

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



**2239th
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 23 September 1974,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Expression of sympathy in connexion with the recent hurricane in Honduras	73
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Walding (New Zealand)	73
Speech by Mr. Genscher (Federal Republic of Germany)	77
Speech by Mr. Soares (Portugal)	81
Speech by Mr. Borgonovo (El Salvador)	85
Speech by Mr. Karjalainen (Finland)	88
Speech by Mr. Mavros (Greece)	90

**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).**

*Expression of sympathy in connexion with
the recent hurricane in Honduras*

1. The **PRÉSIDENT** (*interpretation from French*): Before we continue the general debate, I should like, on behalf of all the members of the General Assembly, to express to the Government and people of Honduras our deep sympathy and solidarity in connexion with the terrible disaster caused by the hurricane that has devastated that country.

2. With your permission I shall now read out a telegram which, as President of the General Assembly, I have sent to the President of the Republic of Honduras:

"Mr. President: on behalf of the members of the United Nations General Assembly I wish to convey to the people of Honduras our profound sympathy in this hour of suffering after the terrible hurricane that has caused so much loss and destruction in your country. That disaster has been a source of very great concern to us all since the United Nations first learned of it. Now that the extent of the tragedy is known, I should like to take this opportunity to express our solidarity with the Government and people of Honduras."

I feel certain that all the nations represented here fully associate themselves with the feelings expressed in that message.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

3. Mr. **WALDING** (New Zealand): Mr. President, I congratulate you most warmly on your election to the President's chair, for which your qualities and long experience as Foreign Minister of your

country so admirably fit you. I wish you well in the direction of our business, which includes many important and some difficult issues. The year of your presidency will be an important year. We shall in fact be getting to grips with matters which are central to the future welfare, and even the existence, of human society.

4. First of all, I must speak of the recent tragic death of our beloved Prime Minister, Mr. Norman Kirk, who last year spoke for New Zealand in this debate. He was a good and humane man—a champion of the poor and the weak. We were deeply touched and comforted by the sympathy shown to us by people from all over the world at the time of our loss. Such solidarity occurs only when we lose a leader who has risen above local concerns, as he did—one who has worked to advance the cause of the whole human family. The response to his death suggests that multitudes hunger for new attitudes among the leaders of nations. New Zealand will miss him greatly. But my Government will still try to bring to reality his personal vision of a new world social and economic order. We shall continue to strive, as Mr. Kirk did, to translate into international terms the vision of a decent and humane society which motivates our policy at home. Our goal remains to help to harness the great resources and skills of the people of this planet, so that everyone, not just a few, will have a chance to live as human beings should. We shall continue to work to strengthen the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations and for protecting the rights of the smaller nations.

5. The last three years have witnessed a remarkable change in national attitudes. In 1972, the year of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm, the international community became aware of, and accepted the existence of, certain physical limits to economic growth: limits to the availability of natural resources and of food; limits to the amount of pollution that can be discharged into the environment before inevitable and unwelcome consequences follow. In 1973 the world began to receive sharp warnings of some of these physical limits, particularly in the supply of energy and of food. It became painfully apparent that our ability through existing institutions to make efficient and humane use of the world's talents and resources for the common good was more limited than we had thought—and more limited than we could put up with.

6. In 1974 it became obvious that the world had better make a more serious effort to understand the interdependence of all peoples and all States. At a number of historic conferences the nations at last started to study realistically the fundamental changes that will be needed if we are to bring about

the new order that the world requires—a new order that will ensure a more equitable use of the world's resources to meet the demands of the future. These conferences included the sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and development, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the World Population Conference, 1974, and, soon, the World Food Conference. The common theme of these conferences was, and will be, interdependence. Whatever subject is studied, the same lesson emerges: we are one people, we are all one of another; and if we ignore that truth all of us will suffer and none of us may have a future in any meaningful sense of the word at all. At one time only visionaries and preachers spoke in such terms. Now the message has spread to the so-called practical people.

7. Governments, in their concern about the state of the planet, are having to look up from problems of local tension and conflict—which are themselves hard enough to solve—and to face fundamental issues affecting the very survival of humanity. The great issues of today are population, food, energy, natural resources, the environment and the embracing need for an economic order which will enable all people to realize their full potential as human beings. For the immediate and foreseeable future these constitute the agenda—these will be the primary concerns of the international community and of the United Nations. Our success in dealing with them will largely determine the climate in which relations between States will develop in the next decade.

8. *Détente* is not just a question of political relations between the great Powers. True, *détente* must be based on a general acceptance of the interdependence of the great Powers and the small, of developed and developing nations. It must be based on the willingness of all of us to work together to solve the problems about which I have spoken. What alternative is in fact open to us?

9. To deal first with the subject of food, the shortage of food is growing worse. The international community has recognized the urgent need to act and to deal with the situation. Without food there can be no human energy. The World Food Conference will be a vitally important meeting. World food stocks have sunk to the lowest level in 50 years. We are now living literally on a hand-to-mouth basis. The assessment prepared for the World Food Conference has indicated that there will be a very significant food deficit in developing countries in the 1980s. Others have forecast the possibility of mass starvation by the end of the century. As a matter of immediate anxiety, a grave food shortage looms next winter. Weather conditions have reduced the harvests in the United States and Canada, and, therefore, the possibility of their being used, as they so often have been, as a backstop. The drought in the Sahel has brought famine to Africa. Further shortages seem likely to hit countries in Asia.

10. Weather is one cause of these troubles—but nations are also at fault. The institutions for producing and marketing and distributing food have failed us. Above all, they have failed those countries and those people on the lowest incomes. There is an enormous unused potential for food produc-

tion, but the international community has not yet devised ways of sharing its resources and skills for the benefit of all. The World Food Conference must provide the framework for such co-operation. If a crisis situation is developing, there will be a tendency to concentrate on short-term food aid. A world food security arrangement, which has so far eluded our efforts, is more necessary than ever before. We must ensure that arrangements are made for sufficient stores of food, so that people do not starve in the emergencies which past experience teaches us will unfortunately occur from time to time.

11. The world, however, cannot just rely on the traditional food producers. There is a fundamental imbalance in food production. The answer is not to produce more and more food in the rich countries and ship it off as aid to distant parts. We must give top priority to increasing national production in developing countries. In many regions there are untapped resources of land and water. These can and must be utilized to expand food production. It is essential that the World Food Conference produce arrangements that will transfer agricultural technology to developing countries and increase the supply of the agricultural inputs they must have: money, energy, fertilizer, seeds, chemicals and equipment.

12. Most of New Zealand's special expertise is in the varied field of agriculture. We have shaped our development assistance and technical co-operation according to programmes to make it available to others who need and want it. In the last year over 30 per cent of our bilateral aid involved the transfer of agricultural technology, materials, equipment and training. In providing this aid we are making a strong effort to ensure that it is practical and literally down to earth. Our friends in the South Pacific tell us that in the past years their islands have been nearly buried by feasibility studies, surveys and reports by international experts. They have been studied and surveyed beyond all bearing. What they want now is action. So do we. We do not underestimate the value of research. Our own agricultural success has depended on it very much indeed. But we think that if production is to be increased, as it should be, this will be done by men prepared to dirty their hands in the field, and not by those who polish the seat of a chair in a distant office. We for our part try to avoid inflicting on other people chair polishers disguised as experts. And we hope that the students from other countries whom we train in New Zealand will get the message that countries are developed only by hard work and effort, and that workers are deserving of equal respect whether they wear collars and ties or just shirts.

13. As a major agricultural exporter, New Zealand certainly shares the interest of developing countries and other States in the orderly marketing and distribution of food. We are constantly working for the elimination of barriers to trade and for the creation of stable markets at fair prices. Obviously in this area we are working in our own interest; but we believe also that we are working in the interests of others just as much as in our own. The World Food Conference should provide constructive guid-

ance to the multilateral trade negotiations at present under way. We hope it will also give the incentive to remove the present stumbling blocks to progress in these negotiations. This is an area of activity in negotiations in agricultural trade that is usually dull and hard, and greatly complicated by national politics. But if food is to be produced in much greater quantity—and it must be if the rapidly growing number of people are to be fed—we must get an imaginative breakthrough in this vital field.

14. I have spoken of our concern about the world food shortage. I have said that we wish to make available to developing countries the benefits of the technology and expertise that we have built up in our agriculturally-based economy. Together with our colleagues from Sri Lanka, we have promoted emergency arrangements to ensure that the countries most in need can obtain sufficient supplies of nitrogenous fertilizers at prices they can afford.

15. We are convinced that real and lasting progress can be made by developing countries only if aid policies are closely co-ordinated with trade and monetary policies. The sixth special session of the General Assembly was an historic event, in some ways a revolutionary event. Its consequences will work themselves out over many years.

16. But the most important revolutions, we believe, occur in men's minds, not in the streets. Colonialism collapsed in two decades because of a conviction that its day was over. As the cumulative result of years of effort in education, sometimes through oratory and pressure, the conscience dormant in most people was brought to life and even the colonial Powers came to share this conviction, some more slowly than others. But I believe that we are now on the brink of another and even more profound shift in attitudes. We are beginning to accept, not just in words, but through practical decisions, that all members of the world society in which we live have a just claim on the wealth and the more decent life that that society can make possible. To discuss a new economic order is now to discuss reality.

17. A momentum has been established. Much more discussion will no doubt be required before consensus is reached on specific actions and before the change in attitudes is complete. But to achieve this we have to keep up the momentum and concentrate the energies of the international community on a manageable, realistic field of action. For our part we would like to suggest that the Assembly at this session identify as priority tasks for the coming year the four main issues for priority action: food, trade access, reform of the monetary system and emergency assistance. We think it would be useful if at this session the Assembly directed the subsidiary organs of the United Nations to bear this in mind in drawing up their own agenda and work programmes.

18. At the sixth special session, the General Assembly established an emergency programme of measures to help the countries hardest hit by the economic situation [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*]. My country has allocated \$10 million for this programme. At the meeting to be held on 27 September on this subject I shall give more details of this contribu-

tion. However, we believe that a firmer basis should be established within the international community for providing large-scale emergency assistance whenever the need arises. We must have the means to avert the risk of the energy crisis or any other similar catastrophe creating a "fourth world" of countries so hopelessly placed that they are without any prospect of economic and social development for decades to come. My Government accepts that developing countries must increase their share of international trade, principally through improved access to the markets of the developed countries of the world. We support the generalized system of preferences and we are at present reviewing the New Zealand scheme with a view to introducing improvements into it.

19. New Zealand does not play a major role in the world financial institutions. But we have supported, and will continue to support, the principle that the developing countries should be full participants in discussions leading to major decisions on the international monetary order.

20. I turn now to disarmament. Against this background of human need, which all the speakers this morning touched on, it is surely tragic folly to squander resources at an ever-increasing rate to perfect weapons of destruction. We already have enough nuclear weaponry to obliterate all life from this earth several times over. Almost everyone says he wants to stop the arms race and to use the scarce resources that would be saved for constructive purposes: for aid and human welfare. Each year this Organization solemnly proclaims how essential it is that additional resources be devoted to economic and social development. Each year it proclaims the need for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. Yet each year its proclamations are ignored. We now watch with despair medium-sized and even small-sized Powers trying to follow the bad example of the great nuclear Powers.

21. Since the Assembly last met in regular session the tempo of nuclear-weapon testing has been stepped up. Two super-Powers have told us that a decade must elapse before they will be able to disentangle themselves from the spider's web of the arms race—a decade to strike what they choose to call "a strategic balance".

22. In the same time-span we face the prospect, even the certainty, if the international community does not act with vigour to prevent it, that there will be further additions to the nuclear club. Given the example set by the super-Powers—and I do not feel at all comfortable in lecturing others—we have to say that we completely reject the notion that the possession of these dreadful and suicidal weapons can in some way enhance a nation's status or security. On the contrary, the greater the number of States that possess such a capacity the more unstable the relationships between States will become and the greater will be the danger to world peace. We are deeply concerned that recent events may undermine the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*, *annex*]. Some find defects in this Treaty, but, despite, the defects, it does offer a path back to sanity and reason.

23. For many years the nations of the South Pacific have been close to the testing of nuclear weapons. Interested parties may argue that the tests are harmless, but those of us who have been closest to them are keenly aware of the dangers that testing poses for the human environment. We know that these tests can create anxiety and apprehension in ordinary people everywhere. We urge that this Assembly again assert, clearly and without equivocation, that testing in every form must be ended, soon, urgently, through a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The Assembly should act to advance the principles of the non-proliferation Treaty.

24. We believe that the Assembly should stand ready to encourage positive proposals from countries of a given region to increase regional stability and security. In recent years that search for international security and stability has been given new impetus through regional activities. New Zealand continues to see merit in this approach, and we urge outside States to co-operate fully in giving effect to these initiatives by smaller countries in various parts of the world.

25. I come now to the law of the sea. The law of the sea occupies a crucial place among the issues upon which the international community should focus most urgently in the coming year. In a world where population and resources press heavily upon one another, it is of critical importance to agree upon a just use of the resources of the oceans.

