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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
 (Algeria).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Usher (Ivory Coast), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. Van ELSLANDE (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me to congratulate Mr. Boute-flika on the occasion of his election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His election to this high office is a tribute that is paid both to Africa and to the Arab world.

2. I also wish to congratulate the Secretary-General on his excellent report on the work of the Organization [A/9601 and Add.1], in which he very rightly emphasizes the concern, which we share, at seeing the present economic troubles and tensions jeopardizing the progress made in the sphere of international political relations.

3. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France [2238th meeting] has done in his capacity as current President of the European Economic Community and on behalf of the nine States of which it is composed, I should like to welcome the admission to the United Nations, with the unanimous sponsorship of those nine States, of three gallant and peace-loving new countries. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau has just acceded to independence in complete accord and friendship with Portugal. I shall have the opportunity in the course of this address to refer once more to that event. As the result of a friendly negotiation with a Member State of the European Community, Grenada has joined us to add its voice to those, each year more numerous and always heard with respect, of the Caribbean region. It was with deep emotion that I heard yesterday [2243rd meeting] the noble voice of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, raised in this forum. His presence here bears witness to the successful working out of a difficult problem. The spirit of moderation and conciliation shown in this matter by all

the countries of the subcontinent—a spirit that should set an example for all of us—has been at the basis of this solution.

4. I cannot fail to mention here the grave catastrophes that have repeatedly befallen Bangladesh and many other developing countries, the most recent being that of Honduras, so severely stricken last Friday. My Government has done its utmost to be of assistance on every occasion, both by using its own means and by joining with our partners in the European Community. I can give my assurance here to the Governments of Bangladesh and Honduras that now too we will, to the extent of our means, help them to overcome the present crisis.

5. Owing to tragic circumstances, our general debate last year was dominated by the new outbreak of violence and human tragedy caused by the Middle East war. As in so many of our previous discussions, the political confrontation of the nations was once more by the force of circumstances at the very centre of our anxieties. As a result, the disruptions of the world's economic organization did not appear to us as clearly as they do today.

6. Today each State wonders what its future and its development will be and what degree of security its nationals will be entitled to expect. We must work out the answers to these questions jointly. Indeed, only international co-operation will make it possible to overcome the tensions that, otherwise, would be aroused by the confrontation of national egoisms and the excesses of a competition based solely on the concept of profit.

7. We must realize that the energy crisis has altered the basic factors of the economic situation. The cost of the increased price of oil products is in the order of \$100,000 million a year; we are far from having seen all its after-effects. The States of the European Community should react to this state of affairs by increasing their solidarity, strengthening their union and lessening their dependence on imported oil. Working together with other countries faced with the same problems, they should create the conditions for co-operation with the oil-producing countries. It is in everyone's interest to find an equitable solution; the consequences of inflation and monetary instability threaten all States in varying degrees.

8. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the oil-producing countries still hesitate to join in the dialogue that is proposed to them. How can a confrontation be prevented if all the parties are not willing to make co-operation the focus of their concern? The countries of the European Community are already facing serious difficulties and must agree to make sacrifices in order to solve their own problems. This severely handicaps their ability to come

to the assistance of those who are even more severely tried. In spite of that, we once more confirm our basic options, even without waiting for the States that have suddenly acceded to an extraordinary level of wealth to take their legitimate share in the task of bringing about international solidarity.

9. In this respect, my country attaches the greatest importance to the Conference of Ministers which met in Kingston, Jamaica, on 25 and 26 July last, attended by the representatives of 44 countries of Africa, the Caribbean, the Pacific [ACP] and the European Community. The subject of the Conference was the search for a new type of relationship between industrialized and developing countries. That Conference made it possible to adopt a series of texts that will serve as guidelines for later work between the Community and the ACP countries.

10. We note in particular the positive results obtained by the establishment of a system of stabilization of the export revenues from basic commodities exported by the ACP countries to the Community. What is being contemplated here is a system designed to mitigate the harmful effects of a decrease in prices or in the amounts of the major products exported. The practical implementation of the system will be negotiated between the ACP countries and the Community.

11. The Kingston Conference also recognized the crucial importance of industrial co-operation. The Community was in agreement with the general guidelines given in a memorandum submitted on the subject by the ACP States. As for the terms of trade, these will include, as an essential element, free access by the ACP countries to the Community market, the former not being bound to reciprocate. Also acknowledged, on the one hand, was the need to ensure the stability of these terms and, on the other hand, the lack of balance in the relationships between the developing countries and those of the Community. Finally, the Conference made remarkable progress as regards financial co-operation.

12. My Government is deeply gratified at the fact that there is a common determination that the work of the Conference should succeed. A vigorous political impetus has been given to the negotiations, which augurs well for their final outcome. But while we are particularly pleased to see more stable and better-balanced relations taking shape among the nine countries of the European Economic Community and their present or future associated partners of Africa, the Pacific and the Caribbean, we are deeply concerned about the fate of the countries most seriously affected by the crisis in international prices and, more particularly, by the increase in the price of oil. The General Assembly at its sixth special session entrusted the Secretary-General with the task of launching an emergency operation, for a limited period of 12 months, to provide relief to the countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis resulting, in particular, from the increase in the prices of energy products, designed to maintain unimpaired during that 12-month period the essential imports of the most seriously affected countries [resolution 3202 (S-VI), para. X 2].

13. On 1 May 1974 the spokesman for the European Community stated that the Community was ready to contribute substantially to that special effort,

on condition that the other members of the international community did so also. That proposal was confirmed on 25 June by the then President of the Community Council, Minister Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany.

14. On the basis of global resources of \$3,000 million, the Community is ready to make a special contribution of \$500 million, provided that the other industrialized countries contribute two sixths of the total amount and the oil-exporting countries half. It is also obvious that an agreement has to be reached on the methods of allocating the emergency assistance and the criteria to be used in choosing the beneficiary countries.

15. On the basis of the results of the Ministerial Meeting of Potential Contributors to the United Nations Emergency Operation, to be convened on 27 September, in New York, the Community will very shortly make known its views on how it will participate in the emergency operation. As far as we are concerned, we sincerely hope in particular that that meeting will clearly show the breakdown of the contributors' commitments and how much multilateral assistance they intend to provide. We should also like to have a clear definition and comparison of the conditions in which the contributions will be made and, more specifically, how generous they will be.

16. Our main concern is that the oil-producing and industrialized countries should take action to come to the assistance of entire populations whose survival is at stake. But we are still faced by political problems.

17. It is only fair that Europe, which in the course of this century has so many times been the cause of senseless conflicts, should today set an example of stability. On the regional level, the progress of *détente* gives good grounds for hope that there will be true co-operation among the States of Europe. We have cast aside war and the threat of war; we hope that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will result in concrete achievements likely to draw States and peoples closer together; and we hope that negotiations on the balanced and mutual reduction of armaments will enable all our peoples to enjoy the same kind of security, while lessening the oppressive burden of expenditures on armaments.

18. The Europe of the nine has a major contribution to make; Belgium is quite aware of that and for that very reason is looking forward to progress being made towards community integration; for, failing this, Europe will not be able to assume the responsibilities incumbent on it. More progress will have to be made before the end of this year. In many fields the nine European States already speak with a common voice: they are getting ready, for instance, to initiate a dialogue with 20 members of the League of Arab States, and they have taken a stand on many of the problems that are on the agenda of this Assembly. I am therefore very pleased that the European Community, as a distinct entity, will soon receive the status of observer.

19. Belgium takes a stand on the problems with which we are faced after consulting with its Euro-

pean partners, for we can no longer dissociate our national identity from the European identity. In this context I would recall the Cyprus crisis, the Middle East conflict and the problems of decolonization.

