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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MINIĆ (Yugoslavia):¹ I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your acknowledged experience and dedication to the purposes and principles of the United Nations will be fully reflected in the successful discharge of your responsible duty. In your election we see an additional recognition of the important role which Latin America is playing in the work of the United Nations. The peoples of the Latin American continent are today making an evermore substantive contribution to the general struggle for progress. They see the road leading to the fulfilment of their aspirations in an increasingly closer co-operation and common activity with all those countries sharing the same ideals of freedom and independence. This was especially reflected at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.²

2. I should also like to pay a tribute to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, the President of the twenty-seventh session of the Assembly, for having effectively and competently guided the deliberations of that session.

3. This year's session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is actually being held after one of the largest international gatherings ever held—the Fourth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. That Conference, which was attended by the highest-ranking representatives of about 100 countries and peoples, with a population of almost 2,000 million, expressed the determination by even greater reliance upon their own forces and strength, by further strengthening their mutual co-operation and by joint action to change the prevailing inequitable political and economic relations in the world and to seek, together with other countries, solutions to the pressing international issues.

¹ Mr. Minić spoke in Serbo-Croatian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

² Held in Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

4. Contrary to attempts at peremptory interpretations of their orientation, the resolve of the non-aligned countries to implement the decisions adopted at the Fourth Conference by intensifying their concerted activities constitutes, in fact, an integral part of their permanent determination to co-operate with all the international elements on an equal footing. The view that the non-aligned countries are aligning themselves into a bloc cannot but cause perplexity. The non-aligned countries remain consistent in their fundamental position of opposing the division of the world into blocs, into closed privileged political, military and economic groups. Rather than shunning the concerted action of the non-aligned countries, the true approach to the solution of world problems lies only in common efforts and the equal co-operation of all the international factors.

5. As a follow-up to their previous gatherings at Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka and Georgetown, the non-aligned countries assembled at Algiers decided that world developments have confirmed the value and the vitality of the principles, purposes and practice of the policy of non-alignment. They examined in depth the present highly significant moment in international relations, made decisions and took stands of their own regarding the most important issues and preoccupations facing the peoples and countries in the world and the United Nations.

6. The non-aligned countries—whose number has increased almost fourfold since their first summit conference 12 years ago—constitute a real force, without whose participation it is not possible to settle major problems affecting mankind. Any attempts to bypass the non-aligned countries when dealing with international problems of vital interest to all inevitably tend to aggravate existing conflicts and to sow the seeds of new ones.

7. I should like at this point to quote the following words from the statement President Tito made at the Algiers Conference:

“The non-aligned countries are not asking anyone to grant them the right to participate on an equal footing in the solution of world problems. They have won this right and are firmly resolved to exercise it through unity and co-ordinated action. This means that they are assuming their share of responsibility and obligations.”

8. In the course of the last few years events have taken place marking the transition from the cold war to the relaxation of tensions, to negotiation and agreements. This process is marked by the summit talks between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the United States and the People's Republic of China, by the Paris agreements on Viet-Nam, the treaties recognizing the consequences of the Second World War, and other events. These develop-

ments have reduced the immediate danger of a general nuclear war and of a direct confrontation of blocs and they affirm the validity of the principles of active peaceful coexistence.

9. This was also evident in the preparations for and the first phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Conditions have been created which will make it possible, in the second and third phases of that Conference through persistent and cautious efforts, to achieve further progress in the direction of removing bloc divisions and evolving a security system based upon equal co-operation among the sovereign and independent States of Europe and North America. We believe that the improvement of relations must not be limited to the participants in the Conference, which, with few exceptions, in fact represent the entire developed world. The desired stability and durability of relations will depend upon the extent to which they evolve as an integral part of general security and co-operation in the world, and in close connexion with the situation in the Mediterranean and the Middle East in particular. This emphasizes even further the need for a genuine contribution on the part of the participants in the Conference to the solution of key world issues and especially to the completion of the process of decolonization and the development of the less developed countries. Peace and security are indivisible—either they will be universal or else they will be enjoyed by no one.

10. More than 10 years ago, at a most critical stage, the non-aligned countries—among them my own—urged upon the great Powers the need to start negotiating with a view to removing the dangers of a general conflict. Through their stands and actions they have, together with other progressive and peace-loving forces, contributed to checking bloc policies and to the initiation of the positive processes of relaxation of tensions and negotiation.

11. It is with profound concern, however, that we note that the practice of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States, of political and economic pressures and of blockades is continuing. Moreover, there is no hesitation even in resorting to open armed intervention for the purpose of obstructing the liberation of peoples from imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all other forms of domination and exploitation. The relaxation of tensions has not favourably affected the international economic position of the developing countries: their position is deteriorating further. The changing of the prevailing system of the inequitable economic relations in the world represents one of the central political issues of peace and security upon which many fundamental antagonisms of the contemporary world are increasingly centering.

12. The peoples of the Middle East, Indo-China, Africa, and Latin America are forced to continue to fight for their freedom, independence, and political and economic emancipation.

13. The events in Chile strikingly demonstrate that the forces of international imperialism and reaction even in the present conditions do not hesitate to resort to any methods or means in order to obstruct the struggle of peoples for freedom from foreign domination and exploitation. Those events serve as yet another warning to the independent

countries, and especially to the non-aligned countries, which have sufficient cause to be disturbed and to worry and to ask themselves; "Who is next? Where will the next blow fall?"

14. What is happening in Chile also demonstrates the danger that even in conditions of détente new hotbeds of tension may break out. In Chile a confrontation is taking place between an anti-neo-colonialist revolution—which is with increased vigour spreading over the entire region—and the imperialist forces and interests. This conflict is fraught with many dangers for other countries and for international relations in general. Consequently, the negative effects of this crisis extend far beyond the boundaries of Chile.

15. My country deeply grieves at the tragic death of President Salvador Allende, who fell in the struggle for the social progress of Chile in independence and democracy and to whom all those who fight for the emancipation of nations and man are indebted. Brutal mass persecutions and terror against the democratic forces of Chile are arousing the greatest indignation among the peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia.

16. The military junta did not stop at violence against the legitimate representatives and the democratic forces of their own country. The military junta has created through terror a situation which renders impossible the normal functioning of many foreign diplomatic missions, including the embassy of my own country.

17. In view of all of the foregoing, my Government has today decided that diplomatic relations between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Government of the military junta in Chile shall be broken off. In making this decision the Government and peoples of Yugoslavia remain faithful to their traditional friendship with the freedom-loving people in Chile and deeply believe in the ultimate victory of the people of Chile over the forces which have trampled on their liberty and legitimate rights to independence, to sovereignty over their natural resources and to an independent road to social, economic and political development.

18. We are firmly convinced that the democratic and peace-loving forces in the world will not reconcile themselves to the attempts at collusion between international imperialism and domestic reactionary forces in order to arrest the irreversible processes leading to the full political and economic independence of peoples and countries and their progress.

19. The crisis in the Middle East continues to grow and is ominously extending to the entire area of the Near East. Israel continues its aggressive and expansionist policy, uses force daily, resorts to State terrorism, changes the situation in the territories occupied by force and prepares new measures of annexation. All this drives Israel's policy into ever deeper isolation. A grave responsibility falls upon the shoulders of those forces which identify themselves with the aggressive goals of Israel. The aggravation of the crisis in the Middle East not only complicates the situation in the Mediterranean, but also limits the scope of otherwise positive developments in Europe. Any expectations that external factors could control this crisis for a longer period of time are both illusory and in essence dangerous.

20. A just and durable settlement is possible only through the total withdrawal of Israel, without pre-conditions, from all the occupied territories, and through ensuring the legitimate national rights of the Arab peoples in Palestine. It is through their own struggle that the Palestinian people have made the attainment of their own rights a focal point of the solution of the Middle East crisis. The United Nations, with its decisions, has established the platform and determined the venues; no doubt it constitutes the most suitable instrument for securing a just solution. Efforts should be exerted by all Member States to find a final settlement in the Middle East on this basis. Should Israel persist in its aggression, it will be necessary to apply sanctions against it in conformity with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, which was the position taken by the non-aligned countries at the Algiers Conference.

