

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTIETH SESSION

Official Records



**2378th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 7 October 1975,
at 3.45 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Address by Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus	511
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>):	
Speech by Mr. Gairy (Grenada)	515
Speech by Mr. Hunlédé (Togo)	518
Speech by Mr. Garba (Nigeria)	521

President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

*Address by Archbishop Makarios,
President of the Republic of Cyprus*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour of welcoming to the United Nations His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and of inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Archbishop MAKARIOS (President of the Republic of Cyprus): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus, warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your wide experience in international affairs and your outstanding qualities, which have distinguished you as Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, a country with long and rich democratic traditions, ensure that the deliberations of this Assembly will be guided by a constructive and creative spirit.

3. I should like also to express deep appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for the skilful and effective manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

4. The Republic of Cyprus extends a warm welcome to the three new Members of the Organization, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde and Mozambique, which, having emerged from colonial status, have assumed their rightful place as members of the international community. We salute their presence as a further step towards the universality of membership of this global Organization. We hope this process will soon be concluded by the admission to membership in the very near future of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam and also of the remaining Territories still under colonial or other alien rule.

5. Before proceeding further, I wish to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for

his dedicated efforts at upholding the principles of the United Nations and attaining its objectives. My country is particularly grateful for his contribution in the search for a just and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem. We are deeply appreciative of the fact that, with great patience and a sense of fairness, he presided over the negotiations in Vienna and New York in an effort to reach a solution within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and that, with untiring dedication, he continues to make his good offices available.

6. This year, the United Nations finds itself celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of its establishment. The fact that its membership has grown from the original 50 States to the present total of 141 demonstrates the significance of the Organization and gives it the dimensions of a truly global community. The universality of its membership shows the momentous evolution which has taken place since the Second World War and underlines the fact that the principles of self-determination and independence have been steadily accepted and widely applied.

7. A new era has been ushered in for mankind. Old patterns and practices of international thinking and behaviour are now outmoded and have given place to the new concept that the world is interdependent and constitutes a single community. The advances of technology have made the world shrink and events occurring in one place have global repercussions. In our small world of today, principles and values such as peace, freedom, and social and economic justice are indivisible and co-operation among peoples and nations is an imperative necessity. It can be truly said that in our interdependent world the alternatives are common progress or common disaster.

8. This necessity for co-operation was highlighted at the recent Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The principles included in the Final Act of the Conference are in line with the Charter of the United Nations and at the same time take due account of the accumulated experience of the past 30 years and the existing situations in the world. The fact that the signatories included Powers which possess the means to destroy our planet within a matter of hours gives particular importance to the Helsinki Conference.

9. It has become increasingly recognized that, in our age, no one State or group of States can achieve its aims through unilateral actions in disregard of the legitimate interests of others but only through accommodation and co-operation. The seventh special session has gone a long way towards revising and restructuring the world economic order with a view to establishing a more equitable and fair system bridging the gap between the developed and the developing countries. To this effect, much has yet to be done,

but an auspicious beginning has been made. The general awareness of the importance of the problem and of the need to deal with it realistically gives rise to the hope that more concrete results may be forthcoming soon.

10. The effort to create a new economic order and a better future for mankind is closely connected with the problem of disarmament, and more particularly with the cessation of the spiralling arms race. Colossal sums, now reaching the figure of \$300,000 million, are annually squandered on purposeless armaments. If only a small part of this wasteful expenditure were applied to the positive purpose of development, the grave economic difficulties involved could be overcome and the existing gap substantially bridged. Such a halt or reduction in the arms race would serve both the cause of peace and that of development, the two main objectives of the United Nations. Furthermore, the creation of nuclear-free zones—on which a hopeful start has been made—would be a positive step in the right direction. In this context, we support all efforts for a complete and effective prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests.

11. Any expectation, however, of effectively halting the course of armaments would be unrealistic and fruitless in the absence of international security and legal order. For how could nations diminish their war potential in a world of international anarchy? It is my firm conviction that our primary and collective endeavour should be directed to the establishment of effective international security and legal order. To this end, one of the first United Nations steps should be to ensure that the resolutions of the Security Council are effectively implemented.

12. It is not my intention to deal in any detail with the many and important items on our agenda. I would only say that Cyprus as always in the past will consistently support all initiatives aimed at eradicating racial discrimination and *apartheid*, at bringing peace with justice in southern Africa, at promoting liberation causes, at protecting human rights everywhere, at advancing the observance of international law and at strengthening the United Nations so that it may become a more effective instrument for security and peace in the world.

13. I would, however, be remiss if I did not refer more particularly to the Middle East problem which by analogy and by its geography is connected with that of Cyprus. The position of my country on this issue is that any sound settlement should be based on the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the territories occupied since 1967 and the respect of the national rights of the Palestinian people. Under no circumstances can the acquisition of territories by force be condoned or military occupation be taken as creating any rights. Consequently, we support the full implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and all efforts aimed in that direction. Certain initiatives may have brought about a measure of peace in the area. But real peace is not simply the absence of war. The situation remains grave and, if no comprehensive and just solution is found in the near future, there is a serious danger of conflagration with incalculable repercussions.

14. I turn now to the question of Cyprus, an item on the agenda extensively discussed by the General As-

sembly at its twenty-ninth session, when I had the opportunity of telling the Assembly [2251st meeting] of the tragic fate that has befallen my country, a small, non-aligned and defenceless State Member of this Organization. I believe it would be appropriate and understandable if I dealt at some length with this problem, which is not only close to my heart and mind but also serves to bring into focus some of the more disquieting realities facing the world today.

15. The Republic of Cyprus, since July 1974, has been dismembered as a result of the armed aggression by Turkey. In consequence of this aggression, unprecedented in our times in its ferocity and inhumanity, nearly 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus, in which 70 per cent of its economic resources are located, has come under the military occupation of the invader.

16. Two hundred thousand Cypriots, one third of the total population of the island, have been uprooted from their ancestral homes and have become destitute refugees in their own country. The killing in cold blood of thousands of people, including women and children, assumed the dimensions of a genocide which is paralleled in history by the massacres of the Armenians in 1915. Desecration of places of worship, destruction of priceless archaeological treasures, looting and usurpation of properties, rapes and other crimes, too many to be recounted, compose the tragedy brought about by operation Attila, as Turkey called its military operation in Cyprus.

17. Another aspect, and a very tragic one, is that of the missing persons. More than 2,000 persons are missing. Evidence exists that many of these persons were alive in the hands of the Turkish army after the cease-fire became effective. Authentic photographs of several such persons taken at the time of their seizure by the Turkish forces have appeared in the foreign press, including Turkish newspapers, and in television documentaries. What has been the fate of those persons? We have persistently and repeatedly raised this grave matter with the Turkish side. The reply has been that no prisoners or hostages are being held, either in Turkey or in the occupied part of Cyprus.

