its framework. In this way, and only in this way, can the establishment of a durable peace in the Middle East be promoted.

30. It is necessary to eliminate the dangerous hotbed of tension in Cyprus. The successful completion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to whose documents the signatures of Cyprus and other countries whose interests are directly affected by the developments in Cyprus are affixed, provides a favourable political climate for the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. It is essential that there be full compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, which guarantee its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

31. Tension still prevails on the Korean peninsula. The cessation of interference by imperialist forces in the internal affairs of Korea, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of South Korea and the prompt conversion of the armistice into a lasting peace are the key to the solution of the question of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. It is exactly to this end that the draft resolution—one of the sponsors of which is the Ukrainian SSR—on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice to a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea [A/10191 and Add.1-3, annex] is aimed.

32. During the years of political independence the developing countries have scored certain successes in their economic development. However, their economic situation remains difficult. That is due to a considerable degree to their unequal and dependent position in the world capitalist economy. It is precisely the developing countries which are most sensitive to the consequences of the profound crises in the capitalist economy. That is why the question of the developing countries gaining full economic independence and equality in international economic relations is so urgent.

33. The recent seventh special session of the General Assembly on the question of development and international economic co-operation was a new step along the road to the achievement of those aims. The Ukrainian SSR, like the other socialist countries, fully endorsed the progressive decisions taken at that session directed at the elimination of unequal treatment for the developing countries in the world capitalist economy. It is important to note that the decisions of the seventh special session emphasized the significance of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. As is known, as a result of the will of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, important political provisions are set out in these documents, emphasizing the close relationship between the problems of strengthening peace, international security, disarmament, and social and economic development. It is difficult to hope, without securing the necessary political conditions, that a successful solution of the important economic problems facing all countries in the world, including the developing countries, can be achieved.

34. Today, as 30 years ago, the main task of the United Nations consists in safeguarding a durable peace and consolidating international security. The road towards a durable peace and the progress of mankind can be sought through détente and disarmament, which provide the necessary conditions for the solution of the problems of development. The consolidation of peace on earth will create favourable opportunities for bringing about economic and social progress for all peoples.

35. In 1975 approximately 30 million people still remain under the yoke of colonial and racist régimes. This means that the resolute struggle for the complete eradication of colonialism and *apartheid* from our planet must be carried through to its conclusion. Now that we have witnessed the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, the United Nations must ensure the adoption of measures for granting independence without delay to the peoples of all the remaining colonial territories. That would be a worthy crowning of United Nations endeavours which began 15 years ago with the adoption, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*].

36. It is known that the United Nations has proclaimed this year as International Women's Year. In our opinion, the United Nations and its organs should deal even more actively with the question of securing equality for women, who make up half of mankind, and especially with the question of guaranteeing them equal political and economic rights with men and promoting their wider participation in the struggle for peace, international co-operation and progressive economic development. This was also confirmed by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico under the auspices of the United Nations.

37. Our delegation considers it necessary to stress that one of the most important human rights is the right of every person to live in peace and security.

38. Besides this, the most urgent question for the working people of a great many countries is the effective guaranteeing of the right to work, to education and to medical care and other social and economic rights. Indeed, it is a fact that the continuing crisis shaking the capitalist economy results in growing unemployment—on a massive scale in some countries—constant price increases, increasingly meagre opportunities for education and inadequate medical care due to sinking living standards. Hushing up or ignoring the importance of human rights in these fields, which are of vital importance to millions of people, may create a somewhat distorted picture of the state of affairs with regard to the safeguarding of human rights in the contemporary world.

39. We believe that the safeguarding of human rights means, first of all, a resolute struggle against racism, fascism, and similar ideologies and practices inspired by the hatred of one's fellow men. And the United Nations, which is called upon "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person", cannot pass over the flagrant violations of human rights being committed by the fascist junta in Chile. We voice our solidarity with the Chilean people in their struggle for the restoration of democratic rights and freedoms, and demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalán and other democrats languishing in the prisons of the junta.

40. The United Nations faces major and responsible tasks, and today as never before it has real opportunities to solve the problems on its agenda on condition, of course, that its Charter, the corner-stone of the United Nations, remains inviolable. The United Nations has lived through the years and has been strengthened thanks to the fact that as an international organization it favours the consolidation of peace and international security.

41. The thirtieth session of the General Assembly will come to an end, and the last quarter of the twentieth century will commence. May the resolutions which the General Assembly will adopt at its current session contribute to the solution of the problems facing the international community in a period when the restructuring of relations among States on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and respect for the rights of all peoples to free and independent development is under way.

42. Mr. AHMED (Pakistan): It gives me great pleasure to extend to the President of the Assembly the warm felicitations of my delegation on his election to the high office of the presidency of this session. His election is a recognition of his qualities of leadership, of which the Assembly has already had proof.

43. I should like also to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, who presided with distinction over the twenty-ninth session of the Assembly and its recently concluded seventh special session. His address at the closing session of the twenty-ninth General Assembly struck an eloquent note of conciliation which, we are confident, will continue to inspire the deliberations of the United Nations in its various forums.

44. As a visible symbol of the United Nations and with the access he has to Governments of Member

States, the Secretary-General is in a special position to exert his influence in promoting the attainment of the objectives of the Charter. I should like to pay my delegation's tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for the initiatives he has taken and the understanding and discretion he has exhibited in discharging this responsibility, thereby enhancing the stature of his office and enlarging the beneficent role of the United Nations in world affairs.

45. As our Organization celebrates the thirtieth year of its existence, we are happy to note that the goal of universality of membership draws near. My country joins other Members of the United Nations in extending a warm welcome to Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Cape Verde. The presence of those States here today as sovereign equals is a culmination of a long and heroic struggle by their peoples. Their triumph marks the fall of one of the few remaining citadels of colonial rule in Africa, which embodied an abominable system based on racial oppression and ruthless exploitation.

46. We look forward to the admission to the United Nations of Papua New Guinea and warmly congratulate its people on their achievement of independence. We have noted with appreciation the role that the Government of Australia has played in this regard.

