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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Mutuale
(Zaire), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (concluded)

1. Mr. BARREIRO (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all to extend heartfelt greetings, on behalf of the delegation of Paraguay, to the President of this session of the General Assembly. We wish to congratulate him warmly on his election and to express our conviction that his wisdom and high sense of equity, as well as his devotion to the cause of the international community, are guarantees that we shall achieve excellent results that will be a credit to this world body and to his great country.

2. Secondly, we should like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his unfailing dedication to the cause of international peace and security and the unstinting efforts he is making towards the achievement of that goal.

3. We wish to welcome cordially the newly admitted Members of the United Nations, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and to offer our best wishes for the prosperity of those friendly nations.

4. Paraguay is aware of the full meaning of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. It understands that principle to mean the concerted goodwill of all the nations in their constant quest for the attainment of lofty objectives serving peace, security, justice and development.

5. Paraguay wishes to express its confidence that this gathering of all the nations within this Organization will be not an assembly of rivalry and obdurate confrontation but a forum where negotiation and honest dialogue will lead to the solutions demanded by the world, leaving aside all considerations based on regional groupings, political ideologies or petty selfishness.

6. We have repeatedly stated from this rostrum that Paraguay attends these world assemblies with great expectations and gives its friendly support to all efforts towards ennobling justice, comforting peace and the encouragement of man in every corner of the globe.

7. But we have also said that it is not enough merely to preach peace: we must make peace a fact and bring it down from the lofty place of intangible, charismatic values to the plane of fraternal dialogue and harmonious and civilized coexistence.

8. The kind of peace that Paraguay aspires to is a peace founded on the dignity and freedom of man, a peace based on the economic well-being of all nations; a peace based on strict compliance with the pledges given by peoples and Governments; a peace that will not silence the right that man has, simply because he is a man, to dissent and express the reasons for his personal dissent.

9. Peace is not the mere absence of armed confrontation. Peace is not, and cannot be, merely silence where before there was the rattling of sabres, loss of life and open confrontation. Peace must necessarily be the strengthening of order in justice and mutual respect. Peace must be respect for the fundamental human freedoms, as well as the freedoms of the groups that man has created for his own ends and for the achievement of his own dignity.

10. One cannot speak of peace when international agreements become dead letters. One cannot speak of true peace when we see entire peoples subjected by the force of weapons to warlike domination, a domination very often obtained with the support of the concealed or open intervention of neighbouring countries, and it does not matter whether that intervention is camouflaged by other names or titles.

11. We can speak of true peace when in international arenas and forums we seek to judge all situations with a strict sense of justice. That sense of justice and moderation is to be found above all in the minds and hearts of men, and only long after that in the facts of everyday life.

12. It is in that sense of moderation, balance and equity in our judgement of all conflicts anywhere in the world that we shall gain the triumph of the United Nations and of mankind.

13. The kind of peace that Paraguay seeks is based on the attainment of the supreme values, without which there can be nothing that is firm and definite in the coexistence of peoples, Governments and systems. These supreme values are the only goals that can ennoble the work of this Organization and make this body a serious forum worthy of respect and an invincible force for the triumph of the universal community.

14. When all the Members of the United Nations truly share those views, to their fullest extent, regard-

less of the cost or sacrifice, then we shall be building a better world for future generations. We shall in fact be working for the strengthening of a wide international order which will truly allow for unity and coexistence. We shall be strengthening creative peace, the source of all good and all beauty, far removed from domination and hegemony on the part of sectors or groups with their own interests, ambitions and desires for economic, political, territorial or merely ideological conquest.

15. We pay small service to the new international order that we should all aspire to and work for when we sacrifice the true dimension of spiritual values to specific considerations of whatever kind, considerations that are always transitory and changing.

16. Nor do we believe in the magic effect of words which are used so much that they sound empty or arouse the suspicions of the peoples.

17. Much has been said about détente, but the clouds of preparation for war keep on advancing, casting fear into the hearts of men. Much has been said about détente, but each day we read in the press about the tremendous increase in the trade in weapons, weapons designed solely for conflict, mourning and death. Much has been said about détente, but in international bodies petty and subjective interests are hampering the establishment of a better and more just world order.

18. In the name of détente the sacrifice of the autonomy of entire nations has been accepted as a *fait accompli*. There are those who are unmoved by war, waged by any and all means, against peoples that deserve a better life, and with no consideration for the views of their national majorities.

19. There is not nor will there ever be true détente so long as in the mass media and even in international bodies there are calls for verbal or ideological violence, appeals to the dangerous posture of claiming to be the universal and sole possessor of the truth at all times and on all questions.

20. Peace is the reflection of the minds of men and nations. Let us disarm minds and thereby eliminate possible hotbeds of war and violence. If we do not loyally serve a philosophy of peace and tolerance, we shall not be serving the cause of peace and justice, or the cause of the consolidation of a more just and prosperous and happier world.

21. Anything that we say about peace, troubled states of mind or hatred contributes in no small measure to the efforts which must be made to achieve a new international economic order, the new economic order which is the very pivot of any progress in the future.

22. The developing nations cannot continue to wait indefinitely for a new, equitable order at the international level. National frustration, the frustration of three quarters of mankind, may take us to incredible depths. This is the hour of truth, of peoples and of justice for all; it is the hour of the elimination of unjust situations of privilege, although this may lead to diminished consumption in the developed countries.

23. Neither the Declaration nor the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202

(S-VI)], nor the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] will make progress without the sincere desire of the industrialized countries, with their economies of abundance, for general prosperity and to help the less privileged nations achieve development.

24. There is urgent need for negotiation and agreement, freely accepted, to become a reality in this quest for a new international economic order.

25. After a very brief respite, once again the troublesome situation of the developing, commodity-producing countries is before us, and now there are further disturbing aspects. The problem has become more acute and obscure since, as well as the classical parameters of development and under-development, there is now galloping inflation in the industrialized countries and economic recession and stagnation in the strongest economies.

26. The present period is fraught with great dangers which stem from possible hotbeds of international warfare and the dangerous economic situation confronting the world, which have their roots in the irrevocable quest for the well-being of the majority of its peoples.

27. The time has come for serene reflection and for a spirit of understanding of the needs of the majority of the nations. The time has come for comprehensive negotiations, undertaken in a spirit of solidarity. The time has come for deeds, not words, which are gone with the wind or which peoples no longer believe. The time has come to narrow the differences imposed by the location of natural resources or the geographical location of countries.

28. The gulf which divides the industrialized nations from the developing countries must be narrowed, not only for the benefit of the more needy nations, but also in the interests of the wealthy economies which will necessarily see their exports reduced in a world where the buyers suffer serious balance-of-payments deficits.

29. The problems of hunger, food, shortage, housing and education crises, lack of opportunities for the majority, health, social security and land reform are challenges to mankind and to the survival of the world itself; challenges that cannot be met without the sincere desire of the industrialized countries, regardless of their name or social or political position, to make true sacrifices for the benefit of the developing countries.

30. Paraguay wishes to repeat what it has always stated in this Assembly. We fully appreciate the part played by the United Nations in the field of the development of peoples. There may be doubts about the United Nations capacity to find permanent solutions at the political level. In the political field progress is elusive, difficult, slow and conflicting. But no one can deny that the United Nations, through all its agencies, is doing very laudable work in promoting the development of nations. Permit us to express here Paraguay's gratitude for the work of the experts in our Organization and for the co-operation our country has always received from the United Nations.

31. The United Nations still has before it the serious situation which has been created for the oil-importing

countries. Producer countries have every right to protect their interests and to obtain legitimate compensation for this non-renewable natural resource. But, in the light of the new increase in the price of oil, we are faced with today's harsh reality of countries which, for that reason, are suffering and will suffer greater difficulties in their economies. The drama of the developing oil-importing countries becomes much greater when we consider the frustrations that accompany that drama: abortive development efforts, pitiless cuts in the ability to create new infrastructure, precarious conditions as regards imports of essentials for their own collective development, the maintenance of the sources of work and the basic needs of their populations.

32. Paraguay hopes that the United Nations will be in the forefront of the search for equitable solutions to those terrible collective difficulties.

33. There will be neither peace nor justice among nations without the resurgence of a healthy economy in which prosperity is not the privilege of a few compared to the painful situation of the many. And may we add that that privilege may stem from the greater integral development of countries or the exploitation of natural resources vital for the technological world of today.

34. As has been rightly stated by the constitutional President of Paraguay:

"In the present international economic situation we must place every emphasis on the need to maintain peace among nations, on friendly relations, co-operation and unity, while tightening the bonds which, however far apart we may be, bring us closer to the common sentiment of loyalty to the principles of civilization and culture."