26. The session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held at Caracas this year was especially important for the countries of the South Pacific. It gave New Zealand and its neighbours a most welcome chance to stress the special dependence of small island nations on the sea. Island States such as those in the South Pacific are at a disadvantage: they are geographically remote and they have very few agricultural and mineral resources. The development of their nearby maritime areas represents one of the few ways in which they can hope to supplement their slender land resources. New Zealand was encouraged that at Caracas these special needs were generally recognized.

27. Much work remains to be done; but we were heartened by the progress made. For the first time we now have within reach the essentials of a new agreement on a 12-mile territorial sea and a 200-mile economic zone. Undoubtedly, there will be a great deal of hard negotiation to come before a fair and balanced agreement can be reached on all the major issues. New Zealand, as a coastal State, recognizes the just interests of others: of the land-locked States and of those with limited access to the resources of the sea. We recognize the just interests of all countries, but especially the developing countries, in preserving the "common heritage of mankind" in the resources of the deep sea-bed. We hope that all countries will look to the next session of the Conference, in 1975, as the stage at which compromises must be made. And we believe that, if approached in that spirit, the session will lead quickly to the final treaty.

28. I shall now speak of the South Pacific and Niue. In connexion with the South Pacific islands, but in a different context, we are pleased to note that

in a referendum on 3 September the people of Niue chose to become fully self-governing, in free association with New Zealand. On 19 October New Zealand and Niue will end their relationship of administering Power and Non-Self-Governing Territory; we will enter a new period of partnership on a basis of equality. As a self-governing State, Niue will take its place as a full member of the South Pacific Forum along with other independent and self-governing States in the Pacific, including Papua New Guinea. Niue's new Constitution contains my Government's assurance that New Zealand's economic assistance to Niue will continue as before. During the process of self-determination it has been helpful for the people of Niue, as well as for New Zealand, to have the United Nations constantly and closely involved.

29. New Zealand is conscious, as never before, of the importance of Africa on the world's stage. We see the need, not only for Africa but also in the wider interests of the international community, to find lasting and peaceful solutions to the problems of that continent.

30. It is understandable that the situation in southern Africa should be of such continuing concern to this Assembly. New Zealand stands solidly with the world community in rejecting the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa. My Prime Minister welcomed a recent opportunity to assure the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, Ambassador Ogbu of Nigeria, that New Zealand would continue its stand on sporting contacts with South Africa: South African teams will not be allowed to enter New Zealand, unless they represent a sport in which *apartheid* is not practised.

31. New Zealand also continues to offer practical support to the victims of *apartheid*: it contributes to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Trust Fund for Namibia.

32. In addition, my Government has decided to contribute more than \$200,000 over a two-year period to a joint project with UNICEF to provide humanitarian assistance through liberation movements for the tens of thousands of displaced persons from Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Angola who are at present living in Zambia. This money is given to supply drugs, vaccines, high-protein food supplements, agricultural tools and educational aid.

33. Before I conclude, may I express my Government's pleasure at the admission of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations. We welcome also the historic change which now allows us to look forward to the early admission of two other important African countries, Mozambique and Angola. Their accession to independence will mark a major step in the process of decolonization and a further major step in the liberation of Africa. It will bring us still closer to the full realization of the principle of universality, to which my Government attaches great importance.

34. I have said that the primary concerns of this Organization today are people, food, energy, natural resources, the environment and the need for a new economic order. These are universal con-

cerns; every nation has a duty to play its part in helping to solve them. New Zealand believes that all nations can best do this within the great family of the United Nations, accepting the obligations as well as the privileges of membership.

35. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):* Mr. President, let me begin by congratulating you warmly on your election to this high and responsible office. Your unanimous election is proof of the confidence placed in you and in your country and of the certainty that you will make this particularly important General Assembly session a success. To these congratulations I should like to add our sincere thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Benites. We were very happy to be able to begin our co-operation in the United Nations under his wise and experienced leadership.

36. I also wish to welcome most warmly the three new Members: Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. We are looking forward to co-operating closely and trustfully with these countries in the framework of our Organization.

37. The twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly is being held against a background of international events and developments which must be regarded as a challenge to political reason. We share the deep concern that permeates the introduction to the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/9601/Add.1]; despite intensive efforts to achieve *détente*, the number of conflicts involving the use of force is not on the decline; the global network of economic relations is in many places damaged, in some already torn: there is a shortage of raw materials, a struggle over prices; inflation and monetary fluctuations are driving us towards a crisis; the economic situation in some parts of the world has continued to deteriorate dramatically; hunger is still spreading. There are still people who are denied their elementary rights; the gap between the proclamation and the realization of human rights continues to be unbearably wide. Many people no longer believe that their problems can be settled by mutual agreement. This feeling of desperation not only breeds resignation and fatalism; it also generates action that is unjustifiable from any point of view, acts of individual terrorism in the shadow of which no country can feel safe—a terrorism that also leaves its mark on countries not involved.

38. But our chief concern must be to prevent any further breaking up of international solidarity and to reverse the process of disintegration.

39. The Federal Republic of Germany has gone through certain experiences which distinguish it from many other countries represented here and which determine the nature of our participation in the work of this great world Organization. With your permission I will mention those experiences, in order to illustrate that what we need today is not less but more international solidarity.

40. The Federal Republic of Germany emerged from a separation into states of the indivisible German nation. We are therefore more deeply con-

scious than others of the fact that States, however great may be their need for existence, are imperfect entities. Our citizens are less inclined to think in terms of nation-States, to regard their Government and their political institutions as the source of all wisdom and to believe that those institutions alone can cope with the massive problems inherent in the pursuit of peace, freedom, human dignity and welfare. We therefore view with concern the re-emerging tendency in some parts of the world to overrate oneself as a nation and the attempts of some countries to increase their prosperity at the expense of their neighbours—a procedure that has always resulted in the weakening of all. The Federal Republic of Germany therefore trains its policy on the objective of European unity. We are convinced that only a united Europe can effectively solve the existing political, economic and social problems confronting the member States of our Community. That Community is also willing to share responsibility for solving problems beyond its frontiers; the more closely it is knit together, the more it will be able to do in this respect. This morning [2238th meeting] my French colleague mentioned the request for the granting to the European Community of observer status in the United Nations. This request is further proof of a determination of the European Community to co-operate actively in the solution of world-wide tasks.

41. The other experience of the Germans has been that force, rather than solving problems, in fact makes them all that much more difficult to settle. Once reconciliation had been achieved with the neighbours in western Europe, especially with the French people, the Federal Government under the then Chancellor, Willy Brandt, and under my predecessor and now Federal President, Walter Scheel, concluded agreements on the renunciation of force with those countries from which we have been separated by a sorrowful past characterized by force and conflict. The Federal Government—and I can say this also on behalf of all responsible political forces in the Federal Republic of Germany—bases itself on the principle of the renunciation of force. As the United Nations Charter expressly lays down, peoples may and should, in the exercise of their free self-determination, manage their own affairs. This also implies, in our view, that divided countries may reunite if that is their own free decision and that nations may join supranational communities. But if force enters into the conduct of international relations, then it will be the seed from which ever more conflict and violence will spring, and consequently will be the source of distress, want and disaster.

42. Both these experiences, the imperfection of our States and the senselessness of force, have led the Federal Republic of Germany of necessity on to the road taken by this world Organization. Only by means of a well-structured international order can the people in our State systems find the framework within which they feel confident they can live in security.

43. On behalf of my country I speak up for the form of co-operation embracing all mankind, the most important model of which is the United Na-

* Mr. Genscher spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

tions—a form of co-operation which, though it is certainly a laborious and tedious way, is the only worthy one and promises to be more successful in the end. Peace, freedom, human dignity, welfare and a reliable system of international relations are indivisible.

44. Today more than at any other time in the past it is the political will for co-operation that counts. The international institutions cannot be stronger than that political will. This is a question not merely of being willing to play a constructive part in bringing about international treaties, but also of being resolved to comply with them.

45. This is the prerequisite for the working of that new form of international relations the development of which has governed the period since the Second world war which, we may hope, will also have been the last world war. It is a precondition which will have to be established in all countries, but not only on the part of governments.

46. I am deeply convinced that it is also the individual citizen in our countries who will have to develop a willingness to act in a way which I have tried to describe as international solidarity. The problems that have been the subject of United Nations conferences in past months and will be the subject of other conferences in the months ahead—for instance those on commodity and developing problems, population trends, the use of the high seas, and the world food problem—are matters which concern every individual. A government's sense of the common responsibility and its willingness to play a constructive part in resolving these problems depend on the degree of understanding of their peoples.

47. International co-operation in its multifarious forms has created a framework within which it has been possible to bring about extraordinary changes in the world in the past two and a half decades. Let me mention only two of those changes: the process of liberating the former colonial nations which is reflected most strikingly in this very Assembly where the original 51 members have now become 138; and the development by the United Nations of a peace-creating and peace-preserving policy, which has helped prevent the spread of local and regional conflicts.

48. Increasingly, doubts are being voiced today about those same international rules and organizations whose often quiet work in the background has made such developments at all possible.

49. On behalf of the Federal Government I would like to state the following.

50. We want to strengthen the United Nations and enhance its possibilities of action. Whatever its imperfections, there is no alternative to the United Nations. Those who have the peaceful development of mankind at heart must support it.

51. The tasks of the many regional groupings are complementary to the universal tasks of the United Nations. For us, the standing of the United Nations is not in any way lowered because of the fact that we are a member of a defence alliance, and that, together with others, we seek political and economic union in Europe. This diversity of international

groupings is commensurate with the diversity of international relations. This pattern is useful as long as no organization turns against others and as long as all respect the rules we have all agreed upon within this widest framework. My country will abide by both these principles.

52. Organizations are the work of men and, as such, imperfect; moreover, times and problems change. For the Federal Republic of Germany there is no reason to question the foundations of the existing international order. Rather, we have to develop its rules and institutions and adapt them to the new requirements. Let us join in studying all aspects of the United Nations system and considering where the Organization itself or the rules upon which it is based can be improved and its problems thus resolved. The Federal Republic of Germany will assist in such a review in the same spirit in which it is seeking within other organizations, especially GATT and IMF, to bring about an organic reform of the international system.

53. We shall have to examine very closely the forms of international co-operation we have developed to see whether they are suited to removing the causes of the crises that have arisen in many parts of the world. In the United Nations Charter the solution of world-wide economic, social and humanitarian problems receives the same priority as the aim of safeguarding peace. Both realms are indivisible. We know that peace is more than a state in which fighting may have stopped for a while. An international economic order embracing the principle of equality and partnership in trade relations also will in itself help to safeguard peace.

54. Those who still doubt the need for rapid action will have had their eyes opened by developments in the past 12 months. The prices of many major primary commodities have escalated in hitherto unknown proportions; energy prices have risen vertically. You all know the consequences: alarming balance-of-payments deficits on the one hand; vast surpluses on the other. This has piled plenty of additional fuel on the fire of world-wide inflation. Data which had served as a valid basis for economic planning were called into question overnight. In many countries there is a growing feeling of uncertainty in the face of an economic trend which appears less calculable than ever in the past. The consequences affect all. The difficulties facing the industrial countries are considerable, but they are not to be compared with those of the least developed countries, which are lacking in natural resources and whose very existence is threatened. We have to tighten our belts, but for them it is a question of survival.

55. This is a challenge which does not distinguish between different systems: it affects all nations, rich and poor, developing and industrialized.

56. I place very much weight on this point. An exacerbation of the conflict of interests between commodity-producing and industrialized countries not only creates problems between those directly concerned, but also strikes first and most tellingly at third countries. This kind of situation results in new tensions, and many countries would be sorely tempted to try to save their own skins without consideration for others. Let us guard against such a temptation.

Terrible experiences of the past have taught us that seeking refuge in economic isolationism does not remove the difficulty. On the contrary, world economic relations are so intertwined that action which is felt to be egotistical is bound to produce counter-measures. Consequently, the "every man for himself" approach leads straight to economic chaos and creates tensions between States and their peoples. What we want is just the opposite: we want to remove existing disparities, especially the gulf between developing and industrialized countries; we want to quell further conflicts; and we want to avoid the situation of some being entirely dependent on others. To achieve this aim we shall have to bring about a world-wide improvement of our economic and social structures; we shall have to boost productivity and encourage sensible growth without neglecting the task of protecting the environment—a task which has lost none of its urgency since the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in 1972. When the commodity-producing countries seek to obtain higher market prices for their raw materials, they must be assured that there will be no excessive price fluctuations in the commodity markets. At the same time, we must seek to ensure long-term supplies of those commodities. But in the interest of all we must make sure that the bigger proceeds from energy and raw materials are reasonably used and thus fed back into the international economy. The money should be used where it is most urgently needed.

57. We are prepared to help find solutions, both regional and world-wide, that will prevent any threats to the international monetary system.

58. At the sixth special session of the General Assembly last April the important dialogue on world-wide economic problems was begun. We shall have to continue that dialogue with much patience and resolution and with a good sense of judgement. No one will benefit from decisions that are not supported by all the world's major trading partners; no one will benefit from resolutions that question the world economic order based on division of labour and freedom of trade or that represent an attempt to replace such an order by a system of global *dirigisme*.

59. True, the present world economic system is not without defects and weaknesses. We must therefore develop it still further, improve it and adapt it to the needs of all nations. The Federal Republic of Germany has made specific contributions towards this end and is willing to carry on along this road.