18. If this is so, are we to reach the conclusion that they have all been killed in cold blood some time after their arrest? To this there has been no reply, and the families of all the missing persons are in constant agony as to whether their loved ones are still alive or whether they have been killed. We asked the Turkish side to arrange for a search operation to be carried out by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which would be given freedom of movement to trace those persons or at least to discover the places where they were buried. The reply has so far been negative. This matter must be fully investigated and cleared up. My delegation will raise it in the appropriate Committee of the General Assembly, for the purpose of obtaining information on the fate of those missing persons, which would at least alleviate the agony of their families.

19. Turkey, by its actions in Cyprus, flagrantly violates international law and every concept of human rights. The General Assembly, when it dealt with the Cyprus problem last year, at the initiative of the non-aligned States—to whom we are deeply grateful—unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX). That resolution provided the framework for a solution to the

problem. In its key provisions, it calls for respect of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic, the cessation of all foreign interference and for the taking of urgent measures for the return of the refugees in safety to their homes.

20. That resolution of the General Assembly was endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974) of 13 December 1974, thus making its implementation mandatory.

21. What has Turkey's attitude been towards those resolutions, and what does the record show one year later? It has been an attitude of contemptuous disregard of and non-compliance with any of the provisions of those resolutions. There has been no withdrawal of foreign troops, speedy or otherwise; there have been no measures for the return of the refugees to their homes, urgent or otherwise; there has been no cessation of foreign interference and no respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. All this despite the fact that Turkey also voted for resolution 3212 (XXIX). In casting its affirmative vote, Turkey was merely pretending to go along with the unanimity of the General Assembly.

22. The United Nations resolutions on Cyprus also provide for negotiations between representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots with a view to reaching freely a political settlement. Negotiations were indeed undertaken and carried out in Cyprus and, since last April, in Vienna and New York, under the personal auspices and direction of the Secretary-General. I very much regret that to date these negotiations have not produced any positive results. This has been entirely due to the negative attitude taken by Turkey towards the talks.

23. It became obvious from the very start that there was no intention on the part of the Turkish side that meaningful negotiations should take place. The time of the talks was used by Turkey in order to consolidate its hold on the occupied territory and to create further situations of *faits accomplis*. Turkey, acting through its instrument, the Turkish-Cypriot leadership, took a series of arbitrary measures by unilaterally declaring a purported "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus", followed by setting up a "Constituent Assembly", drafting a "Constitution" and holding a "referendum" thereon.

24. All these arbitrary acts were carried out during negotiations and, particularly, at a time when the Turkish Government had received a note verbale officially addressed to it by the Secretary-General, asking what steps it had taken or contemplated taking for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974). To that request, Turkey evaded replying and finally made no response.

25. This conduct of the Turkish Government demonstrates once more its lack of good faith in the negotiations. It should furthermore be pointed out that, under the continuing pressure of Turkey's military occupation, aggravated by the perpetration of *faits accomplis*, negotiations could not be conducted "freely" as stipulated in the relevant resolutions.

26. It should not be overlooked that when the parties engaged in any negotiation are at cross-purposes there can hardly be any prospect of positive results. Turkey's purpose is not to comply with the United Nations resolutions on an independent and territorially integral State of Cyprus, but to partition Cyprus. I would like in this connexion to clarify that I am not opposed to the negotiation process as such and that, on the contrary, I believe it to be the best means for achieving a peaceful solution of the problem. If the negotiations are to be fruitful, however, it is imperative that they be conducted meaningfully and in accordance with the express provisions of the relevant resolutions on Cyprus. I refer to Turkey's attitude towards the talks and not to that of the representative of the Turkish Cypriots, since the Turkish-Cypriot leadership is totally dependent upon, and directed by, Ankara.

27. Turkey's lack of good faith in the negotiations and its real intentions can be seen from the fact that it is systematically channelling thousands of members of the Turkish population from Turkey, transplanting them into the occupied area, where they are being established in the usurped homes and properties of the expelled Cypriots. It may be recalled in this connexion that the Turkish Cypriots are, numerically speaking, but a relatively small minority of 18 per cent, as compared with the Greek-Cypriot majority of 82 per cent. The Turkish colonization process to which I have just referred is calculated to change the age-long demographic character of Cyprus.

28. These are the facts which bear out the attitude and reveal the intentions of Turkey. Turkey has been trying to present the Cyprus situation as a dispute between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. This is not the substance of the problem as it stands today. In its real essence, the problem is the aggression by Turkey and the continuing military occupation of a large part of the territory of Cyprus. I must say that the oppression of the Turkish military is felt not only by the Greek Cypriots but also by the bulk of the Turkish Cypriots. If the people of Cyprus are left free from outside interference, they can well settle any differences which may exist between them.

29. Another fallacy which Turkish propaganda is trying to spread, especially among Islamic countries, is that religion lies at the root of the Cyprus problem. This is totally untrue. Religion has never been a cause of friction between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

30. In its effort to diminish the unfavourable impact on world opinion of its aggression and conduct in Cyprus, Turkey is falsely representing that, for 11 years, after 1963 the Turkish Cypriots suffered at the hands of the Government which allegedly deprived them of their freedom of movement and otherwise suppressed them. The reality is that the Turkish Cypriots suffered from the restrictions imposed on them by their leadership, acting in pursuance of Turkey's policy of division. A large number of them were forced by their leadership to move from their villages into enclaves and were prevented from having any dealings with their Greek compatriots, in a manner which adversely affected their economic and everyday life. These facts were clearly spelled out in the reports of the Secretary-General throughout all those years and are a matter of record. The Turkish Cypriots were

also prevented from participating in the functions of the State, as a means of separatism paving the way to ultimate partition. Turkey's plans for partition appear in the proposals of the Turkish-Cypriot leadership submitted to the United Nations Mediator, Mr. Galo Plaza, as set out in his official report of 1965.¹

31. The future of Cyprus as an independent country is at stake. The Turkish aggression against Cyprus will continue so long as Turkish forces continue to occupy part of its territory. This situation should not be tolerated by the United Nations. All necessary measures must be taken to restore fully the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It might be said that a compromise should be sought. It is true that in many cases problems and disputes are solved by compromise, but in no case can there be a compromise of basic principles, particularly when independence and territorial integrity are involved. Cyprus is the victim of mutilating aggression. What kind of compromise can there be between the victim and the aggressor, unless compromise is intended to mean capitulation to *faits accomplis* created by the use of force? In our case, I consider compromise based on the results of aggression and of the grave crime involved as immoral. As such, it cannot be legalized.