35. Paraguay, a land-locked country, followed the work of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea with an open mind, jealous of its rights but hoping for the negotiations to continue linked as they are to development issues.

36. So far the reality has been far from encouraging. Despite the request made by the President of the Conference, countries still make unilateral declarations concerning the extension of their territorial jurisdiction, thus placing even more obstacles in the path of future meetings.

37. Paraguay reaffirms what it stated publicly on 17 April 1971 at San José, Costa Rica, at the first regular session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States through its Foreign Minister, Raúl Sapena Pastor:

"The Republic of Paraguay is a land-locked country which geographical and historical circumstances have deprived of the enormous advantage of having a sea-coast. However, Paraguay has the right to enjoy the freedom of the free sea, unrestricted navigation, fishery resources, the wealth underneath it and the air space above it. To the extent that the coastal States arbitrarily increase their sovereignty by extending their territorial sea, they are also arbitrarily limiting the right of the Republic of Paraguay and all other land-locked States."

38. Paraguay nurtures the hope that a permanent peace will soon be instituted in the Near East through compliance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). We believe that the latest agreement on the Sinai is an important preliminary step along the thorny road to sure peace. It is a step that we hope will be repeated in other areas of conflict. We would say the same with regard to the Cyprus problem, which still today represents a challenge to the prestige of the United Nations.

39. Paraguay has always supported a process of gradual decolonization. In this regard it would favour the free self-determination of the Saharan people and the disappearance of the colonial enclaves of Gibraltar, Belize and the Malvinas.

40. Paraguay shares the understandable concern of our countries about the need to achieve agreement on the delicate problem of the Panama Canal and also understands that the persistence of that problem decidedly affects relations in the hemisphere. For this reason, my Government wishes to co-operate in whatever manner it deems fit in seeking out the means that will ensure honourable and satisfactory settlement for the Latin American community, which, at all times, seeks to defend its own sovereignty and security.

41. Paraguay has also always supported the admission of new Members to the Organization, thus making it a universal body without discrimination or selectivity.

42. It is therefore difficult for us to understand that the doors should have been closed on the admission of South Korea to the international community. If thus far only one of the two parts into which the peninsula has been divided has applied for admission into the United Nations, what valid reason could there have been to close that door on it? So doing has not furthered the universality of the United Nations. It is possible that the admission of one of the two Koreas would have speeded up the entry of the other. It is difficult to believe that the presence of the two Koreas in the United Nations would make dialogue between them difficult or hamper the process of peaceful reunification. The entry of the two Koreas would always represent a commitment in the right direction and along the right lines, as well as a commitment to peaceful action to achieve that end.

43. There must be no forced or capricious discrimination. We must apply to all these situations the sound principle of non-interference in internal affairs.

44. The people of the two Koreas alone can legitimately decide what they want for themselves, and then only by means of the free and democratic consultation of their peoples with no totalitarian groups claiming for themselves the representation of their people.

45. It is unbelievable that some countries that at one point in history hindered entry of the Republic of Viet Nam should now have become its champions. Those countries refused then to support its admission because South Viet Nam had a multiparty and representative régime as opposed to that of North Viet Nam. Now that in the south, too, a totalitarian system has been established with a single, all-powerful party, they do not object in any way to its admission, although Viet Nam, the country, is divided. Nothing has been

said of reunification, which it is sought to impose as an absolute prerequisite in the case of the two Koreas. And yet the unification of Viet Nam would eventually be easy to achieve in view of the existence of two Governments of similar social, political and economic structure, with the same ideology and the same place in the international sphere.

46. Within the framework of the international balance of power, shutting out South Korea logically led to blocking the way for the two Viet Nams. Thus some Governments do not apply a broad and just yardstick of universality, but rather follow a strictly discriminatory line.

47. Underlying all, these strictly sectarian and ideological criteria prevail. They were unblushingly voiced when the matter was brought before the Security Council. There, speakers indulged in the use of partisan epithets and terms that revealed their bias and their discrimination.

48. Let us consider these facts in the light of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The ink with which that document was signed is still fresh. And yet the everyday reality is far from the spirit according to which Governments should not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries so as to seek points of agreement rather than differences that draw us apart or bring us into confrontation.

49. Terrorism and subversion still undermine the essential pillars of civilization. My country has denounced this state of affairs from this rostrum on repeated occasions. The international community has not given this painful human and ethical problem the attention it deserves, especially since terrorism and subversion are clearly connected with certain countries or transnational groups which overtly or covertly support, stimulate and sustain them.

50. No one is free from the ominous threat of crimes of terrorism, not even those who protect the terrorists and favour them for reasons of political convenience or ideological favouritism.

51. The time has come to make a clear stand at the international level so that planned terrorism and violence do not find in universal forums the kind of tolerance that, in the last analysis, weakens the rule of law, of what is right, decent, ethical and at the base of all civilized society.

52. International Women's Year was an outstanding event for the United Nations. In the wonderful history of Paraguay, women have occupied a place of honour in the hearts of successive generations. Women have always shown their greatness in love, in peace, in work and in the terrible days of pitiless war. As mothers, wives, indomitable fighters, men's companions at all times, as agriculturists, farmers, social workers and teachers, they built up a nation. And later, after the storm of the national holocaust, they built it anew. In my country, women enjoy full political and civil rights. The World Conference of the International Women's Year, which should have been a highly specialized event, fell short of expectations because of exaggerated and meaningless politicization.

53. Paraguay lives at peace with itself and with all the peoples of the earth. Its Government and people aspire

only to peace, order, and justice, and to true democracy through egalitarian education and through free and open elections.

54. This month there will be municipal elections held throughout the country in which the Government party and the opposition parties will participate, some with open lists in order to win over those not already committed to the party concerned.

55. The people of Paraguay looks to the future with great faith, placing its hopes in the fruitful labour and lasting peace that the republican and democratic institutions have given it under its great leader and patriot, General Alfredo Stroessner.

56. The efforts made by Paraguay towards its growth and development are reflected in the fact that the national expenditure budget in 1975 is 26 times higher than in 1954, when the policy of monetary stability, still in force, was first introduced.

57. The constant growth of hydroelectric power has made possible the progressive electrification of, and hence the modernization of, the whole country. Much is being done to bring in capital which mobilizes natural resources without selling out to anyone. A comprehensive programme of land reform is being carried out based on the real well-being of the rural people. Major hydroelectric undertakings which we have established jointly with Argentina and Brazil, known to all the world, are going steadily ahead. Paraguay is already exporting electric power. A well-ordered economy, built on freedom, with the State intervening fully to serve its free citizens, is a strong backing for investment and productive work.

58. In Paraguay today there is no room for unhappy strife between brothers. Its people has realized that the path of peace and civic tolerance is the only path to a promising future.

59. Paraguay, an exporter of raw materials, still believes, with sincere faith in man and in the United Nations, that prosperous and powerful countries will understand their role in the changing world of today.

60. We still believe that peace means not simply the absence of armed conflict, but a realistic attitude on the part of highly industrialized countries in co-operating to ensure the growth and well-being of all peoples and justice in international trade; in the promotion of development; in meeting the basic needs of the country; in solving monetary problems with the participation of all; in technology, which should be open to all nations; or in the establishment of a new international economic order based on equitable treatment between unequal countries.

61. These achievements will narrow the gap which today separates the rich from the developing countries. They will lay the foundations for that better world to which we all aspire, of peace, plenty and freedom. There can be no freedom without peace, and without freedom man's daily bread is bitter and peace is a mere fiction, while peace with bread but without freedom reduces man's dignity and turns peoples into mere flocks of sheep.

62. Paraguay wishes to repeat what it stated two years ago: we want this to be a dynamic Organization above the emptiness of verbalism, something

far more than a simple forum. We want an entity of solidarity, where the powerful countries will help the progress of the world and all its peoples, where the same light will shine on all men, in all latitudes, where there are no longer some privileged countries and others that are consigned to oblivion, where there is no foreign intervention, no economic dependence or exploitation, no military or ideological subjection.¹

63. Mr. MELO ANTUNES (Portugal):* It is with great satisfaction that I, representing Portugal, address this thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I am speaking at a time when my country is undergoing a radical change in its history as a consequence of specific and increased responsibilities at the international level. I am speaking at a time when Portugal finds itself in search of a new identity as a nation, based on respect for and defence of liberty and human dignity, and engaged in the fight against all forms of discrimination, injustice and exploitation, on the domestic as well as the international level.

