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President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE
(Sri Lanka).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Kosaka (Japan),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. AHMED (Pakistan): Mr. President, I should like to join the distinguished speakers who preceded me in offering Mr. Amerasinghe the sincere felicitations of my delegation on his election to preside over this session of the General Assembly. It is the fitting recognition not only of his distinguished record in this world body but also of the high esteem in which his country is held.

2. May I take this opportunity also, Mr. President, to congratulate the illustrious predecessor of Mr. Amerasinghe, Mr. Gaston Thorn, on the distinction and success with which he completed his term of office as President of the last session of the General Assembly?

3. My delegation would also like to commend Mr. Kurt Waldheim for the diligence and ability with which he has discharged the responsibilities of his high office. At a time when the United Nations is called upon to play an increasingly important role in world affairs, this Organization has greatly benefited from his counsel and valuable experience.

4. We are particularly happy to welcome in our midst the delegation of the Republic of Seychelles. My Government hopes to be able to establish very cordial relations with the people and Government of this friendly neighbour in the Indian Ocean.

5. The last three decades have witnessed the dismantling of colonial empires and the triumph of the valiant and dauntless struggle of peoples determined to be free. However, the last few vestiges of alien rule still tenaciously survive in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

6. Today, the great continent of Africa is astir with the promise of total emancipation. The people of Pakistan know from their own national experience that the demand for the right of self-determination of peoples cannot be indefinitely contained by force or political manoeuvres. The legitimate struggle of the African people in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, united and determined to secure their right to freedom, liberty and human dignity, is bound ultimately to triumph.

7. Recent news from southern Africa indicates that a break-through may be in sight. Pakistan has consistently supported the right of the peoples of southern Africa to be masters in their own homes. We have only to look around Rhodesia to realize how false are the fears that the transfer of power to the indigenous people of Zimbabwe will lead to chaos and bloodshed. On the contrary, it is the blind and fanatical attempt of minority régimes to cling to power and to their special privileges which threatens to bring conflict to southern Africa. The sooner the leadership of these régimes recognizes the realities, the better for all the peoples, whatever their race or colour, who call southern Africa their home.

8. It would not be helpful on my part to offer any comment on the substance of the proposals of the Smith régime which are under discussion in connexion with the future of Zimbabwe. The statement made two days ago in Lusaka by the presidents of the five front-line African States concerning those proposals indicates clearly which way lies the road to peace. I should like to express the hope on behalf of my country that the peace effort now under way, which has aroused high expectations, will not be allowed this time to be frustrated. For the consequences of failure will be grave for Africa and for the rest of the world.

9. What I have said about Zimbabwe applies with even greater force to Namibia, a territory which South Africa holds without legal authority and in defiance of decisions of the Security Council and the International Court of Justice. Security Council resolution 385 (1976), unanimously adopted earlier this year, which called for free elections under United Nations supervision and control to determine the status of Namibia must be implemented. The so-called constitutional arrangements announced last month at Windhoek by the Pretoria régime completely ignored the need to hold such elections owing to South Africa's refusal to end its illegal control over this Territory.

10. We call on the South African régime also to heed the real nature of the turmoil on its own territory and to give up its policy of repression, to stop senseless bloodshed and arrests of its black population and to abandon the abominable policy of *apartheid* and racial domination.

11. I turn now to our own region. I am glad to be able to confirm the assessment made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization for the current year that "the over-all picture in South Asia as a whole begins to look more encouraging and a spirit of a greater understanding and co-operation seems to be emerging" [A/31/1/Add.1, sect. III]. There has been a remarkable improvement in our relations with Bangladesh. The normalization of relations with India continues at a steady pace and all communications—air, land and sea—between our countries have been restored; trade resumed after 10 years; and after a gap of four years diplomatic envoys of the two countries have been stationed in the respective capitals.

12. In brief, all but one of the steps laid down in the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972 for normalizing relations between the two countries have been taken. The one step remaining to be taken under that agreement is to reach a final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. To quote the Secretary-General again: "If the momentum of this welcome development is used to find mutually satisfactory solutions" to outstanding issues, there will be "hope that the area will enter into a new and brighter period" [*ibid*].

13. We trust, therefore, that this dispute can also be taken up at an appropriate time and resolved in accordance with the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir as recognized by the Security Council resolutions unanimously adopted in 1948 and 1949. This right was reaffirmed repeatedly by the late Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, for several years. Those Security Council resolutions and India's pledges have so far remained unimplemented.

14. In the Simla Agreement, both India and Pakistan resolved to work for the promotion of a harmonious and friendly relationship between them and for the establishment of a durable peace in the subcontinent. Clearly, this objective will not be attained so long as this dispute remains unresolved.

15. I am happy to state that there has been a promising development in our relations with our other neighbour, Afghanistan, following exchange of visits between Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and President Mohammad Daoud. The talks between the two leaders have been friendly and constructive. They have both agreed to find a final settlement of the differences between their two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence, which comprise respect for each other's territorial integrity and national independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. There is reason to hope that such a settlement may be reached in the near future, thereby contributing significantly to the well-being of the people of both countries and the progress and stability of the region as a whole.

16. In the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict remains deadlocked. The limited Israeli withdrawal from Sinai in 1975, which was to have been a step towards a comprehensive settlement, is assuming the shape of a *status quo*, and the hope of an eventual final settlement it had generated has dimmed. We believe that durable peace can

return to the Middle East only when Israel withdraws from all Arab territory it has occupied since 1967, including the holy city of Jerusalem, and when the inalienable national rights of the people of Palestine are fully restored. Nothing short of that will bring lasting peace to this war-torn, tormented land.

17. The tragic chaos in Lebanon is a sombre warning of what awaits the region as a whole if a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is not reached in the near future. For who can doubt that the conflict in Lebanon has its roots in the unresolved problem of Palestine and the over-all Arab-Israeli conflict?

18. There has been little or no progress in the field of disarmament. In fact, while disarmament negotiations continue, expenditures on armaments mount year after year. A comprehensive test ban, a most important objective of disarmament negotiations, remains elusive. Nuclear tests continue and ever more destructive nuclear weapons are being developed. We believe that unless all nuclear tests, whether above or below ground, are banned, the nuclear arms race will continue and all efforts at nuclear disarmament will prove infructuous. The threat of a nuclear holocaust will continue to loom ominously over the world so long as the nuclear Powers do not cease developing nuclear weapons and do not agree to destroy all existing stockpiles of these weapons.

19. In such a situation, we believe the time has come to consider, on an urgent basis, the question of security of non-nuclear States against a nuclear attack or threat. In our view, only credible and effective measures would ensure the safety of non-nuclear States from this threat and act as a positive disincentive to nuclear proliferation. In this connexion, we have been urging that the nuclear States undertake not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against those non-nuclear States which are not protected by treaty guarantees from a nuclear Power. Unfortunately, this plea has so far gone unheeded.

20. In the same context, we have also urged that non-nuclear States, acting in self-defence, adopt regional security measures such as establishment of nuclear-free zones. In particular, we have advocated the creation of such a zone in South Asia. At the twenty-ninth session and again last year, at Pakistan's instance, the General Assembly adopted resolutions [resolutions 3265 (XXIX) and 3476 (XXX)] calling for consultation on this subject. A nuclear-free-zone in South Asia will, we believe, help generate a sense of security and peace among the States in this region. It is a matter of great regret that no progress has been made thus far in implementing that resolution. We hope that this matter may receive further consideration during this session.

21. I now turn to the most vital issue of our time: the grave economic disparity between the industrialized and the developing countries and the economic disarray which prevails on every side. What is more, this disparity continues to widen. It has been estimated that in the coming five years, the income per head in the poor countries may increase by at most \$10; in the same period, the income of the average citizen in developed countries will increase by \$900. In other words, the rich are

becoming richer, the poor seem destined to stay dangerously poor.

22. This is an extremely disturbing situation. It is not the result just of some inherent disability arising from the geographical location of countries, their respective capabilities or resources. It is, in fact, largely man-made.

23. It has now become plain, and is indeed widely recognized, that some fundamental changes are necessary in the existing economic order, which is loaded heavily in favour of the industrialized countries as against the developing countries. Unless these changes are made and the economic dealings between the developed and the developing countries are put on a just basis, the developing countries will, we fear, never have a fair chance to raise the standard of living of their poverty-stricken masses.

24. In an article on this subject, which has been circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, Prime Minister Bhutto has put the matter thus:

"We cheerfully undertake the toil and sweat for a better life for our masses. We accept the denial of immediate comforts. But we cannot allow the value of our sacrifice to be jeopardized by institutions and practices which structurally operate against us. The labour of our masses is being constantly devalued by unequal economic relationships between us and the richer countries." [See A/31/208, annex, sect. III.]

The Prime Minister goes on to say that the external economic environment and its integral link with the collective weaknesses of the developing countries are such that the global economy acts like a strong current setting the developing countries back in their voyage to self-realization. This situation, he concludes, is intolerable.

25. Unless the inherent bias of the existing institutions of trade and capital in favour of the strong and the rich is removed and unless the massive economic power of rich countries is counterbalanced by unity among the developing countries, the gap between the poor and the rich will continue to expand, because, in the words of the Prime Minister, a built-in feature of the present international economic order is that "the rich must continue to appropriate an overwhelming proportion of the earth's wealth" [*ibid.*, sect. II].

26. International efforts to narrow this widening gap between the developing and the developed countries have so far proved ineffective. The proposal for a new international economic order, launched at the sixth special session, remains still only a concept. The consensus arrived at on this subject at the seventh special session of the General Assembly [resolution 3362 (S-VII)], widely welcomed at this time as a new turning-point, has been all but forgotten. The North-South dialogue initiated in Paris last December with much hope and promise has, after nine months of effort, not gone much beyond discussing questions of procedure or making analyses of the situation. The fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] held in Nairobi ended in last-minute compromises of a more or less textual character and the value even of these has been virtually

nullified by the reservations entered by the most important industrial Powers.

27. My country firmly believes that a solution of international problems, including the problem of mass poverty and under-development, must be sought through negotiation and constructive dialogue. We have never given primacy to doctrine over pragmatism. We neither seek retribution for past wrongs nor close our eyes to present realities. However, we cannot allow the need for consensus to justify inaction. We do not accept that the prevailing situation reflects an immutable reality. We recognize the need for change by evolution but, in practice, what we see is not evolution but inertia, even regression.

28. Accordingly, Prime Minister Bhutto has proposed that developing countries of the third world hold a summit meeting to deal with this all-important issue. This proposal was considered at length in the meeting of the Group of 77 recently held in Mexico. It was there decided that this important proposal should be considered by the Governments of the Group of 77. In our view, the combined will of the peoples of the third world, expressed at the highest level, could alone create the necessary impact in the developed world to make it realize the imperative need for changes in the existing economic order that will assure justice to developing countries. These changes are indispensable in the interest of peace, progress and tranquillity. The far-sighted will not fail to recognize that, in the long run, both developed as well as developing countries would stand to benefit from such action.

29. The history of mankind is a history of movement and transformation. Even in periods of apparent calm, forces of change and flux remain at work under the surface. At other times, the process of change becomes greatly accelerated and assumes revolutionary and violent forms. The century in which we live has been such a period.

30. For the vast bulk of mankind the past century was a period of subjugation and stagnation. In the last 25 years much of what used to be taken for granted has changed. The sun has finally set on colonial empires. The struggle today is to give concrete shape to independence—not political independence only but economic independence as well. Let interdependence be a reality, not a euphemism for the continued dependence of the poor and the weak on the rich and the strong.

31. At different periods it has fallen to different nations and peoples to set in motion the wheels of history. Today that responsibility falls upon the part of the globe known as the third world. In pursuing the goal of emancipation, the people of the third world are also fulfilling a historic duty to bring justice and equity to bear upon international relations, the absence of which has been a major reason why the pages of history are filled with conflict, oppression and misery. Given reason and goodwill on all sides, there can be no doubt of the ultimate success of our common struggle.

32. Mr. SORSA (Finland): Mr. President, while highly appreciating your chairmanship of this meeting, I wish to express, through you, to the President, the congratulations of my Government on his election to the presidency of this

General Assembly. We recognize in him the skilled and experienced representative of Asia and a nation that recently acted as the host for the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries in Colombo—one of the major international events preceding this General Assembly. We are confident that under his leadership the General Assembly will discharge its responsibilities in an efficient manner.

33. We have gathered at this session at a time which is challenging but also promising. It is true that no major war is being waged in the world today. This in itself is of tremendous value. On the other hand, our world is still menaced by serious war-like situations. If not contained, these situations could result in armed conflicts with disastrous international repercussions. Furthermore, injustices inherent in the existing economic and social world order contain the seeds of future conflicts. Therefore, they, too, must be eliminated through conciliation and co-operation. In the view of my Government the basic problem both in the national as well as in the international sphere is how to ensure that necessary changes are reached in a peaceful and orderly manner. Indeed, the demand of today is constructive change. The United Nations provides us with an indispensable tool to meet this challenging problem. It can only be solved with as universal participation as possible of the nations of the increasingly interdependent world. Finland welcomes the Republic of Seychelles as a new Member of the United Nations. It is our hope that the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will also be admitted to the Organization.