47. Angola, which is expected to join the United Nations next month, is troubled by a tragic, fratricidal strife, even as it approaches the goal of freedom for which all its people have fought unitedly, valiantly and for so long. We are confident that the people of Angola can resolve their differences and we believe that they should be allowed to do so without outside interference.

48. The dismantling of the Portuguese colonial empire has significantly changed the complexion of the political scene in the long-tormented region of southern Africa. It has materially and morally reinforced the just struggle of the valiant peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa against racism in its most odious form. The changed political map of Africa has obliged the minority régimes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa to reassess their racist and colonial policies. We commend the efforts made by the African leaders to explore possibilities of a peaceful settlement, while Africa presses its advantage and intensifies its struggle for total emancipation. The people and the Government of Pakistan will continue to lend their full support to this struggle.

49. My delegation is gratified to welcome back to this Assembly the representatives of Cambodia, with which my country has warm and friendly relations. We are confident that in the near future representatives of the courageous people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam will also be able to take their rightful places in the family of nations. We hope that the bitterness of the long and terrible war which ravaged Indo-China will now be forgotten and put behind us.

50. My Government supports the basic and fundamental right of the Korean people to self-determination and reunification by peaceful means. The goal of reunification of their country is accepted by the parties concerned as well as by the international community. There are differences, however, over the manner in

which that goal can be achieved. We support the view that the Korean question should be resolved by the people of Korea themselves, free from all external pressure or interference. We consider that the time has come for the dissolution of the United Nations Command in Korea. We believe that the international community should encourage a dialogue between the parties concerned and should refrain from any action which might hinder the process of reconciliation and reunification of the Korean people.

51. I now turn to the situation in the Middle East. It has been repeatedly emphasized in this forum that no lasting peace can be established in the Middle East so long as the Arab-Israeli conflict is not justly resolved. The essential ingredients of such a settlement have also been repeatedly stated: they are set out in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and have been reiterated in many important forums. They include withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab Territories occupied by it in 1967, including the holy city of Jerusalem, and the restoration of the national rights of the people of Palestine. No settlement which does not conform to those conditions will last. Not until such a settlement is reached will there be durable peace in this region.

52. It is against that background that we view the recent agreement involving a limited withdrawal by Israel in the Sinai. We welcome it as a step—but only a step—towards the final settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Even so, it has not been easy of achievement. We trust that the momentum it has generated will be maintained and that all concerned will continue to strive to resolve the basic issues that underlie the conflict in the Middle East.

53. No people can countenance the desecration of places of worship. The firing of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969 and the recent partitioning of the Al-Ibrahimi Mosque in the city of Al-Khalil constitute an outrage against the religious susceptibilities of Moslems throughout the world. They are also a gratuitous affront to fundamental values shared by all religions and all peoples. Israel must undo such wrongs, repair the damage that has been done and desist in future from all such steps, as they can only aggravate an already explosive situation.

• *Mr. Thorn (Luxembourg) took the Chair.*

54. We are deeply conscious also of the need for an early solution of the conflict in Cyprus. Pakistan has always supported a settlement that would fully ensure for the two communities on the island the exercise of their fundamental rights and would enable them to live peacefully side by side with each other. We hope that the efforts made by the Secretary-General and the willingness to negotiate shown by the parties will pave the way for a final settlement and restore peace and tranquillity in that area.

55. Turning to the subcontinent, it is gratifying to note that progress towards normalization of relations between India and Pakistan is being sustained. Under the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972, both countries are committed to promoting a friendly and harmonious relationship between them and to working for the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent. Pakistan is resolved to continue to work for that objective.

56. My Government is also engaged in working for the establishment of normal, friendly relations with Bangladesh. We reciprocate the desire recently expressed by the President of Bangladesh to establish cordial relations with Pakistan. We believe that the establishment of such a relationship will not only redound to the mutual benefit of the peoples of both countries, but will also contribute to strengthening peace and stability in South Asia.

57. To that end we are resolved to continue to strive to normalize our relations with all our neighbours. Needless to say, we can succeed in doing so only on the understanding that each country will respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and will not interfere in the other's internal affairs. With Afghanistan, in particular, we have abiding ties—historical, cultural, geographical and economic—and we have every hope that, given goodwill on both sides, friendly relations can be established between our two countries, to the great advantage of our peoples.

58. I now come to an issue of universal concern—nuclear proliferation. Ever since India exploded a nuclear device last year, world attention has increasingly focused on the dangers of nuclear proliferation. We consider it entirely right that this should be so. Pakistan would strongly support the adoption of such safeguards as might be necessary to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We trust, however, that the safeguards would not be discriminatory in nature and would not unduly hinder the developing countries in proceeding with their programmes for exploiting nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

59. Listening to debates on this subject, one gains the impression that there is a tendency to assume that all will be well with the world if only non-nuclear States are prevented from producing nuclear weapons. We consider that to be a dangerous illusion. The threat of nuclear extinction that faces the world will be scarcely any the less for the fact that only five Powers may produce and stockpile nuclear weapons. It is to that terrible threat that those weapons pose to life on this planet—no matter who produces them—that sooner or later the United Nations will have to address itself.

60. In this context, my delegation has noted with interest the proposals made by the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom. Those proposals merit study in appropriate forums. However, neither of them touches upon the alarming problem of the existing and steadily increasing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. There are already enough of those weapons to devastate vast areas of this globe within a matter of minutes. The only way to ward off such a calamity would be for the nuclear Powers to agree not only to refrain from producing more nuclear weapons but also to destroy existing stockpiles. There is no other way that will assure mankind that it will not be engulfed one day in a nuclear holocaust.

61. The dismal failure of almost all previous disarmament efforts does not warrant any hope that such an agreement will be reached in the foreseeable future. In the meantime, certain other steps need to be urgently taken. One such step is indicated in a resolution adopted by 40 members of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Jeddah last July. That reso-

lution urges the nuclear-weapon States to undertake not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances against those non-nuclear-weapon States which are not protected by treaty guarantees from the nuclear Powers against a nuclear threat or attack.