20. The European position on Cyprus is well known. It is based on the territorial independence and integrity of the Republic. Two urgent problems, however, require our vigilant attention: the serious situation of the refugees, and the financing of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

21. My Government will continue, and is considering a substantial increase in, its payments for the maintenance of the Force, to which I am pleased to pay a tribute for the services it has rendered in difficult circumstances. I also wish to pay a tribute to the memory of those who have given their lives so that peace may reign in that part of the world.

22. On the humanitarian level, we respond to the calls of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and we will very shortly make larger contributions to assist the Cypriot people.

23. As to the Middle East, the negotiations have fortunately started again. The successive initiatives of United States Secretary of State Kissinger have already resulted in military disengagements which are the first step towards an easing of tension. I have no doubt that other steps in the same direction will follow shortly, and I hope they will bring about the conditions necessary to achieve a peace agreement based on the cessation of the occupation of territory, respect for the territorial sovereignty and integrity of each State and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Belgian contribution to this peace undertaking is made on the European level and, as has been said by my German colleague, Mr. Genscher, the opening of a European-Arab dialogue could lay the foundations for the vast task of reconstruction and development of the south-east Mediterranean [2239th meeting, para. 72].

24. Like all preceding speakers who have welcomed the admission to membership in this Organization of three new States—among them Guinea-Bissau—I share the hope that an irreversible step has been taken towards the disappearance of colonialism in Africa. In this respect I listened with attention to the statement made on 23 September by my colleague, Mr. Soares, on behalf of the “new Portugal”, the birth of which, its present concerns and its ambitions for the future he movingly described for us.

25. Indeed, the attainment of independence by Guinea-Bissau demonstrated, above all, the fact that its people had a legitimate desire to find dignity in national independence. But, as Mr. Soares recalled, “None of this . . . would be possible if the changes caused by the military and popular movement of 25 April had not occurred in Portugal.” [*Ibid.*, para. 105.] Since its installation in Lisbon, the new régime has received the full support of the Belgian Government. It was the return to the free interplay of democratic rules that enabled Portugal and Guinea-Bissau as well to free themselves.

26. At the present stage, Belgium hopes that the speedy, orderly and peaceful decolonization process exemplified in the recent developments in Portugal and Guinea-Bissau will be carried out in the

other Portuguese Territories of Africa, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 322 (1972). That hope is now a firm conviction because we heard Mr. Soares say on 23 September that:

“ . . . 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.” [*Ibid.*, para. 109.]

27. In another connexion, it can be foreseen and hoped that the success of this methodical process of decolonization will come as a revelation to the rest of southern Africa and, in keeping with United Nations resolutions, will prompt Pretoria to put an end to the occupation of Namibia and encourage Salisbury to return to legality.

28. The success of African nationalism in the territories under Portuguese rule should be a serious warning to the régimes I have just mentioned. Especially in view of the results of the negotiations, both Pretoria and Salisbury could be led to reconsider their régimes from a more realistic point of view.

29. In this context, Belgium continues to be acutely concerned by the situation which prevails, particularly in Rhodesia and Namibia, where there are no indications as yet of any improvement. In this connexion the policy of Belgium is perfectly clear. It consists in applying sanctions to Rhodesia, and as far as Namibia is concerned I would remind you that Belgium subscribed to the advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice on 21 June 1971¹ and has taken a series of measures to implement the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the Namibia question.

30. We have just made significant progress in the field of decolonization: the Belgian Government sincerely hopes that the field of human rights will also be made part of this dynamic action.

31. We adhere firmly to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Belgium has always considered the United Nations, since its inception, as the surest if not the only guarantor of human rights. We have always expected the United Nations to set out and secure the observance of these rights, and we have always tried to make an active contribution in this respect.

32. Thus it is that Belgium is the only country which, in the matter of human rights, entrusts to a supranational organization powers that are within its sovereignty. It has indeed accepted since 1951 that on its territory the eligibility of refugees shall be decided not by Belgian officials but by the representative in Belgium of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Further, my country allows such refugees to obtain Belgian nationality after a stay of only three years.

33. Furthermore, Belgium is proud of having always been, since its independence, a haven for political refugees. Thus at the present time we grant refuge to nearly 30,000 political refugees while an average of 600 new refugees settle in our territory every year.

34. I cannot fail to mention here the numerous stateless persons who come to us year after year seeking refuge and support. Often they are persons who have been deprived for too long of elementary rights, and the international community has an obligation to them if it truly believes in the defence of human rights.

35. Finally, I should like to say that recently public opinion, like the Belgian Government, has been deeply disturbed by various reports showing the increase throughout the world of cases of torture and ill-treatment inflicted on persons who are held in detention. Such disregard of the human person is not only an outrage to all mankind but a degradation. That is why the Belgian delegation will firmly support all initiatives this Assembly may take in denouncing and proscribing such practices, which belong to another age. In this matter, too, no voice could carry further than the voice of the United Nations. That voice must be heard.

36. Mr. NGUEMA ESONO (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Permit me first of all to extend, on my own behalf and on that of my delegation, our most sincere and warm congratulations to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, on having been elected to the high post of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

37. His unanimous election is a significant confirmation of his diplomatic and political qualities. My delegation takes the deepest pleasure in this circumstance and is very much encouraged and derives great comfort from the fact that the difficult task inherent in the office he holds will always be fairly and wisely carried out by such an outstanding son of the African soil of Algeria. I cannot conceal the pleasure and satisfaction of my delegation at seeing him occupy the presidential chair in this Assembly because my country admires and highly appreciates our valiant brothers, the people of Algeria, to whom we are bound by so many close social and political ties and with whom we have maintained and continue to maintain good relations of frank brotherhood and understanding within the context of the unity and the strengthening of the African continent and international peace and security. My delegation pledges its close co-operation with the President for the success of this session.

38. This is a most appropriate opportunity for me to express in this Assembly, on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf and that of my delegation, most sincere appreciation and gratitude to the valiant fraternal people of Guinea-Bissau which for more than 11 years has been waging an armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism and has by its own efforts seized its independence. We are today celebrating its victory, which has been consummated by its full membership in the United Nations. To this valiant brother people my delegation offers the warmest possible welcome to this Organization; we pledge ourselves to work alongside it and together with it for the total emancipation of all the peoples of the world and in particular of those parts of the world still under the domination of colonialism.

39. We cannot forget that the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and its subsequent

admission to the United Nations was the result of an arduous struggle, filled with sacrifice and self-denial throughout many years. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau has demonstrated its maturity and ability as a sovereign State and my Government is firmly convinced that it will play its proper role effectively as a Member of this Organization. For my country, the victory won by the Republic of Guinea-Bissau against Portuguese colonialism constitutes one of the most significant victories in the struggle undertaken by Africa against colonialism—to rid mother Africa of colonialism was perhaps the most notable victory—because it is a victory achieved over the Olympic champion of colonialism in that continent. At a time when the flag of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is flying at the United Nations, my delegation would like to commemorate an illustrious son of Africa from Guinea-Bissau who devoted his whole life to and gave it for the salvation and emancipation of his people. I refer to the great revolutionary Amílcar Cabral. May his memory long endure!

40. My sincere congratulations go also to the States of Bangladesh and Grenada, which have now joined the international community of the United Nations, thus once more bringing the universality of the Organization closer to reality. My Government is sincerely confident that the participation of those new States Members of this Organization will contribute to improving the efficiency of the United Nations. We extend the warmest possible welcome to those new Member States.