34. The process of decolonization is one of the truly great changes generated by the United Nations. Its final fulfilment is not far ahead. However, the prevailing situation in southern Africa causes us deep concern. The Foreign Ministers of the five Nordic countries at their recent meeting had an extensive discussion on the situation in southern Africa. At the meeting we agreed on a set of guidelines for our policy in these problems. Of course, the whole world is now focusing on this area, where the last remnants of the colonial era still resist the rightful demands of the peoples under oppression. The wind of change in Africa is again blowing strong. The important question to everybody now is whether this change will be achieved peacefully or only through bloodshed and violence.

35. It is still our sincere hope that the white minority in Southern Rhodesia will listen to the calls of the African people and the international community so that majority rule can be established in Zimbabwe. The white population in Rhodesia must recognize the inevitable and proceed rapidly towards a negotiated and peaceful solution for an independent Zimbabwe. Meanwhile, all the Members of the United Nations must strictly implement the sanctions adopted by the Security Council.

36. South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia. The international community and especially the United Nations have assumed special responsibility for the achievement of self-determination and independence for Namibia. The South African régime must heed the demands of the Security Council and the General Assembly calling for immediate South African withdrawal and free elections under United Nations supervision and control. The pro-

posals of the so-called constitutional conference in Windhoek—in the words of the United Nations Council for Namibia—did not even approach any of the requirements for genuine self-determination and independence laid down by the United Nations. Failure to comply with the decisions of the Security Council would be a serious mistake.

37. In South Africa itself the system of institutionalized discrimination against the black majority through the policy of *apartheid* has caused suffering and provoked determined resistance in Soweto and other locations. The Finnish Government must express its strongest disapproval and abhorrence of the violence and brutality shown by the South African authorities. The United Nations must strengthen its policy of sanctions against the Government of South Africa. As an immediate measure by the international community my Government would welcome a decision by the Security Council on a compulsory arms embargo against South Africa as proposed by the Nordic Foreign Ministers. Finland for its own part has already many years ago banned arms exports to South Africa.

Mr. Boyd (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

38. The active participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and of the African countries is in our opinion of decisive importance in the search for just and lasting solutions to the problems in southern Africa. We therefore welcome the recent initiatives that have been taken and hope that they will be pursued and lead to results.

39. The peace-making process in the Middle East and in Cyprus has come to a standstill notwithstanding strenuous bilateral and multilateral efforts to reach negotiated settlements. It is our sincere hope that the parties in both cases will resume their efforts towards a peaceful solution on the basis of the relevant resolutions adopted by the Security Council. The Finnish Government has followed with great concern and deep sympathy the protracted human suffering in the Middle East and in Cyprus. It is our fervent hope that, while the search for peaceful solutions is going on, all the parties concerned respect and facilitate efforts of humanitarian aid to the suffering civilian population.

40. In the search for a peaceful solution my Government continues to give its full support to the United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and in Cyprus. In this context, I cannot but draw the serious attention of the Member States to one important aspect of the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations i.e. their financing. The growing deficit in the budget of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is causing great concern to my Government, which is contributing troops to the peace force. The troop contributors have too long shouldered a disproportionate share of the expenses involved and face the prospect of increased burdens if contributions from other Governments are not initiated and augmented. Taking into account the joint responsibility of the Members of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, we strongly feel that there is an obligation of all Member States to participate in financing of the peace-keeping activities agreed to by the United Nations.

41. Another central problem in peace-keeping is the lack of progress in political negotiations, to which I referred earlier. Conditions created by peace-keeping for peace-making should be fully utilized by the parties. Otherwise these stalemates—if continued for too long—can frustrate not only the troop contributors but the whole purpose of peace-keeping. I believe, therefore, that the international community should give high priority to the strengthening of the effectiveness of its mechanisms for peace.

42. As a representative of Finland, the host country for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, I feel bound to review the development of the situation after the signature of the Final Act of the Conference just more than a year ago. Some reserves were expressed on the importance of the Final Act and voices of doubt can still be heard, but I think it is fair to say that the over-all assessment is clearly positive.

43. Thus the Final Act of Helsinki is a political codification of the rules of inter-State conduct between the participating countries. Certain new forms of political, economic and humanitarian co-operation have emerged. The spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki reflects perfectly and, indeed, conforms to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. This underlines the non-isolating character of the European Conference. As a whole the implementation of the provisions of the document is well on its way, and, in good faith, the Governments have shown a great responsibility in doing this. Political, economic and social co-operation on a regional level can only enhance global détente and dialogue, which are the main concern of this world Organization.

44. Finland attaches a great importance to the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be held in Belgrade in June next year and is doing its best to contribute to its success. I am happy to mention in this context the important role of the Economic Commission for Europe of the United Nations in implementing the Final Act and paving the way to the follow-up conference. We hope that the Conference of Belgrade will play its part in promoting international understanding and co-operation on a regional level, which would also extend its benefits to global endeavours.

45. My Government has long considered disarmament an integral part of détente, and genuine progress in arms control and in disarmament negotiations an essential factor in underpinning the continuing process of relaxation of international tensions. To our mind it would have been reasonable to expect that the impressive gains scored in this respect particularly on the European continent could have been translated into tangible results in the field of disarmament. But to our profound regret this has failed to materialize, at least in the two most crucial sets of negotiations: the SALT negotiations [*Strategic Arms Limitation Talks*] and the Vienna talks. In saying this I must add that my Government is fully aware of the complexity of the issues involved, of the persistent efforts devoted to their solution and of the intrinsic value of these negotiating processes in the context of lessening of tensions.

46. Against this background it is more encouraging to note that after a hiatus of four years, the major organ for

multilateral disarmament negotiations, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, has succeeded in producing the draft of another multilateral arms control agreement for the consideration of this General Assembly. The draft convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques [*A/31/27, annex I*], while limited in scope and substance, nevertheless does have the merit of outlawing the use of a potential weapon of mass destruction of incalculable consequences. As such it deserves, in the opinion of the Finnish Government, the endorsement of this General Assembly. Besides its value as an arms limitation measure, it serves the purpose of reviving the momentum of negotiation and agreement, which the international community has grown to expect from its oldest and most experienced multilateral negotiating forum in the field of disarmament.

47. Though my Government will have an opportunity to propound more fully its views on the manifold disarmament items in the course of the disarmament debate in the First Committee, I hope it will not be amiss for me to say a few words from this rostrum to illustrate the effort that the Finnish Government is devoting to this common task of the United Nations. Because of our awareness of the organic union between political détente and disarmament, the Finnish Government has already for some years tried to increase its contribution to disarmament efforts in a practical way both in terms of manpower and money. Obviously our resources remain limited and we have therefore concentrated our efforts on a few selected projects concerning the control of chemical weapons, the study on nuclear-weapon-free zones and the strengthening of nuclear safeguards in the context of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. The response to our initiatives so far has been most satisfactory, and this cannot but encourage us to continue to pursue the objectives they are designed to achieve.

48. In the changing and more just world which we are working for, respect for human rights assumes special significance. We are all too painfully aware of the violations of human rights that are continuously brought to our attention. My Government wants to give its full support to the United Nations in its efforts to combat affronts to human dignity. The wide basis for this work has been defined in the Charter and in the International Covenants on Human Rights which have now entered into force. We hope that the Covenants will prove effective in our common fight for human rights and human dignity. This can only happen if they are ratified by the largest possible number of Member States.

49. It is increasingly evident that we are in the midst of a profound change in the world economy. Our aims have been firmly set in the decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly—a revision and readjustment of the entire economic system which has evolved since industrialization began more than 200 years ago. Although concrete results so far are relatively modest, the United Nations system has nevertheless embarked upon this task with the goal of reaching viable solutions based on negotiation between equals instead of on unilateral decisions.

50. During the next 12 to 18 months the concept of negotiated solutions to major international economic problems will again be put to trial. I am referring primarily to the series of negotiations on commodity questions which is about to begin under the auspices of UNCTAD and to the conference to establish a common fund for buffer-stock financing.

51. Finland gave its support to the integrated programme for commodities and to the concept of a common fund at the fourth session of UNCTAD. We look forward to a period when discussions on international economic relations and development at last move from generalities to specifics. Important as the commodity problems are in this context, the question of the debt burden of developing countries is equally in the forefront and deserves urgent attention with a view to arriving at a satisfactory solution.

52. The recent Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo—which my Government was honoured to attend as an invited guest—was an important step in the ongoing discussions on international co-operation for economic development. Finland has repeatedly expressed its support of the concept of collective self-reliance, which was strongly endorsed in the economic deliberations of the Colombo Conference. Co-operation among developing countries in the economic field deserves the support of the entire international community. My Government tends to view such co-operation as a complementary part of a future world economic order rather than an alternative to a truly global set of solutions based on the principle of interdependence of all nations. We therefore also welcome the readiness shown in Colombo to pursue the negotiations between North and South.

53. My Government has also observed with interest the negotiations in the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris. In spite of the difficulties which the Paris Conference has encountered my Government hopes that the negotiations will regain their momentum and thus contribute to the work carried on within the United Nations system. While it is certainly to the advantage of all States that substantive progress should be reached in the work of that Conference, it is nevertheless obvious that in the final analysis only the United Nations can give the results of the Conference the global validity which they need to be translated into action.

54. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General stresses the need for the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system [see A/31/1/Add.1, sect. X]. My Government shares his concern. It is inconceivable to us that the changes in the world economy which we are witnessing could take place without the active involvement of, and strong leadership by, the only Organization where the principles of universality and the equality of States are observed. Therefore, the United Nations must be structurally prepared to take on this great challenge.

55. Looking now beyond the critical period immediately ahead of us, we find particularly interesting the suggestion to begin the preparations of the third United Nations development decade and to devote it to the establishment of the new international economic order. The present

International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] has served the international community well and the principles contained therein are still valid. In particular, it takes adequate account of the need of balance between social and economic development. In addition to strengthening and elaborating the concept of the new international economic order, the new strategy should reflect important ideas evolved after the adoption of the present Strategy in the series of global socio-economic conferences held or forthcoming during this decade. The results of these conferences should be woven into a single texture which would be an essential part of our approach to the problems of the 1980s. Thereby we would achieve the integrated approach to development problems which Finland has always considered to be of fundamental importance. Only by devoting our attention both to social and economic issues can we achieve our final goal—genuine development, social justice and progress based not on confrontation but on co-operation.

56. Mr. ANDERSEN (Denmark): First of all I should like to congratulate, through you, Mr. President, Ambassador Amerasinghe on his election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. On behalf of the Danish delegation I wish to say that we are fully confident that he will preside over the negotiations with impartiality and efficiency. We promise to do our best to make the session proceed in a constructive and realistic atmosphere. Every effort must be made to avoid new confrontations which might bring into doubt the possibilities and objectives of the United Nations.

57. We welcome the Republic of Seychelles to the United Nations family and look forward to co-operating with this one hundred and forty-fifth Member State. Its admission to the United Nations has brought us a step closer to the important goal: that all peoples of the world shall be represented in the world Organization.

58. In the opinion of the Danish Government all States should be entitled to join the United Nations and remain Members thereof in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. We favour the admission of both the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Should the Republic of Korea want to renew its application for membership, we would support that, too.

59. Among the many serious problems confronting us, I intend to confine myself to four, namely the dangerous situation in southern Africa, the North-South dialogue, disarmament and the way in which we deal with it in this Organization and, finally, terrorism.

60. The Danish Government notes with satisfaction Mr. Ian Smith's statement a few days ago accepting the proposals put to him by Mr. Kissinger for a peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe and for majority rule within two years. The acceptance of these proposals by Mr. Smith's Cabinet represents a first step forward—a decisive one we hope. It offers a hope of bringing peace to Zimbabwe and of averting the threat of intensified warfare and bloodshed. This development also demonstrates the progress which can be achieved when all States Members of the United Nations act together.

61. In this connexion I should like to pay a tribute to the United States Government for having brought the matter to this point on the basis of a plan devised by the United Kingdom Government a few months ago. Only the influence of the United States in collaboration with the United Kingdom could, I think, have the impact necessary to bring about a solution. It is now the duty of all States Members of the United Nations to contribute in whatever way they can to the success of the coming difficult negotiations.

62. However, history has taught us to be sceptical about any promise of progress towards self-determination in southern Africa. In the past this scepticism has been amply justified. Since the outline of a solution now on the table is ambiguous on decisive points, it is understandable that the peoples of Africa should show reluctance to relinquish pressures on the white régime of Mr. Smith before the necessary guarantees have been obtained that the proposals will be carried out in good faith.

63. We appeal to all concerned to work constructively for a peaceful solution in the area. Let me stress, in this context, that it is particularly important that the African movements in Zimbabwe unite and avoid giving Mr. Smith any pretext for not going ahead towards majority rule.

64. The developments in Zimbabwe should not make us neglect the other important southern African questions. The problem of Namibia and the question of *apartheid* should not be put into the refrigerator. The problems of the area are not solved until Namibia is a free independent nation and until the inhuman policy of *apartheid* is abolished.

65. South Africa must at the earliest possible moment bring to an end its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, an occupation that has been condemned by the United Nations and declared unlawful by the International Court of Justice. The international community must go on exploiting every opportunity to make it clear that in the name of peace and justice South Africa must withdraw from Namibia in order to give the country its independence, with due participation by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and the United Nations in conformity with the resolutions of the Security Council.