62. It will be noted that this resolution specifically excludes States, such as those in Europe, which are covered by treaty guarantees by the super-Powers. This, it was hoped, would make the resolution generally acceptable. The proposed undertaking would not only give non-nuclear-weapon States a most needed sense of security against a possible nuclear attack; it would also act as a strong disincentive to nuclear proliferation, since the urge to become a nuclear-weapon State arises basically from the fear that one's adversary possesses, or may come to possess, nuclear weapons.

63. Another step that might help remove that fear from the minds of non-nuclear-weapon States is the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones. The Assembly has before it various proposals pertaining to the creation and strengthening of such zones in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and the South Pacific. In view of the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Latin America, the Antarctic, the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and outer space, these proposals represent a universal urge on the part of non-nuclear-weapon States to exclude nuclear weapons from their regions, thus enhancing their security and strengthening international peace. The establishment of such zones will also help accelerate the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

64. For our part, following the adoption last year by this Assembly of the two resolutions for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia [*resolutions 3265 A and B (XXIX)*], we have held consultations to explore ways and means of achieving the objectives of these resolutions. All States in the region have affirmed their commitment not to acquire nuclear weapons. However, differences of a fundamental nature remain to be resolved before an agreement can be reached. We look forward to holding further consultations in this regard with the countries concerned during the current session.

65. In the economic field, Pakistan has held that a dialogue aimed at evolving generally acceptable solutions is the most effective means of promoting co-operation between the developed and developing countries. We believe that it is in the interest of the international community that the third-world demands for justice and equity be met. It was in this spirit that my Government approached the sixth special session of the Assembly last year.

66. In preparation for the seventh special session, the developing countries, motivated by the same spirit, advisedly selected a limited number of important issues as the basis for negotiations in that session. We are happy that a broad agreement was achieved on those issues, thereby preparing the ground for further progress in this Assembly and in the forthcoming conference in Paris and at the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

67. The constructive spirit, reflecting a perception of a common interest, with which all countries ap-

proached those complex issues was the most significant feature of the seventh special session.

68. The same spirit will, we hope, animate discussions in this Assembly, the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation and other forums. We must also keep in view the need to ensure that the commitments and obligations already undertaken are implemented in full. Further, in keeping with the dynamic nature of the process of economic development, we must encourage the continuous and progressive evolution of the global dialogue as an essential feature of that process.

69. No comment on the international economic situation can be adequate without a reference to the very serious and continuously deteriorating situation in the low-income countries. The developed countries have already demonstrated their ability to absorb the effects of the crisis resulting from the events of the past two years. But the crisis in the developing countries has persisted and the situation has, in fact, gravely deteriorated. The oil-exporting countries have pledged substantial resources for assistance to these countries, resources far in excess of the targets envisaged in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. However, the unprecedented escalation of prices of the essential imports of developing countries, coupled with deterioration in their terms of trade, has seriously jeopardized the maintenance of even minimum levels of consumption and development. In such a critical situation, it is imperative that all countries play their part in enabling those countries to restore, and indeed step up, their economic growth.

70. It is now generally recognized that, while development assistance, balance-of-payments support and debt relief can help tide the developing countries over their immediate difficulties, they cannot alone provide an enduring solution to the basic problem of under-development. The cure lies in the creation of self-reliant economies in the developing countries so that those countries themselves can create the capacity to meet their development needs. There is thus an urgent need for fundamental reforms to provide those countries with equal opportunities to share the economic growth and prosperity of the international community.

71. Thirty years is not a long period in the history of man or his institutions. Yet in this time span the world has changed beyond recognition and so has this Organization, in terms of both the size of its membership and the nature and range of its concerns. Differences in political influence, military power and economic capacity among the nations of the world are such that formal independence does not always make a country master of its destiny. The concept of interdependence, arising from a recognition of mankind's common interests, has gained wide acceptance in recent years. To translate that concept into reality is the most important task facing the international community. In this regard, a particular responsibility devolves upon the small and medium-sized States. For, as the President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly observed, the centre of decision in the United Nations has shifted—and, I would add, not by virtue of numbers alone—in the direction of the smaller,

the weaker, the least wealthy countries. The impatience of those countries for change should not be misconstrued as unreason or hostility towards others. On the contrary, it can lend impetus to progress and co-operation among all.

72. The politics of the cold war and its polemics are gradually fading from the scene. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe signed at Helsinki will mark, we hope, not only the formal end of the cold war but the beginning of a chapter of peace and co-operation not confined to one particular region. In the new world which is emerging, the old distinctions and groupings of countries are beginning to lose relevance. The establishment of a new world order, political as well as economic, calls for the creation of a new alignment of all those who are committed to removing fear, injustice and exploitation from the world, to building a viable system to maintain peace and prevent conflicts—an alignment of those committed to the imperatives of peace and progress for all. There can be no doubt about Pakistan's place in such an alignment.

73. Mr. OZORES (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, we, the small countries, welcome your election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, since this not only represents a recognition of your personal qualifications but is also a tribute to the principle of the equal sovereignty of States, which is so important in relations between nations large and small.

74. We are also pleased to pay a tribute of appreciation to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, for the fruitful work done under his skilful guidance as President of the twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session, which culminated in the historic resolution on development and international economic co-operation [resolution 3362 (S-VII)].

75. It is also a sincere pleasure to transmit to the Secretary-General the appreciation and gratitude of our people for his tireless efforts to achieve peace, security and international co-operation in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the best interests of mankind.

76. We welcome with particular enthusiasm the entry into the Organization of the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique, to which will shortly be added Angola, Papua New Guinea and Suriname. These nations, as new Member States, bring to the international community young blood, fresh ideas and a lusty dynamism, to expand the tasks of the United Nations for the benefit of other people who desire freedom and justice in the world.

77. Because of the spirit of fraternal solidarity of the Governments and peoples of Latin America, the Republic of Panama has been proclaimed as the single candidate of the region for the vacancy to be left in the Security Council at the end of this year by the sister republic of Costa Rica.