32. Turkey alleges that its invasion of Cyprus was carried out by right under the Treaty of Guarantee to restore the constitutional order upset by the coup of July 1974. Turkey, together with the United Kingdom and Greece, guaranteed the constitution, the independence and the territorial integrity of Cyprus. I do not wish at this juncture to enter into the issue as to whether the Treaty of Guarantee gives such right of military intervention in Cyprus. In any case, Turkey, by its actions, destroyed the very object it had guaranteed to preserve. Ankara now speaks of new realities. What are these new realities? Turkey's military occupation of 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus, the uprooting of 200,000 indigenous Cypriots from their homes, and other situations brought about by the use of force are the so-called new realities which the Greek Cypriots are required to recognize and accept.

33. Such violently accomplished facts might even be presented by the Turkish side as superseding the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and as an excuse for non-compliance with their mandatory provisions. In no case, however, can situations established by the use of force in violation of binding resolutions of the United Nations supersede such resolutions.

34. It has also been alleged that the Turkish military intervention was intended to protect the Turkish Cypriot community and to secure their rights. But the colonization of the occupied territory by a population imported from Turkey and the looting and transfer to Turkey of large quantities of goods and valuable movables have nothing to do with the protection of the Turkish Cypriot community. On the contrary, all these actions are clearly against the interest of the Turkish community. I do not think that Turkey is genuinely interested in the welfare of the Turkish Cypriot community. Turkey's seeming concern is a pretext for the promotion of its expansionist plans, and the Turkish Cypriots are but the unfortunate pawns manipulated by Turkey in pursuance of those plans.

35. Indicative of this expansionist policy is the repeated reference in the statement made in this Assembly by the Turkish Foreign Minister [2364th meeting] to the "geopolitical" considerations behind Turkey's policy. "Geopolitics" is the well known term used by the Nazis in justification of their policy of aggressive territorial expansion. Turkey's aims at such expansion over Cyprus on geopolitical grounds were spelled out as early as 1954, when the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Turkey declared that Cyprus was an extension of continental Turkey and that it should revert to Turkey on the basis of geographic proximity.

36. The Turkish Foreign Minister, in his address, referred to resolution 3212 (XXIX), but only to its provision regarding negotiations, as though there were no other cardinal and urgent provisions in the resolution. He did not find it appropriate or expedient to make any mention of Turkey's obligation to implement the essential and urgent parts of the resolution regarding the return of the refugees and the cessation of Turkey's military intervention, or of what it contemplates doing in these respects. On the contrary, the Turkish Minister made proposals which are incompatible with the resolution and its purport. It is true that he spoke for the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. But that was mere lip-service, calculated to mislead; for Turkey's actions in Cyprus speak louder than its words.

37. I confidently trust that Cyprus will not be left at the mercy of the invader. The United Nations resolution on Cyprus must not remain a dead letter.

38. I have come to this body to seek such urgent and effective measures by the United Nations as this tragic situation warrants.

39. The implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), as mandatorily endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974), is a paramount necessity for positive progress towards a just and peaceful solution of the problem. I express the confident belief that the General Assembly will see the wisdom of taking effective steps to promote progress towards such a solution.

40. In the era of the United Nations, when concerted efforts are exerted to ensure the prevalence of international law and order, it would be inconceivable to allow the strangulation of the independence of a small State Member of this Organization. If this is tolerated in the case of Cyprus, it will create a dangerous precedent for other small countries, especially those among the non-aligned. It should not be overlooked that the issue involved is not only the future of a small country but also a broader issue: one of international security under the Charter, which is the primary concern of the United Nations and upon which the meaningfulness of the Organization stands or falls. If the tragic situation in Cyprus remains unremedied, the message to the world will be that only force wins.

41. As I stated earlier, I believe that negotiations are an appropriate and available means of achieving a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem. I am convinced that if such negotiations are carried out meaningfully in a spirit of goodwill and good faith, free from outside pressures and influences, they can lead to positive results within the framework of resolution

3212 (XXIX). It is my fervent desire that Greek and Turkish Cypriots should live together in peace and co-operation as they have done for many years in the past and enjoy in common the benefits of the progress and prosperity of their country. The forcible movement of people and the exchange of properties are inhuman and will be to the detriment of both sides. Those Cypriots who wish to move and resettle elsewhere within the island may do so freely, but what is essential is that there be no usurpation of property and that all those who wish to return to their homes can do so in safety, as expressly provided in resolution 3212 (XXIX).

42. If, as I hope, a settlement is reached on a viable State within the universally accepted norms, it should be respected by all both within and outside Cyprus. In this regard lessons should be drawn from the experience of the past, and such a settlement should be under broad and effective international guarantees. We want lasting peace, and lasting peace cannot be based on force but only on the exercise of reason, through mutual respect and understanding. Cyprus, located between three continents, could then become a bridge of unity in the whole region, as was its aspiration when it joined the United Nations.

43. In our interdependent world, when the need for understanding, unity and co-operation among nations becomes increasingly realized and constructive moves are taken in this direction through the United Nations, it is a sad reality that within a small country like Cyprus so much outmoded separatism and division are being forced upon its people on ethnic grounds.

44. My efforts have always been towards conciliation, co-operation and unity between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and I will persist with faith in this course. I know that the bulk of the Turkish Cypriots, no less than the Greek Cypriots, in their hearts share a common yearning for conciliation and co-operation. Even under present circumstances, this feeling is there and many are the occasions on which it bursts out.

45. I am convinced that in an independent non-aligned Cyprus, freed from the threats of force and all outside interference, its people, Greek and Turkish Cypriots, can live together in harmony with mutual respect for their legitimate rights. In these circumstances there will be neither need for nor purpose in the existence of any armies. In this respect I wish to state that the Government of Cyprus supports a fully demilitarized State of Cyprus and to that end is prepared completely to disband its armed forces.

46. Beyond all the achievements of the human intellect, it is the human spirit that will determine the fate of man on this planet. Technology in its gigantic progress is rendering obvious the need for ethical principles in the conduct of life for the very survival of mankind. The Charter of the United Nations provides the pattern for such conduct on the international level. I may say, in all humility, that Cyprus, within its modest means, has invariably supported adherence to the Charter on all occasions and will steadfastly follow that path.

47. May God guide us all to what is right so that we may outgrow the past and have as a measure of our decisions truth, justice and love; that we may hear the deep tones of the spirit, seek the wisdom that liberates

from self and master circumstances by the power of principle, so that lasting peace in justice may become a reality on our planet earth.