66. The declaration of intent adopted by the committee of the Windhoek Constitutional Conference, published last month, stated that Namibia was reasonably certain to achieve independence by the end of 1978 and that the unity of Namibia would be maintained. The implications of these decisions do not seem clear. It is therefore doubtful whether the decisions mark any real progress. The transition to independence on the premises of the Windhoek Conference will only prepare the soil for renewed conflict. It should therefore be made absolutely clear that SWAPO must take a full part in the independence process, that the United Nations must be allowed free access to monitor this process, and that South Africa must accept Namibia as a nation State.

67. The policy of *apartheid* practised by the Republic of South Africa has once again manifested itself in violence and brutality. The organized oppression by the South African Government, resting as it does on an inhuman

philosophy, can never provide the foundation of a viable society. Events in Soweto have shown that the white minority is ready to resort to uncontrolled violence in order to maintain its privileged position at the cost of the African population. The events also demonstrate that the African population cannot be pushed any further; it is prepared to fight for its rights.

68. Confronted with these serious developments we call upon the Security Council to seek agreement on an effective policy of sanctions. I appeal to all members of this Assembly to utilize any opportunity to work for the introduction of measures in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. In this context, I refer to the endorsement by the Nordic countries of a binding arms embargo. Statements about support for the liberation of the African population are worthless if at the same time arms are supplied enabling the minority to continue its illegal policy.

69. In the course of the current session a specific example of the *apartheid* policy may be introduced. What I have in mind is the Transkei question. Transkei does not meet the objective requirements of a State. It is a reflection of the South African "bantustan" policy. Therefore we are not prepared to recognize Transkei as a nation State. We are gratified that so many countries share our view. A massive international rejection of South Africa's obvious distortion of the concept of independence is extremely important in order to keep up the international pressure against the *apartheid* régime.

70. All countries of the world must contribute constructively to finding solutions to the problems of southern Africa.

71. We for our part—and this was clearly brought out by the Netherlands Foreign Minister speaking on behalf of the European Community [7th meeting]—are ready to join in such efforts. This is a policy which for years has been pursued by Denmark and the other Nordic countries—expressed very clearly in the five-point programme contained in the communiqué of the Nordic Foreign Ministers' meeting in Copenhagen last month.

72. However, the outside world must not try in any way to impose any solution. We are faced with African problems. To African problems African solutions must be found.

73. With regard to my second point, the North-South dialogue, the economic relations between the developed and the developing countries constitute a question on which the attention of the General Assembly has been focused increasingly during the last few years.

74. An important achievement of the General Assembly was the adoption at the seventh special session of a comprehensive set of guidelines for future co-operation [resolution 3362 (S-VII)].

75. We are now in the early stage of a long process of negotiations aimed at the realization of a more equitable international economic order.

76. My Government understands the demands of the developing countries and we understand their impatience. We recognize the urgency of their problems.

77. There is no reason to conceal that among Member States opinion differs on important issues. There is no reason to conceal that negotiations are bound to be difficult. I am convinced that real progress is possible. But progress is only possible if all parties continue to show the political will to compromise. Confrontation would only postpone the necessary changes in the present international system. Lasting solutions to the problems of developing countries can only be achieved through co-operation.

78. At the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi we succeeded in establishing a negotiating plan for an integrated programme for commodities. We must now build on the results accomplished at that session. Our aim must be to secure for the developing countries a more stable and more satisfactory income from their commodity exports.

79. Export earnings from commodities are of vital importance to most developing countries. But along with the commodity negotiations we must also strengthen our efforts to bring about a diversification of the economies of the developing countries. We must intensify the work which is already under way in various organizations inside and outside the United Nations in areas such as trade, industrialization and technology.

80. It has often been said that building a better international society will require new thinking in the developed countries. This is true. It is also true that it requires new thinking in the developing countries themselves.

81. The developed countries will have to accept changes in the structure of the international economy that will run counter to vested interests. They must accept the emergence of a new international division of labour between developed and developing countries.

82. The developing countries will have to accept the fact that increased global interdependence will add to their responsibility for the international economy.

83. It is only one year since the seventh special session of the General Assembly adopted the resolution on development and international economic co-operation. There may be different interpretations of the results achieved up to now, but I believe we are irreversibly on the way toward the creation of a more just international economic order. There is no alternative to such a development.

84. In this search for a new international economic order, the need for an increase in development assistance must not be forgotten. The need for development assistance will be with us for a long time.

85. Denmark has over the years steadily increased its development assistance. We have decided to meet the target of a contribution of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product by the end of this decade. Regrettably some countries which can afford to meet this target are still way behind it.

86. The aim of assistance should be to promote economic growth, social progress and political independence. In this effort we should concentrate on the poorest of the developing countries. We shall endeavour to have the aim

pursued to the greatest possible extent by the international organizations in the planning of their multilateral assistance.

87. It is at the same time important not to forget that an effectively functioning multilateral development system has been built up inside the United Nations. I have, of course, especially in mind the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], which, however, has experienced serious financial difficulties during the last year. Only if all Member States which are in a position to do so are willing to increase their contributions to the UNDP will it be possible to continue the dynamism of the programme. And only if we succeed in financially strengthening UNDP will it be possible to maintain the coherence of the United Nations development system and thereby increase its possibility of playing a central role in the new international economic order.

88. I now turn to my third main theme, disarmament, which is and remains a primary objective of the United Nations activities and which commands great interest among all nations, in particular the question of nuclear disarmament. Denmark most fervently wishes to support efforts to bring about a complete test ban to be accompanied by the appropriate control and verification provisions. We have noted with satisfaction the rapprochement in the matter of control which has taken place between the United States and the Soviet Union.

89. Obviously, account must be taken of the problems relating to peaceful nuclear explosions. This does not make it easier to draw up an agreement on a complete test ban. But in this field we shall hopefully have a better foundation to work on when the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] in Vienna has concluded its work.

90. With regard to non-proliferation we are pleased to note that Japan has ratified the non-proliferation Treaty. The Japanese ratification constitutes a significant strengthening of this Treaty because its value depends on the extent to which it is adhered to, especially by countries which possess sophisticated nuclear technology.

91. The arrangement set up in London between a number of important countries aiming at intensifying control of the export of nuclear material and equipment represents another positive move.

92. I should also like to recall that in its Final Declaration the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons expressed its unequivocal support of the control work of IAEA and recommended that it be further strengthened and expanded.¹ This seems to be the right moment to recall the powerful exhortation by the Director General of IAEA at its General Conference a few days ago. That statement aimed at making it an indispensable condition for the delivery of nuclear material or equipment that the receiving State accept IAEA safeguards on its entire nuclear programme.

93. These observations aside, it must be conceded that the disarmament picture is rather gloomy.

¹ See document A/C.1/1068, annex I.

94. The arms race is continuing at an accelerating pace and ties down enormous resources which might otherwise have been used to provide better living conditions for humanity.

95. What can the United Nations do in this situation?

96. During this session we shall once more consider a large number—and I sigh a little bit—of agenda items in the field of disarmament, in our opinion far too many. The adoption of a number of resolutions does not in itself promise results. A tightening of our field of operation and greater concentration on key problems and realistic disarmament proposals, not least in this forum, would undoubtedly add some of that dynamism and efficacy to our work which it so sorely lacks at present.

97. The Danish Government therefore appreciates the initiative which was taken at last year's General Assembly to strengthen the United Nations role in the field of disarmament issues before the United Nations may serve this cause. At the same time we realize that the political will of Member States to contribute to this end remains the decisive factor.

98. The idea of a special session of the General Assembly to discuss disarmament issues should be carefully weighed. If such a special session is prepared so that realistic results may be expected, the Danish Government will endorse the idea. We should deplore very much if a special session developed into another barren propaganda forum.

99. I am quite aware that the United Nations as such cannot solve the problems, but by taking a more realistic approach to them and by concentrating our efforts on key problems we shall probably be able to reach the point where our endeavours in this field will command greater respect and where our efforts and working results will exert greater influence on those best qualified and able to bring about solutions.

100. I have devoted most of my speech to three very serious political topics of great urgency for all of us in this Organization. I would like to conclude with some remarks on the fundamental question of human rights and the prevention of international terrorism.

101. International terrorism as a political instrument has indisputably become a sinister feature in the political climate of recent years. Frustrated population groups have sought to enforce their demands by the taking of hostages and by the murder of innocent civilians. This has become an ugly part of life in the 1970s.

102. We therefore welcome the intention of the Federal Republic of Germany, mentioned here this morning [*7th meeting, para. 113*], to introduce a new agenda item on measures to prevent the taking of hostages, and the proposal to draft a convention on this issue. The initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany deserves the widest possible endorsement. Being limited to a purely humanitarian aspect of international terrorism and thereby avoiding an acrimonious debate on a definition of terrorism, for which, as all of us know, the world community is probably not ready, the German proposal should command the support of all members of this Assembly.

103. We have noted with regret that the efforts of the United Nations on the human rights issues have become increasingly unsatisfactory in recent years. This serious issue is being increasingly exploited for political purposes. The protection of human rights must be universal. Violations of human rights must be condemned whenever and wherever they occur.

104. The Danish Government will continue its efforts to strengthen the respect for human rights and will work actively for the elimination of torture and other degradations of the individual. The role of the United Nations in combatting violations of human rights in all parts of the world must be strengthened. An important stage in the work of the United Nations to promote the respect for human rights was reached earlier this year when the two International Covenants on Human Rights entered into force. The Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which deals with complaints from individuals about violations of human rights, also entered into force this year, but we have noted with regret that very few countries have ratified it. We urge all countries which have not yet acceded to these three instruments to do so without delay.

105. The work which is being done by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees must be backed and facilitated in every part of the world by the Governments involved.

106. The problems facing us are numerous and they are difficult. In the search for solutions to our problems we have a unique instrument in the United Nations. Nowhere else are 145 countries trying in common to solve the conflicts and problems of the world. If we are to succeed, it is of paramount importance for us to respect and abide by the principles laid down in the Charter.

107. We do not want to stress procedure and form and all these things for their own sake. But an Organization of this kind cannot live unless the rules of the game are respected and observed by all Member States.

108. On the other hand we must realize that these principles should be applied in keeping with the times. It is important that—within the given framework—our Organization should be constantly and constructively adapted to the new conditions of this changing world.

109. We have the instrument. Let us demonstrate that we have the political will to use this instrument.

110. Sir Maori KIKI (Papua New Guinea): At the outset I wish to congratulate Mr. Amerasinghe on his election to his most highly respected post as President of the General Assembly. I know that there are heavy responsibilities ahead of him in the coming weeks. Our delegation has the utmost confidence in his capabilities, and I trust that under his able leadership this session will be a success.

111. On the occasion of Papua New Guinea's admission to this Organization in October of 1975, our Prime Minister, Mr. Somare, stated that our Government's first priority is the welfare of our own people. This is still valid today. We wish to advance in conditions of peace and security and

realize that to achieve this we must make our presence known in world affairs.

112. We are committed to the increasing interdependence of all Members of this family of nations and see this Organization and its subsidiary and affiliated organizations as the main hope for the third world. In this context we wish to welcome the new Members to the United Nations and in particular the Republic of Seychelles. It is also Papua New Guinea's hope that Viet Nam and Angola will be given favourable consideration on their application for membership.

113. This is the second time that Papua New Guinea has taken its place in this Assembly. We are proud to have come through our first year of independence. We are also proud that we came through it so well and that we are able to report to this world forum that we have maintained the impetus towards development and social justice set in motion before our independence. We have maintained and developed the trust which was handed to us by the Trusteeship Council.

114. The first year of the operation of Papua New Guinea's independent foreign policy has justified our faith in choosing what we call the "universalist" path.

115. "Universalism" as practised by Papua New Guinea is not widely understood by our friends. It is often confused with "non-alignment", which it certainly resembles, but the two concepts differ in many important areas. "Universalism" to Papua New Guinea means taking the middle path without veering to either side on questions relating to political ideologies, creeds or governmental systems. We see it as a balanced policy with which Papua New Guinea will make no enemies. But it does not mean just sitting on the fence. It is an active and positive policy. Papua New Guinea has recognized and entered into diplomatic relations with all the large Powers of the world on an equal basis. We are happy to have entered into diplomatic relations with countries having varied forms of governmental systems and geographical location. We have recognized and entered into relations with both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on an entirely even-handed basis.

116. The one area in which the Papua New Guinea Government does not intend to pursue universalism is in respect to régimes which pursue *apartheid* or racist policies which are unacceptable to us. The Papua New Guinea Government has not and will not recognize, or have any dealings whatever with, countries which practise these policies. We endorse the work of the decolonization Committee² in seeking self-determination for all peoples in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

117. I have mentioned before that Papua New Guinea has recognized both the North Korean and South Korean Governments. We desire most earnestly, for the sake of the future security of the region in which we live, that these two Governments should commence a dialogue between

themselves which will result in a peaceful solution to the present uneasy situation. We would, further, wish to see both those Governments represented in the United Nations as equal sovereign States.

118. Papua New Guinea is geographically very near to the island of Timor, which has seen some most unfortunate incidents during the course of this year. As a close neighbour we have been most concerned by these incidents and have watched them closely. We advocated for Timor a period of decolonization under the United Nations. But Papua New Guinea is a very small and new actor on the world stage, and it was clear from the outset that there was not any way in which Papua New Guinea could influence the events on Timor in one way or another. Papua New Guinea therefore has not played any active role in the settlement of the Timor situation. We hope, however, that the people of Timor will be assured their rights and freedoms as outlined in the United Nations Charter.