60. We appreciate the need for the industrial countries to make their markets more accessible to products from the less-developed countries. The European Community, of which my country is a member, has been catering to this need for a good number of years by granting general tariff preferences. It is currently negotiating a comprehensive system of mutual economic relations with 44 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.

61. The Federal Government supports co-operative projects also by private companies in developing countries. It is trying by appropriate measures to steer investment activities towards the least-developed countries.

62. In recent years the Federal Government has constantly increased the share of its development aid that goes to those countries that are in special need of international solidarity, and it will continue to do so.

63. The Federal Republic of Germany has declared its readiness to provide, as a member of the European Community, a substantial contribution towards the emergency operation of the United Nations for the benefit of the most seriously affected countries, as soon as the other countries involved have agreed to play a corresponding part.

64. The Federal Republic of Germany is taking part in the fight against hunger in the world and in efforts to solve the world food crisis. Within the European Community, too, our contributions are sizable. We help supply fertilizers. The President of the United States of America [2234th meeting] and his Secretary of State [2238th meeting] have rightly re-emphasized before this Assembly the importance of this problem.

65. Higher commodity prices and the problems they entail confront us with tremendous economic difficulties. Nevertheless, the Federal Government will make special efforts to continue to increase its development aid. In the years ahead it intends to increase that aid at a higher percentage rate than the national budget as a whole. For 1975 this has already been decided. Multilateral aid will continue to feature prominently in our development-assistance programme.

66. We are making efforts to increase and intensify exchanges in the field of science and technology. All countries should have access to the scientific and technological resources of this world, so as to become more and more able to solve their problems on their own. This, too, is the aim of our projects in the sphere of educational aid. We welcome the idea of a United Nations conference on science and technology, and we shall do our best to encourage the promotion of that project.

67. Last year's events have once again thrown into relief the interdependence of the world economy and have made clear to us how sensitive the complex economic mechanisms of highly developed countries are. Even their capacity has its limits. Their economies can function only under their own laws, and domestic stability plays a great role in this. Only countries with a well-functioning economy can be good trading partners to developing countries; only they can help and, over the long term, attend to the problems of others beyond their own frontiers. Industrial countries with economies shaken by inflation are bound to lose in efficiency.

68. Hence, the results of the Federal Republic of Germany's consistent policy of domestic stability benefit others as well.

69. We are aware that the solution of economic and social problems is possible only when the political prerequisites are there, the most important being an all-out effort to ensure peace. This task remains the prime mission of the United Nations. We can note with satisfaction that in many parts of the world hard work is being done to eliminate conflicts and

tensions. To encourage and support those efforts is important.

70. With regard to peace and security, the obvious cases today are two areas whose conflicts have a direct bearing on us Europeans particularly; they are the Middle East and Cyprus. The conclusion of the disengagement agreements in the Middle East has generated new hopes for a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the conflict.

71. Such initial steps must be followed by others, in order to establish an equitable and lasting peace ensuring the existence of all States and peoples in that region while taking into consideration the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The progress made so far is an indication that even among the parties to the conflict the conviction has grown that a genuine solution can be attained by peaceful means only. The Federal Republic of Germany welcomes this development, in which the efforts made by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kissinger, played a decisive part.

72. Peace in the Middle East will set free powerful forces that can be harnessed to the reconstruction and development of the whole eastern and southern Mediterranean areas. The Federal Republic of Germany and its European partners will not fail to co-operate. By initiating a European-Arab dialogue, the nine members of the Community have already laid the first foundations for that great task.

73. The Federal Government most deeply deplores the recent events in Cyprus with its tragic consequences for the country and its people. We hope that those involved in the conflict will succeed soon in finding a negotiated settlement securing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and restoring to that country external and internal peace.

74. Both in the Middle East and in Cyprus the United Nations used its instruments to help in the efforts to bring about a cease-fire and make negotiations possible. I wish in this connexion to emphasize the valuable work done by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, to whom we owe appreciation and gratitude.

75. We thank the soldiers of the peace-keeping forces for their dedication in the service of the United Nations, and we pay a tribute to those who gave their lives in that service.

76. The Federal Republic of Germany recognizes the important functions of the peace-keeping forces and has therefore been supporting the actions in the Middle East and Cyprus by voluntary additional contributions. The efficiency and possibilities of action of the United Nations forces could be further enhanced if we succeeded in agreeing on general guidelines for peace-keeping operations. We should increase our efforts to bring about such an agreement.

77. What concrete contribution can we make to an active peace policy? The foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is geared to furthering *détente*. *Détente* in itself will not remove existing differences, nor automatically provide more security. But the policy of *détente* is an effective instrument in the efforts to eliminate old conflicts and prevent the emergence of new ones, and it is only

in an atmosphere of *détente* that efforts at arms limitation and arms control with due regard to security interests will make any sense at all.

78. The Federal Government includes in its policy of *détente* the most difficult and burning problem prevailing in Germany itself—the division of our country with all its painful consequences for the people. I wish to repeat what the Federal Government made clear at the twenty-eighth session [2119th meeting] from this rostrum. We cannot and will not accept the division as history's final dictum on the German nation. That dictum will be spoken by the German people themselves. The Federal Government sticks to its policy of working for a state of peace in Europe in which the German people will regain its unity in free self-determination.

79. This does not prevent us, however, from exhausting the full measure of co-operation attainable in the circumstances. This, our policy, has paved the way for contractually settled relations with the other German State, the German Democratic Republic. It has since been seen that co-operation between the States of a divided country in the United Nations is possible despite fundamental differences of political views, that it is beneficial for all, and—I should think—for the world Organization too.

80. *Détente* in Europe had to begin where differences clashed their hardest, that is, in Berlin. The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971 opened the way. Hence, one of the criteria by which to measure *détente* is the manner in which that Agreement works in all its parts. Berlin's secure future is an indispensable element of *détente* in Europe, and it remains a vital interest of our policy.

81. The Federal Republic of Germany wants to see the policy of *détente* effectively continued. It is in this spirit that the Federal Government co-operates actively and constructively in the Geneva Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and in the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. We do not seek advantages benefiting just one side; we seek a way that will facilitate the coexistence of nations on the crowded European continent, and it is our hope that these conferences will bring us nearer the time when, in Europe, a highly armed East and West will no longer confront each other.

82. We cannot and will not reconcile ourselves to the thought that the arms race—in which not only the great Powers participate—is being carried on and on. The economic resources of mankind must increasingly be used to put an end to hunger and misery in the world, but they should be concentrated on that task now, not after there has been a winner in the arms race.

83. That is why I feel that, even more than hitherto, we must seek practical, controlled measures of disarmament and arms control. As before, the Federal Republic of Germany is determined to contribute actively to this. Disarmament and arms control are an integral part of our policy. We are prepared to assume additional responsibility also in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and are

certain that we will have an opportunity to do so in the near future.

84. In this connexion I wish to underline the great importance which we attach to the policy of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Federal Republic of Germany intends to participate in the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons scheduled for 1975. It hopes that this will provide it with another opportunity to help oppose anything that might jeopardize the policy of non-proliferation.

85. In this General Assembly the Federal Republic of Germany focuses its special attention on three sets of problems of world-wide co-operation, namely, the strengthening of the international order and its institutions; the improvement of international economic relations in the spirit of partnership and solidarity; and concrete contributions to *détente* and disarmament with a view to ensuring a lasting peace. It does so in the awareness of, and with respect for, the expectations, the wishes, the hopes and longings of the people of the German nation and all other nations. All our endeavours are ultimately aimed at enhancing the welfare of each individual human being.

86. This idea leads us to a central aspect of the United Nations work to which this General Assembly should also devote its full attention. I mean the question of individual human rights, of the protection of the individual within the community, and I should like to warn against the illusion that it would suffice to guard the outward order by outward means against war and destruction. What we need is not just the formal recognition of human rights but also their universal acceptance and application so as to endow the outward measures for the preservation of peace with inner firmness and the power of conviction.

87. These are elementary rights which must be respected and applied all over the world: in Europe—and I mean all parts of Europe—no less than on other continents.

88. We expect that the entry into force of the two International Covenants on Human Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI)*] which the Federal Republic of Germany ratified in December 1973 will spark off fresh impulses.

89. As a new member of the Commission on Human Rights, we want to co-operate responsibly in that body's efforts to give effect to human rights. We want to help and do our best to ensure that the individual shall be protected both from arbitrary treatment by the State and from want, and that population groups shall be protected from discrimination on racial, religious, political and other grounds.

90. We welcome the decision of the Commission on Human Rights and its bodies to prepare studies on the subject of self-determination. The right of self-determination is a regulative principle to be applied not only in the sphere of decolonization or to one particular continent but in all parts of the world.

91. Self-determination and human rights are the central issues at stake also in southern Africa. The problems of decolonization and the elimination of

racial discrimination in that region will again be occupying the attention of this General Assembly. We have left no doubt about our attitude; we demand that any remaining colonialism be eliminated. We condemn all forms of racial discrimination. We can note today with satisfaction that since the last session of the General Assembly fundamental changes have begun.

92. We welcome Portugal's historic decision to recognize the independence of Guinea-Bissau and to open the road to independence for Mozambique and Angola. We see in this a confirmation of our view that courage, energy and wisdom can solve these problems too.

93. The guarantee of individual human rights, the total ban on racism in any form or place, and the achievement of the self-determination of nations are tasks which my people, prompted not the least by its own historic experience, would like to help to accomplish sincerely and energetically.

94. In his treatise *Of Eternal Peace*, written in 1795, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant, whose two hundred and fiftieth birthday we celebrate this year, drew up principles for international co-operation. These universal aims are also pursued by the United Nations. The principles which this Organization established for international coexistence almost three decades ago are today sure of world-wide recognition. However, while solemn declarations and resolutions are a good thing, we must do more. It will be the task of the General Assembly at the present session to give practical impetus, to point the way for our future work, so that by concrete measures—even if they are only small steps ahead—we come nearer to achieving the aims of the United Nations. At the end of this session of the General Assembly we shall be judged by the progress we have made along this path.

95. Mr. SOARES (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, speaking for the first time in the General Assembly, I feel a double satisfaction not simply because I represent here a new Portugal which has nothing to do with the one which was so repeatedly condemned in this Organization, but also because I have the opportunity to speak in a session presided over by you.

96. This new Portugal has ceased to be a hostile and silent country within the United Nations constantly refusing to fulfil its obligations. Today it is a country ready to participate fully in international life and to respect the recommendations of the United Nations and determined to re-enter in all good faith the community of nations, thus assuming the position to which its ancient culture and multi-secular history entitle it.

97. I am equally delighted at the welcome circumstance of your presence here as President of the twenty-ninth session of this Assembly. As a Portuguese and a freedom fighter, I, like so many of my fellow citizens, cannot forget that your country, Sir, generously welcomed many dozens of Portuguese expelled from their country by the oppression of the previous régime—people like General Humberto Delgado, later assassinated by Salazar's political police. We all have in mind the solidarity

of your Government with us in our struggle and the position of Algeria as a meeting point of the Mediterranean, Arab and African worlds and of a third world, so often misunderstood, whose voice has now come to be heard with ever more respect. For it was in your country that the decisive negotiations between representatives of the Portuguese Government and the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC] took place so successfully, resulting in the Algiers accords and thus putting an end to the war and to colonial domination in Guinea-Bissau.

98. I should also like to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Benites, for his excellent work which culminated in the important sixth special session of last April. Only last year, I had a welcome opportunity of visiting his beautiful country, and, apart from so many other things I learned there, I can state that the Galapagos Islands constitute an exemplary model of a balanced policy of ecological and environmental preservation—matters that cannot be overshadowed by the great economic and political problems of the world without endangering all human activity.

99. In the name of the new Portugal, which I represent here today, I wish to declare solemnly that henceforth we shall collaborate fully with the United Nations, to whose supreme ideals we now adhere without reservation, in the hope that we may be able to contribute in our modest way towards the building of a world of peace and understanding among nations.

100. Unfortunately, the oppression and obscurantism which prevailed in Portugal for almost 50 years have up to now impeded any fruitful co-operation and have resulted in the systematic disregard of the recommendations of the United Nations. This negative and unrealistic policy, which defied the comprehension of the real world, brought my country to a position of sterile isolation, thus subjecting the Portuguese to a veritable constraint. The dictator Salazar, in his absurd arrogance, even reached the point of proclaiming that we were "proudly alone" in the world. I wish to make it quite clear that the free and democratic Portugal which we are building now—with great difficulties certainly, but strengthened by the general confidence of our people—is now beginning to feel itself proudly accompanied. Indeed I see no better company for my country than that which it will find through intensely, faithfully and sincerely living the life of this international community which is the great family of the United Nations, an organization almost planetary in its universality.

101. From the very dawn of the first hopes born of the Atlantic Charter, born amidst the full horror of a devastating war, the first objective proclaimed was "to see the establishment of a peace which would create for all nations the means of living in security within their own boundaries and providing the assurance that all men in all countries would be able to live out their lives free from fear and want." To that end it was proposed that the nations create a centre designed to harmonize their activities, which would spread the practice of tolerance, good-neighbourliness and peace and security for all. This task

of the United Nations, despite difficulties and failures, has become better and better understood and realized in the sense that every year new countries join this Assembly.