41. With regard to the universality of the United Nations, my delegation believes and is totally convinced that this is one of the strengths of the Organization, helping it towards the full and effective achievement of its universally acknowledged objectives. This universality, along with the political good will of Member States, is the essential condition without which all our efforts to achieve the objectives of the Organization would lack consistency and it may be claimed that these two elements—universality and the political good will of the Member States—constitute the *sine qua non* for the success of our Organization. We therefore take pleasure in the fact that, with the admission of the new Member States, we have achieved almost total universality in the United Nations; and, as a supplement, my delegation would like to make an appeal to all States to redouble their efforts so that those parts of the world which are today still under the yoke of colonialism will win their liberation from that evil which has inflicted indescribable suffering on mankind. In this connexion, I should like to commend the co-ordinated action undertaken by the United Nations ever since its historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

42. The root of the evils from which the world is suffering today lies in the inequality of rights to which peoples are subjected and which brings in its train an unjust distribution of resources. The colonial system is the one which primarily generates this human injustice and has done so for centuries. The struggle for liberation by colonial peoples as a consequence of this injustice is entirely justified,

in the view of my delegation, by their claim to the legitimate rights to which they are entitled: liberty, human dignity and the inalienable right to self-determination and independence. The Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, under its President-for-Life, Francisco Macias Nguema Biyogo, resolutely supports this legitimate struggle of the colonial peoples, whatever form it takes, as the only means by which the peoples suffering from colonialism can be heard by their oppressors. That this has become the rule is due to the very nature of colonialism, since the imposition of colonialism could never be negotiable by dialogue—at least not in the way it was imposed by the various colonial Powers in Africa.

43. Some may think that this struggle of the colonial peoples for their liberation constitutes a breach of the peace and a disturbance of order. But those who hold this belief and make this contention may be forgetting that peace has never existed in colonial Territories, because their peoples lack the fundamental right to liberty and thus, by definition, they have never had peace. My Government has a deep concern for international peace and security, as was stated by the President-for-Life on the historic day of the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea:

“Peace is our third watchword. We were born in peace, we achieved our independence in peace and this peace, internal and external, under whose sign our nation was born is something that we must maintain at all costs. We are entering the international community with the firm determination to do everything in our power to promote the cause of peace.”

44. It is for this reason that, beginning with the countries in Africa and other parts of the world which are suffering under colonialism and ending with the major disturbances to peace in the Middle East, Cyprus and the zones of Indo-China which are still the scene of hostilities, my Government cannot remain indifferent to the circumstances which have given rise to the devastation of those areas, circumstances which, because of their nature and origin, are liable to jeopardize international peace and security. We would like to appeal to the forces directly or indirectly involved in those hostilities to reconsider their positions and find proper solutions.

45. As Members of the United Nations we are all only too keenly aware of the role we are supposed to play and we are perfectly well aware of our duties, rights and obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. The importance of strict observance of these obligations is fundamental, and peace, to which we all so much aspire, lies precisely in the strict observance by all Members of our duties and obligations, which today many subordinate to the satisfaction of their ambition to dominate. The situation could be very simple if we had a vigorous, energetic and mature political will.

46. My delegation would very much like to commend the co-ordinated action of many Members of the United Nations aimed at the decolonization of those parts of the world which are still under the domination of colonialism. In this respect, we enthusiastically applaud what has been done so far by the new Portuguese Government with regard to its

African colonies. As the representative of the Portuguese Government stated from this rostrum on 23 September, we hope that General Spínola will not disappoint us and that words and agreements will mean a commitment on the part of the Government of Portugal, contracted before the eyes of the international community, to guarantee the independence and integrity of its colonies and that there will be no resort to habitual Machiavellian manoeuvres which are so familiar to us as the doings of neo-colonialism.

47. As I have said before, we view with pleasure the attitude adopted by the new Portuguese Government. But my Government does not consider sufficient what has been done so far and we do not have too much confidence in it. My Government hopes that immediate independence will be given to the rest of the Portuguese colonies in Africa—secure, not a fictitious, independence, and independence which will be in keeping with the rights of the African peoples and give them the possibility of exercising their sovereignty. That will be of immense credit to the people of Portugal and its Government. In spite of the fact that their name has been tarnished during the three centuries of their colonial rule in Africa, this will make it possible for the African peoples to feel ourselves true friends of the Portuguese people.

48. One of the measures which my Government believes to be urgent is the *de facto* immediate recognition of all liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] as legitimate representatives of the colonial peoples, their protection and the provision of guarantees for them so that they can freely put into effect their programmes of action without any kind of repression. In spite of the plurality of political movements which may exist in the colonies, the important thing is to recognize them and to let them work. The multiplicity of political parties is something which has been experienced by almost all the African peoples that are today independent and does not constitute any obstacle to the granting of independence. What is needed is to allow the liberation movements to work freely and to grant them facilities to carry out their programmes. They themselves will do whatever is best for their peoples. That is a path which we have all trodden.

49. In contrast to what is happening today in the Portuguese colonies in Africa my delegation views with profound concern the scant progress achieved towards the emancipation of the African peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, the Sahara and so on, because of the disdainful and deaf attitude of the Administering Authorities which disregard the various resolutions adopted by this General Assembly. The permanent occupation and foreign administration of Niue, Guam, Pitcairn, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Solomon Islands, the Seychelles and New Hebrides, American Samoa and St. Helena, the British and the United States Virgin, Brunei and the Malvinas Islands, and the Comoro Archipelago, still continue to be one of the serious obstacles to the full and effective attainment of the objectives to which we are devoting our efforts.

50. My Government is fully convinced that the decolonization of all parts of the world still under foreign domination is of fundamental importance for the balance of social, international justice. I should like to stress the subject of the independence of peoples, since my Government finds it a fundamental factor in the achievement of social justice and for international peace and security. This independence presupposes the right of all peoples to conduct their own political, social and economic lives. Foreign intervention in these matters has led only to disturbances in their lives from the very beginning. Any country by virtue of its being a sovereign State is perfectly able to adopt the political, social and economic system which it believes is most appropriate to its interests. That does not imply that it cannot share in the benefits of the rest of the international community, provided that that does not mean any intervention in the affairs of others. What country in the world would agree that another country should conduct its destiny?

51. All peoples should enjoy the freedom of independence, and respect for that independence on the part of all others is vital for good international relations. My Government respects the independence of the other countries of the world. For this same reason my Government sets no limits on maintaining relations with all countries of the world that love peace. My Government is convinced that world peace lies precisely in this total and absolute sovereignty of all countries of the world and a respect for and recognition of that sovereignty by all others. Failure to respect that sovereignty, I think I may maintain without fear of error, has given rise to practically all the conflicts to which we have been witness today.

52. In spite of the atmosphere of the easing of tension, and understanding and tolerance that can be observed today in international relations, particularly between the great Powers, my Government is not sure that peace between peoples has been entirely achieved. We are somewhat concerned still at seeing that the absolute sovereignty of the peoples is not being exercised as fully as it might be and frequently is not respected by many Members of our Organization that have imperialist ambitions. The conflicts in the Middle East, Cyprus, Cambodia and Viet Nam are nothing more than the consequence of a violation of this fundamental right of all peoples. Foreign intervention in these hostilities with a view to imperialist domination has made ever more difficult the easing of tension and the establishment of dialogue between the parties to the conflict.

53. The Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, no matter how tolerant it may be, will never permit its sovereignty to be slighted and will always reject countries of an imperialist régime which pursue this policy. We reaffirm our faith in the idea that through peaceful coexistence, rapprochement between peoples will become ever more successful and in this way the dream of our forefathers, which is also our own dream, can be realized, to see all the nations of the world living in an atmosphere of peace, understanding and tolerance.