78. This noble gesture of the fraternal Latin American countries is a striking recognition of the contribution made by Panama during the life of this Organization to the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as of its adherence to the principles and pur-

poses of the United Nations, which it proved by the contribution of the contingent of soldiers from the National Guard of Panama which served with distinction in the operations of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Sinai area, in compliance with the mandate established by the Security Council.

79. But, parallel with this, our selection is not to the principle of equitable geographical distribution alone, but is an expression of the concerted action of the States of the Latin American continent, which look to Panama with affection as the harmonizing centre of the efforts of this part of the world to improve the standards of living and well-being of their peoples in a spirit of integration.

80. Our presence on the Security Council will coincide with two political events of extraordinary importance for the future both of my country and of Latin America. I am referring to the negotiations which have been going on for 11 years between Panama and the United States to arrive at a new treaty which will put an end in every sense to the perpetuity of the concession relating to the Inter-oceanic Canal, and to the Latin American summit meeting to be held in Panama on 22 June 1976 to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress, which was convened by Simón Bolívar, our Liberator, to establish international mechanisms which would ensure the independence of our countries from any foreign domination.

81. The significance for our countries of these events may be measured by the statement made in the capital of the isthmus by the President of Venezuela, Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, when he signed the Joint Declaration together with the Heads of Government of Colombia, Costa Rica and Panama, on 24 March 1975. At that time the great Venezuelan statesman, in referring to the call of the Liberator, said:

“Afterward, Simón Bolívar forges ahead, seeing afar, pointing out to all our peoples the only path, that of unity. And today we agree here in Panama that next year all the nations of Latin America will celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress, but celebrate it with an act of total sovereignty.”

82. Besides the mental resonance of the words, we are now making preparations, at the initiative of the Heads of Government I have mentioned, to build a monument in Panama City which, because of its size and symbolism, will bring to the conscience of Latin American generations the grandeur of the thinking of our Liberator and the commitment to transform into reality his concept of unity for the genuine integration of Latin America.

83. It is with a genuine feeling of honour and pride that I must state that it is no mere chance, but the concatenation of historical events, that resulted, at the ministerial meeting held in Panama from 31 July to 2 August this year with the participation of the 26 Latin American States, in a consensus being reached on the establishment of a Latin American Economic System [SELA] and an agreement to convene in Panama City, starting on 15 September, a working group which has already prepared a draft statute to be submitted to the ministerial conference which will meet again in Panama City, starting on

15 October. For my country, as the geographical centre of the continent, which maintains friendly relations with all the nations of the region, it would be a great honour to be the headquarters of an essentially Latin American institution of such hierarchy and importance in the development process of our peoples.

84. SELA, which is conceived of as a regional instrument for consultation, co-ordination, co-operation and economic development of a permanent character with its own juridical personality, made up of sovereign Latin American States, will have as its fundamental purpose to reconcile the interests of all Latin American countries and to promote the preparation and development of joint programmes and projects by setting up multinational companies and by combining the basic interests of the Latin American region with the new international economic order.

85. The interest evinced by our Government in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is understandable in view of the fact that Panama is essentially a maritime country. The merchant fleet flying the Panamanian flag is one of the largest in the world. Panama's coastline measures almost 2,000 kilometres on the coasts of the central zones of the Atlantic and the Pacific, and its territorial sea, continental shelf and national sea-bed cover a larger area than the parts of the land that have emerged from the sea.

86. Our main natural resource—the geographical position of the isthmus—is largely a function of the oceans, considered as highways of transport and trade. But that is not all; another of our vital natural resources, the River Chagres, has been made into a canal so that it flows out into the two oceans, thus traversing the full breadth of the American continent at its narrowest part.

87. Almost 15,000 ships pass through the 80 kilometres of the Panama Canal every year, that is, a substantial proportion of all the ships which sail the seas. Although it is not a natural strait, but a river valley, we are aware of its role in peaceful exchanges and in the progress of mankind, and we intend, in a desire to allow quick and safe transit for the ships of all the world, to set up a régime of great liberality without any discrimination, while at the same time we would have a régime of permanent neutrality, guaranteed by the international community.

88. But this open and generous attitude of the Republic of Panama comes up against the anachronistic situation which not only gives the United States the use of the main instrument of exploitation of Panama's geographical position, namely, the Panama Canal, but also prevents Panama from using its principal ports on the Atlantic and on the Pacific.

89. At the sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Caracas, Panama denounced the continuance of this anomalous situation, which paradoxically transforms a country which its physical geography makes essentially maritime into a State which is in a geographically disadvantageous position.

90. What is even more serious is that that situation is the result of colonialist practices carried out in the heart of our continent by the Government of the United States.

91. The colonial situation which the Canal Zone represents and the illegitimate appropriation by the United States of the ports of Boca-Balboa on the Pacific and of Cristóbal on the Atlantic were vigorously denounced. This led us to sponsor the draft text on territories under foreign occupation or colonial domination, which received broad support, and which was intended to exclude from the new law of the sea we are drafting any colonial situation which infringes the rights of free peoples and sovereign States, as in the situation which persists in the isthmus of Panama.

92. We firmly believe that in this respect our attitude is one of the greatest contributions that can be made to the success of the Conference on the law of the sea. The Republic of Panama reiterates its willingness to continue to participate actively in the work of that Conference. To that end, our national Government is carefully studying the informal negotiating texts which were prepared by the chairmen of the three committees at the end of the meetings held at Geneva during the spring of 1975. The delegation of Panama will attend the meetings convened for New York in March 1976 with every readiness to participate in negotiations intended to make of the seas and the law of the sea instruments of peace at the service of all nations.

93. Panama, as a State desirous of peace and international co-operation, shares the concern of the majority of the peoples of the world in opposing imperialist and colonialist policies. The struggle undertaken by the non-aligned countries to defend their right to political and economic independence has aroused in the peoples of Latin America growing feelings of solidarity and support. That is so because the non-aligned movement is viewed as an international anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement, which is also opposed to power politics, policies of hegemony and schemes of domination based on offensive racist discrimination.