64. We have recently witnessed the birth of new nations, sharers of our language and creators of original cultures, in which we encounter echoes and amalgams of our own culture and our own mentality and indelible marks of coexistence, although they have been alienated by an oppressive colonial situation. The voices of those nations are beginning to make themselves heard in the international community, with all the authority resulting from the fact that they represent people who have for a long time fought for liberty, justice and national independence. My first greeting is addressed to the Portuguese-speaking nations which have this year become part of the United Nations. We direct our warmest and most fraternal salutations to Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Mozambique. My Government had the opportunity to welcome the admission of Guinea-Bissau last year at the twenty-ninth session. Three more new nations, previously under Portuguese domination, and victims, together with us, of an unjust and cruel war, now participate in the United Nations. This fact, which is testimony to the sincerity of our intentions and of the seriousness of our decolonization policy, is for us a cause for profound pride and true happiness.

65. I cannot fail to recall here the role that Algeria played in the process which, on 25 April 1974, converted our country from the last vestige of ultracolonialism, void of any historical meaning, into a country truly engaged in honouring its responsibilities in the irreversible process of emancipation of colonized peoples. The role always played by Algeria in supporting dialogue between the clandestine Portuguese movements opposed to fascism and the national liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies became, after 25 April 1974, a role of mediation between the new Portuguese authorities and the liberation movements, assumed most especially by President Boumediène. All this merits sincere homage. Thus I address a special greeting to the former President of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria. Certainly the personal and political qualities of Mr. Bouteflika have contributed much to the position of his country on the international scene as one of the most respected

spokesmen for the third-world nations and proponent of a coherent policy of non-alignment.

66. But in this connexion I cannot fail to emphasize the assistance and support extended to us by the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Zambia in the decolonization process, so crucial for our history and for our own identity as a nation. We have always found those countries, and particularly their Presidents, Mr. Nyerere and Mr. Kaunda, who are clearly inspired by an advanced humanistic philosophy, to be attentive and understanding interlocutors regarding the complex problems arising from the decolonization process.

67. The recognition by the international community and the United Nations in particular of our sincere efforts in this decolonization process was reaffirmed at the meeting of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, held at Lisbon this year. The historical significance of this meeting was incisively emphasized by my Government at the time.

68. I cannot fail to greet with the greatest respect and admiration the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. The Portuguese Government has had the opportunity on various occasions to recognize Mr. Waldheim's profound political sense and deep knowledge of international relations in all their complexity. I recall here his visit to Lisbon last year, which was of the greatest importance to us and had a significant influence on our effort to solve the problems generated by the colonial situation.

69. Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, has assumed the presidency of the General Assembly this year. Western Europe thus sees itself represented by a nation which, situated at the crossroads of the Latin and Germanic cultures, can well be considered the heart of Europe. I salute Mr. Thorn with great sincerity and wish him the fullest success in the performance of his task.

70. Portugal is part of Western Europe and is aware that its historical role can never be dissociated from the European area to which it belongs. The complete independence of Portugal, for which we fight without compromise, can never be achieved against Europe, but only through a correct relation with Europe, to which we are bound by a common culture as well as by close relations of economics and emigration.

71. The role that Portugal can play in the struggle to establish relations of greater justice and equality between the major world economic centres and the third-world nations victims of inequitable and imbalanced international situations constitutes an important factor in this correct relationship with Europe as well as an effective contribution to the progressive evolution of international life. During the recent special session of the General Assembly, which was an important step towards dialogue between these two poles, my country already had the opportunity to pronounce itself on this point, reaffirming a position of unequivocal solidarity with the poor nations in their struggle and favouring greater goodwill and understanding on the part of the great industrial Powers. Thus we assign the greatest importance to the problems of developing nations, with which we share many points of similarity,

* Mr. Melo Antunes spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

and to the creation of a new international economic order in which those nations will not see themselves relegated to a position of dependence and growing inequality.

72. Portugal has already shown its adherence to the principles contained in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. We give our unreserved support to the recent steps taken towards the establishment of a new system of just and humanistic international economic relations.

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

73. Within the decisive dialogue for human survival which links the large economic power centres with the poor nations, the dialogue between Europe and Africa places us in a position of particular usefulness because of the role we can assume as a link between these two areas. Our historical responsibilities in the African continent have imparted to us an understanding of the dimensions of misery and suffering that these people, so long subject to colonial domination, seek today to escape.

74. The important experience of decolonization has enabled us to become aware of the role of mediation that we can play in the dialogue between Europe, the traditional beneficiary of colonial situations, and Africa. Although a colonial country, Portugal was not a dominant economic Power in the chain of imperialist exploitation. Situated on the periphery of Europe and in a subordinate position in relation to the large European industrial centres, its role as a conveyor belt for substantial private transnational interests became, with the intensification of the war, daily more flagrant. This having been the case, now that the political power in Portugal is at the service of the classes with fewer advantages and is directed at a policy of progress and national independence, our historic role changes radically and Portugal becomes capable, thanks to a decolonization process carried out without any neo-colonialist intentions, of becoming the carrier of a new pattern of relations between the major centres of wealth and power and the poor and exploited nations of the third world.

75. We think that the extinction of the growing inequality between rich and poor countries by the elimination of international economic mechanisms distorted by powerful interests which are at the root of this inequality, besides being necessary in the interest of justice, must also be an important factor in the settlement of conflicts and in the construction of peace.

76. Another factor that weighs decisively in the struggle for peace is disarmament. Long one of the priorities of the United Nations, it becomes more urgent each year given the growing accumulation of nuclear arms. Portugal favours the convening as soon as possible of a world disarmament conference at which all nations can discuss as equals this problem which is so crucial to the survival of mankind.

77. Throughout its existence, the role of the United Nations in the defence of peace and the search for negotiated solutions to the conflicts that lacerate our world has been emphasized.

78. During the last years of fascism in Portugal, the rulers of my country were systematic detractors of this Organization, as a result of the firm positions taken here against its colonial policy. These positions, however, taught us Portuguese to respect the United Nations; the reception given at the twenty-ninth session to the new Portugal which was represented by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mario Soares, and by the President of the Republic, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, gave us profound satisfaction.

79. The structures of this Organization were adapted to an international context which has seen many changes since the days of the San Francisco Conference. It would be unjust to accuse the Organization of ineffectiveness in the maintenance of peace and security; in fact, the United Nations has frequently acted within the past years as a mediator and a proponent of dialogue between opposing parties. Nevertheless it is necessary, now that the voices of the small and non-aligned nations are heard with growing strength in the international community, that the structures and organisms of the United Nations progressively reflect this state of affairs. But in general, we can make a frankly favourable judgement of the activities of this Organization.

80. The past year has seen some important favourable developments in the international situation. In the first place, I shall emphasize advances in the elimination of colonial domination, a process in which our political efforts to achieve a just decolonization, as well as to ensure the political capability and national representativity of the liberation movements, were significant.

81. The end of the war in Viet Nam and Cambodia was also an important victory for world peace. The peoples of Viet Nam and Cambodia, tormented by a long and destructive war, were able to achieve peace through the free and autonomous choice of their political future.

82. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe this year also represented a historic step in the struggle for world peace. Portugal participated actively and with interest in the work of this Conference, from which resulted important decisions regarding the stabilization of relations between the European States and increased co-operation between the nations of Europe, regardless of their adherence to different political and military blocs. For this reason, the Conference marked the principle of overcoming rigid opposition between blocs and represented a material contribution towards international détente.

83. I shall now refer to some of the questions which most threaten international peace. Regarding the Middle East, we view with concern the disrespect for decisions already taken by the United Nations. We are for peace in this region, which does not signify disregard for any of the already established facts of nationhood, but which implies equally firm repudiation of any violent or imperialist solution, or the imposition by force of the will of one community on another.

84. We are thankful for the recent peace initiatives in this area and hope that they lead to a solution recognizing the right of the Palestinian peoples to self-

determination and nationhood (although we believe that the existence of Israel as a nation cannot be ignored). With respect to this question we are in favour of a solution allowing for the free life of the various communities, with the exercise of hegemony by none, a principle which has always guided our decolonization policy.

85. In relation to the question of Cyprus, we see here also two national communities which, although coexisting in the same territory, have been unable to achieve a peaceful and harmonious life together.

86. Cyprus is situated in a geo-political area, the Mediterranean, which we believe could be extended in the sense of allowing a closeness to grow up between the countries of southern Europe and those of North Africa and the Middle East that would in time come to effect a very favourable influence on the balance of power in the world. The struggle of the Cypriot people for the autonomous choice of their destiny will certainly contribute to the consolidation of the Mediterranean area, to which we attach great importance.

87. Our condemnation of *apartheid* is final and derives from the internationalism of our policies. All discrimination between men is repugnant to our conscience, be it discrimination based on race, sex, religion or any other criterion. Such discrimination is the negation of human progress.