119. Papua New Guinea has watched from afar the problems of the Middle East. We wish to commend the work of the United Nations in moving towards a peaceful solution.

120. I have already mentioned that the Government of Papua New Guinea considers its first priority to be the welfare of its own people at home. Papua New Guinea has only achieved a very low level of industrial development. Its export income is derived mainly from the sale of primary products. The nature of our economy is such that sharp changes in world market prices have very important implications for economic planning in our country. We know that we are not unique and that other countries are also experiencing the ill-effects of the current world recession. I feel confident in saying that the effects are felt more acutely by those of us in the third world who are heavily dependent on earnings from the sale of primary products. It is in this context that the Government of Papua New Guinea commends the efforts of the Secretary-General of UNCTAD to bring about a significant change in the existing world economic order.

121. The fourth session of UNCTAD, recently held in Nairobi, marks the opening of a new and vitally important chapter in relations between the economically advantaged and the economically disadvantaged countries. Proposals put forward have far-reaching implications for all third-world countries. Papua New Guinea, as an island developing country, applauds the special recognition given to the problems of least-developed, land-locked and island developing countries. We welcome and endorse resolution 96 (IV) adopted at Nairobi relating to the expansion and diversification of exports of manufactures and semi-manufactures of developing countries, and resolution 93 (IV) on the integrated programme for commodities.³ However, caution needs to be voiced. We sincerely hope that time does not bear witness to the fact that the programmes were too ambitious and as a result stalled under their own weight.

² Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

³ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes*, (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A.

122. Another instance of international co-operation that is of particular concern to Papua New Guinea is the attempt now being made by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to grapple with the still unresolved questions that have been entrusted to it. We feel growing anxiety at the failure so far of the Conference to reach a conclusion. Papua New Guinea has been actively participating in that Conference, and remains fully committed to the goal of a generally accepted treaty.

123. However we have noted that in the absence of a treaty it is inevitably the stronger nations that are able to take the initiative in developing State practice in this field. In these circumstances smaller nations like Papua New Guinea in protecting their interests have no alternative but to seek such security as may be found in regional arrangements. There is no question, however, that this is our second preference. It is a poorer alternative, both for ourselves and for mankind. No one can contemplate the possible failure of the Conference without being filled with despondency for the future of all who might be affected by the use of the oceans, which include all nations represented at this Assembly.

124. Finally, I again reiterate my Government's commitment to the maintenance of peace throughout our region and the world. My Government is deeply committed to a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific and supports the other Pacific countries in calling for such a declaration. My Government commends the work of this Organization, its subsidiaries and affiliated organizations in upholding the principles as expounded in the Charter.

125. Mr. JIMENEZ (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first to express the congratulations of our delegation on the keen perception with which the General Assembly has chosen Mr. Amerasinghe to preside over this session containing in its agenda issues for study and decision of great importance to States Members of the United Nations. We are certain that his privileged experience and his wisdom will facilitate the achievement of our common purpose in the search for just solutions as well as in the results of our deliberations. Let us then hope that, guided by the values he represents, we will be able to say at the end of our work that at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly considerable progress has been made and that we have been able to clear up the unknown factors that have held back progress toward a new policy of understanding and effective decision-making in the difficult task of fulfilling the mandate imposed by the expectations of our times under the Charter of our world Organization.

126. I wish to convey the most heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg for the brilliant manner, the goodwill and competence with which he presided over the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

127. I also wish to express the deep appreciation of my Government for the effective and vigorous work of Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who has so faithfully served the principles of the Organization.

128. The delegation of the Dominican Republic is pleased to offer its congratulations also to the Republic of Seychelles for having been admitted as a Member of the United Nations. These congratulations on behalf of my Government and of the people of the Dominican Republic are addressed to the Government of the people of the young Republic of Seychelles as well as to its delegation, with which we have the honour to participate in this General Assembly.

129. We are here at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of this important body at a time when the economy of developing countries such as ours are facing difficult situations which must find a prompt and happy situation. At the same time, however, we are strengthened by the ideals which inspired the founder of the Republic, Juan Pablo Duarte, known among us as the "Christ of Freedom"—whom all Dominicans honour this year in just tribute on the centenary of his death—whose selfless life was passionately and completely devoted to the emergence of a new nation in the American continent under the protection of God, the fatherland and liberty.

130. While we realize that all items to be discussed at this session are of great importance, we cannot forget the needs we are faced with, and speaking on behalf of my country I wish to mention in particular that we shall raise the problem of the sugar market with its falling prices as well as other points which have been causing a deterioration in the peaceful coexistence of nations and our very existence as States. That is why we are going to limit our considerations to those matters.

131. The idea of a collective security system has always been present in the United Nations. On the other hand it is not too bold to think that it has never been more justified to see to it that its Member States favour having a practical instrument, an instrument which may prove effective in preserving peace and proscribing the scourge of war so as to imbue the Charter with more vigour in that field.

132. We know very well that there are innumerable obstacles to the emergence of such a mechanism because of the differences and the controversies which produce stagnation and which create a climate adverse to reconciling conflicting interests—interests which instead of diminishing have multiplied in the last 10 years.

133. The problem, as complex as it may be, must be viewed in the light of other criteria. Among them that of the international economy is essential.

134. Actually there are also reasons to consider it necessary to recognize that collective security is not possible without economic security. Both causes produce the same effects: economic insecurity drives peoples to collective insecurity. Thus, if the former could be attained through a process similar to an effective moratorium on the tensions produced by harsh disputes and conflicts it would be possible for peace not to be precarious, which it has been for many years, and to reduce coercion and threat which were the agents determining the instability affecting the principles embodied in the Charter of our Organization.

135. These thoughts lead the delegation of the Dominican Republic to mention the importance which my country attaches to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], which should not be left or considered a simple expression of purposes which have remained inoperative as so many others or which have been neglected despite the causes which led to it.

136. A review of the disturbances caused in the territories of States Members of the United Nations shows that violence in its most inhuman forms has not diminished but has rather increased and intensified considerably. We cannot deny that those facts have negative international implications such as the hijacking of aircraft, a subject which involves States with all the characteristics we know.

137. Seizing hostages is no doubt one of the most odious forms of violent coercion. Now this practice has spread to the Americas, where it has created threats to public order in the form of kidnappings which defy authority to obtain the objectives pursued, disregarding the fact that the victims are actually innocent persons—and this makes these deeds barbarian crimes.

138. In this danger zone of crime in the international arena we must admit that the instruments available to us so far have been ineffective to prevent or punish violations which are contrary to moral and cultural progress, in contrast to the technology which is leading us to ever deeper penetration of outer space.

139. The General Assembly in previous years has been concerned with this serious situation, and the statements made on those occasions were so conservative that we could say today that they have been largely the cause of the evil we are now facing without any apparent remedy.

140. The frequency with which this type of violence occurs all over the world makes a more thorough review necessary in order to find new, more effective instruments to check the proliferation of terrorism, hijacking and kidnapping, in all its forms, so that this evil may be halted before this covert method of warfare unleashes an international conflict which could lead to a new war.

141. It would not be an exaggeration to give priority to the idea of a preventive and corrective mechanism for this purpose, which has already been studied by the General Assembly. Preventive action may consist in the formula which is applicable to other cases similar to the ones we have mentioned. We think that time has come to consider terrorism to be an offence under ordinary law, taking into account not merely the motive, but the dreadful nature of the crime and the fact that its victims are innocent people. This would also provide the necessary means for the prevention and punishment of hijacking of aircraft, the holding of hostages etc. These specific offences must be regarded as crimes against mankind, with all the legal consequences.

142. The Dominican Republic has attached special importance to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and within its possibilities has lent its decided co-operation toward the adoption of a draft convention that would be viable and effective.

143. We understand that such a task is very difficult given the opposing interests in the world today. At the same time we are largely elaborating a new law of the sea which covers greater areas than the land masses. It is obvious, on the other hand, that many of the provisions which have been proposed compel us to abandon centuries-old practices—a matter which frequently requires uncommon decisiveness and firmness. However, the reasons leading States to find a new régime for the seas are so clear and convincing—now that we must speak no longer of a *mare liberum*, but rather of the common heritage of mankind—that we must yield to the requirements of our time before it is too late.

144. This is a challenge which we cannot neglect, since the world is beset by prospects of food scarcity in particular, and the wealth of the sea is important for survival and human progress. No one can ignore the situation, which is linked, so to speak, to a fixed time-table. The realities have placed us in a “state of siege.”

145. We have been disappointed to see that on many of the subjects involved in the law of the sea not only have opposite positions been taken—and this has disturbed recent meetings on the subject—but they have also made impossible the adoption of agreed formulas and have delayed the possibility of agreeing on a convention that can be adopted on time, bearing in mind the urgent need to exploit the resources of the sea, while we move towards the year 2000.

146. The reference to food shortages and malnutrition leads us to the resolution of the World Food Conference,⁴ which is of great topical importance for the problem of hunger. It is difficult to conceive that despite the importance of the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the oil-producing countries have not contributed to that mechanism for the mobilization of agriculture, at the levels required by the urgency of that programme, the implementation of which would alleviate the demand for food in critical areas and reduce the devastation brought about by malnutrition.

147. It is clear that this problem is becoming more acute and spreading everywhere, and it is that continuous projection which remains a question to which no reply has so far been forthcoming on the basis of population growth forecasts and other statistics endorsed by competent organizations.

148. The Dominican Republic shares the concern over the need to make use of all available resources for agricultural production with a view to attaining the maximum possible level, i.e., the need to act now with a view to preventing the ills that are threatening future generations. That is why the Government headed by His Excellency President Joaquín Balaguer, not only maintains a vigorous agricultural policy but has also been gradually changing the land-holding régime so as to open up more opportunities in agriculture and in all other fields of production including mining—an unprecedented change. The system which has been established for agrarian reform includes recovering State lands

⁴ See *Report of the World Food Conference, Rome, 5-16 November 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. 75.II.A.3), chap. II.

and gradually acquiring large tracts of arable land to be turned over to the farmers. These standards constitute a true bloodless revolution, the results of which will be found in the total economic development of the country through the use of all its natural resources.

149. Our delegation wishes to make special mention of the sessions of UNCTAD through which developing countries expect to receive the means which will vigorously contribute to trade and development. This recognition leads us to hope for the best results from a world economic survey as well as an analysis of the prospects for the second half with regard to means to speed up the transfer of real resources to developing countries on a secure, foreseeable and permanent basis.

150. We share the idea that the time has come to introduce reforms into the Charter of the Organization. We understand that instruments relating to world order must be revised from time to time in the light of experience. Also, and for the same reason relating to changes in the life of nations, new forecasts made mandatory by the facts of international life must be incorporated into the ordering of the objectives brought about by the constitution of our system.

151. We must admit that some of the difficulties we are faced with are the result of some existing principles or of the lack of others; we must admit that these abnormalities should be largely attributed to the States themselves owing to the alternatives of international politics or to the fact that States do not subject themselves to existing principles.

152. There is very little marble that has no imperfections, says the dictum, and we can therefore say that no human endeavour is perfect. Hence we can state that if the United Nations is imperfect the same applies to the States that constitute it. There is therefore no reason for despair.

153. That being understood, it follows that the task we have before us requires the firm will to make the Charter more effective and worthy of respect so that it will always condition the objectives for which it was established on the basis of the experience of total war, whose consequences still to some extent weigh on our present civilization.

154. There is a new manifestation of discrimination no less detrimental to mankind than those which involve the economy of States. Economic discrimination leads to distrust and to fear in the States which are affected. This risks bringing about controversies and may disturb peace placing in jeopardy the basic objectives of the Charter of the Organization.

155. There is the risk of having a type of economic totalitarianism which would upset the international balance. It distorts the economy and applies great but unforeseeable pressures—even a kind of slavery—on the peoples directly affected. That evil should disappear since we are convinced that today the idea of domination is being replaced by that of the “common heritage of mankind”.

156. In addition to the realities which lead us to recognize that we are still suffering from a crisis in a law, we have the crisis in international co-operation, which may be in a

covert form, and, furthermore, impedes the necessary assistance among States under the essential principle of universality for the world Organization.

157. It seems that the oil crisis engendered by inflation in development centres is becoming a regressive phenomenon with inevitable characteristics, and it is occurring precisely at a time when the forecast is that the problems of population growth, unemployment and malnutrition will have doubled by the end of this century, while on the other hand production will not suffice to meet the demand for food and alleviate the tragedy of hunger. Hunger is the war that can unleash war.

158. We should therefore like to offer statements of the greatest importance for our delegation. We refer to the problem of the sugar markets whose ups and downs since 1974 have been of extraordinary importance for the economy of many exporting countries, our own among them.

159. The history of the efforts made in order to stabilize basic commodities would take too long even to summarize. On the other hand, it is well known by all, and therefore we need not recount what has occurred hitherto. Rather, we would like to start from now and to look for solutions that are positive, just and mutually advantageous for exporting countries as well as for importers. The former wish to have security with regard to surplus supplies and their consequential depressing effect on prices. The latter need protection from scarcity and violently inflationary prices. Consequently it would seem that the obstacles to a harmonious marketing of many raw materials—and sugar is a case in point—depend on how the parties interpret that is just and reasonable, and we must admit that it is not easy to attain unanimity on definitions. It is, however, a challenge, and the best opportunity available to mankind today to take the initiative on a subject as vital as international commodity agreements, if we wish to attain positive facts free from that endless rhetoric to which we are used, is international co-operation which is meaningful to producers, consumers, exporters and importers.