94. Panama, which for seven decades has been struggling against a smouldering colonialist situation which affects its territorial integrity, views the non-aligned movement, directed to the defence of the interests of the peoples of the third world, as the natural mechanism for endorsing with dignity its independent foreign policy in international forums, since this non-aligned movement advocates the application of United Nations ideals. Therefore the State of Panama has not only adhered to the Lima Programme for Mutual Assistance and Solidarity,¹ which is already known to this Assembly, but has become a fully fledged member of the group of non-aligned countries, which also strive for the establishment of a new international economic order which will represent their total and complete emancipation through the recovery of and control over their wealth, their natural resources and their means for economic development.

95. We believe it timely to recall in this respect the consistent position of Panama in favour of landlocked countries or those in geographically disadvantageous situations; and in this context we have very much in mind the noble nation of Bolivia. We therefore reiterate Panama's backing for Bolivia's just aspiration to have direct access to the sea.

96. For the Republic of Panama, whose principal natural resource is its geographical position, while the inter-oceanic Canal is the means for exploiting that

resource, the pronouncements of this General Assembly are of the utmost importance in regard 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)*]; the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]; the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]; and, as a corollary, resolution 3362 (S-VII) on development and international economic co-operation adopted at the seventh special session, since the basis for all these pronouncements is the exercise by States of full and permanent sovereignty over their wealth, natural resources and economic activities.

97. The Security Council, when it met in the city of Panama from 15 to 21 March 1973 to consider those problems of Latin America which might endanger peace and security in the region, considered that the question of the Panama Canal had been a constant source of conflict between my country and the United States.

98. The overwhelming international support which Panama has received since then is beyond challenge. All the Latin American countries without exception expressed their unanimous solidarity. That is no doubt why in beginning the new dialogue it was decided to include on the agenda the question of the Panama Canal, since this is a matter of common interest for all Latin America.

99. It is understandable that, a few days before the Tlatelolco meeting, in Panama on 7 February 1974, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama, Juan Antonio Tack, and the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Henry Kissinger, signed a declaration on a series of fundamental principles which serve and must serve as guidelines for the negotiators in the efforts to arrive at a just and equitable treaty which will do away once and for all with the causes of conflict between the two countries.

100. This is a formula intended to break the deadlock in the prolonged negotiations, recognizing first the fundamental aspiration of the people of Panama to abrogate the Hay-Bunau Varilla Convention of 1903² and its amendments, thus paving the way for a new agreement which will put an end to the existing colonial situation in the heart of the territory of Panama.

101. In that declaration it was furthermore agreed, in point 2, that the elimination of the concept of perpetuity should be brought about by stipulating a fixed period of duration for the Canal concession. An end to perpetuity will, in our opinion, mean a beginning of the end of the colonial structure in the so-called Canal Zone.

102. It is worth while emphasizing that in points 3 and 4 of the Tack-Kissinger declaration it is agreed:

(a) To reaffirm that the territory in which the Canal is situated is Panamanian territory;

(b) To recognize the right of the country with territorial sovereignty to exercise full jurisdiction over this territory;

(c) To end speedily the jurisdiction of the United States over Panamanian territory;

(d) To return to Panama the Panamanian territory on which the Canal is situated;

(e) To grant to the United States of America for the duration of the new treaty the right to use the lands, waters and air space necessary for the functioning, maintenance, protection and defence of the Canal and the transit of ships.

103. In regard to jurisdiction, the Government of Panama trusts that an agreement will be reached with the United States for the abolition of the Canal Zone, so that my country, as a territorial sovereign, can assume full jurisdiction over that part of its territory. For such an agreement to be effective the so-called government of the Canal Zone must cease to function in no more than three years' time. Accordingly, the Governor and administrative machinery which now exist would disappear, as would the United States police, because the Panamanian National Guard would take over their functions. Likewise, foreign courts would be removed and United States laws would no longer be applied, since Panamanian law would prevail, and justice would be administered by Panamanian judges. Panama would also take over public services and be in charge of post offices, which have so far been in foreign hands. On the same criterion, the so-called Panama Canal Company would cease to exist. It was set up by the United States Government, and we shall set up a new organization in accordance with the stipulations of the new treaty.

104. It is the firm intention of Panama to proceed with the negotiations on the Panama Canal question, but on the understanding that these negotiations must move effectively and in the correct direction, which is the elimination of the anachronistic North American colonial enclave in the heart of the nation of Panama against the will of its people. Our goal is now none other than total and complete decolonization, in harmony with the spirit of our times, singularly expressed in the magna carta on decolonization [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] and in the Economic and Social Council resolution on the permanent sovereignty of peoples and nations over their natural wealth and resources [*resolution 1956 (LIX)*].

105. It is fitting to recall in this respect that in point 5 of the Tack-Kissinger declaration it is recognized that "the geographical position of its territory constitutes the principal resource of the Republic of Panama". Similarly, in point 6, both countries have agreed that "the treaty will also stipulate that the Republic of Panama will assume total responsibility for the operation of the Canal when the treaty comes to an end". In the agreement that exists between the two points I have mentioned the foundations are laid for the effective exercise by Panama of its right to economic self-determination.

106. These principles contained in the joint Tack-Kissinger declaration clearly establish the formula with which the negotiations must culminate, which is a Panamanian Canal under Panamanian control. This formula would be in accordance with the pronouncement of the Secretary-General before the Security Council on 20 March 1973, when he advocated a solution for the Panama Canal question which, in his opinion:

"... can only be based on the respect for law and the search for justice. A solution will have to take into account basic principles which are enshrined in the Charter, such as the principle of territorial integrity, sovereign equality, the obligation to settle all international disputes by peaceful means and the principle which by now has become an accepted common standard, namely, that any State is entitled to put to full use and for its own account all its natural potentialities."³

107. In order to put an end to colonialism in our territory, the Panamanian Government has proposed that the new treaty, as regards all its aspects, including defence, should not last longer than the end of the present century. This extremely reasonable position has nevertheless given rise to frequent statements in the United States press that the United States should endeavour to insert in the treaty a clause whereby that country would be responsible for the defence of the Canal for a longer period—namely, 50 years—and that at the end of that period it would have the right to continue to defend the Canal for an indefinite length of time.