88. Regarding Southern Rhodesia, Portugal has already recognized the African National Congress as the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe and has condemned the repressive and discriminatory policies of the Salisbury régime. We hope and desire that this problem may be resolved by peaceful and political means, through negotiation, although we believe that the strongest international pressure must be exerted on the minority Rhodesian régime.

89. Regarding Namibia, our position is that the Territory is under the illegal occupation of the Republic of South Africa. We hope that that country will shortly come to accept the relevant resolutions already adopted by the United Nations.

90. I shall now direct myself to two questions that are of greatest concern to us at this moment, for with respect to them we act within the full context of a decolonization policy based on respect for the political choices of peoples and on repudiation of all forms of neo-colonialism. I am referring to the questions of Angola and Timor.

91. A fundamental principle of our decolonization policy has always been the respect for the personality of the colonial peoples and for their capacity to determine themselves their political destiny and construct the type of society best adapted to their national conditions. We consider the only legitimate political expression of the colonial peoples to be the national liberation movements which, rooted in the population and without any ethnic distinction, in fact carry out, in the field of political and armed struggle, the emancipation process of those peoples.

92. As regards Angola, the existence of three liberation movements, widely differentiated ideologically, has introduced a great complication into the implementation of the principle described. This complica-

tion has taken the form, on the part of the liberation movements, of systematic violation of established agreements and continuous resort to force over the whole Territory, in a desperate effort to attain hegemony on the date of independence and at the cost of sacrifice and suffering imposed on many thousands of persons, both European and African.

93. Regardless of the political choices of the Portuguese people or the ideological beliefs of its leaders, Portugal believes it must neither export to nor impose upon its former colonies predetermined political or social models. The emancipation of peoples is the task of the peoples themselves and consequently no one can substitute himself for the Angolans in the choice of their future. We therefore recognize as legitimate interlocutors the three liberation movements also recognized internationally: the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola [FNLA], the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA] and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola [UNITA]. We have made every effort through political means so that an agreement can be reached between these three forces, in the best interests of the Angolan people.

94. The Alvor Agreement [see A/10040], in which every movement tacitly acknowledged the legitimacy of the other movements, set up a well defined transitional political framework for independence, overtaken by events in many respects. Nevertheless, Portugal remains faithful to the spirit and to the fundamental principles of those agreements. Thus it continues to recognize the three liberation movements as the legitimate representatives of the Angolan people; it considers 11 November as the date for the independence of Angola and it maintains that the unity of the Territory cannot be questioned. In view of the actual situation currently existing in Angola, truly one of civil war, the problem of the transfer of powers on the date of independence arises. For the solution of this problem, we place high hopes in the co-operation of the African States, particularly those with more direct interests in the area. A decisive contribution in this direction would be the immediate convening of a conference between the three liberation movements and Portugal, with the eventual participation, as mediators, of other African States chosen by the movements, a conference in which specific forms or means of transferring these powers would be studied.

95. Active political and diplomatic support on the part of the United Nations and the international community, as well as non-interference on the part of the great Powers or of the great economic interests, will be of the highest importance for the solution of the Angolan conflict, which gravely endangers the political balance of the area and constitutes a serious threat to world peace.

96. All efforts must be made to prevent civil war spreading throughout the Territory, particularly after independence. We have spared none and will continue to do everything in our power, but we should like the international community to be increasingly aware of its responsibilities in the search for a peaceful solution with regard to the political future of the Territory.

97. As regards Timor, the situation is an extremely serious one. Portugal has proposed to the political parties of Timor—la Associação Popular Democrática

Timorese [APODETI], el Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente [FRETILIN] and la União Democrática de Timor [UDT]—that talks be held with a view to finding a peaceful solution with regard to the political future of the Territory. We are ready to accept a wide range of political formulas which would really cater to the interests of the people of Timor, without failing to take into account the legitimate interests in that geopolitical area, namely those of Indonesia, and which could be worked out by agreement with the representative parties of Timor. On the other hand, Portugal, as of now, declares itself ready to hold talks with Indonesia, at the appropriate level, with a view to opening the way to a rapid and negotiated solution of the conflicts existing at present and to the determination of the political future of the Territory, always with the agreement of the three parties.

98. Now I shall make a final reference to our position as regards the two great blocs that divide the world today.

99. Portugal is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and, in accordance with the Programme of the Armed Forces Movement, which is a provisional constitutional law of my country, complies with all international commitments previously undertaken. We do not intend to call into question our own membership of that Organization because we believe the most favourable way to détente that would bring about the gradual dissolution of the antagonistic blocs inherited from the cold war must necessarily avoid the abrupt dislocation of the prevailing geo-strategic equilibrium. We will therefore remain loyally bound by NATO. This does not prevent us from expressing frank solidarity and favouring a *rapprochement* with the group of non-aligned countries and with all those who, like ourselves, are paving the way for a policy of true national independence. Portugal recently participated, as a guest, in the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima and has sought to intensify multilateral and bilateral contacts with this group of nations. We will continue to follow this policy and we feel sure we will thus not only reinforce our national independence but also more actively contribute towards a new type of peaceful relationship of solidarity that the independent peoples of all the world wish to see established.

100. We know that the progressive role we wish to play in the present-day world cannot be dissociated from our position in Western Europe. I have already stressed the role of interlocutor which we will be in a position to play between Europe and the countries of the third world, particularly Africa and the Arab countries. Recent encouraging events, like the Lomé Convention, lead us to believe in the establishment of more just and equitable relations between Europe and the third world that will counterbalance the weight of the great Powers. The Mediterranean area can play an important role in a renewed relationship between these two poles.

101. I have sketched before this Assembly the fundamental lines of our foreign policy. This policy stems from a basic option, made by the Armed Forces Movement in the name of the Portuguese people and later ratified, in free elections, by the sovereign will of the people: the option of socialism in political democracy.

102. This means the Portuguese want a society progressively emancipated from all forms of alienated relations among men, which derive from the concentration of wealth and the power of social decision in the hands of a minority; it means we want a society directed towards the suppression of class divisions, a society firmly committed to the road to socialism. This means, on the other hand, that, on this road to socialism, the Portuguese do not want to sacrifice the victories of political democracy based on the system of representation and on universal suffrage and party pluralism, because we believe true socialism does not deny those historical conquests but reinforces them and makes them universal, while remaining open to other forms of democratic life which the creative initiative of peoples may bring forth.

103. From this basic option is derived, in our foreign policy, the respect for the fundamental principles of international life, namely: the peaceful solution of conflicts; equal sovereignty of States and the rejection of foreign interference in the choices and destinies of peoples; and the establishment of relations with all peoples of the world, independently of their social systems and political régimes. From it is also derived the support of the progressive tendencies which at present are gaining strength internationally, namely the struggle of the peoples and nations of the third world for total independence and for new and more equitable international economic relations and the evolution of détente in the relations between the great political military blocs.

104. The age-old aspiration of man for the abolition of the barriers raised by the privileges and selfishness of nations, races and classes demands progress in international relations towards justice and peace. Humanity is irreversibly approaching a dimension of universality. Peoples and cultures can no longer shun great world currents and tendencies, and the imposition of the imperialistic or hegemonic ambitions of some nations upon others is considered by universal conscience more and more to be inadmissible.

105. It was the historic role of my country to be the first to establish contacts among different peoples and civilizations formerly isolated from each other. It is our hope today to contribute towards this further step in the ascent of man in a universal direction, in the words of a Portuguese poet, "towards becoming step by step more human".

106. We can become "more human" through the total negation of abusive and uncontrollable situations of political, social or economic power that are almost always based merely on the logic of the selfish interests of small and powerful groups, and through a realization that international relations must represent the meeting-point of the highest interests of humanity as a whole.

107. Therefore we view with concern private interests that exist solely for profit spreading on a world-wide scale and even transcending national States. This is a fact to bear in mind from now on in international life and in the struggle of peoples towards full emancipation.

108. Only by overcoming all the oppression and exploitation to which humanity is still subjected will it be possible for man fully to assume his mission as

creator of universal values and as the conscience of the universe itself. For it is not only the survival of the human species that is our concern, but also the achievement of full humanity through liberation from all subjection and alienation, so as to bring the prehistory of human society to an end.

109. Mr. AL-ASNAG (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to extend to Mr. Gaston Thorn our warmest congratulations on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly. These congratulations are an expression of our appreciation of his outstanding personality, which enjoys our complete respect, and which will undoubtedly ensure the success of this session, owing to his wisdom and guidance. Our appreciation also goes to his country, which has a special standing in Europe. I need not remind the Assembly of my country's desire to consolidate and strengthen its relations with all the friendly countries of Europe, which we consider to be the source of modern civilization and technology from which the entire world has benefited. I need hardly say that the Yemen Arab Republic is desirous of developing friendly relations with all the countries of the world on the basis of mutual respect and equality, in an attempt to establish positive and fruitful co-operation that will lay the foundations for world peace and co-operation.