54. It may be asserted today that the ideological struggle has lost pride of place and has been replaced

by peaceful coexistence which is identified today with non-alignment. Indeed, at the present time we see visiting each other very frequently Heads of State and Government with different ideological doctrines, often very much opposed to one another, and also agreements being signed between these Heads of State. This constitutes a pre-condition for the replacement of tensions and differences which characterized the recent past by understanding among States today.

55. My Government, which advocates the policy of non-alignment, does not define it, as some have tried to do, by somewhat distorting it and claiming that it is another kind of alignment. My Government interprets non-alignment as a symbol of the actual emancipation of every State. We the non-aligned countries place our sovereignty and independence before any kind of political doctrine. Our only doctrine is based on the sovereignty and independence of countries: in other words, the freedom of every people to exercise its legitimate rights without foreign influence. We are entirely convinced that the perfection of one leads to the perfection of the whole, and if each State can consider that it is enjoying perfect peace and freedom, consequently this will be true of the peace and freedom of the world community as a whole.

56. My Government, in referring to areas of hostilities, appeals to the parties to subordinate their ambitions and individual appetites to an attempt to find appropriate solutions. The human lives lost in Cambodia can never be justified by the Fascist Government of Lon Nol. It is well-known by all how legitimate is the struggle of the Royal Government of Prince Sihanouk, who was the victim of imperialist aggression, when the sovereignty of the Cambodian peoples was trampled underfoot, and when that popular and democratic Government was replaced by another puppet government, guided by remote control by imperialist reactionaries. My delegation is convinced that this General Assembly will find a solution, a way to restore the legitimate rights of the Royal Government, recognized today by most countries which are Members of this Organization.

57. The Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, as I stated earlier, no matter how tolerant it may be, will never belong to that category of governments which is contemptuous of the sovereignty and independence of peoples. Therefore, at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, from this rostrum [2154th meeting, para. 47], we gave public notice of the breaking off of our diplomatic relations with the Zionist State of Israel because of its policy of imperialist annexation; and while that State continues to occupy independent Arab territories and to ignore the rights of the Palestinian people, the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea will not reconsider its position. The international community must react to the aggressive attitude of these States and respond positively to the appeal of our Organization for respect for the rights of oppressed peoples. My Government does not tolerate aggression because it is contrary to the objectives of the United Nations, nor will we stand by and see the rights of peoples trampled underfoot.

58. In its international relations, my Government asks nothing more than that its rights should be respected by others, just as we respect theirs. When one protects a criminal, one runs the risk of being his victim. I believe that acting logically is the sensible thing that can be done by the Members of the United Nations, and I say that without any partisan considerations. That applies to countries which support régimes like South Africa and Rhodesia. The comportment of the Government of South Africa is nothing but a flagrant violation of resolutions of the General Assembly and open defiance of the Organization. All my Government can do with regard to that country is require that it respect the Charter and strictly apply the provisions of Article 6 thereof.

59. Those who believe that the purpose of the United Nations is to foment disturbances in the world and to take advantage of those disturbances to divert the attention of the world community, or allow them to be exploited by some interested parties, are mistaken. For instance, in the Korean peninsula, in spite of the time the United Nations Force has been stationed there and the efforts that have been exerted by this Organization, the Korean people have not been able to achieve their longed-for reunification because of difficulties resulting from the stationing in their country of foreign forces which use the name and the flag of the United Nations to make any kind of fruitful negotiation impossible. We would like to make clear our conviction that, as that people matures politically, reunification will be achieved peacefully by means of constructive dialogue between the North and the South, without foreign intervention.

60. My delegation continues to consider that the joint communiqué issued on 4 July 1972 by North and South Korea² constitutes the basis for any negotiations. The General Assembly must object to the use of the name of the United Nations and its troops to complicate a solution to the problem of the Korean peninsula. That would increase the prestige of this Organization and would encourage the harmonious development of contacts between North and South. We are sure that in the not-too-distant future the entire Korean nation, as a unitary political entity, will participate in the work of our Organization as a fully fledged Member. The Korean people, which has a very high human potential, with its traditions and unique culture, deserves to be heard here as a Member of the United Nations.

61. The Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea believes it to be the political right of all peoples to solve their own problems without any foreign intervention. But that political right will not be effective if countries cannot exercise the same sovereignty in the economic and social realms. However, apart from that right of the peoples, my Government considers that co-operation among States is vital and has always emphasized the necessity for a balanced world economy. The interdependence which, from the very beginning, the peoples of the world have always experienced is obvious proof of the need for economic co-operation among States. Peoples must come to an understanding in spite of

their ideological differences. Only in that way can there be trade on a basis of mutual advantage.

62. Fortunately, the United Nations is the most appropriate forum in which the peoples of the world can come together and deal with each other. It is the best place for the efforts of all of us to be combined in order to meet the most elementary needs. My delegation is confident that this session of the General Assembly, without prejudice to what has been done at previous sessions and in other forums of the United Nations, will tackle the problems of economic co-operation among nations, giving it the highest priority and dealing with it with the attention and care it deserves.

63. One of the primary objectives of the United Nations, as our historic Charter states so clearly, is to unite the efforts of all the peoples of the world to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security, to save succeeding generations from the afflictions of hunger and poverty, and to provide the best living conditions in accordance with human dignity. If all those conditions are fulfilled through the provision of economic justice, the Organization will have played its proper role. My country, like all other countries of the third world, is not fighting for any power or political hegemony. That is the dream of the great Powers. If there really is democracy in the United Nations, as we hope, it will be possible to eliminate items on nuclear weapons from its agenda and to replace them by items affecting the lives of human beings.

64. That is the feeling of the majority. Within this context, my delegation would like to repeat at this session of the Assembly the attitude of the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea with regard to the World Population Plan of Action, adopted by the World Population Conference³ which has just been held in Bucharest. My country understands and has had experience of the problem of overpopulation, a problem affecting certain parts of the world. But, unfortunately, we cannot support a demographic policy which would have us exercise birth control. We are convinced that the countries affected, both economically and socially, by the uncontrollable growth in population understand that in other parts of the world the situation is completely different. That is the case in my own country, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

65. We are not convinced that poverty and illiteracy, which are so symbolic even today of the third world, or the international economic imbalance which now exists in some countries will be, as certain Powers like to maintain, consequences of the present size of the world population or of future population growth. My Government cannot believe this because, in its opinion, the improvement in prices of raw materials—in view of the profits made by the industrialized countries—and the equitable distribution of material goods constitute the proper basis for bringing about a better world free from the social and economic difficulties we are experiencing today.

66. In view of this fact, my Government believes that demographic policy should be pursued unilaterally by each and every one of us, without any for-

eign influence in accordance with the conditions, possibilities and needs of each country.

67. The world today is a vast battlefield. We, the countries of the third world, are struggling for our independence and our right to sovereignty while the great Powers are fighting for hegemony and domination. But the nature of mankind itself does not necessarily lead to war, for peoples have a natural tendency to draw closer to each other. My Government thinks that in spite of these struggles, there is essentially no such thing as a rich country or a poor country, because the balance of the comparative needs of peoples to a certain extent may be considered stable since we all have needs that depend on each other. This is an undeniable truth which has influenced the conduct of peoples throughout history. My delegation is firmly convinced and very much hopes that the draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which is to be considered by the Second Committee in agenda item 48, will constitute a very valuable instrument for influencing the conduct of States in economic matters, thus averting the abuses which have been continually committed by many countries.

68. In summary, my Government reaffirms its faith in the idea that decolonization of all parts of the world still under colonial domination and respect for the independence and sovereignty of States will contribute effectively to the restoration of international peace and security. We reaffirm our faith in the objectives and principles of the United Nations, mainly peace, security and economic and social progress. We reaffirm our conviction that through peaceful coexistence tensions among nations will be replaced by understanding and tolerance. We are firmly convinced that by means of co-operation among all the peoples of the world solutions will be found to overcome all the obstacles which today hinder the social and economic progress.