108. History proves dramatically that the Panamanian people has always opposed any formula which might be equivalent to perpetuity—and not only the Panamanian people: all the peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the world repudiate this typical formula of rampant colonialism, which mankind believes it has overcome through the declarations of this General Assembly, but which some narrow-minded people without a sense of history try to project into the twenty-first century.

109. Panama's position has been clearly defined by the Head of Government of Panama, General Omar Torrijos, who, in a recent interview with the Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez, stated that "in the negotiations Panama seeks an orderly step-by-step process of demilitarization and neutralization of the Canal," in which the Panamanian National Guard will play a growing role while that of the United States army decreases.

110. In this respect it must not be forgotten that in the Hay-Bunau Varilla Convention Panama and the United States undertook to apply to the Panama Canal the principles of neutralization stipulated in the Constantinople Convention of 1888 Respecting the Free Navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal, of which the signatories were England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Turkey and Russia.

111. A régime of that kind would to some extent accord with the proposal made at the Potsdam Conference in 1945 by the then President of the United States, Harry S Truman, to the effect that, in order to safeguard the future peace and security of the world, international marine waterways should be open to free and unrestricted use by all the nations of the world.

112. There can be no doubt that, in accordance with international law, the Panama Canal, like the Suez Canal and the Kiel Canal, must be governed by a general body of rules of common application to this type of international waterway but subject to the competence of territorial sovereignty. In other words, the régime applicable to the use of these waterways

must not, according to authoritative opinions, aim to withdraw the Canal from the control of the coastal State but rather to impose upon that State certain obligations intended to facilitate the free passage of merchant ships and warships of all flags, without discrimination, in time of war and in time of peace.

113. Truman's Potsdam proposal, which was no doubt formulated in response to the Soviet position with regard to the régime of the Turkish straits, paved the way so that, through the agreement of the international community, all international waterways could be used freely for international navigation subject to the jurisdiction, competence and control of the country with the territorial sovereignty, which in the case of the Panama Canal is the State of Panama.

114. I wish to end on a note of optimism. I am prompted to it by the positive results of the seventh special session, which once again displayed a spirit of concord and co-operation which basically inspires all countries at present regardless of their degree of development, their ideologies or their aspirations.

115. We are pleased to note that we are coming closer to peace because of the initiatives taken by Egypt and Israel in the Middle East, and we express the hope that the territorial integrity of Cyprus will be safeguarded.

116. With the cessation of the war in Indo-China and the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which opens new prospects for peace in other regions of the earth, it is most encouraging that the General Assembly, in its resolution on development and international economic co-operation, has now decided resolutely to eliminate the injustice and inequality which afflict vast sectors of mankind by means of practical measures to attain the general objective of a new international economic order.

117. These and other auspicious events, among which I should like to mention the progress made in the decolonization process in Africa, are of utmost relevance to the position achieved by the United Nations after 30 years. In this regard it is fitting to refer to the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/10001/Add.1], a valuable document in which Mr. Waldheim shows how, despite obstacles, our Organization has progressed slowly but surely, without haste but without pause, like the star of which Goethe wrote.

118. As for my country, I wish to say that Panama offers its firm though modest support for all those efforts without flagging for a second. To Panama it is vital and necessary that this climate of international dialogue and concord be maintained, because our cause is intimately linked to international peace and the spirit of solidarity and equality among nations. In this respect I should like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Panama, our gratitude for the firm support the vast majority of nations and Governments here represented have given to the legitimate aspirations of my country in the vital and decisive question of the Panama Canal. That question is one of the very problems which serve effectively to indicate whether or not it is true that the great Powers have learned the tragic lessons of our times and have in fact decided to walk hand in

hand with the small nations and those less favoured by history towards the heights of peace and concord which are the ultimate ideal of the United Nations.

119. Mr. PUJA (Hungary) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Hungarian delegation may I warmly congratulate you on your election to the presidency. I am convinced that under your guidance the present session will help to promote the further improvement of the international atmosphere and the settlement of unresolved international problems.

120. The year 1975 is one of great celebration. This year we have celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over fascism. This corresponds with the anniversary of the liberation of my country and the anniversary of the creation of the United Nations. The countries of the earth have travelled a long road since the 1940s and the 1950s, a period of great tension, to the present situation of excellent relations and co-operation among countries with different social systems. A very positive role in this connexion has been played by the States members of the Warsaw Pact, the twentieth anniversary of which is also being celebrated this year, States which have by their constructive proposals contributed greatly to the fertile international atmosphere prevailing at present.

121. The thirtieth session of the General Assembly is convened at a period in which the process of détente has become the main trend in international life. This conclusion has been convincingly borne out by international events in recent years, which indicate that international life has entered a new phase, with détente and peaceful coexistence steadily gaining ground and the concepts and practice of the cold war becoming more and more a thing of the past.

122. In this extremely favourable development of events, a great role has been played by the socialist countries, and first and foremost by the Soviet Union. The development of their relations with the capitalist countries—and, in particular, the improving co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States—has contributed, and will undoubtedly continue to do so in future, to the solution of several complicated international problems.

123. Of course, we must not lose sight of the fact that détente and peaceful coexistence also have their adversaries. The vestiges of the cold war and of fascism, the various representatives of international reaction who benefit from the arms race, and the enemies of social progress alike, are all trying to disrupt the co-operation between countries with different social systems and to defer the settlement of outstanding international problems, while hatching plans to stir up international tension.

124. These groups enjoy the support of anti-Soviet politicians—self-proclaimed socialists who are harbouring dreams of world power.

125. These days, the forces of peace outnumber the forces speculating in war, but they will be able to triumph only if they concert their efforts and firmly repel the attempts to threaten peace and security.

126. It was two months ago yesterday that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe concluded its work. We who were fortunate enough

to be able to attend the third phase of the Conference, to hear the statements of the highest-ranking leaders of the participating countries and to be present at the signing of the Final Act of the Conference, all felt that we were witnessing an event of historic significance. The Governments of the countries signatories of the Final Act summed up the principles for peaceful coexistence among countries, determined the broad policies for developing their relations, and worked out some specific ways and means of pursuing those ends, thereby creating favourable conditions for continuous efforts to consolidate peace and security in Europe.

127. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches extreme importance to both the Conference and its Final Act. We believe that in months and years to come the signatory countries will have to use their best endeavours to implement the provisions of the Final Act. We, for our part, have already adopted a series of measures to this end. We expect our Western partners to take similar steps for the implementation of the document signed. On this will largely depend whether the enterprise of making Europe a region of stable peace and security, of mutual understanding and fruitful co-operation among States, as well as of stability, can hope to succeed.

128. We are aware that it will be no easy task to implement the provisions of the Final Act. In the Western countries there are more than a few people who are opposed to peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and who have also spoken out against the Conference itself. It may be supposed that these forces will be seeking to hinder, on some pretext or another, the efforts to translate the provisions of the Final Act into real terms. The adherents of peace and security will need all their strength to thwart such machinations.

129. Let the adherents of peace draw strength from the awareness that a Europe and a North America living in conditions of lasting peace and security would, in view of the vital importance of those continents in world politics, have a favourable influence on the fate of the entire globe.

130. An outstanding international event of the recent past has been the historic victory of the Vietnamese people and the restoration of peace in Indo-China. It is quite clear that the importance of this event goes well beyond the confines of the region of South-East Asia and contributes its share to the consolidation of international peace throughout the world.

131. The Government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic have, from the very outset, stood by the heroic people of Viet Nam and have supported their self-sacrificing struggle. We have also supported a just settlement of the Vietnamese question and fulfilled the obligations we had assumed in the International Commission for Supervision and Control and made our contribution to the restoration of peace. We continue to support the Vietnamese people now that there is a case for the admission of their States to the United Nations. We condemn the manoeuvres of those who, in disregard of the position taken by the overwhelming majority of Member States, have blocked the admission of those two countries. We are convinced that their admission would strengthen our Organization and enhance its effectiveness. The Hungarian delegation hopes, therefore, that the Demo-

cratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam will become Members of the United Nations as early as this year.

132. My Government warmly welcomes the victory of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, which has been another contribution to the consolidation of peace and security in the region of Indo-China.

133. Several speakers before me have already emphasized that political détente can be durable and be broadened in scope only if it is supplemented by measures within the context of disarmament. Our delegation is pleased to note that last year some headway was made in this respect as well.

134. We continue to attach great importance to the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the results of which are bound to serve the interests not only of those two world Powers but also of each and every country in the world. Precisely for this reason, we look forward with some expectation to an eventual new agreement in this respect.

135. We are following with great attention the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces in Central Europe. The proposals made by the Warsaw Pact countries are aimed at reaching an agreement that will guarantee the security of all the countries concerned and preclude the possibility of any of the parties gaining unilateral military advantages. It is time for the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to act on the basis of similar considerations and to show due regard for the principle of equal security.

136. Twelve years have passed since the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water was signed in Moscow. Mankind pinned great hopes on achieving, on the basis of that treaty, a general and complete cessation of nuclear-weapon tests, but certain Powers for different reasons raised objections to a complete ban on nuclear-weapon tests.

137. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic enthusiastically welcomes the Soviet proposal presented at this session for the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and regards it as a timely initiative of very great importance for the future of mankind. It is our hope that all Governments will ultimately comply with the demands of the peoples and will agree to the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.

138. My Government similarly lends warm support to another highly important proposal made by the Government of the Soviet Union concerning the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons. The adoption of this proposal would be a significant step towards curbing the arms race.

139. The Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI)*] entered into force on 26 March this year. The socialist countries, which made considerable efforts to achieve that Convention, will continue to struggle for the complete prohibition of chemical weapons.

140. With regard to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, we cannot but welcome as a significant result of its work the elaboration of a draft convention, proposed by the Soviet Government, on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military or other hostile purposes. We hope that the draft presented by the two Co-Chairmen on 21 August will be found by the General Assembly to constitute an appropriate basis for the conclusion of the Convention.

141. My Government invariably supported as important and timely the proposals presented by the Government of the Soviet Union at the previous session of the General Assembly and widely supported by Member States. We attach particular importance to the early convening of a world disarmament conference.

142. It has never been, nor will it be, an easy task to have disarmament measures adopted. Influential circles which seek to continue and even to step up the arms race still exist in the West in defiance of their Government's officially declared foreign policy course. It is important for the peoples struggling for peace and security to isolate the fanatics of the arms race and to compel them to adopt an attitude in keeping with the interests of the peoples.

143. The States Members of the United Nations have to make further efforts to solve outstanding international problems because those hotbeds of international tension which poison international life have a negative effect on further progress and may well imperil the results achieved so far in the process of détente.

144. A favourable development in the European situation and the future of the region bordering on Cyprus are overshadowed by the events connected with that island State. The Hungarian People's Republic unswervingly favours the complete independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign military forces and we are strongly opposed to any plan to divide the island State into two parts. My Government believes that the time has come for the Security Council to adopt effective measures for the immediate implementation of its earlier resolutions.

145. We should like to see the talks between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus leading to early success through the mediation of the Secretary-General.

146. The Government and people of the Hungarian People's Republic, in common with all of progressive mankind, welcome with gratification the favourable changes that have taken place in Portugal after the overthrow of Fascist rule. We are glad to see that, in the spirit of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the Portuguese Government has taken consistent and effective steps to ensure the attainment of independence by its colonies. Certain events, however, that have occurred in Portugal in recent months give us some cause for concern. We find it inadmissible that certain Western politicians are interfering in Portugal's internal affairs. It is solely for the Portuguese people to decide on their future and to choose their way of life. No one is entitled to inter-

fere, either overtly or covertly, in the internal affairs of the Portuguese people.