21. The forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid* continue to suppress African peoples in southern Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands, and elsewhere, enjoying the political, economic and military support of some Western countries and international capital. Moreover, we are faced with increasingly frequent aggressive attacks by colonialists and racists on the independent countries of Africa—Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire, the People's Republic of the Congo, Senegal and Guinea. Tomorrow this could befall other countries as well. The United Nations must resolutely resist this. In the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation, the essence of United Nations action aimed at the eradication of colonialism in the world lies primarily in extending effective all-round political and material assistance to the liberation movements as the only authentic representatives of their own peoples. My country will continue to extend full support to those movements. It is high time that those movements should no longer be treated as petitioners or observers. The United Nations action should go beyond this in recognizing the liberation movements as the legitimate representatives of the sovereignty of their respective countries in their struggle for the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

22. The Paris agreements are the result of the invincible struggle of the people of Viet-Nam, which is its historic contribution to the realization of the goals of freedom and independence in the world. The only road leading to the consolidation of peace in this area lies in strict implementation of the agreements concluded and in the total cessation of any external intervention in all countries of Indo-China. It is necessary to prevent the violation and flouting of the Paris agreements by the Saigon régime, with support from outside. The provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, which is consistently implementing the policy of non-alignment, has pledged itself to the full implementation of these agreements and to the right of the people of Viet-Nam to freedom, independence and self-determination, and my country will continue in the future to extend its full support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam.

23. It is likewise necessary to put an end to the continued external intervention in Cambodia. The successful struggle waged by the people of Cambodia enjoys ever-broader support and confirms the fact that Prince Sihanouk and the Government of National Union are the sole legitimate

representatives of the people of Cambodia. It is both absurd and unacceptable to have Lon Nol's régime, which came into power through foreign intervention, representing Cambodia in the United Nations. The time has indeed come for Cambodia to be represented in the United Nations by its true representatives, and the Yugoslav delegation will work for that at the present session of the General Assembly.

24. The demands of the Korean people for unification without foreign interference merit our full support as a contribution to the improvement of the situation in that area and in the world in general. Supporting the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, my delegation will strive for the adoption at the current session of a decision likely to expedite the realization of the aspirations of the Korean people—a vital pre-condition for which is the withdrawal of foreign troops.

25. Initial results have been achieved in the area of disarmament, although they do not as yet represent real steps in the direction of general and complete disarmament. The limitation of the scope of the détente among the great Powers is seen in the fact that the arms race continues and that it is spreading to new areas. Although we also welcome the bilateral measures aimed at disarmament that have been taken, we are convinced that substantive results cannot be achieved without the participation of all countries. I should like on this occasion also to reiterate the position of my country, which has been stated many times in the past and is shared by the non-aligned countries in general, namely, that the largest possible share of the resources released through disarmament should be utilized for a more rapid solution of problems of development.

26. The convening of the World Disarmament Conference is, in our opinion, the best way to initiate the process of general disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. At this session maximum efforts should be exerted to overcome the existing difficulties and to initiate preparations for convening the Conference. The continuation of negotiations for the undelayed conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of all chemical weapons and on the destruction of the existing stocks constitutes an urgent task of the United Nations. It would be of special importance to have the nuclear Powers at long last respond to world-wide demands for total prohibition of the use and production of nuclear weapons and for the destruction of the existing stockpiles and the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests in all environments. An inseparable part of such measures should be the elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of all troops from foreign territories, as consistently advocated by the non-aligned countries.

27. We, like many others, have never deemed the relaxation of tension and recourse to negotiations as constituting an isolated process. Even less do we see them as a vehicle for preserving conditions in which it is possible to perpetuate foreign domination over the peoples and countries that seek to strengthen their political independence by strengthening their economic independence while at the same time enriching their independent internal development through new forms and paths of accelerated and comprehensive social and economic progress.

28. We fully appreciate the fact that it is not possible to liquidate overnight the existing crises and conflicts, or to resolve all pressing issues. However, the determination to seek out effectively, and to find, just solutions to these problems and to extinguish existing hotbeds will in the future be the basic criterion of the merit of further détente. Moreover, unless we resolutely embark upon this course, even the results achieved thus far will be jeopardized.

29. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries called upon the international community to ensure a proper place for development objectives in the United Nations and to evolve a new system of international economic relations based upon equality and the common interests of all countries. The non-aligned countries are demanding that a general and comprehensive concept of the resolution of long-term and pressing economic problems should be founded upon a new world system of economic relations, especially a new world system of international trade, monetary and financial relations. They desire to build this concept in co-operation with the developed countries, and to participate most actively, and on an equal footing, in the practical implementation of the solutions to be adopted. This is the essence of their positions as contained in the Economic Declaration and the programme of action for economic co-operation, adopted at Algiers [*see A/9330 and Corr.1*], as well as in the decisions adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries that was held at Georgetown in August 1972.

30. The non-aligned countries decided to establish a solidarity fund for financing projects related to their economic and social development. The international community as a whole, and in particular the Governments of certain developed countries, have to demonstrate greater political readiness to support the outstanding efforts being exerted by the developing countries. This also entails a curbing of the harmful activities of transnational companies as instruments for the preservation of old-type relations, and an end to the denial of the right to the exercise of full sovereignty over natural resources, and it also requires non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States.

31. An expression of the determination to assign to problems of development the place they serve in our general efforts aimed at securing peace and security in the world would undoubtedly be the broadest possible support for the initiative of the Fourth Conference of the non-aligned countries to convene, in the near future, a special session of the General Assembly devoted to economic issues. Of great importance too is the proposal advanced by that Conference concerning the holding of a joint conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at the ministerial level, with a view to formulating a programme of international co-operation for overcoming the increasingly dangerous food situation and for solving certain other acute problems.

32. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] is not being implemented, while the objectives set are not being realized. At the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly we should establish the causes and

effects of the unsatisfactory implementation of the Strategy and formulate requisite measures for its realization.

33. The General Assembly should also demand that the interests of the developing countries should be respected and reflected in the monetary and trade negotiations for the establishment of new relations in these most vital areas of international economic co-operation, and it should also demand the adoption of the principles of preferential treatment, non-reciprocity and non-discrimination upon which those relations should rest.

34. I should also like to point out the urgency and importance of the formulation of a concept on the achieving of collective economic security in which every member of the international community would have its unobstructed, independent economic and social development guaranteed. The foresight and validity of the initiative of the President of Mexico, Mr. Luis Echeverría Alvarez concerning the adoption of a charter on economic rights and duties of States³ has been confirmed. In saying this I wish to voice our interest in having this charter drafted and adopted as early as possible.

35. The question of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations has never before been of such great importance as today. In reflecting the changed relation of forces in the world, the United Nations has in many ways had its own physiognomy changed. Conditions are being created for this Organization to serve as the main instrument for the solving of major issues of the contemporary world.

36. The United Nations is more and more approaching full universality. In this connexion we welcome the admission to our Organization of the new Members—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, with which my country has been developing friendly relations and all round co-operation. In the admission of the two German States we also see an important manifestation of the positive changes that have taken place in Europe, based upon the recognition of realities.

37. In the admission of the Bahamas we once again welcome the success achieved in the realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and the elimination of vestiges of colonialism.

38. I am certain that in the near future we shall also welcome the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. We are of the opinion that there need no longer be any obstacle to having an independent and non-aligned People's Republic of Bangladesh become a Member of the United Nations, which, there is no doubt, would also constitute a significant contribution by our Organization to the further improvement of relations in the subcontinent, towards which the agreement of 28 August 1973 between India and Pakistan at New Delhi has contributed in large measure.

³ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. 1a, part one, *Summaries of Statements by Heads of Delegations* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.Mim.1, part one), p. 186.

39. We find ourselves, however, in a very contradictory situation. The United Nations is drawing closer to full universality and reflects the turbulent processes of national emancipation and the democratization of international relations, but at the same time its effectiveness is not enhanced. The efforts of a limited number of countries to have the most important problems of common interest taken more and more out of the framework of the United Nations are increasing. Many decisions and resolutions are not being implemented or else are openly violated. The cause of such a state of affairs does not lie in the shortcomings of the Charter, but in the behaviour of a limited number of Member States which do not refrain from flagrantly violating its principles and objectives. Such a situation is rendering the work of our Organization more difficult.

40. While being aware of the responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council, we feel that the resort to the use of the veto for the purpose of blocking decisions on which there otherwise exists a very broad consensus can only harm the realization of the role and aims of the United Nations Charter. We firmly believe that our decisions should and can in a greater measure be the outcome of agreed positions and mutual understanding on the broadest possible basis.