160. One of those agreements can be envisaged. UNCTAD has already set in motion the convening of an International Sugar Conference for April 1977. There are many documents ready for the preparatory work and experts have examined in detail the possibilities of laying down the basis to eliminate from the resulting convention the concept of “exploiters and exploited,” which would be frustrating for all parties.

161. First of all we think it essential to maintain a certain relationship between production costs and prices in the light of the results obtained by the efficient producers. In this regard we should point out that production costs, for totally extraneous reasons which have nothing to do with the recognized efficiency of some producers, have—as is the case of our country—increased for entirely extraneous reasons. It is a fact that, due to the influence of the higher oil prices and the inflationary trends prevailing all over the world, the cost of the input essential to produce sugar and other consumer goods has risen astronomically. In a document presented some months ago to the International Sugar Organization there is a comparison, as an example,

between the costs of these goods in 1972 and the costs in 1975. For example, fertilizers in some instances went up from \$76 to \$346 per metric ton—46 per cent in the case of urea—and in others from \$80 to \$312. The price of superphosphate tripled. Herbicides, according to the same chart, have generally doubled in price, and the same can be said of some equipment. Oil f.o.b. the Persian Gulf increased from \$15 to \$77. These are figures taken at random but they are quite representative for our purposes here.

162. It is thus obvious that maintaining price levels for sugar and other export commodities similar to those prevailing at the beginning of this decade would be, and they are indeed right now, simply ruinous to the countries whose national income and whose balance-of-payments depends substantially on them. It is in the light of this situation fraught with serious consequences for the development and the well-being of the less developed nations that we must in a broad spirit of international solidarity focus on the search for a solution which can and must be found within the framework of the negotiations towards a new International Sugar Agreement. However, pending the adoption of a new international instrument on this subject we must adopt measures which would henceforth prevent a greater disruption in the international prices of sugar.

163. Inestimable and adverse consequences arise when world sugar production and consumption, according to the best estimates available, barely amount to 90 million short tons without any great surpluses to depress prices. We can safely say that in the present world situation, where there are such pressing needs, to speak of a sugar surplus is most erroneous.

164. That is why we are faced with a situation which we thought had been superseded and would not be repeated, since we believed that market forces would moderate the traditional sharp rises and drops which have frequently curbed the expansion and prosperity of one of the most strategic industries in the agricultural sector in this century. Furthermore, we thought that sugar cane production was no longer one more raw material widely marketed throughout the world. That concept has been superseded owing to the production of valuable by-products obtained in the industrialization process.

165. The many applications of sugar cane by-products in modern industry, which lacks essential raw materials, made it impossible to think that an asset of that magnitude would not with a full expansion of the world economy respond to the real demands for all these goods. However, since the real forces of the market have not taken over, the industries of many exporting countries are being forced into bankruptcy, since, because of declining prices, they will have to cut back production acreage, not process existing crops, close down their factories and declare bankruptcy. However, after the contraction has been fully felt, after marginal producers have been eliminated, and after the supply of what appears to be surpluses has been reduced, prices will again rise, consumer countries will be increasingly concerned and will lift import restrictions, encourage the use of sweeteners, offer incentives to domestic production and resort to marketing mechanisms to depress prices.

166. It is shameful that in this century we, producers and consumers alike, are so incapable of preventing this game from playing itself out in front of everyone without taking into account that not only the interests of poor countries are involved but also the very sustenance of thousands of workers, their economic and political stability and above all the supply of food-stuffs for human consumption.

167. Our delegation sincerely believes in the goodwill of countries represented here to co-ordinate their interests at this crucial moment in the history of mankind. In this regard we think it pertinent to express in general lines the position of the Dominican Republic on this very important matter, for the destiny of our countries and in general for the world in which we have to live.

168. In the annual report submitted to the National Assembly on 27 February 1975 the President of the Republic, Mr. Joaquín Balaguer, defined the position of our country with regard to the meeting which was to be held in Puerto Plata by the group of sugar-exporting countries of Latin America and the Caribbean as follows and I quote:

"In effect, in the same manner in which the increase in the price of oil and its derivatives disrupted even the economy of industrialized nations, an excessive hike in our export products, such as sugar or coffee, could wreak havoc on the economy of countries which may be forced to acquire those products on extremely hard terms.

"The best contribution that could be made by the Latin American countries which export their raw materials to the highly industrialized countries of the area would be not to aggravate, through a disproportionate increase in their raw materials, the crisis brought about by the rise in the prices of oil and its derivatives. It would be preferable for consumer and producer countries alike to reach an agreement establishing fair prices for sugar, coffee, cocoa, etc. These new prices must be set at levels which allow developing countries to pay the high price brought today by the fuel needed to run their economy, and which enable consumer countries to obtain Latin American raw materials at prices which are acceptable and equitable for both parties."

This position has been repeatedly maintained by the Government of the Dominican Republic on all those occasions in which we have participated in the efforts of the international community to pursue objectives of justice and equity in economic relations among States and will be maintained in all meetings where we participate. For that reason we shall defend our position in the new agreement, not in terms of a confrontation between opposing interests but as forms of co-operation among nations large or small, rich or poor, to attain objectives of human solidarity which may gradually erase the social and economic contradictions which, rather than diminishing have been deepening in recent years.

169. These thoughts are confirmed in the facts which have prevailed in our economic activity. It would be sufficient to mention that while we are forced to import at extremely high costs everything that our expanding economies require to increase the income levels of the population, we are forced to sell in the international markets some of our main

products—for example, sugar—at prices such as those prevailing now at approximately eight cents per pound f.o.b. for immediate delivery which makes us a victim in the markets of those commodities.

170. To understand our situation, suffice it to say that at these prices the production of crude sugar of the Dominican Republic, which is more than 7 million short tons for export, would hardly cover the cost of oil imports for 1976, which are estimated at \$175 million.

171. In view of those circumstances we wonder what a country like the Dominican Republic can do, a country which is not an economic or military Power, which does not have vast energy resources but which is striving to diversify its production, which is making efforts to capitalize its savings, to expand its infrastructure, to introduce technology into agriculture, to multiply its industries, to expand its technological and scientific base, in a word, to develop its economy to the greatest extent possible. Simple as it may seem in countries which have been traditionally in similar situations, the way out points to the need to resort to international financing or to appeal for a debt renegotiation. Nevertheless we have started measures of austerity to combat the crisis internally by adjusting our budgetary expenditures, by limiting superfluous expenses and by establishing a system to restrict the use of foreign currency resources.

172. All those measures, however, would seem inoperative given the problems of the external sector of our economies and, in order not to appear to exaggerate and since facts offer eloquent grounds, let us examine the experience of Latin America in the last few years and the forecasts prepared by the Organization of American States for the external sector of the region. It is mentioned in the report of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council that the unfavourable balance of non-financial goods and services of countries which did not export oil rose in 1975 to \$8 billion. If to this we add payments to service the external debt, the needs of external financing resources amounted to some \$15 billion. For 1976 it is estimated that the probable flows of funds from multilateral and bilateral sources of official development assistance plus support to the balance of payments would hardly exceed \$4 billion. Assuming that reserves are used in the amount of \$2 billion, the debt to be financed through non-favoured financing would be approximately \$9.5 billion.

173. It is obvious, therefore, that the basic problem of our economies continues to be the bottle-neck in the external sector and the sugar-cane exporters of the region have been hit by the plummeting prices on the world market. It is urgent to reorder the international economy and to that end undertake decisive, bold and broader efforts in the field of multinational co-operation. That is why we reiterate once again to States Members of the United Nations that, in compliance with the provisions of the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States the most important provisions concerning situations such as that affecting the sugar sector should be implemented.

174. To mention only one example, if we look at our experience with the sugar market of the United States, a market which we have traditionally supplied in a steady

manner, we realize that we have not operated under terms of trade based on the advantages which should be offered to a supply source only a few miles from its coasts. For over half a century the Dominican Republic fought to have a considerable export quota in that market; when the quota system was changed under the Sugar Act of the United States in order to cover the deficit in the domestic market of that country we were given a substantial quota for the first time. Unfortunately, however, that mechanism which for our country meant stability in its sales and prices came to an end in 1974 when that law expired. From then on we went back to our traditional position as a net producer and exporter without guaranteed quotas and whose production of more than 1 million metric tons in 1975 accounted for 65 per cent of our foreign exchange export earnings, 48 per cent of employment in the industrial sector and 20 per cent of gross national product.

175. Furthermore, we wish to emphasize the fact that, while we respect the decisions adopted by countries in defence of the interests of their nationals, that principle of self-determination in the economic field must stop where it infringes the legitimate rights of other nations and when those protectionist measures tend to create artificial conditions which encourage specific producers and displace the efficient and competent suppliers of developing countries.

176. In order that a new international sugar agreement should be a truly effective instrument aimed at stabilizing the market to benefit exporters as well as importers, it should be more than a mere restriction of production whose effects fall most heavily on exporting countries with the passive participation of importers. This means that to regulate the market it cannot rely on quota schemes adjusted to pre-established patterns of trade which are usually artificial or discriminatory. Although we cannot do without quota arrangements, these should not be the only mechanism to maintain the stability of prices. The important role of stocks in any new agreement so that the instrument could function effectively in times of scarcity as well as in times of over-abundance of sugar has been recognized. But it has also been said that buffer stocks give rise to serious difficulties of financing, administration and operation in the case of a product like sugar because of the special physical characteristics of this commodity, and it is in this regard that we need true solidarity and a spirit of co-operation among the parties.

177. The importing countries, which include most of the larger economic Powers, should forget the traditional scheme of horizontal arrangements according to which all participants are to share in the obligations and sacrifices as if they were on an economically equal footing. The new spirit in international relations should prevail—a spirit which recognizes economic, technological and cultural inequalities or differences among various countries and the different needs which these inequalities imply for the various categories of countries.

178. It is also our hope that the new agreement will include the largest possible number of participants, including the large highly-industrialized producers and consumers such as the European Economic Community and the United States of America, which have remained outside the most recent multilateral arrangements of that type. Our

wish to have them associated to this new effort of international co-operation is based not only on the recognition of the important contribution which both economic Powers could make to the greater effectiveness of the new instrument but also on the benefits that would result from the adherence of the European Economic Community to the provisions of the instruments and therefore its participation in the sugar market in a way which would be less harmful to less developed countries than the practice of subsidized sales, and from the maintenance by the United States of access to its domestic market without tariff barriers, which hinder the fair competition of foreign suppliers.

179. We have briefly presented the tragedy which sugar poses for producing and exporting countries from the point of view of the delegation of the Dominican Republic. We believe that our position coincides with that of all agricultural raw material-exporting countries and we express broad support and sympathy for them in our statements. That is why at this session we intend to reach a consensus for adopting international emergency measures to rescue the sugar industry of traditionally exporting countries from their present situation.

180. In conclusion we appeal to the commonsense of Member States and to the solidarity which should prevail among peoples to design with justice and sincerity, in the light of our needs, strategies needed to give a final thrust to the harmonious development of our peoples.

181. We must emphasize the serious responsibility which this world Organization would bear were it to remain inactive in the phase of the tragic situation of sugar affecting exporting countries which basically depend on that product for drawing up their development strategy.

182. Only our faith in international co-operation which we have resolutely supported and encouraged continuously to retain a cohesive structural base and the open, frank dialogue through which the solution to common problems is attained lead us to think that there will be adopted short- and medium-term measures which would contribute to maintaining more just and worthy relations between highly developed countries, countries which emerged sheltered by the sacrifice of those which today seek their full development.

183. Mr. ÇAĞLAYANGİL (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all to extend my congratulations to Mr. Amerasinghe, the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka, upon his election to the presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. His choice by the Assembly is surely warranted by his long experience in the United Nations as well as his diplomatic talent.

184. I also would like at the very beginning of our work to reiterate our deep appreciation for the distinguished services rendered to this Assembly by the President of the thirtieth session, the illustrious Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn.

185. Our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, during the annual period which has just passed has continued to accomplish with the greatest devotion, alertness, fore-

sightedness and tact so characteristic of him, the important tasks entrusted to him. We have found in him a statesman who is identified with the action of our Organization and someone who spares no effort in the work he carries out on the international arena to promote the principles and the goals of the United Nations. May he find in these few words the expression of our warm appreciation and gratitude.

186. I am happy to welcome here the representatives of the recently created Republic of Seychelles, which is joining the great family of the United Nations at this session. We are very happy to welcome the Seychelles into our Organization. I am convinced that it will make an invaluable contribution to the work of the United Nations.

187. This session of the General Assembly prompts us in the first place to reflect on the role of the United Nations during this complex period. The introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization contains a detailed and wise analysis of the traits of this period and highlights the possibilities open to the world Organization as well as the obstacles it has to face. We share for the most part his assessments and I should like, in the context of the general debate, to refer in particular to his ideas concerning the procedures on the basis of which the General Assembly adopts its decisions.