102. At this twenty-ninth session we can express our gratification at the admission of three new Members: Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. Permit us, however, to express our particular pleasure at the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which Portugal is proud to see in this Assembly—a Portuguese-speaking country to which we are linked by such strong historical and socio-cultural ties. I feel particularly honoured to have participated personally in the process of the decolonization of Guinea-Bissau, a process which I hailed a year ago, with the unilateral proclamation of independence, and which now culminates with the entry of Guinea-Bissau into the United Nations. It can only be regretted—and I say this with a feeling of anguish—that this process of decolonization, so long delayed, has left behind it a long, useless war in which so many of the young men of both countries died or were left disabled, I can only hope that this blood so needlessly shed will serve to cement a future fraternal friendship between the two peoples, which gave so much of themselves to each other and which can benefit so much from close co-operation on the basis of mutual respect and absolute equality.

103. One of the concerns of the Government I represent in this Assembly was to draw the attention of its allies to the advantages of the immediate entry of Guinea-Bissau into the United Nations. It must indeed be recognized that during so many years of war and privation the PAIGC, whose leaders have demonstrated in so many instances their maturity and high sense of responsibility, practised, through the establishment of its own popularity and spirit of resistance, the principle of the self-determination of the people whom it unquestionably represents today.

104. Now I should like to address a word of special appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his persuasive personal action. His visit to Lisbon, in response to an invitation by the Portuguese Government, took place at a decisive phase in the process of decolonization and contributed a great deal to the acceleration of this process which today, in record time, has already yielded so many positive and concrete results.

105. None of this, however, would be possible if the changes caused by the military and popular movement of 25 April had not occurred in Portugal. Those changes have made it possible for the Portuguese people to construct a free and democratic country in which man's inalienable rights and fundamental liberties are respected, a country in which everyone works to bring about the reign of social justice.

106. The movement of 25 April was the result of a long and persistent struggle on the part of the Portuguese people against the tyranny and obscurantism of a dictatorial régime which made all decisions without ever consulting its citizens—an anachronistic régime which boasted of turning its back on the realities of the contemporary world and which,

never having wished to understand the interaction of political, social and economic phenomena in a world where such interdependence was increasing daily, made a *tabula rasa* of the major events of the second part of the twentieth century.

107. It was in the light of that state of affairs that the Portuguese people, without help from outside and counting only upon itself, engaged in a long battle which ended in the revolt of 25 April, launched by the young officers of the armed forces, conscientiously interpreting the dominant sentiments of the Portuguese people. The movement of 25 April 1974 thus revealed itself as a spontaneous and authentic movement of the people in arms and constituted, in the words of President Spínola, "a victory over ourselves, over our errors, over our contradictions".

108. Indeed this struggle acquired irresistible momentum, inasmuch as the colonial wars imposed upon the country by reactionary forces were prolonged, in defiance of good sense. Therefore it was the colonial wars which hastened the maturing and political awakening of the Portuguese and their armed forces. The latter, finally understanding that such a conflict could not yield a military solution, made apparent the uselessness of an aimless war. The officers and the soldiers realized that the solution to the wars born of Portugal's domination could be achieved only through a political act, requiring the replacement of the dictatorial régime by a democratic one.

109. In that context, the three principal objectives which the movement of 25 April proposed to achieve in the shortest possible time were as follows. First, the democratization of institutions through the holding of free elections on all levels of national and regional life. Legislative elections for a National Constituent Assembly will be held in March 1975, and we hope they will be exemplary in their freedom in so far as laws will guarantee, as they do already, freedom of thought, expression, press and assembly and the formation of political parties authentically representative of the differing options. Second, the rapid and reliable decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese administration, to be carried out in accord with the legitimate representatives of the will of the respective peoples and leading necessarily to independence. Third, the accelerated development of the country, whose economy has been overburdened by enormous, intolerable and unproductive spending designed to sustain the colonial war effort, which now will have to meet the high expenditures of peace and co-operation. In that context, Portugal would appeal to international solidarity. We welcome aid, facilities, investment and economic co-operation from all countries of the world, beginning, naturally, with our traditional allies and the European Common Market. In the light of its national interests, Portugal is open to such co-operation in order to free itself from atavistic conditions of under-development which persist in certain strangled areas of its economic and social structure.

110. I should like here to develop one of the three points relating to decolonization as it concerns a question which not only is of concern to Portugal but, in fact, has been and remains an object of profound interest to the international community.

111. Members may already know that on the very day the provisional Government was established in Portugal, immediately after I assumed my post as Minister for Foreign Affairs, I left for Dakar, where I had the first meeting with the PAIGC leaders, which opened up the possibility of a *de facto* cease-fire. There followed the talks in London and Algiers, which culminated in the signing, on 26 August last, of the Algiers accords. These accords definitively established recognition of the *de jure* independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, solemnly proclaimed in Lisbon on 10 September by the President of the Republic, General António de Spínola, thus assuring the transfer of power to the new State.

112. Between 16 May, when contacts between the two delegations were initiated, and 26 August, when the Algiers accords were signed, there elapsed little more than three months, a fact which indicates an undeniable willingness to conclude the process of decolonization and seems to us to be worthy of note in the light of the other examples of recent history and in the light of our own internal difficulties, which we have had to overcome.

113. With respect to the negotiations between the delegations of Portugal and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] concerning the future of Mozambique, it can be stated that the process has been carried out in a relatively short period of time, given the magnitude of the problems that were faced.

114. The High Commissioner of the Portuguese Government, representative of the Chief of State, has now assumed office in Mozambique and will guarantee—until 25 June 1975, the date set for independence—the functioning of a transitional government. The latter, composed of a majority of FRELIMO members and a number of Portuguese representatives, will—unless precipitate acts prejudice the future of an independent Mozambique—ensure the transfer of administration and of all State powers to the State.

115. It should be noted that each Territory under Portuguese administration is a separate case with its own special features, which must thus be considered in the light of those special features in a pragmatic and realistic manner. The case of Angola, for example, is one of enormous complexity because of various factors, the principal one being the diversity—indeed, the division—among the necessary partners in negotiations. It is also, of all the Territories under Portuguese colonial domination, the one with the largest population of European origin. Nevertheless, contacts have been made on various levels, not only with the liberation movements, but also with the leaders of neighbouring countries, and we are sure that in the case of Angola, as in the previous cases, the best possible solution will be found, a solution which assures an independent future free of colonial and neo-colonial pressures and promotes the progress and racial harmony of its people.

116. With respect to the other Territories, in accordance with the declaration made during the visit of the Secretary-General to Lisbon, Portugal has solemnly reaffirmed what its constitutional laws already guarantee: that it fully recognizes the right

of peoples to self-determination and independence. Portugal is therefore ready to apply the United Nations decisions to that effect, reaffirming also the fulfilment of its obligations arising from chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as those resolutions that refer to Territories under Portuguese administration.

117. Following the traditions of this Organization, and in accordance with the practice which seems most appropriate, the territorial integrity of the present colonies will be maintained during the process of decolonization. Thus, in a few months a free and democratic Portugal has given to the world irrefutable proof of its intentions—the sincerity of which can no longer possibly be doubted—and now presents itself to the international community with concrete and definite achievements to its credit in the area of decolonization.

118. Portugal wishes to put an end to the sad position of isolation to which the force of events had condemned it and declares itself ready to co-operate actively with all the countries of the world, regardless of their political and social systems or ideological preferences. Thus, and for the first time, Portugal comes to this rostrum with a sincere desire to integrate itself fully within the international community and to assume within it its proper place. I therefore call for the unreserved acceptance of the new Portugal by the community of nations, as is only just. I call, too, for the new Portugal to be able quickly to establish normal relations with all States without exception, and I should like to mention here as an example the desire, which I believe to be reciprocal, of the Portuguese and Indian peoples to see their old and fruitful relations restored on all levels.

119. The breaking off of relations with the Republic of India—the consequence of a conflict which could have been avoided had there been a minimum of flexibility on the part of Portugal—represents one of the consequences of colonialism. At the time when Portugal is now breaking definitively with its colonial past, the re-establishment of friendly relations with the Republic of India would constitute a great symbolic gesture.

120. Consequently, I believe that it would be unjust to continue to apply moral or other sanctions against my country, since, in a solemn declaration of faith, it proclaims its sincere adherence to the ideals of peace among all peoples and all nations and its unshakeable confidence in fraternal dialogue among all peoples; while at the same time it affirms unequivocally its desire for co-operation and for embarking upon mutually advantageous co-operation.

121. This profession of faith is quite clear and was laid down from the very beginning in the Programme of the Armed Forces Movement and in the Programme of the Provisional Government, released on 25 April, which enumerated the fundamental points of our foreign policy. Permit me to mention them here:

Respect for the principles of independence and equality among States and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Respect for current international treaties, especially the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and also trade and financial commitments undertaken previously; active contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

Intensification of trade and political relations with the countries of the European Economic Community.

Measures to strengthen the practical effectiveness of the Luso-Brazilian Community.

Maintenance of links with the United Kingdom, Portugal's oldest ally.

Continued good-neighbourly relations with Spain.

Greater solidarity with the Latin countries in Europe and the Americas.

Maintenance of our traditional friendship with the United States of America.

Creation of diplomatic and trade relations with all the countries of the world.

Renewing of historical relations with the Arab countries.

Revision of the information policy in foreign countries.

Cultural and social support for the Portuguese communities scattered throughout the world.

Definition of a realistic policy towards the third-world countries.

Participation in, and active co-operation with, the United Nations and, in general, with international organizations of co-operation.

122. In accordance with those principles, we feel entitled to hope that the United Nations and the specialized agencies will lift the embargoes and restrictions which hitherto have affected Portugal and will henceforth promote the participation of Portuguese representatives in bodies from which they have been excluded for so many years.

123. All around us, despite the efforts of the United Nations to avoid conflicts and wars, there are arising in various places confrontation resulting from inequalities among people, from ambitions to dominate, from social and other injustices and from racism and colonialism. Portugal, a renewed and developing country, a country without any thirst for power, which has begun to undertake, with the courage it has found in its own people, the gigantic task of peace, voices the hope that all the nations of the world will refrain from conflicts which can solve nothing.

124. It is indispensable for a formula to be found which will make possible the diversion of the astronomical sums of money designed for armaments—so often a total waste—to the accelerated development of the less favoured nations. Reconsidering the General Assembly's resolution proposing that each country apportion 10 per cent of its arms expenditure to aid economic growth [*resolution 3093 (XXVIII)*], we would like to suggest that apart from this minimal contribution—which the majority have not made—a fund could be created, the size of which would correspond to the development needs of the third-world countries, which are so poor. More than agreement for the partial reduction of certain weap-

ons, more than promises of *détente*, which are also important, it is development and it is the gradual reduction of the gap dividing the poorer countries of the world from the industrialized countries which will contribute most towards peace between men.

125. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which is continuing in Geneva, is making a praiseworthy effort to bring about a climate of *détente*. Portugal, within the measure of its own modest influence, will seek to contribute towards this *détente*, and, to that end, has already established normal relations with the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. But beyond European *détente*, I am thinking now of world *détente* which requires from all of us a moment of reflection on the oneness of the human race, so rich in its diversity.

126. The cosmic and planetary man of the centuries to come cannot afford to be divided by the differences of race, creed and ideology which today confront the world and diminish it. Portugal, so many centuries old, a pioneer in contacts between the most varied civilizations, turns towards the horizon of the year 2000 with the hope that humanity will awake to its common origin and its common destiny.

127. The Portuguese people, free from the burdens of internal oppression and colonial domination, have recovered their traditional character and their universal humanism which, in the perhaps somewhat exaggerated words of Arnold Toynbee, has brought them to do "more for human brotherhood than any other people".

128. I cannot help but think of the violation of human rights still frequent in so many countries which have subscribed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but which do not respect it in their every-day practice. That was the case in Portugal itself only a few months ago. In this regard, the Portuguese Government declares itself opposed to all forms of oppression and racial discrimination, and, though it holds as fundamental the rule of non-intervention in the affairs of other States, it cannot but condemn most categorically the existence and perpetuation of discriminatory social systems such as *apartheid*.

129. As I have said, I believe that the problems posed by international insecurity result above all from an unjust distribution of the world's wealth, a reflection, certainly, of natural conditions, but also of old injustices which so many peoples throughout history have had to suffer. We cannot allow the world to continue to be divided into two hemispheres: the developed and the under-developed, the latter providing raw materials and receiving, in the form of all kinds of discriminatory measures, nothing but humiliation.

130. As became so obvious during the sixth special session in April, machinery must urgently be created, at the global level, to diminish the imbalance between rich and poor countries. Portugal—situated at the cross-roads of the world, a European country and a country which has so many ancient links with Africa, a European country but so close, by the very character of its people, to the third world, a country facing the sea, a sea which will be

the road of the future as it was in the past—knows that development is the new name of peace, as was so well stated by Pope Paul VI. And this peace, as we know, will be obtained only when we have eliminated the great imbalances among peoples.

131. Before concluding, I would like to salute our brother countries in Latin America, pioneers in anti-colonialism, with which we are linked by so many historical ties—and this is something I am compelled to mention today. I trust you will understand me if I address myself particularly to Brazil, with which we are connected by undying affinities of history, culture, sentiment and humanity, and with which we form a linguistic and cultural community, the development of which will yield many advantages to the international community.