41. The existing weaknesses and hardships facing the United Nations can be overcome only through concerted efforts and joint operation. We hold the view that the United Nations should serve as the central place for the consideration and settlement of the most important international issues affecting the interests of all States. The world Organization should be informed and appraised of the negotiations and agreements reached outside the United Nations which have a bearing on the interests of the other countries, or when, by their substance, they fall within the domain of the responsibility of the United Nations.

42. The non-aligned countries are aware of the fact that their goals can best be achieved through the United Nations and, therefore, they are vitally interested in, and persistently work for, the strengthening of the role and effectiveness of this Organization.

43. Never before has the demand for equal participation in the solving of common issues been so resolute, nor has the number of countries and peoples determined to decide their own destinies in a sovereign manner been larger. In the conditions of the cold war, the dangerous confrontation between the military-political blocs and the great Powers, the general tension and great danger of a general nuclear war, the United Nations was thwarted in discharging its duty in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Charter. We believe that now there exist better chances for the United Nations successfully to discharge its duty in the new conditions. Let us—individually and collectively through our attitudes and our contributions—make this a reality.

44. Mr. OLSZOWSKI (Poland): During last year's general debate in this Assembly, a vast majority of Member States, including the Polish People's Republic, expressed their satisfaction with the improvement in the international situation, hoping for further and ever more tangible progress in the policy of peace and détente.

45. Yet another year has gone by. In the history of world progress it will go down as an important one. The world has speeded up its advance towards peace. The principles of peaceful coexistence of States having different systems are becoming an ever more universal basis for international relations.

46. "For many years," said the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, "the Socialist States, including Poland, have been struggling for the victory of the idea of peaceful coexistence in inter-State relations. This idea is now becoming victorious."

47. A development like this is consonant with the will of the peoples we represent, and with their aspirations to live in peace and security and to enjoy freedom and independence; it is consonant with their desires to enjoy an ever better material and cultural life—which entails progressive social transformations.

48. Positive changes in international relations and better prospects for the maintenance of world peace are a contribution of merit made by those States Members of the United Nations which, in their foreign policies, have for long consistently and with unfailing dedication advanced and worked for the consolidation of peace and international security, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of this Organization. The Soviet Union, Poland and other States of the socialist community, belong among them.

49. The principle objective of the foreign policy of the socialist States, as was again pointed out by the decisions of the meeting of the leaders of the States of the socialist community in the Crimea on 30 and 31 July 1973, has been to ensure a just and lasting peace.

50. The Polish People's Republic is contributing to the policy of peace and détente, to the elimination of seedbeds of tension and to the promotion of relations of equality among all States, whatever their systems and standards of economic development. Our constant objective is to increase the contribution to this lofty cause. Thus motivated, we are participating in the work of the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

51. The Polish delegation wishes to express its satisfaction that the desire to maintain peace is becoming the guiding idea of the foreign policies of a growing number of Member States. Thus the United Nations may become an ever more effective instrument for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security.

52. Among important developments of the past 12 months the ending of war in Viet-Nam comes to the fore. This has been a great success of peace. The conclusion of the Paris agreements represented a milestone in the elimination of international conflicts and opened up possibilities for a political settlement of all the problems of Indo-China. From this rostrum Poland wishes the Viet-Nameese people all success in their speedy recovery from the war-inflicted wounds. The Paris agreements should be fully implemented. As a member of the International Commission of Control

and Supervision, Poland, within the scope of its possibilities, will continue contributing to the attainment of this goal.

53. I wish to express satisfaction with the progress in the normalization of the situation on the Indian subcontinent. The New Delhi agreement of 28 August last between India and Pakistan is an important step towards full normalization, peace and good-neighbourly co-operation between the States of the subcontinent. This is indeed a matter of satisfaction to us, as Poland is linked by friendly relations with India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The Polish delegation hopes that the membership of the United Nations will be soon enlarged by the admission of Bangladesh.

54. The year that has passed has brought also a series of constructive initiatives with a view to consolidating détente and unreservedly accepting the principles of peaceful coexistence. These initiatives include multilateral efforts, such as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and negotiations on arms and troop reduction in Central Europe, as well as momentous changes in bilateral relations between many Member States of the United Nations.

55. In our opinion, this new and justly hope-inspiring development is primarily expressed in the fact that the States of the European continent, regardless of their systems, size or geographic location, are making a collective effort to create the foundations of a lasting system of security and co-operation. This effort will find its practical reflection in the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, whose second phase is now being held at Geneva.

56. That effort is being made on the basis of the recognition of the fact that security in Europe can only rest on the inviolability of the political and territorial post-war realities. This has been evidenced in the bilateral treaties signed by the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany, in the normalization of relations by most countries with the two German States, and in the admission of those two States to the United Nations.

57. On numerous occasions in the past the Polish delegation has had the opportunity to comment from this rostrum on matters pertaining to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and to present specific proposals, including the conclusion of an all-European treaty on collective security. The main task of the Conference we visualize as consisting of the creation of a system of collective security in Europe, the future overcoming of the division of Europe into two groupings opposed politically and militarily to each other, and the mapping out jointly of the course of a further peaceful development of the European continent. Peace means something more than merely a state short of war or even a situation in which war has been eliminated. We conceive of peace as an open, dynamic and steadily advancing process: a process into which a constructive programme has to be injected, one with positive ideas and values to be implemented by a joint effort. We feel that all the conditions are there for the Conference to make that goal materialize. Poland favours expansion of all-round co-operation with

States having different socio-political systems. The equitable development of such co-operation depends on non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, observance of the principle of mutual respect for the rights and customs of individual nations, and respect for their cultural and historically formed national identity.

58. By virtue of its geographic location, Poland concentrates on Europe; but we do not see that continent as detached from the rest of the world. We believe that the most substantial contribution to the peaceful and progressive development of the world Europe can make will consist of the establishment of a system of collective security, of turning Europe into a continent which would pose no threat to any other region and which, through co-operation with the other parts of the world, would contribute to the growth of the well-being of the peoples of all continents and to a life in peace, freedom and dignity all over the world. In that way Europe would cease to be a hotbed of tensions and conflicts, involving other nations of the world, as has frequently occurred in the past. Europe would thus become a centre of stabilization of world peace and a model of relations between States with different socio-political systems, in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

59. It is our firm belief that the decisions of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will be of historic importance for Europe, for the security of other continents and for world peace.

60. The essential progress in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States is of special significance. This is reflected in agreements signed during the visit of President Nixon to the Soviet Union in May 1972 and in the course of the visit paid to the United States this year by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Their relations were established on the principle of peaceful coexistence, which is an important step forward along the road towards strengthening world peace and creating realistic possibilities for building relations among States on the very same foundations.

61. The agreements in question imply the intention of both Powers to have the political détente accompanied also by a military détente. It is with appreciation and hope that Poland views the agreements concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States and the prospects for a peaceful development of relations between the two great Powers; for we think that they resulted in the strengthening of world peace and security.

62. While developing and reinforcing relations with its allies, Poland is expanding its contacts on principles of peaceful coexistence with other countries. President Nixon's visit to Warsaw in the spring of last year resulted in an accelerated expansion of relations between Poland and the United States. Likewise, we have developed our relations with a number of West European States. Fresh content and new forms were added to our relationships with France as a result of the visit paid last year to Paris by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek. We have entered a new phase of relations with the Federal Republic of

Germany. We are developing friendly relations with Italy, Belgium, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Austria and other States. The time has come, too, to start talks on our mutual relations with the Vatican.

63. We are also strengthening our ties with States in other parts of the world. Such ties are especially animated with India and also, notably in the economic field, with Japan.

64. We lend our support to the efforts of the non-aligned States which, at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers, adopted a number of resolutions [see A/9330 and Corr.1] testifying to their determination to pursue a policy of peace and of struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Algiers Conference pointed out the urgent need for eliminating the remnants of colonialism and for fighting all forms of neo-colonialism. We for our part, express our solidarity with the struggle waged by the national liberation movements in Africa.