147. Turning to the Middle East region, we think that the situation there is still explosive. My Government insists on the need for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East situation. In principle, we have no objection to the partial results achieved by political means, but only provided that they form part and parcel of a comprehensive settlement taking due regard of the interests of all the parties concerned. In connexion with the recent agreement on the disengagement of Egyptian-Israeli forces, we do not share the optimism of those who brought it about. We are concerned because the agreement fails to solve any of the crucial problems, fails to provide for the complete evacuation of the Arab territories occupied in 1967, and fails to provide recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and for guarantees of the security of all countries of the Middle East.

148. In our view, the most appropriate forum for solving the Middle East conflict is still the Geneva Peace Conference, with the participation of all the interested parties, including the PLO, the Soviet Union and the United States. A settlement of the question, whether it is sought at the Geneva Conference or by other means, cannot be lasting without the participation of the socialist countries, and primarily of the Soviet Union, because without it there can be no agreement guaranteeing the just interests of the Arab peoples.

149. The fact that international reaction and the imperialist forces are on the move inevitably recalls the tragedy that overtook the people of Chile two years ago. The Chilean Fascist régime continues to keep thousands of patriots in prisons and concentration camps and continues to persecute the progressive forces. The Chilean people, however, continues its heroic struggle, in which it enjoys the support of the progressive forces and public opinion throughout the world.

150. Nor can we overlook the attempts that can be observed in other Latin American countries. International and internal reactionaries are plotting to bring about coups similar to the Fascist coup in Chile. Those attempts might dangerously aggravate the international situation, for the reactionary régimes resort precisely to an increase of international tension as a means of holding sway over their peoples.

151. The progressive forces of Latin America throw up great obstacles to the schemes of the reactionaries. The example of socialist Cuba and other countries of this continent which are pursuing a progressive policy makes their effect increasingly felt on the region of Latin America.

152. The Hungarian People's Republic has from the very outset supported the noble efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of that country. My Government demands the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. It was in this spirit that, together with several other States, it requested the inclusion in the agenda of subitem 119 (a) entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of

Korea". Our delegation, as one of the sponsors of that proposal [A/10191 and Add.1-3], hopes that a significant majority of Member States will support the draft resolution and thereby contribute to the settlement of a problem which has long been ripe for solution.

153. My Government is of the opinion that conditions for the establishment of a collective security system in Asia are developing in parallel to the extension of détente. I am referring to this question mainly because I am convinced that the establishment of a collective security system in Asia would not only be fully in keeping with the endeavours of the peace-loving peoples of the Asian continent, but would also contribute significantly to the consolidation of peace and security in general.

154. The socialist countries have long professed their conviction—and given evidence of this conviction by putting forward initiatives and proposals—that the economic advance of the developing countries and the reform of international economic relations on new and more equitable foundations are closely interrelated with the results achieved in consolidating peace and security. The gradual realization of the aspirations of developing countries mainly lies in changes in the international correlation of forces and in the new realities that have emerged in the United Nations and in other international forums. An important stage in this process was marked at the seventh special session by the General Assembly, which, in the resolution adopted [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] made a great stride forward in seeking the ways and means of solutions.

155. It was 15 years ago that the United Nations adopted a Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. We are truly overjoyed to be able to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of this event with the attainment of independence by numerous colonial peoples.

156. Allow me, on behalf of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, to welcome the newly admitted States Members of the United Nations: namely, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the Republic of Cape Verde. My Government has not delayed to recognize these countries as independent and sovereign States. We are convinced that their participation in the work of the United Nations will serve the cause of progress and peace.

157. In voicing our pleasure and satisfaction over the progress made in the elimination of the colonial system, we must not forget that some monopolistic-capitalist circles are trying to slow down this process.

158. In Angola, heavy roadblocks continue to be built up on the way to the country's independence and peaceful development. The intervention of Powers moved by neocolonialist interests sows discord between the liberation movements and brings fresh trials to the patriots struggling for the country's genuine independence.

159. The complete liberation of the African peoples cannot be prevented, even by the inhuman racist régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. World public opinion is becoming ever more resolute in its demands that the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe be allowed

to decide their own destiny and to become the real masters of their native lands.

160. In conformity with the relevant resolution of the General Assembly, my Government has transmitted to the Secretary-General its views regarding the revision of the Charter. We think that, although during the past 30 years substantial changes have taken place in the world, the provisions of the Charter are still adequate to give effect to the aims and purposes of the United Nations. If in this area there have been, or probably still are, problems, the fault lies not with the Charter. Every Member State should pursue a line of policy consistent with the principles of the Charter, which we have all accepted.

161. We are firmly convinced that if the efforts to revise the Charter succeeded, the effectiveness of our Organization would be greatly weakened, whereas, by making better use of the possibilities offered by the Charter, we can enhance the efficiency and authority of our Organization.

162. My Government is likewise firmly convinced that the work of our Organization has become more effective in recent years. In this a major portion of the credit belongs to the Secretary-General, to whom I take this opportunity to convey the best wishes of my Government.

163. In conclusion, I can assure you, Mr. President, that the Hungarian delegation will, at the present session of the General Assembly, also do everything in its power to ensure the successful outcome of the work of our deliberations.

AGENDA ITEM 54

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees in the Near East:

(b) Report of the Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

164. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): At the request of the Chairman of the Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [UNRWA], I wish to draw the attention of the representatives of Member States to document A/10268 of 26 September 1975, a special report of the Working Group to the General Assembly.

165. The Working Group, which was established by the Assembly to assist the Secretary-General and the Commissioner-General of UNRWA in obtaining financial support for the Agency, has issued this special report to emphasize the grave financial crisis which UNRWA is now facing. Unless additional monetary contributions are made to the Agency in the immediate future, it will face the tragic necessity of reducing or even terminating its humanitarian services to the Palestine refugees in the weeks to come. Any reduction of these services would cause widespread human suffering and could produce unforeseeable political consequences in the area.

166. I urge you to give this special report of the Working Group your careful consideration and to draw it and the critical situation it describes to the urgent attention of your Governments. In our opinion time is of the essence.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

¹ A/10217 and Corr.1, annex.

² Isthmian Canal Convention. For the text, see *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949*, vol. 10, Department of State publication 8642 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 663.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year*, 1701st meeting, para. 16.