132. My last words will, however, be for Africa, a continent with which Portugal has always maintained special relations, unhappily affected in recent years by a stupid colonial war, which is now happily being brought to an end. Permit me, therefore, to issue a call for reconciliation and the re-establishment of the most fraternal relations between Africa and the new Portugal, the new Portugal where Africa will always find support and aid. In that continent, where we follow so attentively the co-ordination of interests and efforts through that great regional organization—the Organization of African Unity [OAU]—there live Portuguese-speaking peoples, who populate new and important countries that can benefit from the maintenance of close ties of co-operation among themselves. Similar ties of co-operation are being formed and developed with Portugal, on the basis of equality, fraternity and strict respect for the independence of each country.

133. Ties should be formed also with other countries of Africa with which Portugal desires to establish solid links of co-operation and friendship. Since there is no danger of the creation on the part of a country like Portugal—which has no ambition for power—of ambiguous relations of a neo-colonialist type, relations that in any case the Portuguese socio-economic structure could never permit, my country will be able to rediscover its vocation as a meeting ground between two worlds and might even become an exemplary connecting link between Europe and Africa.

134. Mr. BORGONOVO (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, it is a source of particular satisfaction and a great honour for me to start my statement in the general debate in this Assembly by expressing to you, on behalf of my Government and my delegation and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations on the significant manner in which this supreme body of our Organization elected you President of its twenty-ninth session. Your vast knowledge, experience and diplomatic skills constitute the best guarantee for the successful conclusion of the work of this Assembly. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Leopoldo Benites most sincerely on the most skilful manner in which he presided over the work of the last regular session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

135. It is with similar satisfaction that I express my most affectionate welcome to the States of Bang-

ladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau, which have now entered the United Nations. We are convinced that their participation in this world forum will make an effective contribution to the cause of maintaining and strengthening world peace.

136. In the present general debate, as it has done in past ones, the State of El Salvador wishes, through me, to state its views on some far-reaching aspects of contemporary international realities so as to contribute to the efforts exerted by the United Nations in its struggle to achieve a better world for all mankind.

137. The economic problems which beset the world society have become a grave crisis, and the present channels of co-operation and exchange do not meet the needs of a mankind which is in the process of unparalleled economic and social change. The widening gulf between developed and developing countries makes it urgently necessary to seek effective, practical, generally-accepted solutions. Adequate ways can be found if we manage to determine the reciprocal advantages which the developed and developing countries would derive if the latter improved their level of economic progress.

138. The establishment of points of common interest may be the basis for the developed countries to manifest the political will to co-operate in the efforts to develop the backward countries. That political will is necessary for the viability of measures taken in response to the shortcomings of the world economic system. But we believe that there is at present no such political will of sufficient magnitude.

139. In connexion with the foregoing, it is most important to mention the results and projections of that great international event, the recently-held second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held in Caracas from 20 June to 29 August of this year. The facilities for that Conference were provided by the Government of Venezuela, which also created an atmosphere of confidence and friendship propitious for the success of its work. It was in Caracas that we started work on matters of substance, since the first session, held in New York in December 1973, was devoted to organizational and procedural questions.

140. The 10 weeks in Caracas resulted in the establishment of the bases for negotiation, which, we hope, will culminate in a general agreement in 1975. Indeed, it must be remembered that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction had to pass over the preparatory work for the Conference; accordingly, in Caracas not only was that gap filled, but, furthermore, the channels of dialogue were vastly improved as we delved more deeply that ever into the thorniest subjects, observing in the process that positions which had been very divergent in the past tended almost to converge. More eloquently than is reflected in its records, the Conference proved that in the years that have elapsed since 1967, when the United Nations launched the great theme of the international zone of the seabed as a common heritage of mankind, there has been a ripening of the general conditions necessary to produce a general agreement establishing a new régime for the seas based on the equality of States,

their real claims to their marine resources, and the linking of these to the great problems of development which the international community has yet to solve.

141. It must be pointed out that the purpose of the Conference is not to alter the bases of the 1958 Conference but to establish a new régime for the seas which will be in accord with the principles of justice as required in the present-day world.

142. Among the achievements of the Caracas Conference there is the broad support which, regardless of geographical groupings, was obtained for the concept of the right of the coastal State to a zone adjacent to its coast not to exceed 200 miles. The battle waged for three decades by the Latin American countries is thus about to bear fruit. With that prospect, we are warranted in trusting that the third and fourth stages of the Conference, in which we have high hopes, will recognize not only the interests of the great maritime Powers but also the just aspirations of the developing countries.

143. Praiseworthy too are the repeated efforts of the United Nations in other areas to contribute to the reformulation and eventual solution of the most important world problems. Thus, this year it went into the population problem in depth and in breadth at the World Population Conference, 1974. This is of the utmost importance, since the real effects of the problem have not yet been fully evaluated.

144. Population growth, to a considerable extent, determines the process and strategy of development. World-wide co-operation is indispensable so that the effect of this phenomenon on social life will be positive and not constitute a barrier. Population policy must be based on respect for the freedom of man and on the particular circumstances of each country.

145. El Salvador reiterates its special interest in the progress of the work of formulating a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the main objective of which will be the rule of justice and equity in international economic relations. That instrument could contribute to bringing about a more rational distribution of wealth among countries, on the basis of possible common benefits and the elimination of barriers to international trade. In that line of thought, El Salvador considers it important that we study the desirability of setting up a council of economic security which would promote international economic justice as the supreme good.

146. The year 1974 has been marked by events with delayed and complex consequences in international relations and in the life of each and every one of the States grouped together under the aegis of the United Nations. The holding of the sixth special session of the General Assembly was the organized response of the international community to the energy crisis, to the growing deterioration in the terms of trade between the industrialized and developing countries and to the export of inflationary elements by the highly developed countries.

147. The energy crisis started with a shortage of fuel, that almost instantaneously rose in price, draining the foreign exchange reserves of many countries and producing a radical imbalance in the balance

of payments, which in turn forced a readjustment in imports and the adoption of extreme economic measures of austerity. A chain of repercussions shook to the very core the economies of many countries: social disquiet, development plans which became mere good intentions, growing disorder in monetary parities and new elements in the vertiginous growth of inflation.

148. On 1 May 1974, the General Assembly adopted two most important resolutions: the Declaration [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] and Programme of Action [resolution 3202 (S-VI)] on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. These resolutions are significant milestones in the process of readjusting international economic relations. Yet, the lack of support on the part of key countries for their implementation that appeared at the 2231st meeting, the last of the sixth special session, jeopardizes the results.

149. What is to be obtained as a result of that special session is as yet uncertain. Nevertheless, the *Ad hoc* Committee on the Special Programme established by resolution 3202 (S-VI), which is charged with implementing the resolutions, can play a valuable role in obtaining the needed support to make of these resolutions a real basis for international economic relations.

150. Two facts are to be emphasized in connexion with the sixth special session of the General Assembly: the maintenance of solidarity among the Group of 77 developing countries which sustain their community of interests vis-à-vis the industrialized countries, despite recent imbalances that were rendered more acute by external pressures on petroleum importers; and the negotiation, of an almost bilateral character, between the Group of 77 and the industrialized countries, which is proof of the enormous importance in world politics of co-ordination among the developing countries.

151. While the General Assembly opens the way to economic relations, positive political achievements have lessened tensions and indirectly assisted in the formation of new international economic relations. Among these positive achievements, which are so promising in 1974, the agreement on the disengagement of troops in the Near East and Portugal's correction of its African policy should be noted. No one can reverse the process of decolonization. An end to the practices of *apartheid* and discrimination has been emphasized in General Assembly resolutions as a political condition for new international economic relations.

152. Since nuclei of colonialism still exist, it is appropriate for El Salvador emphatically to proclaim its support for the cause of anti-colonialism. Within the colonial system are included both the direct expressions of colonialism, which are clearly becoming fewer and the more subtle forms disguised by various methods and strategies. Claims against colonialism, in their focus, must assume various forms. It is to be hoped that in those regions where the burden of colonialism subsists, the principle of liberty will be claimed without losing sight of the fact that in every case and circumstance the idea of liberty without an economic basis lacks meaning, because it is only a liberty to enjoy what one has not and what,

if the present international economic relations are maintained, one will never have.

153. On the other hand, in General Assembly resolution 2919 (XXVII) of 15 November 1972 the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was proclaimed, and its activities were inaugurated on 10 December 1973, when we commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That resolution is of historic significance because it clearly states the will of all peoples to eliminate racial discrimination. Such discrimination is an anachronism which denies freedom and can only be overcome if we turn our eyes towards the full observance of human rights and direct international action to that end. We know that this is a responsibility with which the United Nations has been charged since its inception. But we must renew our faith in so laudable an objective.

154. Since the United Nations is committed in various provisions of its Charter to attain and preserve human rights throughout the world, it must have the necessary instrument to discharge this duty fully. It is true that it is a valid legal concept that the establishment or restoration of human rights calls for priority in international action—action on whose effectiveness the establishment of a firm peace throughout the world largely depends.

155. We must single out the praiseworthy work of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, which has submitted its final report to the General Assembly [A/9619 and Corr.1]. Aggression has been a subject for study almost since the very beginning of the United Nations, first under the responsibility of the International Law Commission, and later under the aforementioned Special Committee. It should be pointed out that the Special Committee, for methodological reasons, restricted itself in its work to direct aggression, as it indicated in one of its annual reports. Accordingly, there is lacking any consideration of the type of aggression most frequent in the twentieth century, namely economic aggression.

156. We recognize the progress achieved in this delicate matter, but we note that at present there are ever fewer cases of armed aggression and more and more cases of economic aggression. To reduce agreement to something which is historically in a process of debilitation while ignoring something that is increasing would be to perform something less than a service to the international community. Achievement of this end must be considered a first step, one to be completed with steps that will give real dimension and content to the first one.

157. The draft definition of aggression submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression [*ibid.*, para. 22] makes no reference, not even the slightest, to the very important circumstance that aggression includes two types, direct and indirect, as the Special Committee itself took into consideration in the course of its labours and as is evident in its previous reports. The proposal is conceived in terms which suggest that direct aggression is the only possible type of aggression. It was to be expected that the final report of the Special Committee would be consistent with

the methodological principles that it had adopted for the discharge of its mandate. It could have recalled what happened with indirect aggression, particularly with economic aggression, in the course of the agreements among the contact groups representing the three principal proposals that were submitted to the Special Committee. The concept of the articles proposed, presented in apparently unconditioned and exhaustive terms, converts all possible aggression into direct aggression consisting in the use of armed force, and, taking a part for the whole, weakens the positive value of the agreement obtained. That outcome favours the great Powers, because in the present state of international relations the cases mentioned in the report have almost ceased to occur; meanwhile indirect aggression, in its various forms and gradations, remains in the shadows, in a sort of political limbo. It seems necessary to draw the attention of this Assembly to the fact that the definition proposed should be set out in dimensions appropriate to its nature and purposes.

158. I conclude these words by pointing out that the grief at this time being felt by all the countries of Central America serves to awaken feelings of solidarity that at times are momentarily forgotten. Though the enormity of the disasters varies, El Salvador shares with its sister Republics of Central America the same sufferings, a point which may itself be regarded as a promising factor for better understanding.

159. Mr. KARJALAINEN (Finland): Mr. President, I have the great honour of congratulating you, on behalf of the Finnish Government, on your election to the office of President. We know you as a highly respected representative from the continent of Africa. Algeria has, over the years, assumed an active role among the developing countries and within the group of non-aligned States. It was at the initiative of President Houari Boumediène that the General Assembly was convened last spring in its historic sixth special session, a session devoted, for the first time, exclusively to development and economic problems. It is therefore most fitting that the Assembly has elected you to preside over this regular session.

160. I have referred to the special session on raw materials and development. That event was indeed a milestone. It was above all a manifestation of the interdependence among all nations and the necessity for co-operation. This was plainly recognized in the Declaration proclaiming the determination of the Members of the United Nations to work jointly for the establishment of a new international economic order. The Finnish Government has stated its adherence to that Declaration. It also strongly supports the Programme of Action, which contains a long-term framework for the achievement of a new economic order. We furthermore consider it imperative to assure that sufficient resources, both material and human, are made available to the Secretary-General to meet the new demands now being made on the United Nations itself.

161. The most important result of the special session was that it forced into the open a thorough re-evaluation of the whole foundation of international economic relations and the staggering problems that

face mankind today. It is now generally recognized that only through intensified co-operation and by taking into account the interests of all nations can we save the world from political and economic disruption. The United Nations must now respond swiftly, effectively and in a co-ordinated fashion.

162. The convening this year of three major United Nations conferences—one on the law of the sea, one on population, and one on the world's food problems—is proof of the need to give to the most pressing questions the thorough consideration and worldwide attention they deserve. All these issues are, however, interlinked and can no longer be dealt with in isolation. A feature common to all of them is their vital importance to each nation. We must find a common solution which, regardless of the basic nature of the problem concerned, must be a political one.

163. Against the background of these profound changes and challenges in political, economic and social relations among States, it is obvious that the special session of the Assembly next year will be of very great significance. It is therefore urgent that the preparations for that session be now initiated. The Finnish Government considers that the work of the United Nations to meet these formidable challenges is an integral part of our efforts to achieve the primary goal of the Charter, the preservation of international peace and security. The United Nations has indeed become indispensable in our striving to avert the scourge of war, to guarantee fundamental human rights and to promote economic and social progress.