65. Against the background of positive developments and the emerging trends of détente and co-operation based on equal rights, the persisting hotbeds of tension and manifestations of the policy from a position of strength, vestiges of colonialism and other harmful phenomena in the international situation stand out in glaring contrast. The situation in the Middle East is fraught with the danger of the eruption of a military conflict. The present situation there should lead us into no complacent mood. Israel persists in ignoring the decisions of the Security Council and pursues a policy of aggression and terror towards its Arab neighbours. Poland's unswerving position is that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) should be promptly implemented. Occupied Arab territories ought to be restored to their rightful owners without delay. That is the basic condition for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. All peoples of the region, including the Palestinian people, should be guaranteed the right to an independent existence and a peaceful life.

66. Developments in Chile have shocked the world and Polish public opinion. The overthrow by force of the legal Government of the country, the assassination of the constitutional President, Dr. Salvador Allende, who only last year was a guest of this Assembly, acts of violence against and harassment of diplomatic missions and citizens of various States, as well as of foreign ships, depriving the Chilean people of its natural resources and surrendering them to international monopolies, mass terror in the country—all this cannot but have far-reaching international implications, endangering the atmosphere of peace and détente in the world. The people of Poland condemn with indignation the acts of violence and terror raging in Chile.

67. Now that the policy of détente has scored many successes, there is a need for even greater efforts than ever before to reinforce these positive trends and to make them irreversible. The scope of encouraging changes has to be broadened so as to ensure that open conflicts and unsettled problems may not again bring a relapse into the cold war, or give rise to dangerous tensions. This will take vigilance vis-à-vis any forces which for their selfish ends might wish to obstruct the positive changes in the international

situation, sow distrust or complicate the processes of international confidence-building.

68. In the present historical moment in the world situation the activity of these forces is a harmful and dangerous anachronism. Also more apparent than ever before is the bankruptcy of any attempts at solving international conflicts by war and by methods of the policy from a position of strength.

69. The United Nations, which now, owing to the admission of new Members, comprises almost all States of our globe, has an important role to play in the consolidation of the positive changes in the international situation. In my statements from this rostrum [2118th meeting], I have already had the occasion to present the views of the Government of Poland as to the great significance for the United Nations and for the situation at large of the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany into our Organization. We feel that the United Nations not only should provide a forum for political debates of a universal nature, but should also become a venue for practical construction of a system of collective security through, *inter alia*, universalization of the positive experience gained by various regions of the world.

70. We are entitled to expect that the United Nations will lend its active support to all efforts which are made on the bilateral as well as the multilateral plane, both on a regional and on a global scale, and are aimed at the normalization of international relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, the renunciation once and for all of the use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the expansion of non-discriminatory co-operation in all fields. This is what will determine the prestige of the United Nations among the international community and the Organization's place in the history of mankind.

71. The United Nations efforts to consolidate détente and to make it an irreversible process have to entail specific measures in the field of military détente and disarmament. First of all we have to do away for ever with the danger of a nuclear war. That is, in fact, the basic task of this Organization.

72. We feel that in order to eliminate the threat of a nuclear war it is of special necessity and high priority that all States ratify the Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear-weapon tests⁴ and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)], and, subsequently, that further steps should be taken towards the complete elimination of nuclear arms.

73. Two days ago [2126th meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Andrei Gromyko, presented in this hall an extremely important proposal on reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. The practical implementation of that proposal

⁴ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

would not only produce immense material advantages but would also have an impact upon the improvement of the atmosphere of trust in international relations; we are also aware of the new vistas that would open up for further disarmament measures. The Polish People's Republic welcomes this important initiative and lends it its full support.

74. Poland is consistently guided by the desire for general and complete disarmament. Hence, we favour the speediest possible convocation of the World Disarmament Conference. We trust that in the course of the present session, on the basis of the record of work heretofore of the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, established under resolution 2930 (XXVII), we shall take further decisions concerning the preparation of the Conference. The Conference could become a turning point in the efforts aimed at freeing mankind from the tremendous burden of armaments, strengthening world peace and promoting the successful socio-economic development of the nations of the world.

75. The consolidation of the processes of détente and the building of world peace are inconceivable without broad economic co-operation among the States of the world.

76. The quest for stimuli to economic co-operation between all States is all the more important to the United Nations inasmuch as there is a feed-back relationship between the development of the political situation and that of the situation obtaining in international economic relations. For political co-operation provides a propitious climate for promoting economic collaboration, which in turn becomes a solid basis for and a factor of intensified development of political intercourse. Moreover, advanced economic collaboration can in many instances lead to the establishment of co-operation on the political plane, and vice versa.

77. I dare say that the historic record of accomplishment of our generation will to a large extent depend on the conditions which we shall be able to create for the development of economic co-operation on a global scale. They include very broadly conceived questions of economic collaboration on a scale much wider than has so far been the case in the work of our Organization.

78. The conditions which we should create for the expansion of economic collaboration ought to take account of the legitimate interests of all States. They should be oriented towards the fullest possible utilization of the opportunities offered by the international division of labour; they should ensure a scale of production and exchanges to each State, so as to make goods accessible to all. First and foremost they should ensure proper participation in the international division of labour to those States which in the early stages of the formation of the division of labour were not able to secure an appropriate place for themselves and their share in it

79. It therefore becomes urgent to work out a new machinery which will intensify the expansion of multi-lateral economic co-operation and take account of the interests of all States and regions of the world. The principal mechanisms governing international economic

relations were formed immediately following the Second World War at a time when political co-operation between individual States and regions was on a rather small scale. Besides, only a small number of States had a share in the setting up of those mechanisms.

80. With international détente and growing political collaboration, with a more advanced development of productive forces and a considerable growth in the number of States participating in world economic co-operation, the earlier mechanisms governing international economic relations fail to meet the present day requirements.

81. In many areas the situation is disquieting. Broad segments of international opinion call for proper action regarding, in particular, the following questions: the aggravation of the crisis of the capitalist monetary system, which adversely affects the entire international trade exchanges; the unequal and often discriminatory attitude of certain States and groupings of the West vis-à-vis trade exchanges with the socialist countries; the absence of mechanisms to stimulate the expansion of collaboration in science and technology, as well as industrial co-operation; and the absence of effective mechanisms which would assist the developing countries in taking their place in the international division of labour.

82. The United Nations should play an essential part in providing solutions to those problems. We offer our support to the efforts being made in this direction, *inter alia*, within the framework of the United Nations Development Programme, the functioning of which we highly value.

83. Poland attaches great importance to the expansion of economic co-operation with all countries of the world. The economic decisions we have been taking in recent years are so designed as to fit our economy into the international division of labour on a wider scale. It is our desire to make full use of the opportunities arising from participation in all-round international economic co-operation.

84. The economic record of Poland over recent years substantiates the practicability of our plans. Last year alone, Poland's gross national income increased by 10 per cent, industrial production rose by almost 11 per cent, and foreign trade turnover grew by over 19 per cent. The figures I have just quoted eloquently testify to the importance my country attaches to the expansion of economic collaboration with other countries, which is best illustrated by the measurable index of the rate of growth of our trade exchanges.

85. All nations of the world want to live in peace. All nations of the world want to live in freedom. All nations want to live better, more prosperous, more cultured lives. The United Nations can play a very important part in the attainment of these noble objectives. That, however, calls for the co-operation and dedication of all Member States. The delegation of Poland will spare no effort to that end.

86. Mr. MUDENDA (Zambia): Mr. President, my delegation joins others in expressing our sincere congratulations to you on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The election of a man of your experience and skill befits the

onerous demands of your new office and is a source of confidence and inspiration to my delegation. I hope that through your guidance this session will further the cause of freedom, justice, peace and progress. I therefore pledge my delegation's unqualified support in the successful execution of your noble task.

87. I would also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, who steered the proceedings of the twenty-seventh session of this Assembly with admirable competence and impartiality.

88. I wish to reiterate my Government's sorrow at the recent death of His Majesty King Gustaf VI Adolph of Sweden, whose contribution to the well-being of his own people and to the promotion of the ideals of the United Nations is a living testimony to his achievements.

89. Permit me also to express the shock felt by the party, Government and people of Zambia at the loss sustained by progressive humanity as a result of the tragic death of President Salvador Allende, whose name will go down in history as that of a man who strove to rid his country of the shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism and to promote the economic independence of the developing countries.

90. My delegation wishes to extend a warm welcome to the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which have joined the United Nations. The admission of these States is a manifestation of the significant trend towards the realization of the principle of universality in the United Nations. My delegation hopes that these new Members will add a new and a positive dimension to the proceedings of this session and future sessions of the General Assembly.