48. Before concluding I wish to express once more to the Secretary-General our deep gratitude for all he has been doing for my country. I also wish to record our warm appreciation of his Special Representative in Cyprus, Ambassador Luis Weckmann-Muñoz, for his valuable services in the discharge of his mission in the island, as well as to the Secretary-General's collaborators in New York, Mr. Guyer and Mr. Urquhart.

49. Our sincere thanks are also extended to the Commander of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP], General Prem Chand, and to all the officers and men serving under his command for the excellent manner in which they carry out their difficult duties in the UNFICYP operation as well as in humanitarian matters.

50. We are also very grateful to those countries which are contributing military and police contingents to the Force, as well as to those which make its functioning possible by financial contributions.

51. Gratitude is due also to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, for his exemplary humanitarian work in alleviating suffering in Cyprus, as well as to those countries and organizations which have been contributing for that purpose.

52. I also pay a special tribute to those delegations which have given support to the cause of Cyprus and have expressed their concern for the plight of its people, both in the course of this general debate and in other international forums. In this respect I wish to make particular mention of the Conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government at Kingston last May and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at Lima in August of this year and their full support for a just solution to the problem of Cyprus.

53. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly I should like to thank His Beatitude the President of the Republic of Cyprus for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

54. Mr. GAIRY (Grenada): It is with an extremely deep sense of joy and thankfulness that I accept the privilege and pleasure of addressing this body. Please allow me, Mr. President, without any hesitation whatever, to express for my country, Government and for myself personally, the great satisfaction that your elevation to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of this United Nations has brought us. Indeed, we are fully aware of the very high esteem in which you are held and the respect you have merited in international circles, particularly for your wisdom and for your extraordinary degree of statesmanship, as demonstrated throughout your years of public life. Please accept my warmest and sincere congratulations and those of the Government and the people of a small and incomparably beautiful country,

Grenada, known as the "Isle of Spice" and renowned for its friendliness and the warmth of its people.

55. I should consider myself remiss should I fail to place on record my country's appreciation for the herculean task so ably performed by your predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, in presiding over the work and activities of the twenty-ninth session as well as the seventh special session of the General Assembly. In this context, also, please permit me to pay a warm tribute to our beloved and illustrious Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose tenacious and effective dedication to the cause of peace and justice has been instrumental in stirring a sense of awareness among the leaders of the more industrialized nations of the needs of the less developed ones, thereby achieving a greater measure of understanding and meaningful co-operation.

56. May I at this juncture be permitted to extend a warm hand of welcome to the States of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Mozambique which have been admitted to full membership at this session. Indeed the Governments and peoples of these States must essentially be as proud of their membership and as happy in their association, privileges and concomitant responsibilities as we were when we were similarly admitted one year ago. I am particularly gratified by every step taken, at any time, and in any part of the globe, bilaterally or unilaterally, with a view to giving full, uninhibited and unconditional freedom from colonial oppression or minority domination to our brothers and sisters to join us in this world assembly of people.

57. My country has made a definite contribution in areas that have been of specific concern to this body during its twenty-ninth and again now at its thirtieth session. I refer to the equal status of women which is one with and indivisible from the goal of human rights. Our philosophy has long been committed to the full participation of men and women in equal partnership for the conduct of the affairs of our country. This has been a specific policy of my Government which is reflected in the enactment of laws that entrench and enshrine this principle. Within the confines of our limited financial resources we have endeavoured to carry out programmes recommended by this Organization during International Women's Year, programmes that would reach out and involve rural women in the efforts and activities generated in the urban centres. We have sought to conduct research in areas requiring improvement through the work of a commission established by my Government, and its recommendations will form the basis of further governmental action for even greater equity in access to education and training, in law, politics, employment, social conditions, sports and recreational activities and indeed in all other fields. Permit me to state with justifiable pride that Grenada reflects today the harmony of citizens who live in peace with each other, and our people enjoy the fullest exercise of freedom in a land known for its incomparable beauty and for the friendliness of its inhabitants.

58. When Grenada was graciously accepted as a fully fledged Member of the United Nations we pledged to uphold all the obligations within its Charter. These obligations are similarly upon the shoulders of every nation Member of this Organization and, as we in

Grenada raise our voices in support of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, we are doing no more than in conscience fulfilling our obligations as contained within the Charter. But I feel strongly that this obligation cannot be confined to Grenada but must be borne by the United Nations as a whole. I therefore urge the United Nations to accept its obligations within the Charter to ensure that the decisions reached here by resolutions to give effect to the freedom of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe are fully complied with by the Government of South Africa and the Smith régime respectively.

59. Clearly the issue is not between South Africa and Namibia, or the Smith régime and Zimbabwe, but rather it is definitely between the Government of South Africa and the Smith régime on one hand and all the States Members of the United Nations on the other. Must the United Nations continue to shirk its responsibilities, condone the denial of freedom to the peoples of these two countries, and settle for a potential deterioration of the respect and confidence of this body? Or should we take steps now—and I mean steps sufficiently effective to bring South Africa and the Smith régime to their senses—to give freedom to our brothers and sisters in those two countries and retain the respect of the peoples of the world for this body, the United Nations?

60. I wish to reiterate my country's irrevocable stand on the principle of territorial integrity, and in this context I urge the United Nations to take immediate steps to implement resolution 1514 (XV) and to ensure the emergence of the State of Belize from colonial rule to fully fledged independence for its people whose protracted aspirations has been frustrated by powers and circumstances beyond their control.

61. This does not necessarily mean that Grenada is opposed to negotiations. But, committed to the principle that demands freedom for the peoples of the world and thinking first and foremost of the people of Belize above anything else and looking objectively at the United Nations obligations to the peoples of the world, one cannot hesitate to urge that the people of Belize should be given the right to enjoy the fullness of independence with all its attendant rights and privileges, as well as its obligations. Should we in the United Nations shirk our responsibility under the Charter, the consequences must inevitably be not only a burden on our conscience but also a potential danger to international peace. And so we demand full independence for the people of Belize now, and I repeat, independence now.

Mr. Al-Saffar (Bahrain). Vice-President, took the Chair.

62. Inextricably linked with the inherent right of a people to self-determination is the principle of economic survival, especially in the case of former colonial Territories whose economic resources have been exploited by their imperial masters and which must now fend for themselves upon the attainment of independence.

63. I have spoken in many places about the precarious economic plight of certain countries, such as my own, upon emergence to independence. Only a few weeks ago, I made reference to this on the occasion

of the joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and its affiliates. I recognize that this is not the final forum for ventilation of this matter, as the United Nations has wisely provided for an International Court of Justice which can deal more appropriately with the issue because of its legal implications.