69. I would not like to conclude my statement without conveying to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, the gratitude of my Government for his merits and for the efforts which he has made in the search for feasible solutions to the problems faced by this Organization and particularly for his interest in decolonization, peace, international security and the economic problems of the world.

70. Mr. BIELKA (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, it is more than a mere custom, and for me it is more than an agreeable task—it is a real pleasure—to request you to transmit to the President of the General Assembly, on behalf of the delegation of Austria, our most sincere congratulations on his election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In him we welcome the representative of a country with which Austria maintains cordial relations.

71. Just as the new Algeria understands the permanent neutrality of Austria, which is the foundation of its foreign policy, so Austria understands the policy of non-alignment which is characteristic of the foreign policy of modern Algeria.

72. Allow me, too, to join to the congratulations I extend to the President of the Assembly our expression of gratitude towards his predecessor, Mr. Leo-

poldo Benites of Ecuador, who, guided by the wealth of his experience in the work of international organizations, was able to direct the work of the twenty-eighth session with so much perspicacity, skill and, indeed, devotion.

73. One of the first acts of this General Assembly was to admit to membership in our Organization three States from three great continents, Asia, Africa and Latin America, namely: Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. The entry to the United Nations of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as an independent State symbolizes in a particularly striking manner the new progress being made in the decolonization process in Africa, which Austria has always supported. I cannot fail to rejoice at the opportunity given me to welcome these three new Member States and to assure them that we are looking forward to close and friendly co-operation.

74. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express the most heartfelt condolences of Austria to the people of Honduras who have been struck so hard by a severe catastrophe.

75. In this month of September it is more difficult than it was on the eve of the last General Assembly to have a clear-cut view of international developments because of the events of the last year.

76. We have in fact lived through two crises that had global repercussions, and on two occasions our Organization has had to make every endeavour to stop these crises from expanding, to control their potential consequences and, above all, to prevent them from evolving into even greater catastrophes.

77. In October 1973 there was a new outbreak of war in the Middle East, which was more violent than any of the previous military confrontations in that region. On both sides the number of victims was larger, human suffering more harsh.

78. The peace efforts made at that time finally enabled Egypt and Israel, on the one hand, and Syria and Israel, on the other, to reach agreements on the disengagement of their forces and on the reduction of their military potential in the strategically significant zones. Because of the goodwill and the tireless efforts of all, and also because of the diplomatic skill, patience and tenacity of the negotiators, these agreements came into being. These are facts which history will take into account.

79. Allow me to say that my country, as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, feels a very special satisfaction at having been able to contribute to the first successes achieved in this struggle for peace in the Middle East, in particular, by sending contingents within the framework of the United Nations peace-keeping operations. Nevertheless, a long stretch of road lies ahead on the way to peace and understanding in the Middle East.

80. In the spirit of friendship that links us here with all the peoples and States in that region, my country profoundly hopes that this struggle for peace in the Middle East will no longer be hampered, in the future, by insurmountable obstacles. However, no satisfactory solution to this difficult problem can be found without taking into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, and

without the existence of all States in the region receiving a firm guarantee.

81. Quite recently another crisis has upset the international order, and this in a particularly sensitive area.

82. The Cyprus crisis has aroused grave concern in my country, first, because the Republic of Cyprus is, like Austria, a European country, and secondly, again like Austria, it is a small country that is not a member of any military alliance. Our concern, our uneasiness—which are shared by so many other countries—are also due to the fact that, by both the coup d'état of 15 July and the military invasion that followed it, a small State, a Member of the United Nations, has been the victim of a recourse to force from abroad for the purpose of bringing about changes in its internal situation.

83. Given these events, which seem to reflect a dangerous erosion of international morality, Austria has never ceased to affirm the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for the Republic of Cyprus, and the non-use of force in international relations.

84. Faithful to these principles, Austria has likewise held to the point of view that the problem of Cyprus must be settled, first and foremost, by the Cypriots themselves, and that only a dialogue between the two communities on the island—assisted, of course, by all those who bear special responsibilities in this regard, and by the United Nations—can lead to the restoration of peace in Cyprus.

85. In this connexion, we hope that the dialogue that has been started between representatives of the two communities—thanks to the good offices of the Secretary-General—will progress and will succeed in laying the basis for a settlement of the crisis. We wish to insist on the importance of such a settlement's being reached as soon as possible, for what is at stake is the credibility of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

86. The United Nations, when faced with these two great crises that have erupted in the last year—the scope and intensity of which constituted a threat to the process of détente—was able, through its competent organs, to discharge the role assigned to it under the Charter.

87. In this context, the peace-keeping operations decided upon by the Security Council are of particular importance. Scrupulous respect for such peace-keeping operations, in particular the obligation of not hindering the members in the execution of their mandate, constitutes an essential condition for their success. Such respect is likewise indispensable for safeguarding the authority of the United Nations.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.

88. In the economic and social fields, too, the international community has been gravely put to the test. Recent manifestations of economic crisis, particularly the persistence of inflationary pressures and the gravity of the situation as regards energy and food, have made us even more aware of the need for concerted action among all countries.

89. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and development, drew

attention to the vastness of these problems and, accordingly, advocated the establishment of a new international economic order. Now, the main characteristic of such a new economic order must be its capacity to place sound economic growth at the service of universally accepted objectives, that is to say, the elimination of the hunger and destitution and poverty that exist in many regions of the world; the struggle against pollution and the preservation of the environment—rightly regarded as pre-conditions for the existence in human dignity of any people; a general rise in standards of living; and acceleration of the process of industrialization in the developing countries. Such a new economic order must, however, also seek to avoid all forms of waste: in the field of energy, in that of raw materials and, above all, in that of armaments.

90. It is therefore to be hoped that all efforts directed at slowing down the arms race will soon produce positive and tangible results. On the basis of the latest estimates, more than \$207,000 million were spent last year for armaments purposes. This sum represents more than 6 per cent of the world total of gross national products. A reduction in this enormous expenditure could assist in rendering more effective the aid given to the developing countries.

91. Assistance to the developing countries that are most afflicted by economic difficulties is a paramount obligation. Austria has not failed to support the efforts of the United Nations for the benefit of those countries. We earnestly hope that the measures provided for within the framework of that programme will enjoy the support of all those States which, because of their economic situation, are in a position to manifest their solidarity with the countries hardest hit.

92. Nevertheless, however great the speed and energy with which assistance is brought to the countries most affected, it cannot in the long run prove effective unless the causes of their destitution are likewise eliminated. In this connexion, the delegation of Austria considers that the initiatives taken within the United Nations system to convene a series of major international conferences have made it possible to analyse the problems faced by all States and to find solutions with a view to creating a better balance in the world economy. Yet ascertaining all the facts and adopting all kinds of resolutions, if not followed by effective action on the part of all members of the international community, will not be enough to improve a situation which runs the risk of becoming chaotic.

93. The draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States prepared by UNCTAD on the initiative of the President of Mexico, Mr. Echeverria, could serve as a guideline and point the way towards a renewal in international economic co-operation. It is our earnest hope that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly may be able to reach a consensus on that Charter. Thus we shall have placed an essential corner-stone in building a system of collective economic security. However, this system can be achieved only in so far as we are prepared to assume collective economic responsibility. In this context, the delegation of Austria is very pleased with the suggestion made by the Foreign Minister

of Norway the day before yesterday in this Assembly [2241st meeting] to transform the Economic and Social Council into a body in permanent session, and we consider that this idea deserves to be adopted.