110. I should like also to express our appreciation of the valuable efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in carrying out his major tasks with such great sincerity, for which we thank him.

111. My country would also like to extend a welcome to the three new States Members of our international Organization; their entry renders it more important and is one more step towards universality. On behalf of Yemen, I should like to congratulate the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and extend to them our sincerest wishes for a positive contribution to the work of the United Nations.

112. The twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session of the General Assembly marked a tangible turning point in international relations. The Palestinian people have regained some of their usurped rights. On the level of economic and constructive co-operation the special session achieved many of its objectives. That special session was convened on the initiative of the President of Algeria, Mr. Houari Boumediène, while the success of the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session was undoubtedly due to the efforts of his brilliant Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika who presided over the two sessions and won the appreciation and admiration of us all.

113. The present session is, like all sessions, dealing with many important topics. However, the Palestine cause is the focus of the attention of the Member States and of world public opinion as a whole because of the dangers inherent in that cause which threaten the Middle East and the entire world with a new explosion whose dimensions and effects it would be difficult to assess. It is well known that the land of the Palestinian people, who number nearly 4 million, is still usurped and that their legitimate rights are still trampled under foot. The majority of these people are suffering horrible repression under Israeli occupation,

while others lead a life of misery in their own lands and in refugee camps scattered in neighbouring countries. Still another segment of the Palestinian population remains dispersed inside and outside the area.

114. Israel, which has dispersed and removed the indigenous people by force from their land and which has usurped their property, continues to deny their rights, to prevent them from returning to their homes, trades and farms, to ignore their legitimate and recognized rights and to defy the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. You will recall that as a result of that defiance the Assembly, in resolution 3236 (XXIX), expressed particular awareness thereof, when it reaffirmed almost unanimously "the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine", including its right "to national independence and sovereignty". The General Assembly also reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted".

115. We should also like to remind the Assembly that the relevant resolutions of the United Nations last year and in previous years recognized that the Palestinian people is a principal party to the search for a durable and just peace in the Middle East. In order to find such a durable and just settlement of the Middle East question we must give the Palestinian people its full national rights, because in addition to complete withdrawal from occupied Arab territories, this is the core of the problem.

116. We also note that the aforementioned resolution requested the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the implementation of this historic decision. My delegation will study this report and express its opinion as to the steps it is necessary to take in order to restore the rights of and redress injustice to a people for whose unhappy fate the entire world is responsible, because its present situation contradicts the elementary rules of justice as well as the mores and principles of the United Nations.

117. What is applicable to the usurped rights of the Palestinian people is also applicable to the usurped lands of three States Members of the United Nations which since 1967 have been under military occupation. Israel continues to ignore and defy all the international resolutions requesting it to withdraw from the territories which it has usurped by force of arms.

118. It would be fitting for the international community to consider taking the deterrent measures provided for in United Nations documents in order finally to put an end to Israel's intransigence and defiance of United Nations resolutions.

119. Can the Christian and Moslem worlds forget that the sacred city of Jerusalem is part of the occupied territories—Jerusalem with all its sacred buildings, its history, the position it holds and the spiritual meaning it has in the hearts of millions of Christians and Moslems? Is it possible that Jerusalem should remain occupied or that the occupation of the indivisible parts of the territories of three sovereign States should persist, and that the rights of the Palestinian people, which have been recognized by the entire world, should continue to be ignored without such a position leading to an explosion that would impede any

effort aimed at establishing a durable and just peace, thus threatening the whole region and the entire world with grave dangers?

120. We must refer on this occasion to the new, advanced, additional weapons which Israel is to receive and with which it will threaten the entire area, weapons capable of carrying nuclear warheads, weapons of mass destruction. I should like to point out that the provision of such weapons, the cost of which runs into thousands of millions of dollars, would encourage Israel to continue its occupation of Arab lands and to ignore inalienable and legitimate rights.

121. I should like to repeat once more what has been said from this very rostrum by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait. He said that "The totality of American commitments to Israel constitutes an ominous precedent; it strengthens Israel's determination to resist withdrawal from the other occupied Arab territories . . ." [2368th meeting, para. 141]. This topic is one of great concern to the Yemen Arab Republic because it impedes the efforts that are needed to find a just solution, encourages the aggressor to cling to the fruits of his aggression and may further encourage Israel to continue the pastime of political blackmail it has specialized in, finding in the Zionist circles that support it a means of acquiring all it asks for, freely, unconditionally and without making any concessions.

122. This continued response to the Israeli policy of political blackmail at the expense of the national interests of others will deepen doubts and lead to great disappointments. The world, since the beginning of this year, has witnessed many conferences and meetings at various levels, and the policy of détente has made great strides forward thanks to the Helsinki agreement. My country, which believes in the benefits of international co-operation, has welcomed and contributed to many of these regional and international conferences such as the conferences of non-aligned countries. My country has also given particular attention to the noble and human task carried out by the Islamic Conference and we hope that that body will be able to participate in the activities of the United Nations as an observer.

123. I am happy to state that my Government attaches particular importance to the agenda item concerning the strengthening of respect for the rules of international law in relations between States and the consolidation of the role of the United Nations in this respect because we uphold the principles of international peace and security, which should be respected to enable the entire world to enjoy stability and permit the developing nations to undertake the projects that are vital to ensure their rebirth and development. This development, which the Yemen Arab Republic is exerting every effort to carry out with the necessary speed and sincerity, is the target that our President, Ibrahim Al-Hamdi, has placed at the head of the list of national aspirations he is trying to fulfil. We also hope that the international community will be able to find ways and means to strengthen the role of the United Nations so that it may carry out its task of safeguarding and consolidating peace by obliging those who rebel against and defy its deci-

sions to respect the rules and obligations of the United Nations and of international law.

124. Yemen joined the other countries of the third world at the Lima Conference. It also participated with great care and attention in the seventh special session of the Assembly, devoted to the search for a new world economic order built on justice and positivity. We welcome resolution 3362 (S-VII) adopted by the General Assembly at the end of the session, as well as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which, if respected by the developed and rich countries, will bridge the gap that currently divides them from the developing States.

125. I turn now to the subject of the law of the sea. When the General Assembly adopted its historic decision which, by its letter and spirit, declared that the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction were the common heritage of mankind [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*], the international community took a courageous step forward. It was one of the most just and equitable decisions taken by the United Nations, in our view, because that was the first time since the inception of the Organization that a decision had been taken whereby 70 per cent of the earth would be subject to new and just concepts of equality for all with respect to rights and equitable distribution of resources.

126. The Yemen Arab Republic has shown great interest in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, as well as in the first, second and third sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Yemen adheres to the principle of the exercise of sovereignty over territorial waters on the basis of the just resolutions adopted by the African States and the non-aligned countries, all of which affirmed that principle to which we all adhere.

127. Our adherence to the principle of innocent passage basically arises out of our recognition of the right of coastal States to exercise sovereignty over their under-water land, irrespective of whether there is an international waterway through their territorial waters. It is, of course, obvious that our acceptance of this concept does not mean that the coastal States have the right to impede the freedom of trade or other navigation—on the contrary. However, military passage through territorial waters must be subject to conditions, some of which are nominal only, that give the coastal State the right to exercise its national sovereignty and the sense that it is doing so. Those conditions will, when necessary, enable it to ensure its peace and security.

128. We also consider that total ownership by the coastal States of mineral, fish and other resources of the economic zone, whether in the sea-bed, the ocean floor or the subsoil thereof, should be very clearly specified in the provisions of the law of the sea which is currently being elaborated. We are looking forward with great optimism and open-mindedness to the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to be held next spring. We shall welcome all opinions provided they do not deprive us of our right to exercise sovereignty over our territorial waters, wherever those coastal waters may be, and do

not hinder our freedom of exploitation in waters of our economic zone.

129. The Yemen Arab Republic was one of the countries which participated with great interest in the first, second and third sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD]. It continues to devote particular attention to that organization, because Yemen has felt optimistic over the future of UNCTAD ever since its establishment in 1964. Indeed, we consider it an excellent forum in which to draw up practical measures that may eventually narrow the gulf separating the rich, developed countries from the deprived, developing countries. In fact, UNCTAD has, during its three sessions, adopted positive and practical resolutions and, although its decisions have been implemented only partially to date, we feel that the advanced, rich countries will implement the resolutions already adopted and any subsequent ones, because a just distribution of wealth is in the common interests of all mankind; the rich cannot continue to exploit others *ad infinitum*.