91. The search for a world order based on freedom, justice, peace and the security of all peoples and countries remains a major preoccupation of Zambia together with other non-aligned and peace-loving countries. This session is taking place hardly a month after that historic Fourth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in September. I wish, from this rostrum, to pay a tribute to the Government and people of Algeria not only for the warm hospitality they extended to the participants but also for all their untiring efforts, which contributed so much to the success of the Conference. The Algiers Conference was yet another milestone in the determined collective effort of the non-aligned countries to eradicate the many evils that still afflict this world. It is the hope of my delegation that, as in the past, the important decisions of that recent non-aligned Conference will greatly facilitate the work of this session.

92. We in Zambia have been consistently opposed to activities and situations which are contrary to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. We have always objected strongly to foreign interference in the internal affairs of countries in Indo-China. We believe this to be the major reason for the senseless loss of many lives and destruction of property. We have welcomed with relief the Paris peace agreements on Viet-Nam. We are neverthe-

less distressed at the persistent violations of these agreements. We have repeatedly condemned the brutal bombings to which the people of Cambodia have been subjected. We have always urged, and urge now, that all forms of foreign interference in Indo-China—and in this particular case in Cambodia and Laos—should cease forthwith so that the people of that region, who have suffered far too long, may be left alone freely to determine their own destiny. This is their right. Indeed, I wish to register our deep admiration for the courage the people of Indo-China have shown in their just struggle to rid themselves of foreign aggression.

93. We continue to be encouraged by the bilateral negotiations which are aimed at creating favourable conditions for the reunification of Korea without interference from outside. We remain convinced that the immediate withdrawal of United States troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea would be conducive to the early conclusion of the bilateral negotiations and to the goal of reunification. In view of the desire of the people of Korea to reunite, we are opposed to any manoeuvre to have North and South Korea admitted into the United Nations as separate entities.

94. The situation in the Middle East continues to be a serious threat to international peace and security. In complete defiance and contempt of the decisions of the United Nations, Israel, a State Member of our Organization, continues its illegal occupation of Arab territories. Displaced Palestinians continue to be denied their fundamental rights. In the meantime, they languish in misery, many of them without shelter. The recent report of the Secretary-General⁵ and the subsequent Security Council debate on the situation in the Middle East make it clear that Israel and its supporters are obstructing a peaceful settlement of this crisis. The readiness of the Arab side to make peace has been demonstrated beyond any doubt.

95. In my address last year,⁶ I referred to the initiative by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and paid a tribute to the 10 members of the Committee of African Heads of State, who, in the OAU efforts to supplement those of the United Nations, visited both Cairo and Tel Aviv. They made every effort to help find a just and durable solution to the problem. The lack of positive response from Israel has caused considerable disappointment to us. As I said earlier, Israel has not complied with numerous United Nations resolutions. It is the duty of the United Nations to ensure that Israel honours its obligation as a Member. We appeal to all States to make earnest efforts towards finding a peaceful and just settlement of the crisis in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We sincerely hope that the current initiative of the Secretary-General will bear fruit.

96. Zambia has already welcomed détente in Europe and the process of negotiations that now characterize relations

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1973*, document S/10929.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2051st meeting.

among the major Powers. The relaxation of tension among the super-Powers and their growing willingness to negotiate for the improvement of their mutual relations have reduced the immediate danger of a major world conflict.

97. While détente and the process of negotiations among the major Powers and in Europe are gaining momentum, aggression, pressures and interference in the internal affairs of many small and medium-sized countries and the threat of force against them are on the increase. We disapprove of this trend. It is our firm conviction that genuine peace and security, particularly that of developing countries, can come about only if efforts are similarly directed, with the participation of all States on an equal basis, to the solution of the many problems that bedevil the vast majority of the countries of the world. In other words, our goal must be to strengthen international peace and security as a whole. In this connexion I cannot over-emphasize the importance Zambia attaches to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] adopted by this august body.

98. Zambia is opposed to all forms of nuclear testing. This stand is consistent with our commitment to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. We believe that there is an urgent need for the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty. The partial test-ban Treaty is a half-hearted measure. For that reason, its effectiveness becomes questionable. Quite understandably, there are some among us who consider it both unfair and discriminatory to prohibit others from acquiring nuclear weapons after certain States have accumulated theirs by the same means and continue to improve upon them both qualitatively and quantitatively. It seems to us that only a comprehensive test-ban treaty which will apply to all has greater chances of effectiveness.

99. We in Zambia deeply regret the unhappy events which made it impossible for a Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference to be formed as envisaged under General Assembly resolution 2930 (XXVII). It is indeed a pity that such developments should have occurred to prevent the implementation of that resolution, which was adopted after protracted and painstaking negotiations. We remain strongly convinced that a world disarmament conference would be a most significant endeavour and perhaps a real beginning in the search for genuine disarmament.

100. We regret the ineffectiveness of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. We remain convinced that all nations must participate fully as equals, in all discussions that touch on their peace and security. Any bilateral decisions among big Powers which affect other nations, big or small, without full consideration for their legitimate interests, are unacceptable to us. Furthermore, we consider world peace and security based on balance of power, which seems to be the framework of accords bilaterally negotiated between the super-Powers, as nothing but an illusion.

101. Since the last session, Africa has witnessed two sad events. Mr. Amílcar Cabral, President of the Partido Africano de Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, was brutally assassinated on 20 January 1973 by the agents of

Portuguese colonialism. The world cannot but deeply mourn the tragic death of that great son of Africa.

102. In Mozambique, where Portugal still maintains its colonialist policies, the Portuguese Fascist forces brutally murdered 400 innocent men, women and children late last year at the village of Wiriyamu. The Wiriyamu massacre will indeed go down in history with Sharpeville and My Lai as epitomizing the bestiality and savagery of fascism, colonialism and imperialism. These barbarities are in the vile tradition of generations of colonialists who have terrorized and subjugated the people of Africa. It would be outrageous for this Assembly to let those heinous acts by Portugal pass uncondemned.

103. I am glad to say that neither Cabral's tragic death nor the Wiriyamu massacre has deterred the determination of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique from their resolve to free their countries from Portuguese colonialism. Similarly, the struggle in Angola continues.

104. It is common knowledge that Portugal is a small and poor country. On its own it cannot withstand the onslaught of the freedom fighters in its colonies. Portuguese colonialism in Africa is sustained principally by some of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. The concern of OAU about any form of assistance given to Portugal which enables it to carry out its atrocious policies in Africa was demonstrated by the appointment of a Special Mission to NATO countries led originally by my own President and concluded last year by Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. We appreciate the positive response of certain NATO countries to appeals to them to terminate all such assistance to Portugal. We call upon those NATO countries still rendering this assistance to Portugal to take example from the others. We would like to state further that the countries which supply arms to Portugal, either bilaterally or within any other framework, bear a special responsibility for the atrocities committed by Portugal against the people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the rest of Africa.

105. Portugal will not win its colonial wars in Africa. The continuation of colonial wars by Portugal will only cause untold loss of life in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, including loss of life by Portuguese nationals in those areas. The Portuguese régime should now start negotiations with the leaders of liberation movements to bring about independence to these countries. We know the leaders of liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. They are fine men and women. They are not racists. We are convinced that when they take over the management of the affairs in their respective countries, people of all races and all religious beliefs will live together in peace and in harmony.

106. In Southern Rhodesia, the rebel régime has intensified its oppressive and segregationist policies against the 5 million indigenous Africans. During the year, the régime introduced a system of mass arrests and collective punishments against innocent villagers in the north-eastern area on the mere suspicion that they offered cover to freedom fighters. I must state that in spite of these desperate acts by

a clique of frightened men, the freedom fighters will not be discouraged from intensifying the struggle for the liberation of their country.

107. I should like to reiterate what my Government has continued to uphold regarding the obligation of the British Government as the administering Power in Southern Rhodesia. The British Government must ensure that there should be no independence in Southern Rhodesia except on the basis of majority rule. In this regard it is incumbent upon the British Government immediately to convene a constitutional conference, representative of all sections of the people of Southern Rhodesia. In order for this objective to be realized, it is imperative for Britain to ensure the release of all political prisoners and detainees so that they can participate in determining the destiny of their country. In this connexion, we condemn the continued detention of African leaders by the illegal régime of Ian Smith.