94. Economic and social justice cannot be attained without respect for the dignity and freedom of man. It follows that all forms of racial or religious oppression must be abolished in the world of today. Colonial domination has no future. The evolution in Portugal and the efforts of the Portuguese Government towards a solution of the complex problems of its African colonies deserve special attention in this regard. We hope that the arduous struggle waged at the cost of great sacrifices by the liberation movements in southern Africa will, in the near future, and by peaceful means, lead to the attainment of the objectives of freedom and independence.

95. The Austrian delegation notes, furthermore, not without grave anxiety, that the policy of *apartheid* persists in South Africa. No sign of change is to be seen in the South African policy towards Namibia either, despite the unequivocal opinion of the International Court of Justice and the clear stand repeatedly taken by competent United Nations organs.

96. My country has consistently affirmed its respect for human rights and firmly supported any action intended to promote them, particularly within the United Nations framework. Austria has once again demonstrated its convictions on this matter, by signing the International Covenants on Human Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex] on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

97. It is deeply disquieting to have to note that even today there are numerous flagrant cases of violations of human rights. Torture and every kind of penalty employed with the aim of degrading a human being are the most abject treatments one can inflict on man, very particularly when these methods are used against political prisoners. Austria lends its firmest support to all efforts undertaken within the United Nations for the purpose of eliminating torture.

98. Allow me also to speak of another major humanitarian problem which, unhappily, has been on our agenda for years and has never ceased to preoccupy international opinion: the problem of refugees.

99. Every new crisis, every upheaval in the international order, has resulted in an increase in the number of those who find themselves homeless and are plunged into the greatest misery. The events in Cyprus provide us with a painfully eloquent example, since we know that at present one-third of the population of the island have the status of refugees. It is, therefore, urgent to intensify international action for the benefit of refugees throughout the world and to strive to do away with the underlying, mostly political, causes of their deplorable state.

100. Austria has consistently supported and contributed to the process of *détente*. The Federal Government has concentrated its efforts in particular in the framework of Europe, by participating actively in the consultations of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at Geneva. We hope that the second stage of the Conference will soon

arrive at satisfactory solutions which will enable it to set up the final stage at the highest level.

101. It is with very special satisfaction that I can report to this General Assembly on the positive developments regarding the question of South Tyrol, which was the subject of General Assembly resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI).

102. Four years ago at the twenty-fifth session, my predecessor was able to inform the General Assembly [1855th meeting] that Austria and Italy had agreed on a proposal which made provision for an extension of the autonomy of South Tyrol according to a timetable agreed to by both States.

103. I am happy to be able to inform you today that further progress has been achieved in that matter since the last General Assembly session and that most of the measures for broadening the autonomy of South Tyrol have been expressed in corresponding laws and administrative arrangements. However, a certain number of measures remain to be taken. I wish to express the hope that the settlement of this question will proceed satisfactorily and that it will be completed in the near future.

104. The desire of my country to contribute to the work of the United Nations, not only politically but also materially, is evidenced by the building of new headquarters for IAEA and UNIDO in Vienna. The "United Nations City", construction of which is well under way and will be completed in 1978, according to estimates, is financed entirely by Austria. We hope that this tangible contribution will be recognized internationally by integrating the city of Vienna in the "pattern of conferences" of the United Nations. We hope also that our offer to welcome to Vienna other units of the United Nations Secretariat and other organizations will be favourably received.

105. The attainment of the purposes and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations requires an extraordinary effort from all Members. Naturally, the contribution expected from each Member State must be in accordance with the reality of its specific situation and its material means. Yet we cannot expect to move forward on the course we have set ourselves unless each Member of the Organization is prepared to shoulder the responsibilities incumbent on it, and unless the distribution of such responsibilities and burdens is equitable and consonant with the possibilities of each Member.

106. Austria, for its part, is prepared to assume its share of responsibility and, as in the past, to contribute to fulfilling the tasks defined in the Charter.

107. Mr. MINIĆ (Yugoslavia):* Sir, I have the honour to congratulate you on your election to the high and responsible position of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. This gives me particular pleasure since you represent friendly, non-aligned Algeria, which, like my own country, through a national liberation war and revolution won independence and created the conditions for social progress and equal participation in international relations. Your election symbolizes the

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

growing role in the world of the peoples and countries of Africa and their successful struggle for freedom, independence and equality, as well as the increasing role of the non-aligned countries and the policy of non-alignment in the contemporary development of international relations.

108. The untiring efforts and the competence with which Mr. Leopoldo Benites conducted the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, last year, as well as the sixth special session of the General Assembly, merit our most profound thanks and recognition.

109. My delegation has already had the opportunity to welcome the admission of the three new Members in the Organization and, in that connexion, to express our great pleasure. Permit me to congratulate once more the delegations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada on their admission, which is one more important victory on the road to achieving the universality of the United Nations.

110. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express to Secretary-General Mr. Kurt Waldheim our recognition of his great personal commitment to finding solutions to the crises in the Middle East and Cyprus, and of his efforts in that connexion, as well as in connexion with the carrying out of the programme of emergency measures to mitigate the difficulties of the most seriously affected developing countries.

111. In the period between last year's General Assembly session and this one, many turbulent and important changes have occurred which have not by-passed a single area of international relations, and from which no region of the world has been exempt. Almost never before have so many problems, in so short a time and with such intensity, engaged the attention of the international community.

112. The basic characteristics of these changes are a profound social-economic ferment in many countries, and ever stronger and more organized demands for fundamental changes in international political and economic relations. The achievement of domestic progress is becoming increasingly tied to the struggle for complete political and economic independence and equality and for the elimination of the causes of tension and hotbeds of crisis.

113. The process of relaxation of tension between the big Powers and in Europe has led to certain achievements important to peace and security. This is reflected in the initial results obtained in the field of the limitation of strategic nuclear arms and the removal of the danger of a general nuclear war, as well as in the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The successful conclusion of that Conference would be a new, important contribution to consolidating the process of relaxation of tension and the strengthening of peace, security and equal international co-operation in Europe and the world. Yugoslavia decisive¹ favours and, together with other participating countries, is making a constructive contribution to the successful outcome of the Conference. There is no doubt that the continuation of the process of relaxation of tension is of the greatest importance

for the preservation of peace in the world and the solution of international problems.

114. The relaxation of tension in the world is in the interests of all countries. It should become a world process and encompass the solution of the most serious international problems with the equal participation of all countries, especially those most directly interested. If such general relaxation is not achieved, or if it should remain limited in scope, content and participants, we would have no guarantee that we had really moved away from the danger to the peace and security of many countries, and not even from a confrontation of global proportions. The role of the United Nations is of the greatest significance in the further development of the relaxation of tension. The non-aligned countries particularly contribute to the development of this process, in which they see the expansion of active peaceful coexistence in the world and conditions for attaining their jointly established aims.

115. In the complex and uncertain development of the world situation, the policy of non-alignment, which at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September 1973, gained new strength and established the basic directions for common action by the non-aligned countries, has been further confirmed as the lasting political orientation of an ever-increasing number of States and as a world policy. The non-aligned countries have become not only a powerful moral and political factor but a real material force, which has shown that it can influence international relations and make a real contribution to the solution of the most important international problems. It should be stressed in this connexion that the non-aligned countries have always been inspired by a desire for equitable and broad co-operation with other countries, and that confrontation has been imposed on them by the positions and conduct of certain Powers.

116. The challenge to the international community and the United Nations, and especially to the non-aligned countries, is all the greater and more bold because of the frequency of cases of direct and indirect foreign interference in the internal affairs of other countries, often with the aim of overthrowing the legal government and changing the political orientation of a country. Furthermore, the internal social and economic difficulties encountered by certain developing countries are frequently used to the same end, whereas solidarity should be expressed and assistance extended to them in overcoming such difficulties. There is no hesitation even about attempting to legalize such interference as the right of the stronger. The United Nations must not permit any country, on whatever grounds, to secure the right to interference and intervention, for this would be the gravest blow to efforts for the relaxation of tension in the world and the establishment of equitable international relations; it would be a dangerous threat to peace and security, and even to the very existence of the United Nations.