64. We are happy to note that the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Montserrat [A/10023, chap. XXVIII] stressed that economic safeguards from the colonial Powers were necessary when the colony attained independence. This observation emphasizes the point which Grenada has been making for some time that economic viability is a necessary concomitant of political independence.

65. There is also evidence to alleviate our fears since our thoughts on the matter are reflected in paragraph 4 (f) of resolution 3201 (S-VI) adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, which stipulates that all States, territories and peoples under foreign occupation, alien and colonial domination or *apartheid* have the right "to restitution and full compensation for the exploitation and depletion of, and damages to, the natural resources and all other resources of those States, territories and peoples".

66. Perhaps, with United Nations influence and bilateral negotiations already started between my country and the imperial colonial Power, I hope it may not be necessary to proceed with Grenada's specific problems to the International Court of Justice, as has been contemplated.

67. In the context of a growing awareness of the international community about economic justice for developing countries, we strongly support the positive attitude of the seventh special session of this Assembly on the establishment of a new international economic order for regulating the economic relationships between rich and poor countries in a more equitable manner. We therefore urge all Member States to co-operate for the early implementation of measures designed to improve the economic lot of all men on this planet.

68. This session is in a sense historic and significant in that it marks the end of the third decade of the existence of this Organization, and as we look in retrospect we cannot avoid a feeling of emotional conflict—the joys of that which has been accomplished; the sorrows of international wars, of strife and strikes; the strings and red tape attached to the limited co-operation by which the developing countries received some assistance; the fears and apprehensions that reigned over some of our peoples in countries less industrialized and somewhat vulnerable to the greed and ambitions of larger nations. In other words, it is definitely with mixed feelings and emotions that we can truly and honestly view in retrospect the activities of the United Nations over the last 30 years.

69. But this session is historic and significant for other reasons as well, because it ushers in the dawn of a new era, an era with a "world order" that offers hope to the third world in particular and at the same time one that offers in general greater hope and confidence in the multifarious aspects of human endeavour—in medicine, in technology, in human relations, in social sciences and research, among others. Man, in his quest

for greater knowledge and advancement, is exploring space and has actually walked in space; yes indeed, man has even traversed the surface of the moon. Man has long been exploring and is still exploring the unlimited abundance of our oceans' wealth and potential.

70. It is in this context that I crave the Assembly's indulgence to repeat here an observation which I made a few weeks ago in my address to the joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and its affiliates. I said then that:

"There are truly great people in every part of the globe. It is not the place or the size of the place in which one was born, nor the family to which he was born, nor the colour of his skin that makes him truly great. In fact, the qualities that characterize true greatness in man are seldom found in pages or taught within the classrooms. Certainly, these sublime qualities are found in the deepest and innermost recesses of man's consciousness, and only he, and he alone, can discover them. But, regrettably . . . the average man is afraid to unlock the door to himself."

71. It is in this context that it has dawned upon me very forcefully that the time has come when the United Nations must seriously give thought to and initiate the establishment of an appropriate department or an agency devoted to psychic research. I am certainly not so naive as not to appreciate the sensitivity of such a subject, but there is definitely justification for doing something about psychic research, particularly when one reflects on the bountiful human talents that go to waste because of man's ignorance of certain aspects of his immediate environs and, most certainly, of his esoteric or inner self, and on the various inexplicable phenomena which continue to baffle even the most advanced branches of science. The "Bermuda triangle" is but one example.

72. For various reasons, I consider it sufficient simply to announce the desirability of such a department or agency and not elaborate on it at this stage. But this, however, must not in any way cause anyone to underestimate the magnitude and the importance of this innovative subject. The knowledge that may become available to man through psychic research could very well make him the complete master of self and circumstances, and not the subject, in some cases the slave, thereof; we need a department or an agency devoted to psychic research.

73. In closing, I should like to state, without any reservation whatever, that it is my firm conviction that the whole world and, more specifically, the leaders of world affairs need a greater measure of recognition and acceptance of the universality of a Supreme Being—whether known as God, Allah or Jehovah or by any other name. Yes, we need to recognize that Power, that Supreme Power; we need to accept God as the universal source of all existence, the centre of all creation. We need to feel and to sense God within and without, around and above us, in us and all around us, not only for a few hours on the day of worship, but at all times, in every second, every minute, every hour throughout our entire life on this planet earth. We here need to sense the Supreme Being filling this entire magnificent building and, indeed, all space in the universe with His presence.

74. I submit in humility and with respect that it is only with this concept, the recognition and acceptance of the universal God and the sensing of His presence as the universal Power that is eternally holding and binding all things together, that a new "world order" based on peace and love can properly be established on a permanent basis; and I now engage the hearts and minds of all here to join in invoking and beseeching our universal and Supreme Master to refill us with an abundant measure of His divine, cosmic and universal spirit, to revitalize us with His universal energy. May our minds be all imbued with that divine and cosmic mind; may He quicken our intelligence with His cosmic divine and universal light; and may He inspire us with a love that is unselfish, a love that does not seek reward, a love that will hold and bind all peoples of our globe together with a new understanding and with lasting peace. If there are doubts in the minds of some of us, I can only console myself with the basic philosophy that "We all belong to the same plant; the difference is, however, that some are in the fruits, while others are yet in the blossoms". Let God be praised.

75. Mr. HUNLÉDÉ (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. Gaston Thorn was elected President of our Assembly virtually unanimously. His goodheartedness, his statesmanship, his complete mastery of international affairs and his proven competence admirably qualify him for that office. He may be assured of the co-operation and the sympathy of my delegation. There is no doubt that under his guidance the success and effectiveness of the work of the present session of the General Assembly is already assured. We extend to him our sincere wishes for success in the noble but very difficult tasks he will have to discharge as President of our Assembly.

76. I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, on the particularly brilliant manner in which he guided the work of the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

77. Nor could I possibly forget to mention our dynamic Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the indefatigable harbinger of peace, who devotes all his skill and self-sacrifice everywhere and in all circumstances to ensure the proper functioning of our Organization. We offer him our unswerving support and our profound gratitude.

78. We are meeting once again in this forum of dialogue and conciliation to deal together, so far as we are able, with the difficult problems of a world in constant change, seeking realistic means of bringing about better understanding and brotherly co-operation among nations. The international community is unquestionably living through a decisive moment in its history.

79. The decolonization process, although not yet completed, has reached the point where it confirms that the sacrifices made by the peoples of the countries which for so many years suffered oppression and servitude have not been in vain. I express the profound satisfaction of my delegation at the glorious victories over reactionary forces won in hard-fought battles by the valiant freedom fighters. The delegation of Togo warmly welcomes the admission to our Organization

of the sister republics of Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde. We rejoice at the accession to independence of Papua New Guinea and hope to see that country join us shortly.