108. The problem of Southern Rhodesia has been compounded by external factors. We all know that the illegal régime is very weak internally. However, the breaking of United Nations sanctions continues to be one of the major factors that have sustained the illegal and racist régimes. We regret that certain countries which are in a better position to implement sanctions against the Smith régime are in fact the main culprits. However, we note with appreciation the positive trend in the foreign policies of the new Governments of Australia and New Zealand vis-à-vis southern Africa.

109. Since the unilateral declaration of independence by the settler minority in Southern Rhodesia, we in Zambia have made sacrifices in our efforts to abide by the decisions of the United Nations which are aimed at bringing about justice to the oppressed people of that country. In pursuance of this policy we have decided to cut off completely dealings with the rebel régime. As a result and at a very high cost to Zambia, we are engaged in rerouting our trade to the north instead of to the south, a route to which we had been tied by the colonial pattern of trade in southern Africa.

110. Permit me to express the sincere thanks of the party, the Government and people of Zambia to all those countries which have responded positively to the appeal by the Security Council in its resolution 329 (1973). My delegation would equally like to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his initiatives designed to ensure the implementation of the Security Council resolution.

111. In examining the problem of southern Africa it is imperative to pay particular attention to South Africa's political, economic and military role in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. Apart from intensifying within South Africa its evil policies of *apartheid*, the effects of which we recently witnessed in the Carletonville massacre, the Pretoria régime's basic foreign policy objective is to sustain the minority régimes of southern Africa. In this regard it should not surprise the international community that South African military forces have joined ranks with those of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and with the Portuguese colonial forces in Mozambique and Angola.

In recent months we have witnessed the savage killing of innocent men, women and children by the racist minority régimes, particularly in Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, in a desperate attempt to stifle the efforts of the gallant freedom fighters.

112. South African aggression is not confined to the people of countries still under the yoke of minority rule in southern Africa. Together with the Portuguese Fascists and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, it has intensified its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States. My own country, for instance, has at the hands of the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis lost many innocent lives.

113. In the international Territory of Namibia the racist régime of South Africa is rigorously implementing its *apartheid* policy through the creation of the so-called "homelands", in complete disregard of the opposition of the Namibian people to any Balkanization of their country. This opposition was unequivocally demonstrated in their boycott of the recent bogus elections organized by the South African occupation forces.

114. We in Zambia had serious misgivings about the usefulness of the contacts which the Secretary-General of the United Nations has been conducting with the racist régime of South Africa over the question of Namibia, in accordance with the mandate given him by the Security Council in its resolution 302 (1972). His reports have confirmed our anxieties that these contacts are detrimental to the interests of the Namibian people and should therefore be discontinued forthwith. Given the refusal of the South African régime peacefully to terminate its occupation of Namibia, it has become imperative for the Namibian people to intensify their armed struggle.

115. In the light of these developments in southern Africa, Zambia will continue to render all possible assistance to liberation movements. We are happy to note that the liberation movements are receiving increased assistance from many parts of the world. They deserve this assistance. They are putting it to good use, for the frontiers of oppression are receding; but their needs are still very considerable. To this end, we wish to appeal to all progressive forces in the world to offer substantial material assistance to the liberation movements.

116. In my address to this Assembly last year I stated my belief and conviction in the capacity of the United Nations—particularly of its specialized agencies—to provide health, transportation, educational and other facilities in the liberated areas of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The subsequent adoption by the General Assembly of resolutions calling on the specialized agencies of the United Nations to render the assistance indicated in the resolutions on the Territories concerned was a clear endorsement by the international community of the necessity and urgency of such assistance.

Mr. Driss (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

117. We are aware of and appreciate the fact that the limited resources at the disposal of the United Nations have

to be disbursed world-wide. However, we believe most sincerely that the provision of such multilateral assistance would be consistent with the genuine priorities and long-term objectives of the United Nations. Apart from achieving maximum economic effect in the field of development, a token contribution would reflect concrete solidarity between the liberation movements and the United Nations.

118. As we await the full and effective implementation of the relevant resolutions in this regard, I wish to reiterate another related appeal concerning the full participation of the representatives of the liberated areas in dependent countries and of Namibia in the activities of the specialized agencies, on the basis of established criteria applicable to non-Members of the United Nations.

119. It cannot be overemphasized that the direction and scope of the activities of specialized agencies should, perhaps more than ever before, reflect the priorities of the United Nations. Such priorities are clear. Given the relaxation of tension between East and West, the potentially explosive problems facing the international community continue to be imperialism, colonialism, *apartheid* and the slow rate of economic and social development of developing countries. In other words, the basic task confronting the world is the attainment of those living standards which are consistent with human dignity—a task which inevitably demands maximum co-operation and commitment by all parties concerned.

120. My delegation commends the speedy action of the United Nations in coping with natural disasters and providing and co-ordinating the necessary relief and rehabilitation, as recently demonstrated in Bangladesh, Pakistan and the Sudano-Sahelian zone of Africa. In these situations the specialized agencies have been admirably responsive.

121. The gap between promise and performance in international economic co-operation continues to widen at a dangerous pace. Problems have been highlighted and diagnosed. Various prescriptions have been advanced, but the will to translate them into practical action consistently continues to be inadequate. We are all aware of these failures. We know that the share of developing countries in international trade has diminished over the past year, despite the spectacular rise in global trade. We equally know of the general unsatisfactory trends in the important economic sectors of these countries. In the absence of political will, particularly on the part of the developed countries, to dispose of their resources in favour of their poor counterparts, the logical result is that outstanding problems become more complex, new ones emerge, and the gap between the poor and the rich continues to widen.

122. Golden opportunities for solving some of the latent and actual problems have been lost out of callous indifference on the part of developed countries, and failures to fulfil their various obligations have been rationalized away. This situation is clearly a despicable disregard of the purposes and the spirit of international economic co-operation.

123. Developing countries have experienced, and continue to suffer, disproportionately, the ominous influences of

inflation and international monetary instability originating from the leading participants in the development process. Such trends and developments have adversely affected the ability of developing countries to contribute meaningfully to the effective implementation of global and other strategies.

124. On present indications the prospects for forestalling a repetition of the failure of the First United Nations Development Decade will largely depend on the unlikely achievement of total commitment to the set goals by all parties concerned, and particularly the need for developed countries to pay more heed to their responsibilities under the Charter and as prescribed by other relevant international instruments.

125. Members of this Organization should do their utmost to forestall the erosion of all hopes that the international community has placed in the Second United Nations Development Decade, the failure of whose International Development Strategy would entrench the disappointments which climaxed the end of the first Decade.

126. Our attitudes and commitment as partners in the process of development should consistently reflect the increasingly recognized principle of mutual interdependence in international relations. This demands the adherence to those principles and objectives which recognize the fact that all national, bilateral or regional policies and practices which influence international relations should be regarded as matters of mutual concern. For example, the achievement of détente between the East and West should not be permitted to affect adversely the genuine economic interests of developing countries. Additionally, the forging of closer links by way of preferential trading arrangements among the developed countries should not equally be permitted to erode the benefits of other international arrangements in favour of developing countries. The participation of developing countries in such arrangements whose consequences affect them should be on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

127. My delegation recognizes that the significance of the proposal for the drafting of a charter of economic rights and duties of States in terms of the urgent need to safeguard the national sovereignty and independence of all States is that this would improve international economic relations.

128. While reaffirming each country's inalienable right to the full exercise of sovereignty over its natural resources, my delegation would at the same time urge greater awareness of the limited character of natural resources and therefore the institution of effective measures to ensure their efficient exploitation and utilization. Furthermore, we would hope that current deliberations on various commodity shortage problems will usher in a new era of realism, rationale and economy in the management and exploitation of the world environmental resources for the betterment of mankind.

129. The important issue pertaining to the role of multinational corporations and the influence of developing countries as well as on international relations in general, has now seriously engaged the attention of the international community.

130. Two important initiatives in this regard have been undertaken by the United Nations Secretariat—under the guidance of 20 eminent persons appointed by the Secretary-General pursuant to Economic and Social Council resolution 1721 (LIII) of 28 July 1972—and by the group of non-aligned countries as part of their continuing efforts aimed at achieving peace and progress.