117. Why do we have these and similar dangerous phenomena in international relations? We find the answer in the reality of the existing profound differences and contradictions in the development of inter-

national relations in our era. Acting contrary to the process of relaxation of tension, to the struggles of peoples for full political and economic emancipation, equal international co-operation and peace and security in the world, are the forces of imperialism, colonialism and other kinds of foreign domination, hegemony and exploitation, which often resort to interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to various forms of pressure and do not even shrink from the use of force. As a direct consequence of this practice there is today a whole chain of crises and tensions, from Viet Nam and Cambodia, through the Indian Ocean and the Middle East, to Cyprus and southern Africa, which directly threaten the freedom and independence of many countries and peoples as well as world peace and security. In other parts of the world, too, there are many latent crises and conflicts which could lead to new and dangerous tensions in international relations.

118. Following the significant changes resulting from the successful liberation struggle of the Arab countries and peoples in the October war against Israeli aggression, which we view as only the first step towards an overall solution of the Middle East crisis, I must express concern over the lack of further progress and the return to the state of "no peace, no war". Moreover, the trends towards a heightening of this dangerous international crisis are becoming stronger. Obviously, the responsibility for this situation lies with Israel, which continues to show reluctance to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, resorts to aggressive conduct and is threatening a new armed attack. It is a dangerous illusion to believe that the crisis can be kept under control or that it can be localized while the settlement of the problem is postponed.

119. Yugoslavia calls for the prompt and complete withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and subsequently. This is an essential prerequisite for achieving a comprehensive and just solution which would enable all the countries and peoples of the Middle East to live in peace and independence.

120. We have always believed that a settlement of the Middle East crisis is impossible without a solution at the same time of the Palestinian problem. Therefore my country is among those that have wholeheartedly supported the initiative to include this item in the agenda of the General Assembly [A/9742 and Add.1-4]. This comes at a particularly timely moment in view of the frequent attempts to push this problem into the background and by various manoeuvres make it impossible for the legitimate representatives of the Arab people of Palestine to take part, on an equal footing, in its solution.

121. Yugoslavia firmly supports the recognition and realization of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and primarily its right to self-determination and free development, and considers the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] to be its sole legitimate representative. We are convinced that at this session appropriate decisions will be adopted in this direction and that the Palestinian representatives will be granted equal participation

in all efforts to overcome the Middle East crisis and all phases of the negotiations.

122. The crisis in the Middle East and the new Cyprus crisis are interconnected, intensifying tensions and increasing the danger to peace and security in that part of the world and generally. It is therefore essential that these crises be settled without delay. It has again been confirmed that peace and security in Europe, in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East, which are of fundamental importance for peace and security in the world, are interlinked and that they cannot for long be strengthened or consolidated apart from each other.

123. Without going into the history of the Cyprus crisis I should like to set forth our views on its essence and the basic elements on which a settlement can be achieved. My Government believes that it is now most important to begin the process of settling this acute and dangerous situation. Provoked by interference on the part of imperialistic and reactionary forces in harness with the former Government of the Greek military junta, by means of the well-known *putsch* against the Government of the Republic of Cyprus headed by President Makarios, and in view of the unsettled relations between the two national communities in Cyprus, the crisis flared into an armed conflict and foreign military intervention, which despite the present cease-fire continues to entail great sacrifices and suffering for the population of the Republic of Cyprus.

124. The independent and non-aligned Republic of Cyprus is, after Chile, the second non-aligned country within a year to fall victim to inadmissible foreign interference in internal affairs and to the policy of force. We view these events as dangerous attacks on the policy of non-alignment as a whole—following the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers—which all non-aligned and other peace-loving countries must most resolutely resist.

125. My country, as a neighbouring and non-aligned nation having friendly relations with the Republic of Cyprus, with Greece and with Turkey, has endeavoured from the beginning, within the limits of its capacity, to contribute to overcoming the crisis. The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, sent messages to the leading statesmen of the Republic of Cyprus, of Greece and of Turkey. Believing this to be a crisis of the broadest international significance, President Tito then sent messages also to the chiefs of State of the permanent members of the Security Council and to a number of non-aligned and other countries, as well as to the Secretary-General.

126. In these messages, and on many other occasions, my Government pointed out the principles which it considers to be the basis for a just and lasting solution. These are: full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; the withdrawal of foreign armed forces and bases from Cyprus; and the establishment of relations of equality between the Greek and Turkish national communities within the framework of a State organization which they themselves will work out together. Not only must the legitimate representatives of the Republic of

Cyprus, in the person of representatives of both national communities, participate in finding a just and lasting solution, but their role in the search for such a solution is of primary importance. Along these lines, the contacts between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus, which have produced initial positive results, are encouraging.

127. Yugoslavia regards as indispensable the full commitment of the United Nations to the finding of ways and means for a political settlement of the Cyprus crisis. In this connexion, we think that the presence and activities of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus are important and my Government extends its recognition to that Force. We deeply regret the casualties it has suffered.

128. On the basis of these positions, Yugoslavia—along with other non-aligned countries, especially those in the group established by the co-ordinating bureau of the non-aligned countries to follow the development of the Cyprus crisis and to offer good offices to the parties to the dispute—is ready to continue to do everything in its power to open up prospects for a just and permanent solution of this crisis, in the interest of peace and security and in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, that is, the universally accepted principles upon which international relations should be based. Yugoslavia also supports all other initiatives and efforts for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus crisis that is acceptable to the parties to the dispute.

129. We note with pleasure that the successful struggles of the liberation movements in Africa and the positive changes in Portugal have made possible progress towards the final liberation of the peoples from Portuguese colonial domination. The independence of Guinea-Bissau and the agreement on the attainment of independence by Mozambique are very significant achievements which we believe will soon be followed by the liberation of Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and other colonies.

130. By consistently supporting and assisting from the very beginning liberation and anti-colonial movements, Yugoslavia has actively endeavoured to contribute to this development. Guided by that consideration, we resumed diplomatic relations with Portugal immediately following the removal of the Portuguese Fascist, colonialist regime. We approached this in the conviction that the democratic forces of the Portuguese people will consistently carry out the historic task of decolonization and with a profound belief in the unity of interests of the struggle of the democratic forces of Portugal and the national liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. We are happy to see that the democratic forces of Portugal are successfully carrying out this task in co-operation and agreement with the liberation movements. At the same time, we consider it essential that the United Nations engage in preventing any attempt by colonialist and racist régimes to restrict or halt this process.

131. South Africa, however, remains a bastion of imperialism, neo-colonialism and foreign exploitation. Not only does the racist régime oppress the African majority of its population but it is also a constant source of threat and danger to the independence of its African neighbours. Without assistance from

South Africa and international capital, the white racists in Southern Rhodesia would be unable to maintain their illegal minority régime, which defies all the sanctions of the United Nations. The people of Namibia are still exposed to cruel exploitation by the South African racists. We believe that the time has come for the United Nations to consider in more concrete terms what should be done to put an end to South Africa's constant violation of the fundamental principles and decisions of the United Nations.

132. In our opinion, there are now favourable conditions for accelerating the liberation of all the remaining colonial strongholds or enclaves in various parts of the world and we should therefore come closer to the complete realization of decolonization—one of the most important goals of the United Nations and of the entire international community.