164. Finland has consistently stressed the importance of improvements in relations between the major Powers. At the same time, we have stated that *détente*, in order to be genuine, must take into account the interests of all Members of this Organization. In order fully to exploit the existing momentum of *détente*, it is necessary to define and develop new methods and approaches for the further relaxation of tensions in international relations.

165. In this context, the Finnish Government is gratified to see that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe that is now in its second stage in Geneva has already made important headway. Although much remains to be done, we believe that we can already see emerging an outline of a new set of rules of conduct to guide relations among the participating States. The fact that all the participants recognize each other's equality and that they pursue their common ends, not with the aim of isolation but with full awareness of their responsibilities towards all Members of the United Nations, should constitute an important contribution to world peace and security. The Conference is, we believe, now approaching its conclusion and it is our hope that its results will be greeted as a significant step in the development of relations among the participating States. That would, in our opinion, fully justify the holding of the final stage of the Conference on the highest level.

166. A main area in which *détente* should bring new potentialities is disarmament. Nevertheless, in the past year no major step forward has been taken. The important work of the Conference of the Com-

mittee on Disarmament has regrettably not been translated into draft agreements on a comprehensive test ban or the prohibition of chemical weapons. On the other hand, we have been encouraged by the resumption of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the USSR. We earnestly hope that the basis for agreement in this area can soon be broadened. This would in turn create new impetus for other measures in this crucial field to bring world peace and security.

167. The Finnish Government has carefully followed the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference. We welcome the fact that all nuclear Powers have made their contribution to this work. We have noted with satisfaction that the Committee has succeeded in adopting realistic working methods, and we hope that our deliberations during this session will in turn lead to further progress.

168. In searching for ways further to relax international tension, the Finnish Government considers the idea of creating nuclear-free zones a constructive one. In fact, several years ago President Kekkonen of Finland advanced the suggestion that the Nordic countries could form such a zone. His initiative was based on the fact that at present the Nordic countries remain free of nuclear weapons and that all of them have adhered to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. I have noted the words of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization that the initiatives concerning nuclear-free zones are not only a useful but a necessary part of our search for universal disarmament [see A/9601/Add.1, sect. X]. In this context, my delegation welcomes the two new initiatives on nuclear-free zones presented to this Assembly [see A/9909 and A/9911]. Likewise, the proposal on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and the climate for military and other purposes merits constructive discussion, as it widens the scope of disarmament efforts.

169. The international community has not been spared wars and human suffering. The situation, especially in the Middle East, remains potentially dangerous. Therefore, my Government urges the parties concerned and the great Powers to do their utmost to create the necessary conditions for a just and lasting political settlement, taking into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

170. On the question of Cyprus, the Finnish Government appeals to all parties concerned to abandon the use of force and, instead, to choose the road of negotiation in order to achieve a peaceful solution based on the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus. As an immediate step it is necessary that all parties, in accordance with their obligations under the Charter, fully respect and comply with the resolutions of the Security Council. Equally important is the full respect on the part of all concerned for humanitarian values.

171. The Finnish Government gives its full support to the efforts made and services provided by the Security Council and the Secretary-General, both in the Middle East and in Cyprus. United Nations peace-keeping activities in both areas have been indispensable for the implementation of the Security

Council resolutions and the agreements negotiated between the parties. The latest developments in peace-keeping activities give us some hope that broad guidelines for United Nations peace-keeping operations may soon be agreed on.

172. My delegation is seriously concerned that the necessary firm arrangements for the financing of the United Nations peace-keeping operations are still lacking. As a small nation, we Finns strongly believe that peace-keeping is the common responsibility of the entire membership of the United Nations. This fundamental and fair principle should be the starting-point when we try to agree on the financial aspects of peace-keeping.

173. My Government is concerned that serious violations of basic human rights still occur in various parts of the world. In particular, I would address a strong appeal to the Chilean Government to cease the persecution of political opponents and to set political prisoners free.

174. On our road to decolonization, the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the agreed, future independence of Mozambique are great achievements. The firm and resolute will for independence on the part of the African liberation movements, and also their willingness fully to use all possibilities for peaceful settlement, combined with the policy of the new Portuguese Government, have opened the way to full sovereignty for these Territories without further violence. We sincerely hope that the same attitude will prevail in the case of Angola, so that the people of that Territory may accede to independence without further delay and in a peaceful manner.

175. Despite these positive developments, southern Africa remains a potential crisis area. Again, I became aware of this during my recent visit to several African countries. The Finnish Government has consistently condemned the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa. Likewise, we deny the legality of the Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia. The United Nations must now turn all its efforts against these last remnants of colonialism and racism in Africa. On behalf of my Government, I pledge our full support to these efforts.

176. Special ties and feelings of sympathy link Finland to the Namibian people. My Government has always been active in seeking ways and means by which the direct responsibility of this Organization for Namibia could be exercised and the cause of the self-determination of the Namibian people advanced. We shall continue our efforts in this regard. It is in this spirit—and yet another step in our consistent support for decolonization—that my Government has decided to seek membership on the United Nations Council for Namibia.

177. This year we have again advanced towards the universality of this Organization by admitting three new Members to the United Nations. The Finnish Government welcomes the membership of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. We are convinced that the participation of these States in our work will be of greatest value. That these three States, as one of their first international actions, applied for membership in the United Nations strength-

ens our conviction that this Organization is an indispensable forum where nations together can seek solutions to common problems in the spirit of true interdependence.

178. Mr. MAVROS (Greece): Mr. President, on behalf of the Greek Government, and on my own behalf, I should like to express our deep feelings of satisfaction at your election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. These feelings are even more profound because the work of this Assembly will be conducted by one of the outstanding pioneers of the non-aligned countries and movement and, at the same time, by an inspired promoter of the idea of a sincere and close political co-operation among the Mediterranean countries.

179. In view of the traditionally friendly relations between our two countries, Mr. President, I hardly need to assure you that the Greek delegation will spare no effort in order to assist you in the fulfilment of your difficult task.

180. I should also like to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Benites of Ecuador, for the efficient manner in which he carried out his duties. Mr. Benites not only showed an exceptional diplomatic skill throughout a year marked by many complex international problems but also presided with great success over the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

181. My delegation would like also to pay a special tribute to the unremitting efforts of the Secretary-General to attain the objectives of the Organization and to ensure the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

182. Furthermore, I should like to welcome, on behalf of my Government, the admission of three new Member States to the Organization. Greece wants to extend to the Governments of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau its sincere congratulations and its best wishes for their progress and prosperity.

183. I shall now proceed to express the views of my Government with respect to some of the main items on our agenda. It is obvious that the new Government of Greece, which enjoys the widest possible popular support and expresses the democratic aspirations of our people, will have to reassess some fundamental aspects of our foreign policy in the light of developments which have taken place within and outside our country. The Greek Government is convinced that differences in the political and social systems among countries constitute no obstacle to the promotion and development of friendly relations among States. We consider that these relations can be easily extended to a wide range of co-operation in various fields of activity within or outside the context of multilateral relations in the United Nations and other international bodies.

184. We believe in the principles which are the foundation of this Organization and the only source of hope for the maintenance of peace and security in the world. These principles are: respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States; non-interference in the domestic affairs of others; and condemnation of every kind of impe-

rialism, expansionism and colonialism, especially in their most recent forms, and most particularly of economic imperialism, chauvinistic expansionism or disguised colonialism.

185. We now wish to turn to another item which has been on the agenda since the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly—the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted at the twenty-fifth session [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. This text could by itself prove—if proof were needed—that the Organization is short neither of good ideas nor of noble ideals. What the Organization is short of is the will of some of its Members to implement the ideals and the political courage to avoid the use or threat of force in international disputes.

186. Paragraph 1 of the Declaration solemnly reaffirms:

“the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development or political, economic and social systems and declares that the breach of these principles cannot be justified in any circumstances whatsoever”.

187. Paragraph 2 calls upon all States to refrain “from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State”.

188. Paragraph 3 solemnly reaffirms:

“that, in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the Charter shall prevail”.

189. Paragraph 5 solemnly reaffirms, among other things:

“that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognized as legal . . .”.

190. I have quoted a small part of the Declaration only to stress from this rostrum that there is no need to adopt any new texts for many decades to come if we are all prepared to abide by those already existing. That is why my delegation is in favour of emphasizing the need for every Member State to apply strictly the principles of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in every respect and in all cases.

191. We think that the same remarks should be repeated in connexion with another item on the agenda, the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in contemporary international relations. To try to find ways and procedures for enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations resolutions is tantamount to searching for the “golden mean” between obsolete extreme nationalism and the still non-accessible ideal of a central international authority.

192. Greece has supported the initiative of the Romanian Government in respect of this item of the agenda¹ since its inception. We now more than ever think that the role of the United Nations should be

reinforced, especially in the highly sensitive region of Cyprus and in the Middle East. I shall deal later in this intervention with the present situation in Cyprus and in the neighbouring region, a situation entailing serious risks for international peace and security.

193. My delegation was gratified to read in the introduction to the Secretary-general's report on the work of the Organization [see A/9601/Add.1, sect. VIII] that some progress had been made in the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, despite the complexity of the issues involved. We also noted with satisfaction that the same Committee and its Working Group continued their efforts to work out agreed guidelines for the purpose of carrying out peace-keeping operations.

194. In the opinion of my delegation, supported by the recent experience of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP], any peace-keeping operation, in order to be successful, should be predicated on the following conditions and guarantees. First, there should be powerful enough and efficient peace-keeping forces. Second, it should be strictly forbidden for any national military force to attack or to exert pressure against the peace-keeping forces. A system should be set up permitting the issuance of an immediate and automatic international sanction whenever such an attack takes place. Third, no impediment or obstruction should prevent peace-keeping forces from implementing the relevant Security Council resolutions.

195. We fear that, if our Organization does not take measures according to these general guidelines, very soon the peace-keeping operations will become ineffective, the contributing countries will be unwilling to send their troops into troubled areas and the whole peace-keeping task of the Organization will totally collapse.

196. The Secretary-General, as well as other speakers, expressed these same apprehensions at the 1793rd meeting of the Security Council on 15 August last, when, after resumption of their aggression in Cyprus, Turkish troops deliberately attacked some units of UNFICYP and killed and wounded several of its members.

197. In this connexion, we feel obliged to state that the "credibility of the United Nations . . . and the respect of its Members for the decisions of its main organs"²—to use the words of the Secretary-General—cannot be saved by resolutions such as Security Council resolution 359 (1974), by which the Council "*Deeply deplores* the fact that members of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus have been killed and wounded". This shyness on the part of the Council in regard to naming the aggressor cannot but entail in the long run an encouragement to other potential aggressors towards perpetrating such crimes and violating the Security Council resolutions.

198. The arms race and matters related to disarmament continue to be an important part of the General Assembly's agenda. A world disarmament conference would undoubtedly stimulate efforts towards disarmament and infuse a sense of urgency in this field. It would facilitate the exchange of views on this subject of paramount importance and allow a useful summing up of the progress achieved in

this field hitherto. It is to be hoped that some concrete steps will also be taken to expedite future international action in this area. In order to achieve these aims, the Conference should be adequately prepared, and all States—and in particular the nuclear Powers—should participate.

199. The review conference convened under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons which is to take place next year will, we hope, have the results expected by all peace-loving countries and peoples.

200. We are also fully aware of the capital importance of the present phase of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks for the future of international peace. Moreover, the Greek Government is determined to assume an active role in the present phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The individual or joint action undertaken by the smaller States participating in that Conference is an important corollary to the negotiations being carried out by the United States and the Soviet Union. Although the great Powers have a special responsibility for the maintenance of peace, a truly peaceful international order cannot be established if the smaller States do not fully assume their own obligations and responsibilities. That is all the more true following the events we have witnessed recently in Cyprus.

201. Another question related to the problem of disarmament and arms control is that of the prohibition of weapons which might cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects, such as napalm or other incendiary weapons. We all know the results of the work done in Geneva in this connexion by the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts. However, we all know also that one of the countries which voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 3076 (XXVIII) last year used napalm bombs this year in Cyprus—even against civilians, hospitals, forests and the units of UNFICYP.

202. The new Greek Government has aimed at the full restoration of human rights and civil liberties in Greece. We are gratified to be able to state here that, upon the new Greek Government's assumption of power, all political prisoners were liberated, exiles were permitted to return to Greece, freedom of opinion and freedom of the press were re-established, and a rapid process towards the reactivation of all democratic institutions was initiated. Tragically enough, that happy evolution coincided with the suppression of human rights in Cyprus as a result of the Turkish invasion of the island. Human rights concerning residence, freedom, ownership and the lives of men and women are being violated at this very moment.

203. During the past seven and a half years the Greek people had experienced an unprecedented suppression of their human rights and civil liberties. In the struggle to regain their freedom, the Greek people turned for support to the international institutions responsible for the implementation of the law governing the international protection of human rights. Questions relating to the situation in Greece were unsuccessfully brought to the attention of the Commission on Human Rights and its subsidiary

bodies. I am citing this example because it reflects a fundamental weakness of the United Nations system for the protection of human rights. My Government strongly urges that the implementation of the instruments concerning the international protection of human rights be strengthened, and will support any initiatives in that direction.