80. However, despite our legitimate pride at seeing the representatives of those brother countries seated among us, we should not lose sight of the immensity and seriousness of the problems they face. The people of Togo, its Government and its great party, the Assembly of the Togolese people, wish once again to assure them of our constant support in their efforts to build their States.

81. But side by side with these sources of satisfaction there is, unfortunately, the tragedy now taking place in Angola, with all its unforeseeable consequences, which constitutes a challenge to the international community. My delegation therefore urgently appeals to the three liberation movements to put an end to their internal struggles, to rise above their divergences and work together for the rapid restoration of peace, thus creating favourable conditions for the accession to independence of that country, with serenity and dignity, on 11 November next. We hope, furthermore, that the great Powers will cease their interference in the internal affairs of Angola, since we are convinced that a lasting solution to that painful problem can be found only by the Angolans themselves. The delegation of Togo, while reiterating its congratulations to the new Portugal on the decolonization process which has been set in motion since the fall of the former fascist régime, expects it to do everything in its power to comply with its commitments.

82. Regarding Western Sahara, my delegation reaffirms its confidence that the bordering States and Spain will succeed, now that the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice has been rendered, in finding a solution that is satisfactory for the future of that Territory, with due regard for the legitimate interests and aspirations of the peoples concerned.

83. With regard to southern Africa, I need hardly emphasize that guaranteeing individual human rights, prohibiting all forms of racism everywhere and the independence of the peoples of the region are tasks to whose fulfilment my country continues to make a sincere and energetic contribution. So that those principles may triumph, we urgently appeal to the Security Council and to the great Powers to assume their responsibilities fully and to take up the challenge of the racist Government of South Africa.

84. In Namibia, the proponents of *apartheid* continue to disregard the resolutions of our Organization by applying the Machiavellian plan of bantustanization, which is a constant source of concern to my Government. While reaffirming its opposition to that odious policy, my delegation calls on the racist régime of Vorster to apply, without delay, the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the Dar es Salaam Declaration adopted last April by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], concerning Namibia. We reiterate our support for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and insist that the peoples of that Territory must be able to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity.

85. We hope that in Zimbabwe a constitutional settlement will be reached as soon as possible for the transfer of power to the black majority and we renew our constant support for and active solidarity with the just cause which the brother people of Zimbabwe are defending under the guidance of the African National Congress.

86. In the Middle East the signing of the partial disengagement agreement by Egypt and Israel gives reason to hope for a general settlement of the conflict. The delegation of Togo believes that these new measures will be followed by others, so that a just and lasting peace may be established which will guarantee the existence of all States and the peaceful coexistence of all peoples in that region, without losing sight of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It is clear that this peace cannot be effective unless the State of Israel takes the final decision to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of 22 November 1967 and 22 October 1973 respectively.

87. Recent events on the Indo-Chinese peninsula have proved once again that the might of external forces cannot wipe out the determination of peoples to free themselves from oppression and imperialism. We greet the victories of the people of Indo-China. We congratulate the Government of Kampuchea which, under the enlightened guidance of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has ejected the foreign invaders from Cambodia and recovered the seat to which that country is entitled in our Organization. The leaders of the brother country of Cambodia can be assured of the constant support of the Togolese Government in seeking solutions to their problems.

88. My delegation regrets that inopportune considerations prevent the admission this year of the two Viet Nams to the United Nations. Once again, countries of the third world which fulfil all the conditions provided in Article 4, paragraph 1, of our Charter for occupying a seat in this Organization are victims of the inconsiderate abuse of the right of veto which is the privilege of a group of rich countries.

89. As regards the Korean problem, the position of the Government of Togo, which I stated at the twenty-ninth session [2257th meeting], has not altered. We are firmly convinced that only by the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea can conditions conducive to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea be created. To that end there is an urgent need to convert the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement.

90. The question of Cyprus continues to cause anxiety. The delegation of Togo at the appropriate time stated its view to the effect that any prospect of peace must start with the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from the island. My delegation again expresses the hope that every effort will be encouraged so as to ensure for the two communities the possibility of harmonious co-existence within the same State. To this end we shall support any initiative calling for the immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) calling on all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

91. With regard to economic questions, it is important to emphasize that the results achieved at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly clearly reflect the policies which are taking shape with the aim, on the one hand, of tackling the economic difficulties of all kinds which the world has been faced with since the end of the Second World War and, on the other, of controlling over the longer term the underlying cyclical or circumstantial fluctuations.

92. More than ever before the international community is questioning not only the capacity of its economic system for promoting material progress and social justice but also its ability to prevent an upheaval in political, economic and social relations. The fact that the different schools of thought disagree on the causes of the ills afflicting the world economy is not surprising, since the distortion of that economy has created real chaos by maintaining an archaic system which has ceased to meet the requirements of our new society.

93. The growing gap which separates a small number of industrialized countries from a large number of developing countries adds a new dimension to the present economic crisis, one of the causes of which is the faulty functioning of the international monetary system.

94. Indeed, on many occasions several industrialized States have deliberately violated the sacrosanct rules of the International Monetary Fund because they considered themselves sufficiently powerful to avoid any reprisals. The distorting effects of speculative transfers of capital, the constant deterioration in the terms of trade and the uncontrolled fluctuations in rates of exchange have wiped out the efforts of poorer countries to emerge from economic and financial dependence. Thus the third world suffers from the arrestation of its own economic growth and, what is more, from the cumulative effects of the arrestation of economic growth in the industrialized countries.

95. All the efforts of the third world to bring order back to the international monetary system have encountered criminal indifference on the part of the industrialized countries which are hardly inclined to abandon any of their privileges for the benefit of those who have contributed to making them rich.

96. The results of the Third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held at Santiago, Chile, have scarcely been more fruitful than those of the second session held at New Delhi. At most, a Committee of 20 has been established in which certain developing countries have acquired the right to participate in discussions on the reform of the monetary system, thus giving a democratic colouring to the former Committee of 10, in which only the main financial Powers took part.

97. Recent events have confirmed the dangers of using national currencies as instruments of international reserve. Thus, fluctuations in the value of the reserve currencies and, in particular, the growing cost of acquiring gold as an instrument for the final conversion of reserve currencies have emphasized the need to devise a neutral instrument that would be free from these major disadvantages. This means that

the developing countries are right in supporting the proposal to make the special drawing rights the international monetary standard and in demanding a link between the allocation of those rights and their own needs.

98. The deterioration in the terms of trade and the fluctuations in export earnings dangerously jeopardize the development plans of the poorer countries with fragile economies.