188. The thirtieth session has indeed in certain cases given results about which we should reflect. The adoption of resolutions which have a dual nature or which are based solely on the views of one of the parties to a conflict is likely to weaken the authority and the credibility of the General Assembly and to render its resolutions completely inapplicable and to impede, rather than to facilitate, the process of negotiation and peaceful settlement. We all know that the resolutions of the General Assembly cannot alone settle the conflicts or the problems. None the less, they can contribute to a settlement to the extent that they correctly and objectively reflect a given situation, a thorough understanding of the positions of the parties involved, respect for them and realism, fairness and justice. I should like to hope that this year the conclusions of the work of the General Assembly may be less controversial, better balanced and more constructive.

Mr. Harry (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

189. At the beginning of this thirty-first session we must first of all define the most important problems we are facing. What have been the significant developments of this last year? Towards what goals will we have to direct our efforts in the present circumstances? I should like briefly to submit in their general lines Turkey's views on the international questions which my Government deems are of major interest at this time.

190. The year which has just elapsed had its difficulties, fears and tensions. If obvious progress was achieved in connexion with certain questions which were debated by our Assembly at its last session, new problems have arisen and conflicts have broken out in certain regions of the world. At the beginning of the last month we commemorated the first anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of Helsinki, which defines the conditions of détente in Europe. That event was marked by moderately enthusiastic

comments concerning the developments which have taken place during that initial period of the détente in Europe.

191. It is no less true that, in a general fashion, the countries of the European continent have enjoyed a certain stability in their political relations and relatively favourable conditions in the area of economic and technological co-operation. This is certainly not a negligible accomplishment, but the essential element which this period since the Final Act of Helsinki has highlighted is what for our part we have from the beginning called the "indivisibility of détente".

192. The experience acquired in that brief period of time has helped us to realize more clearly and more decisively that détente cannot be considered and maintained in isolation in any given part of the world, and that it is necessary that efforts aimed at making possible greater stability and more active co-operation be pursued in all parts of the world.

193. In this context we continue to think that peace and security in Europe are closely linked to peace and security in the Mediterranean. That is why we attach particular importance to the document entitled "Questions on Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean" in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We hope that the conditions at present existing in that region will develop in a way that will make possible the total implementation of that document.

194. In the course of the year which has just finished Turkey, for its part, has undertaken all the initiatives it could in order to contribute to the establishment of conditions favourable to a new climate in international relations. In the two parts of the world which form its region, Eastern Europe and the Middle East, my country has renewed with almost all of its neighbours the existing good neighbourly relations by forming closer ties with them both in the political domain and in that of economic co-operation. I think I can say that the countries of that region, because of those relations of good neighbourliness and collaboration which they pursue and develop resolutely, make an important contribution to the maintenance of peace.

195. Alongside these efforts which we must make with perseverance, efforts whose objective is to create and maintain international relations based on mutual respect, equality and the spirit of co-operation, several important questions in the economic field require today particular attention on our part.

196. A global consideration of the world economic situation shows there are three trends which are particularly striking.

197. The first is the tendency towards interdependence among nations. The successive crises of these recent years and the serious problems which the international community has had to face have demonstrated without doubt that co-operation and that close international co-operation and co-ordination are indispensable.

198. The second tendency is the interrelation existing between economic problems both nationally and inter-

nationally. Until now such problems were for the most part dealt with on a sectoral basis, case by case—trade, financing, monetary problems, the environment. The need to adopt a multidisciplinary integrated method to resolve these problems becomes increasingly evident.

199. The third tendency is the evolution in concepts governing economic relations between industrialized and developing countries—that is to say, the recognition that such relations must be based on equality, equity and reciprocal interests. Conscious of this evolution and desirous of meeting the aspirations of the majority of the international community to assure a just and equitable development, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action at the completion of its sixth special session [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*].

200. Inspired by those very same principles, the resolution concerning development and international economic co-operation adopted by consensus during the seventh special session [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] brought new scope to international economic relations. It provided measures to be taken in the fields of international trade, the transfer of resources, financing, development, science and technology, industrialization, monetary reform, agriculture, food and co-operation among developing countries.

201. The year which has just elapsed was rich in the field of negotiations within the United Nations system between developed and developing countries for the purpose of ensuring more rapid application of those measures provided for the establishment of a new international economic order. It is difficult to say that all those negotiations led to fully satisfactory results. None the less, we recognize that serious efforts were made on the part of all the parties concerned.

202. We can equally note that certain efforts were made during the course of that same year outside the United Nations system in order to contribute to the attainment of a new world economic order. The Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which we are happy is resuming its work, the Seventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers,⁵ the Manila Conference,⁶ the Colombo Conference and the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries⁷ deserve special mention in the context of all those activities.

203. My Government is convinced that the establishment of a new international economic order based on equality, fairness, interdependence and co-operation among all States regardless of their economic and social systems will rectify inequality and will correct present injustices. At the same time it will make it possible to eliminate the growing gap between developed and developing countries and will secure the economic and social development of present and future generations in peace and justice. Turkey, a developing country engaged in a process of rapid industrialization, has

⁵ Held at Istanbul from 12 to 15 May 1976.

⁶ Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Manila from 26 January to 7 February 1976.

⁷ Held at Mexico City from 13 to 21 September 1976.

always associated itself with all initiatives taken within the United Nations system as well as outside of it aimed at bringing realistic solutions to the international economic problems.

204. The persistence of colonialist and racist attitudes is a problem whose seriousness increases and which increasingly imperils peace and stability in the African continent as well as threatening international peace and security. Turkey, which had to wage an arduous struggle against imperialism and expansionism to safeguard and strengthen its independence, feels deep solidarity with the peoples who are resolved to ensure their self-determination and their independence. We welcomed with joy the acceleration of the process of decolonization over the last few years and more recently the accession to independence by Angola, Cape Verde, the Comoros, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles and Surinam. None the less, the problems of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia remain disquieting and, unless they are speedily solved, may soon give rise to interracial confrontations in southern Africa.

205. Turkey, as a founding member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, has given its full support to all efforts intended to assist the people of Namibia in its struggle for freedom and independence. The United Nations has taken on a very special responsibility vis-à-vis Namibia. My delegation has backed the efforts of the United Nations and the resolutions of the Security Council demanding free elections under United Nations supervision. The lack of progress has seriously worsened the situation by creating new dangers. We hope that before it is too late South Africa will become conscious of the need to co-operate with the United Nations for the purpose of giving the Namibian people its inalienable right to independence.

206. As concerns Southern Rhodesia, Turkey reiterates its unreserved support of the request for self-determination and majority government by the people of Zimbabwe. We follow with great interest the sustained efforts recently made with a view to promoting and speeding up the solution to the problems in Southern Rhodesia. It is our sincere hope that those efforts will be successful and will make possible rapid progress towards a negotiated solution which, while meeting satisfactorily the needs of the people of Zimbabwe, will also prevent bloody confrontations.

207. The policy of *apartheid* in South Africa still continues to be a profound source of disquiet and concern for all countries devoted to the cause of racial justice and human dignity. The tragic events which have taken place recently in that country have served as a dramatic illustration of violent reaction which *apartheid* arouses. Turkey has always firmly stated its opposition to that policy and to racial discrimination in South Africa. We support Security Council resolution 392 (1976) inviting the South African Government to end violence against the African people and to take urgent steps to eliminate *apartheid* and racial discrimination. We hope that vigorous condemnation of this policy by the international community will compel the South African Government to abide by the judgement of the world conscience and will encourage it to adopt a rapid solution which would give to the African population of the

country the same basic human rights which had been denied to them for so long.

208. Owing to its geographical situation and its numerous ties and links and relations with the countries of the Middle East, Turkey continues to follow with great concern the conflict between the Arab States and Israel, which is a constant source of danger for peace and security in the region. The position of my country with regard to this problem has been repeatedly stated from this rostrum. The unswerving principles on which this foreign policy is based prompts Turkey to be opposed to the acquisition of territory by force. On the substance of the problem, we have always maintained that Israel should withdraw from all the territories it has been occupying since 1967 and that a settlement should allow all countries of the region to protect their independence, their sovereignty and the security of their borders. During recent years we have supported all efforts to ensure recognition of the political rights of the Palestinians because we are and continue to be convinced that this question is at the very heart of a broader problem—that of establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is out of this conviction that we have supported General Assembly resolutions reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinians in Palestine—their rights to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty—and requesting that the Palestine Liberation Organization should be invited to participate on an equal footing with the other parties in all deliberations and conferences on the Middle East which take place under the auspices of the United Nations. My Government has followed with great interest and has supported all the initiatives which have been taken over the past few years to bring about conditions for a solution of the conflict in the Middle East. It can be said that certain progress has been achieved in the search for a final solution. This progress essentially is based on a better understanding by international public opinion of the real aspects of this problem. However, if we have thought at times that a beginning has been made towards progress in this conflict, I have to acknowledge with great regret that the Middle East situation appears today to be as inextricably complicated as it was during the most difficult periods of the past.

209. The bloodshed in Lebanon has created new problems in that part of the world. Those of us who are neighbours and friends of that country have followed the grievous twists and turns of that fratricidal war with the deepest distress. Salvation lies in a national solution which would safeguard the territorial integrity of the country, based on a realistic compromise among the different groups that are today opposing each other and which would respond both to the exigencies of a modern democratic State as well as to the traditions and the real aspirations of the Lebanese people.

210. With regard to a question which is of vital importance for mankind, that is, to put a stop to the armaments race and bring about disarmament, we cannot help noting with great regret that not only has no progress been achieved in this area since our last session, but that quite to the contrary developments are taking place which aggravate and complicate the problems still further. No steps forward have been made towards defining the concepts which might

render possible a beginning of negotiations on general and complete disarmament.

211. On the other hand, we must note that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]¹ has not attained its stated objectives. Not only does that Treaty not provide protection and serious guarantees for non-nuclear countries, but it has also not prevented the spread of nuclear danger to new regions of the world. We believe that all these problems which are linked to disarmament should be subjected to very serious reconsideration.

212. In recent years the whole world has witnessed an intensification of acts of international violence. The number of hijacked airplanes, of hostages taken and of diplomats murdered has reached alarming proportions. My country, like many others, was a victim of some of those inhuman and cruel acts. We are of the view that the Assembly should devote itself to this problem even if only to consider certain aspects of acts of violence which, unless measures are taken without delay to put an end to them, could plunge us into new human tragedies.

213. Important negotiations are now taking place in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, whose goal is to adapt international law to the new conditions of world shipping and of the exploitation of sea resources. What has made these negotiations so long and to this date inconclusive is that owing to the novelty of the concepts which are being elaborated in order to define the new law of the sea, each country tends to understand them and interpret them on the basis of its own particular interests, and hence on the basis of its own geographical situation. The geography and geopolitics of our globe show all imaginable forms of variety and diversity. The continents and the seas certainly have not been traced with a regularity that would enable them to find simple and easy solutions in a new law of the sea. A global solution could only be arrived at if the Conference were to prepare concepts sufficiently broad to define general principles acceptable to all, but which on the other hand would facilitate and render possible the solution of specific cases. Those principles must take account of equity. On the other hand, as regards the resources of the ocean, which do not come under the jurisdictional sovereignty of any State, the methods for their exploitation should be determined within the framework of a system which would take account of the rights of each member of the international community to those resources and would afford an equitable distribution of the products of that exploitation.

214. I should like to make some remarks on the problem in Cyprus. I am certain that all the Members of the United Nations will remember what took place at the thirtieth session. The debate on that question led to an outcome which only hindered the process of negotiation. It was clear that negotiations could only be reactivated within the framework of a new procedure. And it is with that purpose in mind that we reached agreement with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece on a new basis which envisaged the resumption of the dialogue without pre-conditions, for the purpose of arriving at a "package deal" on all aspects involved in the Cyprus problem. Regrettably and despite the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, substantial

negotiations were not undertaken owing to repeated attempts to call into question this new agreement, to void it of its true content and to derogate from it. The Secretary-General with tenacity and perseverance, for which we are most grateful to him, none the less did not abandon his efforts. He has recently held consultations with the representatives of both communities.

215. I should like to repeat the considerations and principles which guide the Turkish Government in its policy concerning the problem of Cyprus. The two communities are engaged in a negotiating process. This fact, as well as the resolutions of the Security Council, require that both communities should be represented on an equal footing in all international forums where the question of Cyprus is debated. In the United Nations this need must be respected to the fullest extent allowed by the rules of procedure. Any action, any decision, which would encroach on that principle could only hamper negotiations and prolong the conflict.

216. The present situation on the island originated in the military coup d'état by Greece in 1974 for the purpose of annexing Cyprus. The future solution will have to safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Cyprus. The State of Cyprus should be able to follow a policy of true non-alignment, which, in the mind of the Turkish Government, would truly correspond to the long-range interests of both communities by contributing to peace and stability in the eastern Mediterranean.

217. An inevitable regrouping of the two communities in two distinct zones took place during the past two years. Sixty thousand Turkish Cypriots found refuge in the north of the island by abandoning their homes and their property in the south. A movement in the opposite direction occurred among the Greek population of the north of the island. These population movements present difficult problems which can only be settled in the framework of a global solution.