130. Among the causes occupying the full attention of Yemen, its Government and people are the struggles for freedom and national independence, for the elimination of racial discrimination and for a decrease of spheres of influence. It is therefore my responsibility and duty to deal with the following issues. My Government wishes to express great satisfaction over the end of the cruel and bitter war that afflicted three Asian States, namely the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Republic of Viet Nam and Cambodia. We hope those three countries will be successful in rebuilding what has been destroyed by the war and healing its wounds. At the same time, we consider it necessary for the world as a whole to contribute to that noble human task.

131. We also firmly support the legitimate applications of the two Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations.

132. The Yemen Arab Republic has taken particular care to exercise its right to membership in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean. We did so in the interest of excluding great-Power military rivalry from that critically important part of the world, which has become a natural passageway for the super-tankers that carry a vital source of energy, whose importance is clear to all whether in peace, in disturbances or in war.

133. Yemen has participated, and will continue to participate in the consultations that began last year on the holding of a conference to consider aspects of the question of peace in that part of the world. It is an area that is gaining in importance with the growing number of weapons that are continually being grouped there; the great fleets and the bases that the great Powers compete with each other to establish here and there in the outlying parts of the ocean and on its strategic islands.

134. With the same aim of ensuring peace and averting the scourge of a destructive war in our area of increasingly strategic importance, the Yemen Arab Republic favours the adoption of the wise and responsible draft resolution submitted by Iran which would declare the Middle East a nuclear-weapon-free zone.²

My delegation will follow this draft resolution with great care and attention.

135. The Yemen Arab Republic, its Government and its people wholly condemn the racist policy of South Africa which contravenes all principles and concepts of our modern age, as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We shall continue to denounce this racist policy from which African peoples are suffering because the Pretoria Government insists on continuing to practise its criminal policies in contravention of basic human rights. Pretoria arrogantly defies all international mores and charters.

136. The Government of the Yemen Arab Republic and its people affirm that more effective and positive action should be taken to put an end to these unjust acts and to force the Government of South Africa to comply with the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

137. From the same starting point, my country also condemns the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and fully supports the rights of the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination and sovereignty. My Government also fully supports the effective steps adopted by the General Assembly to terminate the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. More effective steps should be taken to put an end to this illegal occupation and to grant the people of Namibia their full right to independence and self-determination.

138. Last year we called upon friendly Spain—and we do so once again now—to put an end to its domination of the Rio de Oro and Sakiet Al Hamra, which is Western Sahara under Spanish occupation. Such an initiative by the Government of Spain would remove the threat of tension from the area and would strengthen the traditional relationship between Spain and the Arab countries.

139. In conclusion, I should like to express the wishes and hopes of the Yemen Arab Republic that peace and security will be consolidated in the world through the strengthening of the authority of our international Organization, which, through the 30 years of its existence, has proved to be the best means of avoiding wars and disasters. My Government will support all efforts to enhance the authority and improve the efficiency of the United Nations so that it may be what we have always wished it to be, that is, a practical instrument for ensuring peace built on justice and equality of the rights and duties of all States, in spite of the negative aspects from which the small and developing countries have suffered. Those negative aspects have encouraged and continue to encourage some States to ignore resolutions adopted by the General Assembly either unanimously or by overwhelming majorities. I am referring to racist Governments with Fascist trends, such as those of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Israel. In spite of that, the United Nations will remain the means whereby the peoples of the world can solve their problems and find victory for their just causes.

140. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): There can be no more pleasant duty for me than to extend to Mr. Thorn my congratulations and those of the Algerian delegation on his assumption of the presidency of this session of the General

Assembly. His qualifications for assuming such a responsibility and his own personal merits are sufficiently well known and sufficiently numerous for me not to have to expatiate on them in a way in which many speakers before me have done so eloquently. As he is a friend, I should only like to add that his election to lead the work of our Assembly does him honour as well as being a tribute to his country, Luxembourg, whose eminently positive role in the European Economic Community is known to us, and whose preoccupations and concerns are very often analagous to ours in a world where all too often reason is divorced from power.

141. Since I have often on previous occasions underlined all the qualities possessed by our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, I do not wish to offend his modesty by repeating here our deep appreciation of his tireless devotion to the service of our Organization and his invaluable contribution to its effulgence.

142. The President and members of the Assembly will understand that I cannot conform with that part of established custom which dictates that one pay a tribute to the President of the last session. But to all those who in their statements found something to praise in the way in which I discharged my responsibilities, I should like to say how touched I am by their friendship and to remind them that my task would have indeed been impossible if I had not been able to rely on their support and their understanding.

143. To compensate for its many drawbacks, my present position as the last speaker in the general debate provides me with the privilege of benefiting from all the analyses which have already been made here. We have, of course, had an opportunity once again to note the differences of opinion which have become customary. But there seems to be a fairly widespread feeling that a new spirit is emerging in the relations among nations, and that the confrontation which was predicted by some and which we all feared has finally given way to the beginning of a most promising co-operation. Since we have always advocated dialogue in a free and loyal spirit, we can only rejoice at this feeling, to the extent that the expressions on which it is based embody a genuine desire on the part of all to accept and encourage those changes that are turning international society upside down. In the harmony that we wish to see reigning here, moderation in some quarters should in no case encourage or justify immobility on the part of others, and a spirit of realism on the part of all should in the final analysis provide a sufficiently positive trend to calm any impatience, and one reasonably calculated to neutralize any possible apprehensions.

144. The discussions at the sixth special session and the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly undoubtedly made it possible to bring out sharply the failures of the international system that had governed us for more than a quarter of a century. That revelation and the shock engendered by a serious economic crisis brought about an awareness among the developed countries that the situation was rapidly and dangerously running away from them and that they finally had to face up to radical changes that had been delayed for so long.

145. It was in that context that some suddenly evinced their disquiet about the affirmation—an

affirmation that was, however, foreseeable and far from spontaneous—of a new majority which disturbed the old balance that had been so convenient for their interests. However, this is one of those facts whose prior acceptance is essential if a climate of understanding is to be established in our Organization.

146. That acceptance should, furthermore, easily derive from an attachment to the democratic principles professed by those who differ from the majority. But it is precisely in the name of that democracy that an attempt is made to detract from the importance of the part played by the countries making up the majority of our community. That dialectic would have some validity if those who use it and who boast of their allegedly democratic traditions had the same respect for other peoples and demonstrated in their international behaviour those virtues that should underlie democracy.

147. Similarly, I should like to take up a reference that is frequently, and sometimes surprisingly, made to the concept of the universality of our Organization. Those who speak about it most frequently now did not seem to be very convinced of it in the recent past, and this sudden conversion has inevitably led to some doubts about the sincerity of their intentions. Our concept of the universality of the Organization is very clear, and we have already had an opportunity to formulate it. We consider that this universality is an ideal towards which the Organization should be guided, because its realization would mean that all the Members of the international community had the same faith in the principles of the charter and committed themselves to respect those principles. But that fundamental condition cannot be sacrificed to the search for universality at all costs, which would give access to this Organization to certain elements bent on bringing about its speedy destruction.

148. Nothing should prohibit the admission of new Members that pledge to accept the obligations of the Charter; that kind of admission should not be subject to any other requirement that could be a matter for bargaining or any kind of political operations. However, that is precisely what has occurred twice recently in the Security Council in respect of the admission of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The fact that the United States of America explained the negative vote it cast on those two occasions by its adherence to the principle of universality deserves, perhaps, to be emphasized, but it hardly needs any comment. For it was by referring to that very principle that the United States opposed the suspension of South Africa—to cite only one particularly significant example. If I did not fear I might err on the side of exaggeration, I would say that this is really a quite curious form of universality that, while excluding those which voluntarily assume the obligations of the Charter, automatically extends to all those which glory in systematically contravening the Charter's provisions.

149. But that behaviour on the part of a permanent member of the Security Council prompts us to pay particular attention to the serious consequences that could result from the arbitrary use of the right of veto. The assurances given by the great Powers on the way in which they intended to use this privilege seem to have been lost in oblivion, and in the archives of our

Organization. However, it seems quite clear that the right of veto, which is part and parcel of a precise philosophy and of well known intentions, cannot be left to the total discretion of the countries that benefit from it and that, furthermore, hardly need it to secure the paramount role which belongs to them in the regulation of world affairs.

150. All this indicates, at any rate, that there is a need to reopen the discussion on the various elements contained in our Charter. The fact that that Charter has dominated international life for more than 30 years now does not necessarily prove that it is always responsive to the needs of our times. It is undoubtedly the application of the Charter that is far from being perfect. We willingly concede that point, but that makes it even more necessary, as we see it, to engage in a thorough study of the reasons why the Charter has not been respected, and of the measures to be provided for in it to ensure that it is implemented more seriously and more effectively.