133. In South Viet Nam the Saigon régime, with support from abroad, is brazenly violating the Paris Agreement and, by resuming military operations, endangering the freedom, independence and right to self-determination of the people of Viet Nam. The people and Government of Yugoslavia fully support the right of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam—the only legitimate representative of the people of South Viet Nam—to observer status and the right to participate in the work of our Organization.

134. As we know, through procedural manoeuvres, last year a discussion of the question of establishing in the United Nations the legitimate rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, led by Prince Sihanouk, was postponed, but the acuteness of this problem has not diminished. In fact, the postponement has proved to be completely unjustified. The Lon Nol régime is, as it always has been, an instrument of foreign intervention and interference. The liberation struggle of the people of Cambodia has registered new successes, while their legitimate Government actually controls most of the national territory. It is therefore essential for this session of the General Assembly to adopt a resolution in favour of recognizing the legitimate Government of Prince Sihanouk to represent Cambodia in the United Nations.

135. The problem of Korea continues to occupy our attention. Important steps have been taken to overcome this heritage of the cold war. The duty of the United Nations, as we conceive it, is to induce the peaceful reunification of the Korean people. We therefore, together with a group of non-aligned and socialist countries, requested the inclusion of an item on the withdrawal of foreign military forces from South Korea under the United Nations flag [A/9703 and Add.1-3] and we favour the adoption of a resolution by the General Assembly in this regard, which is also in the spirit of the consensus achieved at the twenty-eighth session.²

136. The efforts and struggles of the peoples of Latin America to change the existing inequitable relations, for sovereignty over their natural resources and for political and economic independence enjoy the support of a wide circle of non-aligned countries, including my own. The adoption by an ever greater number of Latin American and Caribbean

countries of the policy of non-alignment is of tremendous international importance, because it strengthens the power and role of the non-aligned countries in international relations and in solving acute and long-term international problems, while at the same time it is a further guarantee of the success of their struggle for emancipation and equality.

137. In recent months we have witnessed the further deepening of the crisis of the world economy. The world trade and monetary systems are in a state of profound crisis. Inflation is rampant and, like a relentless tidal wave, is sweeping from one country to another, and the greatest sufferers from this are the broad working classes of the population and the countries at the lowest level of economic and social development.

138. The so-called energy crisis and the crisis of the system of international economic relations, which most directly affect the development of political relations, have again confirmed that in today's world of increasing interdependence of countries and peoples no area can be isolated in either prosperity or crisis.

139. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and development, provided a comprehensive analysis of contemporary economic problems. On the initiative of the non-aligned and other developing countries it reached a historic decision on the establishment of a new international economic order and adopted a Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*]. This offers a basis and framework which make it possible, by common effort and respect for the interests of both the developing and the developed countries, to seek solutions to the most serious economic problems confronting us. For that reason, in our opinion, our actions should be directed towards the most rapid and complete implementation of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the Programme of Action. We are convinced that a search for some other solutions and resistance to the inevitable process of establishing a new economic order could only worsen the already critical situation in which we find ourselves today.

140. I should especially like to stress the importance of the most urgent and complete implementation of the Special Programme contained in the Programme of Action. Despite the fact that the General Assembly at the special session achieved a high degree of agreement on the need to extend urgent and adequate assistance to developing countries which are most seriously affected by the current economic trends in the world, the implementation of the Special Programme as a whole is going slowly, so that there is a danger of its losing its basic purpose. The extremely difficult position of the most seriously affected developing countries places a great obligation on all countries to heed the appeal launched at the special session, in the name of solidarity, interdependence and common progress. We feel that at this session the General Assembly should give decisive support to the implementation of the Special Programme.

141. In this connexion, I particularly wish to emphasize the extraordinarily difficult position of the

People's Republic of Bangladesh, which is fighting the terrible consequences of inherited backwardness, war destruction, natural catastrophes and extremely unfavourable world economic trends. In addition, a matter occupying our close attention is the grave consequences of famine affecting many African countries, particularly in the Sudano-Sahelian region, and in some other countries in other parts of the world. It is of vital necessity for the international community and our Organization to approach more decisively the solving of these acute problems.

142. Aware of the situation in the most seriously affected developing countries, the Government of Yugoslavia has decided, within the confines of its capacities, to contribute to the emergency measures provided for in the Special Programme, despite the fact that my country, also, seriously feels the results of these unfavourable trends in the world economy that include restrictions imposed on its traditional export markets.

143. The developing countries will continue to rely on their own capabilities and to utilize their own resources. They are determined to speed up their economic development by joining forces and through mutual co-operation and assistance. We feel sure that the meeting of representatives of the co-ordinating countries, which has just ended in Belgrade, and which prepared a number of proposals for the implementation of the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation among Non-Aligned Countries, will contribute to this.

144. In achieving the aims and performing the tasks laid down at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, the role of the United Nations is irreplaceable. We have often witnessed a lack of orientation on the part of certain organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations towards carrying out the resolutions and recommendations of the General Assembly, while today there is a growing tendency to bypass the system of the United Nations, and to seek solutions to outstanding economic problems in closed, privileged circles. What is essential today is to have ever more concentrated actions by the organs and agencies of the United Nations.

145. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and the World Population Conference, contributed to the solution of the problem of development, and thus also to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations. To those same goals should contribute such important actions in the coming period as the adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the World Food Conference, the Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and, as the climax of a period of exceptional all-round activity by the United Nations, the special session of the General Assembly to be held in September of next year, in the preparation of which we should even now begin to pay the greatest care.

146. Present developments in the world are accompanied, and to a great extent conditioned, by the strengthening of the influence of the military factor on the policy and actions of some Governments. This also leads to an acceleration of the arms

race which is acquiring disturbing proportions, and to an increase in the role of the military-industrial complex in certain developed countries.

147. The greatest danger threatening humanity is the possible use of weapons of mass destruction. For this reason, Yugoslavia, together with other non-aligned countries, and in the spirit of the resolutions adopted at their conferences, has always most resolutely favoured the undertaking of urgent measures for the complete prohibition of the use, development, production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, and for the destruction of existing stockpiles. In this context, we also support the prohibition of all nuclear and thermonuclear weapons tests for military purposes, in all areas and by all countries. For the same reason, we firmly support the efforts for the earliest possible prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and the destruction of existing supplies.

148. While the development and production of nuclear weapons continues, we cannot refrain from pointing out that very modest results have been achieved so far in the field of the transfer of nuclear technology to the developing countries. This leads the developing countries to rely on their own resources and, by uniting their capabilities, to seek solutions in this area, also, which would enable them to emerge more quickly from the economic difficulties confronting them. It is high time for the world Organization to find a proper answer to this problem too.

149. Negotiations on disarmament being held bilaterally or within broader frameworks, have yielded some results, which my country supports, but we feel it is essential to give a new powerful stimulus to these efforts. We believe that a world conference on disarmament could open new paths and perspectives for the abandonment of the armaments race,

and for disarmament, in conditions of a strengthening of trust among peoples and States.

150. We welcome with satisfaction the success of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, of which Yugoslavia is a member, in submitting to the Assembly at this session an agreed draft definition [*see A/9619 and Corr.1*]. Although the draft definition is a result of compromise, it defines the most important characteristics of the act of aggression, a definition that can assist the United Nations in identifying an aggressor, preventing and arresting aggression, or checking a potential aggressor. To this end, my delegation is in favour of the General Assembly's adopting, by consensus, the proposed definition of aggression.

151. This decisive turning-point in international relations, makes it essential for us to combine our efforts on the broadest possible basis so that the search may continue for the solution of outstanding questions by peaceful means and in the spirit of the principles to which we, so often, as Members of the Organization, have declared our attachment.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

² *See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 27, item 41.*

³ *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3), chap. I.*