131. The United Nations study on the subject,⁷ the meeting of the economic experts of the group of non-aligned countries recently held in Santiago, Chile, and the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September, have on this important subject recognized the urgent need for countervailing action against the negative activities of multinational corporations or the adoption of appropriate measures to place private foreign investment at the service of national development objectives.

132. In order to give concrete effect to the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, as well as to realize vital national goals, my delegation reaffirms the cardinal right of every nation to undertake all appropriate measures designed to recover its natural resources and aimed at facilitating the full exercise of its control over the exploitation of such resources particularly by private foreign investment.

133. My delegation equally supports the immediate cessation of any form of interference by countries in which multinational corporations originate in disputes between the latter and their host countries, particularly developing countries.

134. I should now like to turn to another important area in which the United Nations is making efforts. This important area in which the United Nations is making efforts is regarding the progressive development of the international law of the sea.

135. It will be recalled that during the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2750 (XXV)*], the United Nations reaffirmed that the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction was the common heritage of mankind. Subsequently, it was decided [*resolution 3029 (XXVII)*] to convene the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which would deal, *inter alia*, with the establishment of an equitable international régime—including an international machinery for the international area and its resources and a broad range of related issues.

136. My delegation is pleased to learn that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, whose task it has been to prepare for the Conference has made significant progress in the discharge of its responsibility. For instance, the Committee has succeeded in identifying the issues necessitating the holding of the Conference. In some cases, single texts have been agreed upon, and in others alternative texts have been presented. It is our view that adequate

preparations have been made on the basis of which we can look forward to the convening of the Conference as originally scheduled.

137. While recognizing that the stage has been reached for convening the Conference, we note that previous Conferences on the Law of the Sea gave inadequate attention to the problems of land-locked States.

138. Particular attention needs to be given by the Conference to the following three vital issues. The first relates to the right of land-locked States to free access to the sea. We note that attempts to solve the problem began quite early in the present century. Yet it is recognized that insufficient safeguards have been provided for land-locked countries. Previous conferences have largely left the question for settlement through bilateral or regional negotiations. Past and contemporary experience has vividly shown that this is highly unsatisfactory, especially in southern Africa. To avoid this continuation of such ill effects on international relations it has become necessary that such a right and other related issues should be provided for by the forthcoming Conference.

139. Another important issue to be decided by the Conference appears to be whether or not the international area already declared to be the common heritage of mankind, will be the subject of exploration and exploitation by an enterprise or by individual States on licences to be issued by an international authority. We believe that, in order to safeguard the interests of developing countries, some of which rely for their economic survival on land resources which are also to be found in the international area, it would be vital to assign the functions of exploration and exploitation of the area to an enterprise subject to the control of a truly representative international authority. In that way, we would be assured of a strong régime which would safeguard the interests of all States, especially the developing countries.

140. Thirdly, concerning the limits of national jurisdiction, we are gratified to note that the Secretary-General, in response to the decisions of this Assembly during its twenty-seventh session, has prepared a study on the economic significance, in terms of sea-bed mineral resources, of the various limits proposed for national jurisdiction.⁸ In establishing uniform limits of the territorial sea, the Conference will need to give due attention to such data.

141. Needless to say, we have addressed ourselves to only a few of the issues before the forthcoming Conference, which, when assuming its momentous task, should no doubt also have regard to its contribution to international peace and security.

142. Zambia attaches great importance to the United Nations. We have consistently held the view that the United Nations is vital to human development. Its importance in the maintenance of peace and security in the world is invaluable, for through it all States are able to give expression to their equality among the rest of the members of the human family. The United Nations, in our view, is

⁷ *Multinational Corporations in World Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.11).

⁸ See document A/AC.138/87 and Corr.1 (mimeographed).

one of the greatest expressions of interdependence in an ever-growing and ever-more-complex international community. Consequently, one of the cardinal principles of Zambia's foreign policy is to support the United Nations.

143. This is not to say that all is well with our Organization. As I stated earlier, in my address to this august body at its twenty-seventh session, there is a growing crisis of confidence in the ability and authority of the United Nations to deal effectively with pressing international problems such as the achievement of human freedom and independence.

144. We must act now to restore confidence in this vital instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. As we move closer to a fuller realization of the principle of universality of membership in the United Nations, an essential and important element for its effectiveness, we must at the same time weed out all impediments in order to ensure that the Organization assumes its proper role for the benefit of mankind. The growing tendency, particularly among the super-Powers, to bypass the United Nations in dealing with problems of vital importance and interest to the whole of the international community should be discouraged, as it has, *inter alia*, the effect of eroding the prestige and authority of this Organization. The principle of equitable and more-broadly-based geographical representation in all major organs of the United Nations and its specialized agencies must be fully realized. The Security Council, the organ charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, must cease to be a preserve of the big Powers, where they can use their power to veto at will in order to protect their interests and those of their allies. We wish to reiterate our belief that the time has come for a review of the whole question of permanent membership in the Security Council. We strongly believe that a new criterion for eligibility should be devised. In our view, this should be based not on military or economic power, but rather on the principle of equitable geographical representation. Mere military or economic strength should not be the criterion for permanent membership in the Security Council. Certain countries falling within this category are guilty of protecting and sustaining the racist minority régimes of southern Africa. Such behaviour does not befit the responsibilities that they have assumed, as it is in itself a contravention of the Charter, let alone the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly.

145. We would also urge the elimination of the privilege of veto enjoyed by the permanent members of the Security Council, or at least the institution of measures that will guarantee against its abuse. It is intolerable that the wishes of the vast majority of countries should be frustrated by one permanent member.

146. Although much remains to be done, the international community has taken significant steps towards realizing the objectives of the United Nations. The areas of crisis are being reduced, if somewhat slowly; some of the goals are in sight. The phenomenal growth of the non-aligned movement is gradually transforming a divided international community into one. I wish to reaffirm Zambia's commitment to the objectives of the United Nations. Zambia,

along with other peace-loving nations, will continue to work tirelessly for the attainment of these objectives.

147. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like once more to extend my sincere congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session and to express my conviction that under your able leadership the session will be an active and a fruitful one.

148. I take this opportunity to express to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of our Organization, our respect and gratitude for the useful work he has done during the period between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth sessions of the United Nations General Assembly.

149. It would be no exaggeration to say that the past year will go down in history as one marking a turning point in international relations, a year of transition from a state of cold war to an expansion and consolidation of the process of peaceful coexistence between the world's two socio-political systems. Everyone is familiar with the recent events which gave the impetus and were especially helpful in bringing about a long-term détente in the international situation.

150. Particularly important among these events were the meetings held by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with President Richard Nixon of the United States of America, Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany and President Georges Pompidou of France. The splendid results of these meetings are the fruit of mutual goodwill and realism. At the same time, they mark a great success for the Soviet Union's peace-loving Leninist foreign policy, which was expressed in the Peace Programme adopted at the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

151. I should like especially to emphasize how important the Bulgarian Government and all our people consider the favourable changes in Soviet-United States relations. These new relations will undoubtedly have a beneficial effect on the entire international situation. We must stress the extraordinary importance of the conclusion on 22 June 1973 of the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, which will create the genuine conditions for saving mankind from the spectre of nuclear disaster.

152. We are gratified to note the improvement in the European political climate. The results of the constant efforts exerted for many years by the socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, fill us with deep satisfaction. The second stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe began just a few days ago. That Conference opens prospects for transforming the old continent into a zone of peace and mutually beneficial co-operation based on universal recognition of and respect for the existing territorial and political realities. We are fully aware of the difficulties that remain to be overcome before the fundamental purposes of the Conference can be achieved.

153. True mutual understanding and co-operation are possible only on the basis of mutual respect and observance of the domestic laws and regulations of each country.

154. The history of the recent past has shown that attempts to meddle in the internal affairs of States are doomed to failure. But it must be borne in mind that such attempts have hindered the process through which relations of peace, security, trust and co-operation are being built.

155. We believe that all the participating countries will approach the historic tasks of the European Conference with the proper sense of responsibility and that the Conference will be completely successful.

156. Among the main factors characterizing the new and favourable situation in the world, we should mention also the cessation of the war in Viet-Nam. Mankind breathed a sigh of relief when that cruel blood-bath came to an end. The Viet-Nameese people won a magnificent victory and gained recognition of its right to solve its own problems and determine its own future. The establishment of a stable peace in Viet-Nam requires strict observance of the Paris agreements by the countries involved.

157. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, fulfilling its international duty, will continue, as in the past, to furnish assistance of every kind to the fraternal Viet-Nameese people in its efforts to wipe out the after-effects of the war.

158. Socialist Bulgaria and the entire Bulgarian people are determined to support the strengthening and further development of the trend towards the relaxation of international tension in Europe and throughout the world. "The Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria," said Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party and Chairman of the Council of State, in a recent statement, "regard it as their national and international duty to continue to help actively to promote the process of improvement in present-day international relations".

159. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always attached the highest importance to its relations with neighbouring countries and has co-operated in the favourable development of such relations. Politically, the Balkan peninsula is a microcosm in which the two socio-economic systems live side by side. Part of the line separating NATO and the Warsaw Pact runs through the Balkans. This complicated situation helps us to appreciate even better the successes of recent years in advancing towards détente and towards the broadening of peaceful co-operation between the Balkan peoples.

160. Bulgaria will continue to pursue with the same steadfastness and consistency an active and constructive policy aimed at transforming the Balkans into a model of the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social structures, into a zone of stable peace and co-operation.

161. The change in the world political climate did not come about by itself and is not the result of some fortuitous confluence of circumstances. The confirmation of the successes already achieved will undoubtedly require a

great deal of determined effort. There have, of course, always been some forces—and they undoubtedly exist today—which are not interested in establishing a stable peace and in strengthening friendship and mutual understanding between peoples. It would be naive to expect that those who have incited and supported the policy of the "cold war" and stockpiled weapons for many years will now reconcile themselves to the positive changes that have taken place in the world.

162. The forces of international reaction also seek and find support among other forces actively opposing détente. They talk, without any justification whatever, of a "nuclear *diktat*" of the so-called super-Powers which are allegedly conspiring at the expense of other countries' interests. They are making an obvious attempt to sow doubts about the motives and objectives of the peace-loving policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, especially among small and medium-sized States, among countries struggling to consolidate their independence and to achieve economic and social progress, and also among the forces of the national liberation movements. They cast doubt even on the usefulness of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the principles of which underlie the Charter of our Organization.

163. We are confident that the facts will continue in the future, as in the past, to refute and expose the groundless "theories" of the partisans of cold war and international tension.

164. The logic of events confirms that each people striving to build a happy future for itself and earnestly desiring the same for other peoples, and each State, whether large or small, can only benefit from a general improvement in the international atmosphere. That is why we are particularly gratified to note the results of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned States, held at Algiers in September 1973. In addition to important and useful decisions on individual practical problems of the present day, the Algiers Conference expressed support for the policy of détente and recognized the truth that the policy of peaceful coexistence is in the interest of all peoples and of peace throughout the world.

165. We are firmly convinced that peace and international security will continue to grow stronger. This conclusion depends upon and accords with the objective fact of today's world and the balance which has already shifted in favour of the forces of peace and international understanding. It is this prospect that the countries of the socialist community, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, are actively working and struggling for, together with all of the world's peace-loving forces.

166. We share the conviction, expressed by other speakers, that the main task today is that all countries and all people of goodwill throughout the world should do everything in their power to make the trend towards peace and international co-operation an irreversible one. Now, more than ever, the United Nations has the mission of promoting the fulfilment of that task.

167. The danger of a resurgence of old evils is not precluded of course. The need for an active struggle and for

resistance against the forces attempting to halt social progress and the free and independent development of peoples is demonstrated by recent events in Chile.

168. World public opinion has reacted with concern and indignation to the actions of reactionary forces in Chile, which forcibly overthrew the legitimate Government of National Unity and brought about the death of President Salvador Allende, a valiant fighter for the just cause of the Chilean people and world peace.

169. The Bulgarian people wishes to express its fraternal solidarity with the Chilean people's struggle in defence of its right to develop along the path of national independence and social progress. We vigorously condemn the brutality of the reactionary forces against the best sons of the Chilean people, and we express our firm conviction that the final victory will belong to the working class, the labouring people of Chile.

170. A glance at the agenda of this session is enough for us to realize how broad are the opportunities for our Organization to make a real contribution to the cause of further improving the world situation and carrying out the fundamental task of the United Nations, which is to strengthen international peace and security. The most urgent question in this sphere concerns the peaceful settlement of the Middle Eastern conflict.

171. The situation in the Middle East still contains the lurking danger of a new explosion. The aggressive and adventuristic policy of the Israeli ruling circles is an ever-growing danger to peace in that region, which is our near neighbour. The key issue in the settlement of the Middle Eastern problem continues to be that of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967. It is the duty of our Organization to continue our active search for effective means to implement the well-known decisions of the Security Council.

172. The Bulgarian people and its Government will continue to give their full support to the Arab peoples in their just struggle for the restoration of the territories seized by Israel and for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of respect for the rights and interests of all the peoples of the region, including the Arab people of Palestine.

173. The United Nations can and must help to remove another constant source of tension and conflict, namely, colonialism. Through the joint efforts of all peace-loving peoples, our Organization must become even more active in helping to eliminate this shameful phenomenon of our age, which flagrantly violates not only the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law but also the concepts of elementary justice and morality.

174. The events of the past year give us reason to view the possibility of a settlement of the Korean question with some optimism. It is long past time to remove the surviving anachronisms and give the Koreans in both parts of the peninsula an opportunity to solve their own problems without outside interference. The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the efforts of the Democratic

People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful unification of the country and cannot but oppose any proposals that might interfere with the attainment of that goal.

175. An encouraging development in the field of disarmament is represented by the opening of the second stage of strategic arms limitations talks and the signing on 21 June 1973 of a document on basic principles of negotiations on the further limitation of strategic offensive arms by the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Talks will shortly begin on the reduction of arms and armed forces in central Europe, one of the most sensitive spots on the globe. Now it is time for an over-all settlement of the problem of nuclear weapons tests, with a view to extending the nuclear test ban to all environments and all nuclear States.

176. It is our firm conviction that a significant impetus for the solution of the complicated problems of disarmament could be given by the convening of a world disarmament conference, in which all countries, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, would participate on a basis of equality. Those States which try to hinder the implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolution, 2930 (XXVII), and the preparations for such a conference must bear a heavy responsibility. For that reason we believe that at the present session the General Assembly must take decisions which will make it possible to proceed immediately to practical preparations in order that a world conference may be convened in the near future. A similar appeal was made by the non-aligned countries meeting at Algiers.

177. The People's Republic of Bulgaria believes that the Security Council would be doing a great service in the cause of peace and the security of peoples if it accelerated the practical implementation of the solemn declaration on the non-use of nuclear weapons, adopted last year at the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.⁹ Only four countries voted against that declaration, and there cannot be any justification for delaying compliance with the recommendation of the General Assembly.

178. The strengthening of trust among States and the related possibility of implementing new measures in the field of disarmament offer prospects for freeing considerable human and material resources for the solution of the important and complicated economic and social problems confronting mankind. The new situation is unquestionably favourable for the elimination of fundamental obstacles that still hold back the normal development of international economic relations and for overcoming the economic and social lag of the developing countries and eliminating the unemployment and mass poverty that afflict millions of people in various parts of the globe.

179. We welcome with great satisfaction the new initiative of the Soviet Union concerning "Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and the use of part of the funds thus saved for the providing of assistance to developing

⁹ Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons (resolution 2936 (XXVII)).

countries" [2126th meeting] and also the appeal for reducing the military budgets of other States, particularly States with vast economic and military potential.

180. The significance and scope of this proposal are not hard to appreciate if we consider that in recent years the world's military expenditures have amounted to approximately \$200,000 million per year.

181. The merits of the measure proposed by the Soviet Union lie in the fact that it is clear, specific and feasible if the countries concerned are prepared to implement it. The peoples of the States participating in the budget reductions would also gain thereby. The developing countries would receive considerable additional assistance. The process of détente would be given a further strong impetus, and

opportunities would be opened for further effective measures in the disarmament field. For that reason, we support the inclusion of the new item 102 in the agenda of the current session and will co-operate in every way to help achieve the goals set out in it.

182. The new period in international relations offers the United Nations broad possibilities for realizing its full potential, as laid down in the Charter 28 years ago. Whether the United Nations will be equal to the demands of today will depend on what its Members actually do to convert the present favourable trends in the world into a permanent factor of contemporary international life.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.