204. Today, when the colonialist Powers have abandoned or are in the process of abandoning their colonies, we are witnessing here in the United Nations the astonishing event of one Member of the Organization trying to colonize another. I am, of course, referring to the Turkish performance in Cyprus.

205. As far as Greece is concerned, its struggles against colonialism, fascism and imperialism are well known and proved by its attitude during the two World Wars. Today, that struggle continues by peaceful means. We are at the side of the oppressed peoples, and we offer our unreserved support to the nations of Africa still under the colonial yoke.

206. Our position concerning racial discrimination is also clear-cut and unequivocal. It is not by accident that Greece, which has in its 3,000 years of history experienced all possible social and political phenomena, has never known racial discrimination.

207. My delegation is particularly happy to state that in all questions that matter, Greece stands at the side of our African friends—not only because their aspirations are legitimate, but also because the Greek people has worked its way, and continues to do so, through every single stage of the struggle the African peoples are waging today towards the attainment of freedom, economic independence and development.

208. Turning now to international economic conditions, I must express the increasing concern of my delegation at the present disarray in world economic affairs and the unprecedented nature of the problems to be solved.

209. The post-war system of international economic co-operation is disintegrating under the pressures of inflation and monetary disorder. Poverty and hunger continue to afflict most of mankind, and the disparity in living standards and economic and social achievements between developing and developed countries continues to grow.

210. Contrary to earlier expectations, the so-called internationalization of consumer societies did not benefit the poor masses in the developing world. As the continuing deterioration of the world economic situation demonstrates, unless new principles are accepted and emergency measures are taken by the international community we shall have to face a bleak future indeed.

211. The conclusions of the recent special session of the General Assembly on raw materials and development—in particular, the Assembly's Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order—will be reviewed at the current session. It is regrettable that the Economic and Social Council has not been able to reach a decision on action regarding the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New

International Economic Order. It is up to the Second Committee of this Assembly to maintain the momentum that has been engendered by the special session. The Second Committee is offered a unique opportunity to initiate fundamental changes in the system, as the present crisis has already given rise to new perceptions of economic relationships and to recognition of the need for the less developed countries fully and effectively to participate in international decision-making on economic issues. Fortunately, there is growing evidence that new development policies are being designed to raise the well-being of the poor by increasing their ability to participate in the development process. Such policies can actually promote rather than hinder economic growth.

212. We believe that the Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly are the foundations upon which to build and redress the present economic imbalances in the world economy. We also believe that it is within the framework of the United Nations that those problems could be solved and a new economic order could emerge. It may be that the present institutional set-up of the United Nations is inadequate to deal with all the complex issues involved. If so, then one should proceed with the necessary changes in order to implement the emergency programme.

213. I may add that the delegation of Greece attaches particular importance to the draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States as approved in principle last June in Mexico City. In our view, the draft Charter which will be considered in the Second Committee under agenda item 48³ constitutes a well-balanced document that would certainly strengthen the new international economic order and help the most disadvantaged countries of the third world.

214. After dealing effectively with the short-term problems, one should accept a new economic strategy which is now reaching policy-making circles in both industrial and developing countries shifting attention from the high abstractions and generalities of economic growth to the immediate and critical needs of our societies.

215. I think we have to praise the World Bank for having taken important steps in this direction by supporting a strategy stimulating a new and more humane order of priorities, and also IMF for its efforts to deal with the immediate and urgent question of balance of payment difficulties and recycling of surpluses.

216. It would be wrong to believe that the oil price explosion was the only, or perhaps even the major, cause of the present instability. However, at the present juncture of the world economy one cannot exclude economic or financial disintegration, national isolation and a search for more self-sufficiency in many countries, thereby enlarging the pathetic contrasts that exist between the industrialized and the developing countries. A chain reaction of destructive forces may be set in motion should we not live up to the expectations for a new international economic order.

217. Concerted international efforts, coupling a long-term programme with an immediate emergency action, would help us to move away from the present threatening phase of great instability and grave dangers.

218. Greece, as a major seafaring nation and at the same time as a country almost surrounded by the sea, attaches particular importance to the development of the law of the sea which has been taken in hand under the auspices of the United Nations. It should be our common endeavour to arrive at agreed principles governing the sea spaces and to prevent arbitrary unilateral actions. The new concepts of the ocean bed as a common heritage of mankind and of an exclusive economic zone should be harmoniously developed along with the maintaining of the basic concept of the freedom of the seas for peaceful navigation, which is the lifeline linking the nations in the exchange of goods and persons. The protection of the marine environment and the rational use of the resources of the seas should find adequate expression in this new law. It goes without saying that in this framework the continental and the insular territory of States should be accorded equal treatment, thus securing the indivisibility of State sovereignty and non-discrimination between continental and insular populations.

219. We firmly believe that the law should strive to establish clear-cut and objective rules, avoid vague or ambiguous provisions, leave little room for arbitrary or unilateral action by States and thus prevent disputes which might arise in a legal vacuum. We shall continue in the next session or sessions of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to make our contribution in this spirit.

220. I now turn to one of the most difficult problems the Organization has ever faced—that of the Middle East. Since the beginning of the conflict Greece has stated that this problem cannot be solved by force. Once more this position was vindicated by the October war.

221. Greece has had the opportunity to stress time and again the principle, repeatedly confirmed by Security Council resolutions, that acquisition of territory through military conquest is inadmissible. No war can solve political problems.

222. Turning to the treatment of civilian populations in occupied areas, the Greek Government is of the opinion that a strict application of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War should be a minimum standard to be applied in every occupied area of the world, under any circumstances.

223. Generally speaking, we believe that no problem can find a peaceful and lasting solution if the relevant resolutions of the Security Council are not implemented by all parties involved and if there is no willingness on the part of those concerned to apply strictly the principles of the Charter.

224. The inclusion of the question of Palestine in the agenda of the present session is considered by the Greek delegation as proof that the General Assembly is not unwilling to deal with present realities. Problems like the Palestinian question cannot be solved by looking away from them. On the contrary,

a serene and democratic exchange of views in this supreme international forum is always likely to make a possible solution more attainable.

225. The already tense situation in the Middle East has been further aggravated in recent months by the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. On 15 July a *coup*, condemned by all of us, was staged to overthrow Archbishop Makarios, the legitimate, elected President of the Republic. This coup was not directed against the Turkish Cypriot community of the island. That fact was recognized by both the leader of the Turkish community in Cyprus and the Turkish Prime Minister, who both issued public statements to that effect. During the fighting while the coup was in progress, not a single Turkish Cypriot was killed or injured. Yet five days later, large Turkish invasion forces were landing in Cyprus and the Turkish Air Force was launching indiscriminate attacks against unarmed civilians, under the flimsy pretext of protecting the Turkish Cypriot minority on the island, which, I repeat, had not been harmed in any way.

226. The situation we are faced with today is as follows. The territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, an independent and non-aligned State Member of the United Nations and a member of the Commonwealth, has been seriously imperiled. Its very identity is jeopardized. A substantial part of its territory is under occupation by a foreign invasion force, which has openly stated its intention to stay on the island, having expelled the indigenous population of the area.

227. At the Geneva Conference, convened at the request of the Secretary-General to seek ways and means to implement Security Council resolution 353 (1974), of 20 July 1974, we were presented with an ultimatum to accept either of two plans, which had certain features in common. Both provided for a physical separation of the two communities, with a forced exchange of population.

228. In effect, the territory claimed for the Turkish Cypriot minority, representing 18 per cent of the total population, was to be 34 per cent of the island. What is more, it was to include the most fertile lands, which yield 70 per cent of the agricultural produce of the country, which represent 60 per cent of the industry, 80 per cent of the tourist business, 100 per cent of the mining industry, the main fresh-water reserves and the only deep-water port of the island—all that on the pretext of protecting a small minority. When the Acting President of Cyprus, Mr. Clerides, asked for a 36-hour recess, in view of the outrageous Turkish demands which were tantamount to partition and to condemning the vast majority of the people of the island to a life of want and misery, Turkey refused to grant the 36-hour recess. Two hours later, the Turkish troops were on the move again, sowing death and destruction, killing United Nations troops, bombing hospitals and schools. Repeated cease-fire calls by the Security Council went unheeded. Turkey even ignored the cease-fire proclaimed by its own Prime Minister on 16 August 1974. Turkish troops finally came to a halt two days later, after having occupied 40 per cent of Cyprus, and caused an appalling refugee problem reminiscent

of similar problems in the area, by uprooting 200,000 people from their homes.

229. All this was sanctimoniously dubbed by the Turkish Prime Minister and by the Turkish press as a "peace-keeping intervention". The military leaders, however, who four years earlier had elaborated the plan for this operation, had another name for it. They called it "Attila"—unconsciously or perhaps unwittingly identifying it with the chieftain of the Huns, known to history as the scourge of God.

230. It is publicly claimed that Turkey was entitled to take action in Cyprus by the provisions of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee⁴ signed by Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

231. The Treaty does indeed mention "unilateral action" to be taken by all the guarantor Powers after consultations with the other parties have failed. However, it does not, and could not, mention military action, which would be in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Yet Cyprus was invaded by overwhelming military forces without any prior consultations between the guarantor Powers.

232. The Treaty of Guarantee, as its title implies, specifically guaranteed the constitutional order of Cyprus, and such action as it contemplated was to be directed towards the re-establishment of that constitutional order if ever it came to grief. Yet we were asked at Geneva, and we are still being asked today, to accept an entirely new constitutional framework for the island, a framework never discussed with and much less accepted by its people.

233. The Treaty guarantees the territorial unity of the Republic. Yet we are asked to agree to its partitioning.

234. The Treaty guarantees the independence of the Republic. Yet the substance of the Turkish plan, if accepted, would lead either to the complete abolition of that independence through the annexation of the two parts of Cyprus to Turkey and to Greece respectively or to the establishment of a Turkish protectorate over the island. For how can anyone doubt that with the northern part of the Republic under Turkish Cypriot control, and with the geographical proximity of Turkey, the central federal government envisaged by the Turkish scheme could be anything else but submissive to the slightest whim of Turkey?

235. The Treaty guarantees the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. But can a State, any State, be truly sovereign without being independent?

236. International treaties are being invoked only to be openly violated. For weeks, for months, we have been watching the rape of a small non-aligned country by its far stronger neighbour. Repeated injunctions of the Security Council of our Organization have been either flouted or ignored. A new and enormous refugee problem is in the process of creation, and human suffering is being used again without much pudency, as a lever for political advantage.

237. Greece has repeatedly declared, and I am glad to be given the opportunity to solemnly reiterate from this rostrum, that Greece has no ulterior aims in Cyprus. As a signatory of the Nicosia agreements,

it is committed against *enosis* and against partition. It has taken the position that the Republic of Cyprus is and must remain an independent and sovereign State and that its territorial integrity must be respected by all; that as an independent and sovereign State, the Republic of Cyprus is and should be free to follow the foreign policy of non-alignment or any other policy that best suits its interests.

238. Finally, Greece has stated on several occasions that no foreign Power, including the guarantor Powers under the 1960 Treaty, has any right whatever to impose upon the people of Cyprus constitutional arrangements of its own choosing. This is a matter of the exclusive—I repeat: exclusive—domain of the people living on the island and it is up to the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots to determine freely by common agreement the institutions under which they want to live, and the emphasis is on the word "freely"—not in the shadow of 40,000 foreign troops and over 200 tanks, nor under the pressure of the ordeal of 200,000 refugees.

239. Let me say in this respect that phased reduction of troops and armaments, in view of the latest developments, is not the answer to this particular problem. Whether 40,000 or 20,000 Turkish troops remain on the island is really immaterial when the other party is totally disarmed.

240. The issues are now clearly drawn. The question is, what is the United Nations going to do about it? As far as Greece is concerned, the United Nations must either act in accordance with the Charter or admit failure.

241. Our Organization is based on the rule of law. It embodies the hopes and aspirations of the great majority of nations for their advancement in peace and security. Its executive organ, the Security Council, was charged with the enforcement of its principles and was endowed with appropriate powers to do so. Again, within the Security Council the five permanent members have been entrusted by the Charter with special responsibilities. Yet most of them have not risen to the challenge of their duties and of their prominence.

242. The tools are there. Is there a will, or are we going to sit idly by and complacently watch the enforcement of another kind of rule—that of the law of force and of conquest? If we do, we shall revert to "square one". If we do, every small nation, and especially the non-aligned ones, will live in fear of its larger and stronger neighbour. If we do, we shall flounder in the morass of our own moral weakness and go the way of the late League of Nations.

243. What is needed at this critical moment is courage and determination, for not only does the future of the United Nations as a guarantor of peace hinge upon a solution of the Cyprus problem but the international order in general is also at stake.

244. It is inconceivable that after the massacre of the two World Wars the whole world, represented in this Hall, should watch, as a mere spectator, the drama of the destruction of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a small non-aligned and unarmed State by the military forces of a strong neighbour. It is a stigma on our civilization and a shame to the whole world that more than 200,000

Cypriot refugees should have been driven from their homes and compelled to live in the open, with winter knocking at the door. The whole world must move swiftly to put an end to this aggression that sets civilized mankind several centuries back.