99. In this respect, the Lomé Convention,² which associates a large number of States of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific with the European Economic Community has the great merit of providing for a mechanism for the establishment of a system for the stabilization of export earnings from commodities. The international community should use the example of this measure of great political significance in efforts to render more equitable the economic relations between the developing countries which produce raw materials and the affluent countries which use these products, thus, in our opinion, averting a useless confrontation between nations.

100. Fifteen West African States, representing approximately 130 million inhabitants, breaking through the linguistic barriers they inherited from colonialism, have refused to continue to have their region divided into English-speaking and French-speaking sectors and, on 28 May 1975 at Lagos, signed the Treaty establishing the Economic Community of West African States. This historic Treaty, in the conclusion of which my country is proud to have participated, is intended to promote co-operation and development among the signatory States in every field of economic activity and particularly in the sectors of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, trade, monetary and financial questions and social and cultural affairs, with the aim of raising the level of living of the populations, increasing and maintaining their economic stability, strengthening relations among themselves and contributing to the progress and development of the African continent. The States of West Africa are aware that their efforts at co-operation should not hinder those of other African countries to promote broader co-operation in our continent as a whole and in the world. We believe that this is a very good example of international co-operation which should be followed elsewhere.

101. The non-aligned countries recently proved strikingly, at Lima, that the international community needs peace and security and that the noble ideals of the United Nations can be achieved only by narrowing the enormous gap between rich and poor countries.

102. The industrialized countries have often reproached the developing countries for preferring confrontation to dialogue, by having a so-called automatic majority play its role. That is not so. Conciliation has always been and remains our best weapon. That is why we desired and secured the holding of special sessions to study problems relating to raw materials, development and international economic co-operation so as to arrive at concerted solutions likely to hasten the emergence of a new world economic order. The Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202

(S-VI)] adopted by the sixth special session, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] adopted by the twenty-ninth session and the relevant final resolution on development and international economic co-operation [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] adopted by the seventh special session should lead the rich countries to renounce their desire for economic domination so as to enable the poor countries to draw the maximum benefits from their natural resources with a view to their economic liberation.

103. Thus our Organization has become the centre for major explanations, reconciliation of views, negotiations and decisions of the utmost importance between the developed world and the developing world, in so far as it seeks to correct the present imbalances so as to establish a new international economic order which is more just and humane. In order fully to attain this objective, however, we must restructure the economic and social system of our Organization so that it will be better able to meet the wishes of the emerging countries. It is, therefore, no mere chance that the General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session and in resolution 3343 (XXIX), called for "a study containing proposals on structural changes within the United Nations system so as to make it fully capable of dealing with problems of international economic co-operation".

104. A Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System has devoted itself to this task and has sought the most suitable means whereby our Organization, having rid itself of this dead wood, will be able to focus in the future on the real problems of development and maintain cohesion in the international community.

105. We understand and approve the conclusions reached by that Group³ which, *inter alia*, advocates major changes in the central structure of the United Nations new approaches to economic problems and a thorough reform of the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies. Following in the footsteps of that Group, the seventh special session of the General Assembly decided to establish the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System [*ibid.*] to prepare detailed proposals for action. My delegation hopes that this Committee will start its work as early as possible so as to be able to submit a report in the near future.

106. As we see it, our Organization faces immense tasks. To discharge them fully we need increased support from all its Members, large and small, rich and poor, powerful and weak. It is the duty of all to make a contribution to the carrying out of those tasks.

107. There can be no development without peace, and peace is a matter of goodwill. The new Togo, under the enlightened leadership of General Gnassingbe Eyadema, an apostle of peace, understands this well and spares no effort to achieve a better understanding among peoples, in particular those of the west African subregion.

108. That is our modest contribution to the attainment of the noble objectives which the international community has set for itself.

109. I hope that our common will to bequeath to future generations a better world of prosperity, justice and peace will prompt us to do everything in our power to ensure the success of our Organization.

110. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): It is with great pleasure that I convey to the President the congratulations of the Nigerian delegation on his election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. He represents a country and a region which have tremendous potential for the advancement of the ideals of the Charter of our Organization and for the realization of the aspirations of the underprivileged section of mankind. His well known personal commitment to the cause of peace and the uplifting of human dignity encourages me to hope that, under his wise guidance, this session will achieve significant success. In this endeavour, I assure him of the co-operation of my delegation.

111. The relevance of the United Nations to the solution of the urgent problems of today is no longer in doubt. In the period between the twenty-fifth anniversary and this session when we celebrate its thirtieth anniversary, the Organization has proved its awareness of its responsibilities not to some, but to all its Members. Its devotion to the maintenance of peace has been balanced by an appreciation of the need to promote the economic and social well-being of all mankind. It has gone beyond pious statements delivered with great solemnity in this historic hall and then quickly forgotten. It has adopted the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and has proclaimed a new international economic order, with an appropriate Programme of Action. The World Population Conference, the World Food Conference, the third session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and the General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, all held under the auspices of the United Nations, are indicative of the increased pre-occupation of our Organization with the need for results that will benefit its membership. Moreover, the seventh special session, which ended only a few days ago, convinces my delegation that our Organization is capable of rising to the challenges of the future.

112. When the sixth special session was convened, there was discerned a definite antagonism to the aspirations of the poorer section of our membership. Rather than face the glaring disparities between those who have and those who have not, a desperate attempt was made to put blame where none was due. We left the sixth special session painfully aware of our lack of consensus. The seventh special session, by its positive achievement, has demonstrated the truth in the age-old saying that where there's a will there's a way.

113. What is left is a demonstration of commitment by action to show that the awakening of Members of the United Nations to the need to be faithful to all the Articles of its Charter is not just one of those ephemeral developments which pass away once a "strategy" has been adopted. We have the experience of the two strategies for the First and Second United Nations Development Decades to justify such a fear. All too often we tend to forget that the Charter devotes two chapters, embodying 18 articles, to the question

of international economic and social co-operation. In Article 55, the United Nations committed itself to the promotion of higher standards of living, full employment, solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems, with a view to "the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations". In Article 56 of the Charter, all of us, Members of the Organization, pledge ourselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes enunciated in Article 55.