151. Everyone agrees in recognizing the importance of the changes that have occurred on the international scene during the past year. The super-Powers continue to seek in their mutual relations a balance based on a recognized division of their responsibilities. And the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has extended to the rest of the developed world the principles underlying a *détente* that, generally speaking, has been greeted with much hope.

152. It is important in that connexion that the will expressed at Helsinki to define international relations on the basis of security and co-operation not be limited to the prosperous areas of the world, and that *détente*, which has proved to be so necessary in this day and age, should be extended to other parts of the world: to Africa, beset by racism and exploitation; to the Middle East, where the Arab peoples are still denied their most legitimate rights; to the Mediterranean, where the crisis in Cyprus is worsening; to the Indian Ocean, where jockeying for position is seriously threatening the coastal States; and, finally, to all the parts of the third world exposed to aggression and economic blackmail. It is only that way that genuine *détente* can be brought about and thus promote a constructive dialogue that will be to the benefit of the entire international community.

153. It would indeed be vain to hide behind a "Eurocentrism" that excluded the rest of the world. How can we dissociate European security from the threats which so dangerously affect the Mediterranean area? More than a year has passed since Cyprus had visited upon it, as the result of foreign instigation, events which are of major concern to the international community because of the very geographical position of the island and the nature of the political and human problems to which those events give rise. Despite the complexity of the situation, we remain convinced that the bonds that have been forged by history between the two communities on the island will withstand the vicissitudes of the present day and will make it possible for those two communities to find in their diversity, as in their national goals, the ways and means likely to result, through dialogue and negotiation, in peaceful solutions that will preserve the legitimate interests of all and, at the same time, guarantee the non-align-

ment, independence, integrity and territorial unity of the island, free from any foreign military presence.

154. It is precisely because two major wars started in Europe that we cannot dissociate European security from that of the rest of the world.

155. For example, tension has been stepped up in the Indian Ocean because of new imperialist undertakings. Whereas that region should serve to promote unity, peace and co-operation, it is in the course of becoming an area of confrontation in which the security and independence of the coastal States are overtly threatened. The situation is slowly but surely moving towards a state of crisis which is at present latent but may at any time take on uncontrollable dimensions. The community of nations therefore has the duty of forcefully reaffirming its desire to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, free of the presence of any foreign naval forces.

156. However, in the rest of the world—that is, in other countries of the third world—a slow and difficult trend is continuing towards the accomplishment of the goals of political liberation and economic development, thanks to the persevering and often courageous action of their peoples.

157. The lifting of the blockade against Cuba, which was decided on at the Costa Rica meeting of the Organization of American States, while confirming the results of the courageous struggle of the Cuban people and the farsightedness of its leaders, undoubtedly represented an important success for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Latin America.

158. The victory so dearly won by the peoples of Viet Nam and Cambodia has created a new situation in South-East Asia and must necessarily have an impact on the rest of Asia. A hotbed of war, which for many years had threatened international peace and security, has thus been extinguished; but building peace, a genuine and lasting peace, in that area will indeed be an arduous task, not only because of the tremendous ruins that have been created by war and the extent of the damages suffered by the countries and their populations, but also because of the breadth of the social and political changes entailed in such a fundamental conversion of the machinery of war into machinery of peace. We have no doubt that those peoples which could display so much courage and tenacity during the long years of their difficult struggle, and knew how to show imperialism the limits of its power will be able to shoulder their new responsibilities with the same valour and the same resolve, once again winning the unstinting admiration of the rest of the world. The sacrifices they have made were not only the price of their freedom and independence; they are the most precious contribution possible to the rehabilitation of small nations and an invaluable contribution to the establishment of a fairer international order. The international community must, for its part, show its recognition of what has been done and assure those peoples of its sympathy and solidarity with them in the task of reconstruction that they have undertaken.

159. We already had occasion to express our indignation at the fact that the request for admission to the United Nations of the two Vietnamese Republics has been rejected. This rejection which in itself is intolerable becomes even more reprehensible when it is a

question of countries which, more than many others, deserve their place amongst us. Our Organization is thus once again passing up an opportunity to play its genuine role of bringing about better understanding among peoples.

160. A serious error compounded by serious injustice towards the Cambodian people has, fortunately, been repaired by the return to our Organization of the authentic representatives of Cambodia. This restitution of justice is exclusively the result of the efforts of the Cambodian people, which by its victorious actions made it inevitable. It might also have been the work of our Organization and might thus have spared the people of Cambodia additional suffering as a result of the futile prolongation of a senseless war. For that, it would have been necessary for the voice of reason to be heeded, and primarily by those who today still persist in their erroneous ways.

161. We are all the more pleased to welcome the presence of the delegation of Cambodia in this Assembly, since we regard it as the symbol of the victory of its people and—no less important for us—of the triumph of reason within our Organization.

162. Will reason equally be able to triumph in the case of the problems that still have to be solved? Shall we finally see our Organization rid itself of the obstacles which it erected itself against the peaceful reunification of Korea? We believe that it is now high time finally to close this chapter of the cold war, which seems interminable and whose pages are not particularly to the credit of the United Nations. It is high time that this Organization play a positive part in the solution of the Korean problem, by first demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea and then leaving it to the Koreans themselves to settle their internal disputes, free from any external interference.

163. With regard to the Middle East, our concerns are identical with those expressed here by all delegations; they are all the keener since the evaluations of the situation are so contradictory, as are the predictions that have been made about its future evolution.

164. The problem, as we all know, is highly complex and brings into play as many objective factors as subjective elements. Its prolongation has increased its complexity through the unleashing of a number of wars and the accumulation of their effects. But its core is still the question of the future of the Palestinian people.

165. The recognition and satisfaction of the rights of the Palestinian people are the fundamental elements in any true solution to the Middle East crisis. It took a long time for international opinion to accept this truth, and the General Assembly finally enshrined it in its resolution 3236 (XXIX). There is virtue in any *démarche* in favour of a settlement of the Middle East problem only in so far as it takes into account the national rights of the Palestinian people and facilitates their realization.

166. The Palestine Liberation Organization responded to the confidence placed in it by the international community by accepting that recognition as an additional responsibility which it fully assumed in its actions.

167. In its struggle for freedom, the people of Palestine, at the international level, already has rights and will shortly have duties which call for greater recognition by the international community and which should be formulated more daringly and clearly. If, following the example of what has been done in the case of other peoples, the legitimacy of its struggle is no longer contested, there is still in the present situation some merit in providing the Palestinian people with more marked assistance.

168. The Arab countries in the region, in particular those a part of whose territory is still occupied by Israel, undoubtedly have every right to do everything in their power to defend their territorial integrity. They are better placed than anyone to appreciate their true interests and to choose the most appropriate means of defending them. As we see it, there is no other limitation to this freedom of action except the interests of the other Arab countries, the strengthening of their global struggle and the protection of the Palestinian cause. With that proviso, we shall not cease to give our full support to any action by the Arab countries in the region aimed at the recovery of their territories and at ensuring their security. We believe that it is within this precise framework that we must consider the latest measures that have been adopted. We understand equally both the satisfaction of Egypt, which is making progress in the recovery of its territories, and the legitimate apprehensions of the other Arab countries and of the Palestinians.

169. Under no circumstance would we wish to aggravate dissensions between sister countries in the region whose immediate and long-term interests call for the fullest solidarity. But we must agree with those who, for various reasons, have expressed their scepticism or concern over the new situation which has thus been created; as we see it, this concern is founded above all on the commitments undertaken by the United States to strengthen considerably the military potential of Israel and on the introduction into that already very sensitive region of United States technicians sent as observers. We are not convinced that this represents true progress towards a satisfactory settlement of the Middle East question, since it is based on an unequal bargain in which one side is "selling" what does not belong to it, whereas the other is recovering only part of what belongs to it and above all because that progress is not directed towards the satisfaction of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

170. We are told that this is no more than a first step which is soon to be followed by others. If this is so, perhaps then our pessimism is premature and unfounded. But no one should have any illusions as to the dangers inherent in the present situation and the even greater dangers which would result from its exploitation to strengthen the position of Israel and weaken the unity of the Arab countries. The international community, in any event, should follow these developments with the greatest care and vigilance if it wants to avoid finding itself in the midst of a venture leading inevitably to disastrous consequences.

171. The progress of decolonization of the African continent has been hailed universally as a victory of the struggle for liberation of peoples, and also as a success of the United Nations. The task of decolonization

carried thus to its successful conclusion will be one of the greatest claims to glory of our Organization and one of the most remarkable achievements of its 30 years of existence. It has made it possible to put an end to the period of colonial domination and exploitation and, by encouraging the emergence of young and free nations, it has given a completely new face to the international scene. These changes are the direct consequence of action that was sought and encouraged by the world community as a whole, and must be accepted as such, just as the changes they entail in the structures of the old international order must also be accepted with good grace.