218. The Turkish intervention in Cyprus in July of 1974, which followed the coup d'état against the independence of the island, was fully in conformity with the obligations undertaken by Turkey under a treaty which guaranteed that independence.⁸ Turkey in no way intends to maintain its forces in Cyprus. It has already reduced its troops on the island by 12,000. Turkey has no wish to impose a solution and has no interest in Cyprus beyond the independence of the island and the prosperity and security of the Turkish community. Turkey wants Cyprus to remain outside any strategic arrangements and does not want it to become a pawn in the power politics of the major Powers. And along these lines I would like once again to stress that the Turkish community has committed itself to a policy of non-alignment for Cyprus. For those reasons, any solution acceptable to the Turkish community is also and without reservations acceptable to Turkey. As soon as a solution is found, Turkey will without delay withdraw its military forces, which it was compelled to send to Cyprus in conformity with its contractual obligations.

219. I would like to repeat that in its Cyprus policy Turkey will continue to be guided only by one concern: to

⁸ Treaty of Guarantee, signed at Nicosia on 16 August 1960.

encourage by all means a just and well-balanced solution which will contribute to peace and security and to harmonious co-operation in our region.

220. Turkey has the same wish concerning the Turko-Greek bilateral problems. Questions concerning the continental shelf of the Aegean Sea, the militarization of the islands situated along the Turkish coast and the utilization of the air space of the Aegean call for urgent solutions. All of these questions were recently discussed in the Security Council and at the time I submitted the views of my Government on each one of them.

221. The militarization of the islands situated only a few miles away from the Turkish coast in flagrant violation of international treaties—particularly the Treaty of Peace, signed at Lausanne on 24 July 1923 and the Paris Treaty of 1947⁹ governing the status of those islands—are a serious threat to the security of Turkey and activate a climate of mistrust between both countries. Effective steps aimed at restoring the demilitarized status of the islands in question should be adopted without delay.

222. The disagreement on the continental shelf stems from the claim made by Greece to exclusive sovereignty and to a monopoly of powers in the Aegean Sea. The legal arguments advanced by Greece to support this claim are not valid. The legal concepts on this subject are still very far from being well defined, but it is obvious that the configuration of the Aegean, with a multitude of islands among which a vast number are very close to the Turkish coast, will require the application of criteria founded on fairness which will fully take account of the specific conditions prevailing in the Aegean.

223. The demographic factor cannot be disregarded. The population of thousands of islands in the Aegean Sea does not exceed 300,000 inhabitants, whereas the population of the coastal region of Turkey is 10 million. The Aegean is a sea where only Turkey and Greece have coasts. Therefore it is a common sea. The problem of the continental shelf and its delimitation goes beyond purely technical and legal considerations and encompasses political, economic and security factors. Turkey cannot abandon its vital rights, which are linked with the preservation of the general equilibrium in that region.

224. Recent decisions of the Security Council and of the International Court of Justice have confirmed the validity of the Turkish position. The Security Council did not accept the Greek thesis that research and prospecting activities of a Turkish civilian vessel would be an encroachment on the sovereign rights of Greece. The International Court of Justice legally rejected the request of Greece calling for interim measures to be taken in order to put an end to the research and exploration activities by Turkey. Turkey has always advocated negotiations between both countries for the settlement of that dispute and Security Council resolution 395 (1976) of 25 August last made a recommendation along the same lines. As for us we are always prepared to have negotiations provided that those negotiations not be shadowed by unilateral actions which would be incompatible with the Security Council resolution

and which could affect mutual trust, without which no dialogue could yield positive and fruitful results.

225. In conclusion I would like to express the conviction that the debates of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will achieve progress towards constructive solutions to the important international questions which concern us today in the interest of better understanding and closer collaboration among all countries of the world.

226. Mr. OBENGA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, at the beginning of my statement on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo, I would like to bow my head respectfully before the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung, a man of thought and action who left such a profound imprint on the history of our time. The sorrow of the great Chinese people, our friends, was very much felt and entirely shared by the Congolese people.

227. I consider it a privilege and an honour to appear here for the first time, in this, the most important deliberative assembly of the world. My first act will therefore be that of conveying to our President, Mr. Amerasinghe, the warm congratulations of the Government of my country. He has earned the presidency of our Assembly by his long experience of men and the affairs of the world which is in itself sufficient guarantee of the success of our work. It is only natural for me to associate in this act of tribute, his predecessor, Prime Minister Gaston Thorn. It is in large measure to his profound knowledge of international problems that we owe the quality of the work of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

228. It is also an honour to express the satisfaction of my Government at the way in which our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, is discharging his important and delicate functions. I have already had occasion to say this to him in the course of his recent official visit to the People's Republic of the Congo. The Congolese Party and State are very appreciative of the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his distinguished assistants to make of the United Nations a heeded, dynamic institution which measures up to the great ideals of peace and international security.

229. The most notable event in the life of nations since the Second World War has been the rise of the third world, which today is calling for the establishment of a new and less unjust international economic order and for solutions to the critical problems of tremendous importance to the very existence of mankind as a whole: troubled economies, the depletion of natural resources, ecologic catastrophe as the unexpected price of scientific and technological progress, uncontrolled stockpiling of thermonuclear weapons, diplomatic deadlocks with regard to problems of détente, international obligations which have not been honoured, the crimes committed against the Chilean people—the victims of a bloody dictatorship—artificially fabricated interests in the Atlantic or the Indian Oceans, overpopulation, famine and cultural impoverishment.

230. Today, mankind must take bold, enlightened global initiatives to deal with these real international problems. We

⁹ Treaty of Peace with Italy, signed at Paris on 10 February 1947.

must begin with the most simple thing, that is to say, with respect for every people, which has the right to live in freedom in a world devoted in principle to peace.

231. If we analyse matters objectively the Second World War quite clearly appears as a vigorous response to a war of aggression imposed by fascism. Had it not been for the resistance of the peoples mankind would never have been able to rid itself of Hitler's dictatorship. The hot points of the planet in Asia, in the Middle East, in Africa and in Latin America conformed strictly to this same logic. Armed struggles against colonialism, *apartheid*, foreign domination are here instances of the will to make the ultimate sacrifice, something which has become indispensable for the liberation of whole peoples.

232. Consequently the question of whether national liberation is necessarily to be brought about by violence no longer needs to be discussed in the United Nations for these two fundamental reasons: first, the violence of struggling peoples is nothing but their reaction to the initial violence against them by forces of foreign domination and exploitation. Furthermore, the United Nations recognizes not only the inalienable right of the peoples of the world to self-determination, freedom and independence, but also and above all the legitimacy of the struggle for the exercise of this right in accordance with our Charter. Armed struggle is not a squalid partisan struggle. Armed struggle does not stem from bastard and unmotivated policy which no one ever explains to the peoples. Armed struggle mobilizes to the utmost the energy of the strength required in the course of a liberating struggle. Armed force is the ultimate form assumed by the class struggle. The United Nations at one point shrank before the need for armed struggle in southern Africa in the hope for a final return of the South African racists to reason, to good sense and to repentance, but the results were immediate: a strengthening of the system of oppression to such a point as to render ineffective the measures advocated by the United Nations and thus to discredit our Organization. This material and juridical, the military and cultural strengthening of a system of oppression in South Africa is itself the result of the actions of European and United States diplomacy, which has thus brought to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia all the necessary assistance in thwarting the United Nations initiatives. We have only to look at the last report of the Committee on Decolonization of the Organization of African Unity to realize without any difficulty the underhand stratagems resorted to by the allies of Pretoria and Salisbury to strengthen racial discrimination and exploitation of the black man in southern Africa.

233. At a time when the objective allies of Pretoria and Salisbury are actively studying ways and means of imposing civil war on Namibia and Zimbabwe, by setting up puppet governments which are totally committed to them, armed struggle remains the only recourse for the liberation movements in southern Africa. The summit conference at Dar es Salaam earlier this month once again has confirmed the imperative necessity of this, that is, the intensification of armed struggle.

234. How are we to explain the conduct of certain Powers which are suddenly engaging in feverish diplomatic activity vis-à-vis African countries, at this important stage, where

armed struggle has entered such a crucial stage in southern Africa? Africans state that their human status is not negotiable and that is why we are convinced that fighting Africa will remain vigilant in the face of the innumerable attempts of the imperialists to recover lost ground. Fighting Africa will be suspicious of sudden conversions, marks of forced generosity which certain imperialists are lavishing these days, now that they are beginning to realize that final victory is inevitable. In Namibia and in Zimbabwe, men and women are fighting and are not afraid to lay down their lives. They want to live free, the masters of their present and their future. It is consequently right and legitimate that these freedom fighters should be fully associated with all discussions relating to the future of their respective countries. To put the matter clearly, any attempt at resisting the establishment of a majority régime in Zimbabwe should obviously be resisted, and in equally clear terms, if ever a conference in Namibia is to take place, it will be only natural for such a conference to be attended by SWAPO and the South African Government under the aegis of the United Nations. If SWAPO does not take part in such a conference, it would obviously immediately be robbed of its political point. No nation, no matter how rich or powerful, can dictate to suit itself the future of another people. This is a fundamental principle which should constantly guide the actions of the United Nations.

235. Let us further consider reality by looking more closely at the facts. We cannot believe that it is out of humanism or the sudden access of a wish for fairness that certain people are now discovering that it is their duty, more today than yesterday, to take a closer interest in southern Africa. This haste, which is somewhat theatrical, is in substance, a matter of strategy. It results from the need of the imperialist powers to safeguard their interests, which are based on petty-economic calculations. Zimbabwe is the primary world producer of chrome and possesses important copper, manganese and gold resources. It is in any case symptomatic to read in the relevant documents of the United Nations that almost half of United States investments in Africa are actually in South Africa.

236. Behind this haste, too, there are some false political calculations, fundamentally, anti-Communist sentiments: the so-called red peril, which today has succeeded the so-called yellow peril and which haunts quite a number of foreign ministers throughout the world. The Western press is quite prolific in reports of this kind. According to the same press the failure of imperialist countries in Mozambique and Angola now makes it necessary for these imperialists to establish secure bases in Namibia and Zimbabwe with the support of South Africa. Their plan is to do everything in their power to see that southern Africa is not edged into the socialist camp. Such a danger is obviously imaginary, and it is extremely serious to confess that racism is conceived and explained in southern Africa in terms of anti-Communism. Socialism is a liberating phenomenon, and if ever it is to operate in southern Africa it will free the people of southern Africa from racial discrimination and political subjugation.

237. This anti-Communist behaviour, which is supposed to explain racism in South Africa, is something which will be questioned. Imperialists know a great many things. They know that the days of the racist, colonialist and minority

régimes are numbered. The imperialists know that the independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe is now a matter of months and no longer of decades. Imperialists are aware of all this and that is why they are trying to devise last-minute solutions either directly or through their men whom they have placed in strategic positions. All the dangers they may imagine are inventions designed to camouflage their sordid designs.

238. Our own experience can be mentioned in this connexion because it is so illuminating. Only yesterday the People's Republic of the Congo was accused of being a hotbed of subversion and a base for Communist infiltration in central Africa. The fact is that the whole of Africa, particularly the neighbours of the Congo, is perfectly well aware of the peaceful intentions and the ambition for concord and fraternity of our country with regard to each of them. President Marien Ngouabi has often said, and I quote:

"The People's Republic of the Congo wishes always to have good relations of co-operation with all peace-loving countries of the world, without regard to ideologies".

But true peace begins at home. At the present time in the Congo there is not a single political prisoner. I can claim furthermore that the Congolese people is an active factor for peace and co-operation in the world today. The Congo was the first African country to break off all relations with Israel in December 1972. This is practically one year before the October war in 1973. President Marien Ngouabi was instrumental in normalizing relations between Zaire and Angola after the great victory of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola over the puppet movements which were in actual fact allies of South African fascism. The Congolese people is taking an active part in the work of the Customs Union of Central African States, which is one of the finest expressions of our co-operation at the subregional level. The Congolese contribution to the Conference of Heads of State of Central and Eastern Africa has always been a positive one. Similarly, the Congolese people intends to remain an effective member of the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations, which has just welcomed a new member, Seychelles, and we warmly welcome it.

239. But despite this inter-African and international co-operation, which we believe to be exemplary, imperialism continues to multiply its attacks against my country, often representing it as a cancer in Africa. The presence of Congolese troops has been alleged in Western Sahara. Quite recently, there was a suggestion that there was a transfer of several thousand Cuban soldiers from Angola to the Congo. The whole truth is that our support for the cause of the Saharwi people stems exclusively from our wish to observe rigorously and to apply in our own way the sacred principle of the self-determination of peoples. We are in favour of international peace and security in northern Africa, and the undeniable truth in fact is that Angola, an independent sovereign State, has now a tremendous role to play in the inevitable liberation of Namibia. Angola is one of the front-line countries because of its geographical position. In all, the most curious feature is precisely the pregnant silence which is being kept with regard to mercenaries,

which was exposed to the international conscience by the historic trial in Luanda.

240. Africa today is nationalist. Its recent history can be summarized as tremendous resistance to colonialism and neo-colonialism. What Africa represents in terms of cultural heritage, moral energy and economic power is considerable. Africa has a number of important trump cards for becoming very instrumental in the third world in a world in movement. The destiny of the new world cannot be adapted or adjusted to the ideas of Hegel with regard to Africa. The immediate weakness of the Nazis, to give one verifiable example, was to claim that the rest of humanity was subhuman.