245. Any attempt to solve the Cyprus problem by the force of arms would open a permanent source of trouble in the sensitive area of the Middle East and would lead to unforeseeable complications. The United Nations must act with courage and determination. The tragedy of timidity has already led to two world conflagrations. Let us draw the necessary lesson in order to prevent a major international disaster.

246. The people of Greece and the Greek Government have faith in the moral and political values enshrined in the Charter. They believe in the will of the vast majority of mankind to live in an orderly and safe international society. They are confident that right will prevail over might and that our Organization will once again prove its strength, its vitality and its usefulness.

247. I pray that this faith, this belief and this confidence shall not be disappointed.

248. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call upon the representative of Honduras who wishes to thank the General Assembly for its demonstration of solidarity at the time of the hurricane in his country.

249. Mr. MARTÍNEZ ORDÓÑEZ (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I have asked to be allowed to speak this evening in order to convey to you the profound gratitude of the delegation of Honduras for your remarks at the beginning of this afternoon's meeting on the great human tragedy which has struck our country. We would also like to thank you for the message that you have addressed, on behalf of the General Assembly as a whole, to the President of Honduras as an expression of human solidarity with the people of Honduras.

250. I should like to take this opportunity also to express the thanks of the Mission, the Government and the people of Honduras to the Missions of the many countries which have relations with my country and which have expressed their sympathy for us on this sad occasion. In particular, I should like to thank the Foreign Minister of Peru, General de la Flor Valle, for the very kind sentiments he expressed earlier today.

251. The Secretariat and the Organization have responded magnificently from the very first moment of the tragedy that has occurred in my country. It has responded in a similar way in the past to other brother countries of Latin America, and an expression of deep thanks is very much in order.

252. The tragedy that has befallen my country is almost beyond description. The damage amounts to virtually \$1,000 million in a country with less than 3 million inhabitants and a *per capita* income of less than \$200 per annum: those few figures give some idea of the sheer magnitude of the tragedy and the difficulties which we face in the immediate future. The loss of life, the destruction of infrastructure, housing and places of work for the people of Honduras

are of the gravest possible consequence to our whole nation. I think it is only fair to say that alone we cannot face the challenge of the future.

253. Mr. César Batres, Foreign Minister of Honduras, has asked me to raise the question of the situation in my country in the Assembly today, as a matter of emergency, and to request, as an exceptional measure, that his name be moved up to next Wednesday's list of speakers so that he may speak on and inform Members of the true scope of the tragedy that has struck our country.

254. I beg forgiveness of the representatives of all States for asking them to listen to information on the critical situation of the people of Honduras. I am sure that the response of the membership will further increase our faith in the international community and the Organization.

255. From the bottom of my heart, many thanks again.

256. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those representatives who have asked to exercise their right of reply.

257. Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish very briefly to take up the reference made by the Foreign Minister of Finland to my country in the form of an appeal for the liberation of political prisoners.

258. In Chile there are no political prisoners; neither is there persecution for reasons of conscience. There are detainees by virtue of constitutional provisions for the investigation of common law offences and violations of laws currently in force.

259. I only wish the Foreign Minister of Finland would acquaint himself with the statement made only 12 days ago by the Chilean Chief of State, President Pinochet, to those countries which have distinguished themselves by attacking my country—a statement in which he called upon those countries to proceed to liberate political prisoners just as Chile will liberate detainees, and even those who have been convicted of offences, by commuting, at their own request, their detention or sentence to departure from the country under the supervision of the International Red Cross.

260. We trust that the countries of the international community attending this Assembly session will help us fulfil this purpose.

261. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): I have asked to speak simply to clarify matters and to correct the errors which seem to me to have been deliberately committed. I wish I were mistaken in this assessment of the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece—a statement which now impels me to tax your patience at this late hour.

262. I shall be brief, leaving it to my Minister, in his statement, if he sees fit—which I doubt he will—to reply at greater length to the distortions of truth in connexion with the Cyprus affair.

263. We had hoped to hear a speech of quite a different tenor by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, particularly in view of the fact that it was the first statement made by the representative of a

country which only yesterday was on the defensive regarding violations of human rights in all their aspects. I would have described as lies what the Greek Foreign Minister reported in connexion with the Geneva Conference if the instructions from my Minister had permitted me to use such undiplomatic language. I shall therefore confine myself to describing his remarks as complete distortions of the facts.

264. During his lengthy statement, which, in fact, was a diatribe against Turkey, the Greek Minister went so far as to say such a great number of things that I wonder—since I promised to be brief and since I have been allowed only 10 minutes—whether I shall be able to reply to all those distortions.

265. Reference was made to the “deliberate attack” on UNFICYP by Turkish troops. I categorically and indignantly deny that assertion, particularly as it comes from the representative of an ethnic group whose representatives in Cyprus, in the form of mainland Greeks or Cyprus Greeks have—not deliberately, I suppose—caused similar losses among UNFICYP ranks.

266. It will be recalled that a few days ago we were deploring—and this is in the records—the fact that certain Cypriot Greeks had killed a representative of one of the countries contributing to UNFICYP by shooting him in the neck. Thus it would be better not to go into this aspect of the Cyprus tragedy, whether those involved are members of the Greek forces—whether from mainland Greece or from Greek Cyprus—or Turkish forces.

267. The Greek Foreign Minister also said that Turkey had a plan whereby an autonomous Turkish zone would be established in the northern part of Cyprus. Now, from whatever angle one considers it, such a plan can be considered no worse than hearing an entire so-called non-aligned country, one which cherishes its independence, called by its own President, Archbishop Makarios—now the ex-President—“Southern Greece”. I am still waiting for a denial of that, just as I am still waiting for an explanation—which neither my predecessors nor I have ever received—regarding the meaning of the dream of *enosis*, the ideal of a “great Greece”, of which Cyprus would be but an appendage, something which the Archbishop and the Greek Cypriots have never denied. What the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece—I shall say “of northern Greece”, to please the Cypriots—has just said regarding the present Government’s refusal of *enosis* by the present Government might perhaps explain the violent diatribe, published in the newspaper *Le Monde*, by the Archbishop against General Guisekis, the present leader of the future Hellenic democracy.

268. I might also ask whether the Turkish intervention should not have taken place, so that the psychopathic killer, the former friend and intimate collaborator of the Archbishop, could have remained in power; and I refer to Mr. Sampson, of his unhappy memory.

269. That is the sad truth about what gave rise to Turkey’s intervention—an intervention which was based, as you know, on treaties, no matter what was said about it by the representative of Greece

who spoke before me at this rostrum and for whom, perhaps, *pacta sunt servanda* does not have the same connotations as it has for us Turks—and this after 10 years of affronts patiently suffered by the Turkish community in the hope that their rights would finally be recognized.

270. What can we say now about the hostages in relation to the refugees? Mention is made only of refugees. Yes, there are refugees; there have always been refugees in Cyprus. For 11 years thousands of Turks had constantly lived as refugees because they were second-class, third-class, fourth-class citizens. At the present time there are Turks who continue to live in camps, in towns or villages on the Greek side which are in fact nothing less than concentration camps.

271. There is also a burning problem that I would be remiss not to refer to when so many allusions have been made to refugees. I am referring to the approximately 10,000 Turks who at present live in territories which are called British bases, and who serve as hostages for some obscure political machinations which we really cannot make out.

272. It would have been better, I think, not to refer to any of these subjects at all before we had actually started the discussion which is going to take place, as this Assembly decided [2237th meeting, para. 2], with the participation of representatives of the Turkish community who are in a much better position than I am to explain their community’s cause.

273. I could have gone on for much longer than this. I simply wish to draw your attention to a distortion which is perhaps even more remarkable than all the others. I shall read out the text which was kindly distributed to us. Reference was made to colonialism, to Turkey’s wishing to be a colonialist Power, to Turkey as a colonialist Power, and so on. The word “colony”, I think, is a Greek invention: “As far as Greece is concerned, its struggles against colonialism, fascism and imperialism are well known and proved by its attitude during the two World Wars.” [See para. 205 above.]* As the English say, this is really adding insult to injury. For a representative of a country which at the end of the First World War, in order to serve the imperial interests of the time and to expand its territory, invaded my country, and whose forces were thrown back into the sea after two or rather three years of a fierce war of independence fought by Turkey—this, I think, is really the height of opprobrium, and I do not know how we can describe such a distortion of reality. Whether my Minister allows me to say it or not, it is a lie.

274. Mr. CARAYANNIS (Greece): I have to reply to the representative of Turkey on only one point, and that, very reluctantly because of the late hour.

275. The representative of Turkey said that my Minister lied in what he said about Geneva. You may very easily refer to the verbatim record of the Security Council. Everything was said there. The Turkish, Greek and United Kingdom representatives spoke. You will notice that what was said by the United Kingdom representative and by the Greek representative was identical. My Turkish colleague

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

entered into the substance of the problem and he gave us many details. He will have the time to explain all this when the discussion takes place in this forum. It is really too late and I would not like to take more of your time.

276. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): I also feel very unhappy because of the lateness of the hour. But I ask your indulgence because it so happens that I represent the country which has over 200,000 refugees. It is the voice of those refugees that you will hear and you will keep hearing during this Assembly. It is the questions which will be posed by them that certain countries will have to answer. Therefore, I will take only a few minutes to put something straight.

277. The Turkish representative tried to justify the Turkish intervention. He spoke of the coup. He spoke of Mr. Sampson. But it seems that those who invented "Attila" must have expected the *coup*, because from what we know, "Attila" was ready years ago, and the Attila plan was implemented almost immediately after the *coup*.

278. As far as facts are concerned as to what happened in Cyprus, to the United Nations troops in Cyprus, and to the victims of this tragedy, we shall and we do tonight once again repeat, our suggestion that an international body must, after all, decide to send a fact-finding mission to Cyprus and see what happened to the people of Cyprus, to the women, the children, the old people, and all the rest.

279. All those things that have been said for the purpose of justifying the invasion are really not worth replying to. But let us look for a moment into the future. I ask and hope we shall have the answer tomorrow. Are the Turkish troops going to be withdrawn from Cyprus? Are the refugees going to be allowed to go back to their homes, freely and in safety? This is the basis of the problem, and the negotiations will follow.

280. Mr. OLCAY (Turkey): Mr. President, I really must apologize, through you, to all the members, who at this late hour are obliged to have what I am afraid is a foretaste of what will happen as a result of the adoption of a certain item on the agenda.

281. I am not going to answer the previous speaker, as I consider him as representing but one of the communities in Cyprus. However, inasmuch as two Greeks have spoken with no statement as yet from the Turkish side in this august Assembly, I merely want to put on record the fact that the previous speaker will be answered by the Turkish Cypriot representative when the Turkish Cypriot representative exercises what is the legitimate right of one of the two co-founders of the independent State of Cyprus.

282. In anticipation of what will be said by the Turkish Minister when he addresses the Assembly, I merely want to say that Turkey's intentions with regard to the future of Cyprus are well known, as opposed to what were the Greek intentions with respect to Cyprus, that is, to unite that island with the motherland of Greece, to put an end to Cyprus's independence and to transform what they regard as a non-aligned State into a province of an aligned one. As opposed to all the intentions of the Greek

Cypriot community and all its leaders, and of certain Governments in Greece—I do not say that the present one has such intentions and I hope it has not—the Turkish intention is to have an independent, non-aligned Cyprus—non-aligned if it so decides, of course; we do not interfere in the internal affairs of others—a really independent Cyprus that will have all the guarantees of an island State in which the two constituent communities are not at each other's throats because one of them wants to oppress the other.

283. Of course, all that is required at the present stage is the will—since there has been mention made by a previous speaker today of a "will"—a will to sit down and talk and negotiate.

284. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): The question of whether Mr. Olcay recognizes me or not is totally irrelevant, because obviously the representative of the country which is the aggressor and which tried to occupy my country is the least eligible to decide who should represent the country that his country has attacked. And that is the end of that.

285. Of course, the representative of Turkey said, with reference to the policy that Cyprus should follow—and I think that everyone laughed—that Turkey does not wish to interfere in the affairs of Cyprus, that what Turkey is doing at the moment is not interfering in the affairs of Cyprus; according to him, 40,000 troops, 200 tanks, bombing, killing, raping—all these things do not constitute interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus, and the attempt to impose a solution by force, through oppression of the population by force, is not interfering in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

286. And then once again he goes over the theme of *enosis*. Why should we discuss this behind closed doors? Let us discuss it here. Is Turkey prepared and ready to sign an agreement here in the United Nations, an agreement excluding *enosis*, excluding partition and providing for the withdrawal of all troops from Cyprus and the return of all refugees to their homes under the safeguard of the United Nations, with policing by the United Nations, and then allowing the people to decide freely what form of Government they want?

287. Why should this be discussed in small, enclosed corridors, at gunpoint and under pressure? Why? Of course, there is a lot to be said for quiet diplomacy, but quiet diplomacy does not very much apply—and this also has reference to another speaker who spoke this morning—in the case of a small country that has suffered and is suffering so much, a country whose very existence is being jeopardized.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 24, document A/8792.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, 1793rd meeting*, para. 20.

³ Subsequently adopted as resolution 3281 (XXIX).

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.