172. This year we have the pleasure of welcoming in our midst three new States: the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the Republic of Cape Verde. I wish to reiterate our wishes for their success and prosperity, while assuring them of our friendship and our continued and brotherly support.

173. However, the situation prevailing in Angola appears to us to be of great concern, all the more so since that country is located within the limits of southern Africa, with its endless problems and repercussions. While that country is preparing to accede to independence, the internecine struggles among its liberation movements are already compromising the future of the State for which they have fought. We hope that the attempts now being made within the framework of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to calm rivalries and unite the liberating forces will be crowned with speedy success. We appeal to all the leaders of the Angolan movements to put aside their resentments and rancour and rise above their temporary differences, pursuing the single goal of achieving the independence for which they have already made so many sacrifices, and rejecting any foreign intervention which would constitute a serious threat in the future to the sovereignty of the Angolan State which they intend to build.

174. Since I am speaking of African questions and decolonization, I should like to say a few words about a liberation problem of direct concern to my country, that of the Sahara under Spanish domination. This problem has aroused a certain amount of concern since last year. At its last session, in fact, the General Assembly, accepting a request submitted by Morocco and supported by Mauritania and Algeria, asked the International Court of Justice to provide an advisory opinion concerning certain juridical aspects of the problem [resolution 3292 (XXIX)]. For its part, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples decided to send a Visiting Mission to the Sahara, as well as to the different countries concerned, that is, Spain, Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania.

175. The process of organizing the self-determination referendum has been provisionally suspended until such time as the International Court of Justice hands down its advisory opinion. The latter will no doubt make it possible better to appreciate both the Moroccan and the Mauritanian claims over the Saharan Territory. The Algerian Government, for its part, has already proclaimed, and repeats here solemnly, that it makes no claim over any part whatsoever of that Territory,

but that it considers that it is directly concerned in the manner in which decolonization will be carried out, since it naturally affects the peace and the future of the region to which Algeria belongs.

176. The General Assembly has always envisaged this decolonization through the exercise by the people of the Sahara of its right to self-determination. Even when it agreed to suspend procedures pending the advisory opinion of the International Court, it made a point of reaffirming the right to self-determination of the populations of the Spanish Sahara and clearly stated that the request to the International Court was made without prejudice to the application of the principles contained in resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization.

177. The Algerian Government therefore considers that the route leading to the final decolonization of the Sahara is quite clear. The support that my Government, together with Morocco and Mauritania, has always given to General Assembly resolutions on this question does not permit it to envisage any other way of putting an end to Spanish domination over the Sahara than through the holding of a referendum on self-determination, to be both supervised and guaranteed by the United Nations. Such a solution, incidentally, would not be in conflict with the Moroccan and Mauritanian claims, but if those claims are to be met it would appear that there is no better course to follow than that of the express choice of the population itself. Thus the opinion of the population directly concerned will always remain the primary and decisive element in any settlement.

178. The position of Algeria can therefore give rise to no ambiguity. By refusing a policy of interest and accepting a policy of principle, Algeria remains constant and faithful to decisions which have been taken for a long time, first jointly with the brother nations of Morocco and Mauritania and then repeatedly confirmed in the resolutions of OAU, the non-aligned countries and the General Assembly. Whatever shades of difference there may be in the various approaches to the question, they are all aimed at the decolonization of the Territory, at the triumph of the rights of peoples in conformity with the principles of the Charter, and at the promotion of regional co-operation.

179. International economic relations now appear to be going beyond nostalgia for what used to be challenging both conservative attitudes and a public opinion which up to now has been conditioned by a partisan and rigid system of references. True, they are still objectively inegalitarian, but the holders of the strongholds of yesterday, then comfortably ensconced, now have to justify their situation and the privileges wrongfully acquired, and to recognize the rights of others.

180. The group of industrialized nations is realizing more and more that it cannot continue without risk to deal with the present on the basis of the privileges of the past, and still less to deal with the future only on the basis of the concerns of today. Although the world is one, it is unfortunately divided on a material basis governed by mechanisms so unjust that they provide some with far more than they need, while the majority cannot even hope for the bare necessities.

181. The most recent special sessions appeared, however, to favour a change in that state of affairs. The approach is more pragmatic and the view of things is becoming clearer and more global. The affirmation of the primacy of economics is accompanied by a healthy awareness of the direct impact of the economy on international security. The new economic order is no longer viewed as a piecemeal readjustment to be made to specific distortions of the world economic system.

182. While it is fallacious to assert that the energy crisis is at the root of the economic crisis we are all suffering from, it is none the less just to recognize that the countries of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], through their unity and their dynamism, occupy an advanced position in the conquest of the new international economic order.

183. On the occasion of their first summit meeting in Algeria, the producer countries decided to embark resolutely on a constructive dialogue with the industrialized countries on the basis of equality of partnership and balance of interests. The provisional freeze in the price of oil until 30 September 1975 and the recent intentionally modest price rises agreed in Vienna were gestures of good will and represented substantial sacrifices by the members of OPEC, but they have not led to the expected efforts on the part of the industrialized countries to reduce inflationary pressures, which have recently increased, further reducing the loss in purchasing power of the producer countries.

184. In an international context fundamentally disturbed by structural disorders in the economies of the developed countries, the Algeria summit meeting adopted specific measures with a view to strengthening the action directed to the exercise of national sovereignty over natural resources, and to contributing to the development efforts of the countries of the third world, in particular through readjustments in their balance of payments. That decision took the form of firm commitments covering a period of at least two years and amounting to \$17,000 million, of which \$4,000 million was effectively contributed by the OPEC countries. Those commitments represent 10.2 per cent of their gross national product, whereas the sums already allocated, according to World Bank statistics, represent 3 per cent of their gross national product. That is undoubtedly a remarkable effort when we are all aware that, to help their development, all that the developing countries could obtain from the industrialized countries was 0.4 per cent for the decade 1962-1972 and 0.3 per cent for the year 1973. Moreover, by rejecting attempts to make the Paris Conference a restricted meeting limited strictly to the energy problem, the seven countries which then represented the third world were able to thwart the divisive manoeuvres which sought to dissociate the energy problem from those of other raw materials and development and to place themselves within the framework of the results of the special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to the new international economic order.

185. The policy of trying to disrupt the unity of the developing countries by putting forward the fallacious notion that the difficulties of our countries are caused solely by the rise in oil prices has completely failed; and because oil represents the trump card—not to say

the only card—available to the developing countries in gaining their rights and defending their interests in the major negotiations to come, it is more important than ever to ensure the cohesion of the countries of OPEC in particular and the unity of all the developing countries in general.

186. The unanimity just shown at United Nations level demonstrates the capacity of our countries to go beyond the stage of isolated claims and restrictive attitudes and to make the actions of the world community part of a dialectic of a global and united struggle. Indeed only the future will show whether the developments recently recorded represent a simple change in tactics or, on the contrary, respond to profound and real changes in outmoded concepts which were initially defended by the prosperous countries.

187. How many times have we heard evoked at this very rostrum the dream of an international society from which not only the fear of war and the arms race but also the selfishness which nurtures injustice and the privileges which paralyse man's progress would be banished? Once again we proclaim our faith in the capacity of peoples to adapt to the new demands of this stage in history and to respond to the mission of leading the community of nations towards new heights of material prosperity and spiritual growth.

188. My statement is deliberately limited to the few questions I have just mentioned, on which I thought it important to give the views of my Government. The agenda for the current session offers a wide spectrum of important problems of undeniable interest for the whole of the international community, on which my delegation will make known the position of Algeria at the appropriate time.

189. The considerable scope of the general debate which is now coming to an end shows the attachment of all Member States to this Organization and the need they feel to express their concerns and apprehensions as well as to make suggestions for overcoming our difficulties. We believe that this is an extremely rich and varied exchange of views, which first permits a better understanding among all peoples and then directs the action of our Organization towards ever increasing effectiveness.

190. After 30 years of existence this Organization is showing signs of real vitality and, defying all criticism and pessimistic forecasts, remains the indispensable instrument of international co-operation. The fact that it is necessary to remedy some of its imperfections, correct some of its shortcomings or modernize some of its institutions in no way detracts from the merit it has proved since its creation. The hope that our peoples place in it remains the highest tribute that it could wish for and the surest guarantee of its conservation and expansion.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2125th meeting, para. 211.

² Subsequently submitted in the First Committee as document A/C.1/L.741 and adopted by the Assembly as resolution 3474(XXX).