241. Outside, Africa is pre-eminently described in terms of material, scientific and technological assistance—that is true. But inside, the problem of the security of the African peoples is the central problem and the international community, with all the force of its conscience, cannot ignore the fact that Africa is today the most coveted and at the same time the most crucial part of the world. This problem is genuinely fundamental, connected as it is with the survival of the peoples of Africa.

242. The African people are today caught between the north and the south of the continent.

243. For several years now the expansionist State of Israel has created and maintained a situation of conflict in the north of Africa. Our former position remains unchanged, namely, the unequivocal condemnation of Israeli expansionism and the restoration to the Palestinian people of its rights. The Congolese delegation cannot but support strongly all initiatives taken to this end by the United Nations.

244. The pain of Africa, so evident in the southern part of the continent, is fanned, inflated and instigated by the monstrous collusion of the Zionist authorities with the South African racists. Discrimination motivated by fear is now undergoing a tremendous acceleration, liquidating in cold blood every day tens, hundreds of men, women and children, the African martyrs of Soweto, Alexandra and Kimberley.

245. Zionism and *apartheid* are identical in substance. Information and experiences of all kinds are regularly exchanged between Tel Aviv and Pretoria. This interchange of criminal ideas is in keeping with no kind of international morality. Our Organization, ardent in its defence of human rights, should, to be consistent, condemn energetically such a barbarous interchange, which goes hand in hand with the wretchedness of the racist systems.

246. Just as the West considers that European security is connected with the situation prevailing in the Mediterranean, similarly Africans consider the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Now the NATO countries are today keeping sizable naval forces in the Indian Ocean. Complete mastery of international lines of communication is thus secured. We can only expect a multiplication of zones of tension in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and in the southern part of Asia.

247. And above all this there is the possibility that the South African racists and Fascists may well in the next few

years use against all of Africa atomic weapons which they will be able to manufacture from plutonium of the reactors sold to them by certain NATO countries. In all probability tactical nuclear weapons of various powers ranging from several kilotons to a demi-megaton will be used which will cause no more than limited fall-out.

248. In the face of such large imperialist repressive forces the problem of the security of the African peoples remains an essential problem and the United Nations cannot entirely disregard it. The United Nations must realize that the problem of the security of the peoples of Africa, now and in the future, is of great importance for the very life of the international community as a whole.

249. The peoples of Africa are clearly modernizing. Their attitude to things and to life itself is one of respect. With modernism and their own resources the peoples of Africa have everything they need to contribute effectively to the general progress of mankind as a whole—a continent with vast empty spaces, natural resources which are practically inexhaustible, people endowed with gifts of all kinds, and a fundamental cultural unity. But first of all we must secure the military security of the peoples of Africa.

250. The United Nations should also play a primary role in taking peace initiatives with regard to South-East Asia. Here again our Organization should shoulder its share of responsibility in the decisive problems which affect the very existence of mankind. The essence of the debate is political, juridical, and above all, human. In this instance the United Nations must admit to membership the great Vietnamese nation and reject all pretexts for the legitimization of any military intervention on the part of the imperialists in Korea. It is quite clear that the United Nations has no choice. Its only duty is to create right now conditions for peace in Korea by calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the southern part of the country. One could hardly be more explicit in saying that the reunification of the great Korean nation can only be brought about in conditions of independence and free from any influences from outside. Has sufficient thought ever been given to the failure of the tremendous commitment of the United States in Viet Nam? Has sufficient reflection taken place about the victory of the popular forces in Angola? A people determined to live free will always emerge victorious from murder by napalm, phosphorous bombardments and all the other infernal inventions of modern warfare.

251. World public opinion has recently become very aware of a tremendous problem which directly affects our mode of conceiving the immediate future of the international community. This is the process of establishing a new international economic order to remedy the present economic system which is based on the exploitation of the third world by the capitalist countries. In this regard there has been some very inaccurate discussion of the tactics of the third world. The oil war has not always been understood as an event characteristic of the modern day. In any case the immediate lesson to be learned from this is that henceforth the arbiters of international order are going to be more numerous than has traditionally, perhaps arrogantly, been thought. It is quite clear that the economic and social progress of the industrial civilizations in the northern

hemisphere has to rely on the third-world countries, which are rich in primary commodities and energy. Now these third-world countries are countries which are dominated, and very much at the mercy of the whims and caprices of Western cartels. The problem of a new economic order consequently contains within itself the seeds of global conflict between the dominators and the dominated, the latter poor and exploited and the former rich because of the poverty of the exploited.

252. We are entitled to congratulate ourselves on the fortunate initiatives already taken by the United Nations under the energetic guidance of the non-aligned movement. But the United Nations should produce, with the help of the vast majority of Members, more dynamic methods of approaching the problem. The third world today is in greater need of a fairer system of remuneration for its primary commodities than it is of assistance, which is becoming everyday more problematical. A detailed examination of the problem of a new international economic order in no way departs from the ideals of our Organization, whose primary task is precisely to ensure equality for all nations, great and small, and to cause to prevail, in so far as is possible, peace and security throughout the world.

253. This is the occasion to mention the anachronistic institution of the right of veto. It is even necessary to stress this matter. The permanent and irrevocable nature of the right of veto presupposes that the permanent members of the Security Council who have this right are wise enough to guarantee peace and security in the world. But this is by no means the case and history abounds in relevant examples. Three permanent Western members individually were unable to prevent the wars in Indo-China and Viet Nam. These same members sometimes very openly perpetuate the total insecurity represented by *apartheid* and the illegal régimes in southern Africa. Last year the great Vietnamese nation was kept outside the United Nations because of the abuse of the right of veto by one of those who possess this right. It will also be recalled the admission of the People's Republic of China was for a long time blocked by a twofold veto. The status of South Africa in the United Nations exists only thanks to the right of veto of the three Western permanent members of the Security Council. The Congolese delegation finds it repugnant and shocking that a sovereign and independent country like the People's Republic of Angola, which is furthermore a member of the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement, has not yet been admitted to membership in the United Nations.

254. These facts call for some comment. First, the right of veto seems to be a mutual accommodation, that is, a right which certain Powers have mischievously awarded themselves in order to keep their grip on the affairs of the world. This is clearly an example of authoritarianism in an international assembly which is committed to peace. The right to veto means that the pursuit and achievement of the objectives of international peace and security are not equally incumbent on all Members of the United Nations, in flagrant contradiction with the United Nations Charter. The irrevocable nature of the right of veto contains within itself a potential danger for the universality of the United Nations by seriously calling into question the principles of equality and sovereignty of all Members of the United

Nations, great and small. Within the United Nations, each nation has a right only to one seat and one vote, whatever its geographic size or population, its economic power or its military prestige. And, finally, the right of veto today is a pure and simple anachronism. It dangerously obscures the history of the United Nations and hinders the possibility of its becoming universal.

255. In saying this we do not, however, lose sight of the role played by the United Nations in the maintenance of peace in several parts of the world, with varying success.

256. Before concluding, we have to recognize the benefits of the multilateral assistance granted by the United Nations to third-world countries. In this regard, the Congolese delegation would like to express its appreciation of the various actions of the United Nations system in the various areas of State enterprises, financial planning, exploitation of coastal fishing industries, rural development, external trade and reorganization of the Congo-Ocean Railway. It is very much to be hoped that this economic and humanitarian action will be continued on a greater scale in the future.

257. Among the many burning problems in the world today and in the future, we have quite deliberately dwelt at some length on the need for an intensification of the armed struggle in southern Africa, something which is inseparable from the whole case of South Africa, a case which is itself connected with the urgent problem of the security of the people of Africa. The problem has been highlighted from all aspects. Something of major dimensions must be done. The new organization of the global world to which we all aspire requires, first of all, a total settling of all this vast nexus of international problems.

258. The deadline set by the United Nations for South Africa to decolonize Namibia expired just about a month ago. What we now expect from our Organization is immediate and energetic action to put an end once and for all to annexation and to the illegal occupation of a Territory which comes directly under the responsibility of the United Nations.

259. The United Nations must immediately pronounce the cessation of the *de facto* occupation of Namibia by South Africa, and we have sufficient power and means for this purpose. Having proclaimed the cessation of this occupation, the United Nations will continue to support SWAPO to help it in its national responsibilities. SWAPO is the authentic representative of the legitimate interests of the people of Namibia. As to the people of Zimbabwe, they must no longer be allowed to continue being oppressed as they have been for so long in the past by a cynical minority. Zimbabwe must be governed by representatives of the majority of the people in accordance with the principle of universal suffrage. The struggle of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe is inseparable from the struggle of South Africa. The bloody events in Soweto should be understood in their proper context, that of the vast and irreversible national liberation struggle going on in southern Africa.

260. The United Nations must now talk in terms of the elimination of *apartheid* and not of softening a system

which is wholly based on genocide of the black man. *Apartheid* and its allies may very well drag Africa and the world into chaos. The danger is a real one. Scientific and technological research in South Africa is totally oriented to military action. However, the global structure of peace in the world is still possible and humanity can achieve higher forms of socialization. What we need for this purpose is to see to it that all the profound actual and potential changes now going on should always be in the direction of benefiting mankind as a whole.

261. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has heard the last speaker for this afternoon but the representatives of Greece and Cyprus have asked to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. Members will recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting of this session, decided that statements in the exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

262. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): Since my Foreign Minister will be taking the floor the day after tomorrow, he will have the opportunity to give the appropriate reply to the statement made today before the General Assembly by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Turkey. We have noted with deep regret that that statement contained a series of inaccuracies and distortions regarding both the question of Cyprus and the situation in the Aegean. While rejecting them, it is not my intention at this stage to go any further, reserving the right of the Greek delegation to do so at the proper time.

263. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): My Foreign Minister, in his participation in the general debate, will no doubt reply to the references made by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Turkey regarding the problem of Cyprus. Meanwhile, may I refer to certain basic inaccuracies in that statement which tend to give a wrong picture, to say the least, of the whole situation.

264. The problem of Cyprus, which is pending before the General Assembly this year, is not as to any dispute between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The question is clearly the non-implementation of the General Assembly resolutions regarding the substance of the problem, which is the aggression, double invasion and military occupation by the forces of Turkey of the great part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, a Member State of the United Nations.

265. This aggressive invasion and occupation still continues two years after the first, original General Assembly resolution was adopted [*resolution 3212 (XXIX)*]. It still continues in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the relevant resolutions on the subject adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Those resolutions remain to this day wholly unimplemented, and during these two years Turkey has been engaged in acts of sheer force and facts accomplis in the island as well as a series of other arbitrary activities in open violation of international law, thereby intending to consolidate a territorial hold on Cyprus.

266. Yet the distinguished Foreign Minister of Turkey in his reference today in this hall to the Middle East situation did not hesitate to say that the basic tenet of Turkey's foreign policy leads Turkey to oppose the acquisition of

territories by force. But foreign military occupation and acquisition is not enough when it comes to Cyprus. Turkey was not satisfied merely with invasion and military occupation of 40 per cent of the territory of the island; it proceeded to an abhorrent practice of racial discrimination by the expulsion of the majority Greek-Cypriot people of the area—80 per cent of the indigenous people, who have been rendered destitute refugees. Over 200,000 people or one third of the total population of the island have been rendered refugees.

267. But this is not all. Still worse, there came the unthinkable, massive and ongoing—ongoing now at this moment—colonization of the invaded area by people imported from Turkey, tens of thousands of whom have been implanted in the ancestral homes and properties of the refugees. For what purpose? For the purpose of changing by force the demographic structure and character of this historic island. This triple international crime, unprecedented in the annals of the United Nations, has been dealt with in General Assembly resolutions 3212 (XXIX) and 3395 (XXX) as well as in Security Council resolution 365 (1974), which made General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) mandatory and enforceable. These resolutions call for the withdrawal without further delay of foreign troops from Cyprus, the cessation of outside intervention and the return of the refugees to their homes. Not only have the refugees not returned to their homes—none of them—but on the contrary their number is continually on the increase by reason of the expulsions continuing to this day, and my letters to the Secretary-General written over a number of months of this year—consecutive letters giving the details and names of the persons who have been expelled—are there and have not been denied; they are there for everyone to see. Therefore

the 200,000 must have reached a higher figure now, but I cannot say which.

268. All these resolutions and decisions have been contemptuously ignored by Turkey, which by its activities in Cyprus has been engaged in actually violating them. Recourse to the General Assembly, as I said before, is for measures of implementation. This is the situation for which Turkey, a Member State of the United Nations, is called upon to answer. On these factors, however, which form the basis and substance of the question of Cyprus in the General Assembly, the Turkish Foreign Minister in his statement was significantly silent.

269. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Turkey, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

270. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I should like to refer briefly to the interventions of the distinguished representative of Greece and to the intervention of Ambassador Rossides. The representative of Greece has spoken about some distortions and inaccuracies in the statement of my Minister. He has not specified what these distortions and inaccuracies are. Therefore I am unable to give him a reply. As far as Ambassador Rossides is concerned, I think that he made such a long speech that he has pre-empted what his Foreign Minister had to say, and if I have any reaction to him I prefer to leave it until the Minister speaks. Therefore at this stage the only thing I can do is to note the impatience of the Permanent Representative of Greece and of Ambassador Rossides before their Ministers have come to speak from this rostrum.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.