114. Therefore, if the inequity in the world economic system has persisted so long, the fault is not in the Charter; rather it is in the lack of political will by Member States to discharge their obligations. That will must now be shown positively to be present. For it seems to my delegation that events of the past two years ought to have shown in unmistakable terms that the poor, the downtrodden and the underprivileged countries will no longer accept the conditions which perpetuate their seemingly hopeless condition. If the rich nations can read the signs, if they can make genuine efforts at being partners in the accelerated progress of the developing countries, then a beginning will have been made in fulfilling the Preamble to our Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

115. The seventh special session ended with the unanimous endorsement in plenary of the measures proposed by its *Ad Hoc* Committee.⁴ My delegation expects that we shall all take swift action to bring about a new system of economic relationships between the developed and the developing countries. We expect early expansion and diversification of the exports of the developing countries. We expect an improvement in our terms of trade through a buffer-stock financing arrangement, involving producers and consumers within an integrated programme appropriately indexed to sustain and increase our purchasing power relative to the manufactured goods, technology and services which we import. The measures recommended in resolution 3362 (S-VII) for the transfer of real resources for financing development and for the reform of the international monetary system should also be implemented without delay. These measures are necessary to ensure an increased flow of concessional financial resources and a greater involvement of international financial institutions in the development strategies of the developing countries.

116. We do not, of course, lose sight of the need for the developing countries themselves to co-operate more effectively in improving their economic conditions. To this end, a greater degree of collaboration on economic projects has to be developed. A good beginning has already been made in the willingness of the developing countries which are producers of oil to assist positively other developing countries which are in a slightly less advantageous position. Indeed, the assistance given by such countries over the past two years has been to the tune of 2.2 per cent of their gross national product. My own country, Nigeria, in spite of its own tremendous internal requirements, has contributed its own modest share towards the development process in other countries. In addition

to the bilateral assistance which we have provided for other developing countries, we have made available a substantial contribution to the African Development Bank in order to increase the Bank's capacity to give development loans to African countries. We intend, within the limit of our capacity, to continue this process. I should also refer to the co-operative effort which was concretized at Lagos in May this year, when 15 West African countries signed the Charter of the Economic Community of West African States. We hope that that charter will turn out to be the launching-pad for an economic grouping that will benefit all its members and their peoples.

117. The United Nations provides the ideal forum for working out the mutually beneficial partnership implicit in the new world economic order. So also does it provide an indispensable stage for the preservation of international peace and security in conditions of sovereign equality of States, large and small. If it is to fulfil this role, it has to be strong and effective. The thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Organization gives us a good opportunity once again to examine together in a constructive manner how best to strengthen the Organization and thus make it more responsive to the needs of a rapidly changing world. To pretend, as some powerful Members of the Organization do, that all is well with the Charter is to live in an ivory tower. On the one hand, criticisms are always made by the developing countries concerning the undemocratic set-up enshrined in the Charter. Through that system, a few countries are able to frustrate the will of the vast majority. On the other hand, developed countries have accused developing countries—rather unfairly in my view—of imposing a tyranny of the majority on the General Assembly. The upshot of these accusations and counter-accusations is the need to take a close look at the Charter.

118. During its twenty-ninth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3343 (XXIX), which set up a Group of Experts with the mandate to submit a study containing proposals on structural changes within the United Nations system that would make it fully capable of dealing with problems of international economic co-operation in a comprehensive manner. This recognition of the need to update the structure of the United Nations so as to make it more responsive was proved right; for, in the report submitted by the Group of Experts, there were very constructive proposals which, by common consent, are to be referred for further action to the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System. In paragraph 10 of its report, the Group observed:

"Every serious reform proposal (as opposed to marginal proposals that amount to mere 'tinkering') is bound to cut across someone's vested interest in the *status quo*. A meaningful reform of the system, to take account of new requirements and developments, may involve the forgoing of some short-term interests and entrenched habits in favour of long-term interests in a workable international economic order."³

119. No better advice could have been offered for the future growth of this Organization. No greater justification could be given for the wisdom of the General Assembly when, after a long debate, it adopted

resolution 3349 (XXIX), which created an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations. My delegation regrets that the unco-operative attitude of certain Members has prevented the Committee from making progress. Without going into great detail, let me remind those who oppose even a simple review of the Charter of the following facts: first, that the United Nations today has a membership of 141 Members. Of this number, only 51, or slightly more than a third, were "present at the creation". If the two thirds which later subscribed to the Charter cannot even make suggestions for its improvement in the light of experience, then we will be made to feel that we are at best second-class Members. Secondly, even the founding fathers thought it wise not to preclude the possibility of amending the Charter: Article 109 makes elaborate provisions for reviewing the Charter, while Article 108 specifies the manner in which amendments shall come into force. Thirdly, changes are implicit in growth. My delegation looks forward to more positive developments in this issue. Meanwhile, the General Assembly at this session should pronounce its determination to work relentlessly for a more democratic set-up which will better fulfil the aspirations of all Members of our Organization.

120. Several factors have proved conclusively that the super-Powers can no longer assume exclusive responsibility for international peace and security. Take the issue of disarmament, for instance: in spite of its place of primacy in the objectives of the Charter, it has almost become a lost cause, thanks to super-Power collusion. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which was intended as the main forum for disarmament negotiations, has been debilitated by a creeping paralysis. Its collective efforts are being frustrated by bilateral deals between the super-Powers which appear to them as progress, but which to the generality of the Members of the United Nations are tantamount to glossing over the real issues. The chief function of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is not to get enmeshed in protracted negotiations on collateral and subcollateral measures of disarmament. The goal we all aim at is general and complete disarmament under a system of international supervision. To attain this goal we have to agree on a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

121. The lack of progress on this crucial issue continues to bedevil all other related disarmament questions, namely, the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the prevention of a group of privileged nuclear Powers making a mockery of the concept of the sovereign equality of States; the reduction of the staggering expenditures in the military budgets of the affluent countries; and the diversion of human and material resources from the pursuit of the armaments race to the promotion of the economic and social progress of humanity as a whole.

122. As far as we are concerned, there are no technical obstacles to the verification of a comprehensive test-ban régime which should prevent its early adoption, provided the political will and mutual trust exist. While we recognize the value of technical and scientific expertise in classifying the complex issues involved in disarmament negotiations, the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should not be diverted into peripheral and marginal alleys in

which annual seminars and symposia are conducted on this or that aspect of specific disarmament questions.

123. In this connexion, my delegation regrets that a good opportunity for advancing the cause of disarmament was missed during the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The Review Conference failed to rise to the task of providing more positive barriers against horizontal as well as vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons. The nuclear Powers parties to the Treaty cynically held back from giving assurances and guarantees that they would refrain from the use or threat of use of the deadly weapons. Similarly, there were no clear commitments on the part of the nuclear-weapon States that they would pursue the obligation incumbent upon them under article VI of the Treaty [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] to carry out meaningful negotiations with a view to achieving concrete measures of nuclear disarmament. For those of us who have willingly given up our nuclear options in becoming parties to the Treaty, the attitude of the nuclear Powers has served to confirm the inequity of a world dominated by super-Power hegemony. There is need for all States to confront the issue of disarmament in a more constructive and meaningful manner in a forum of sovereign equality. The proposed world disarmament conference can provide such a forum. If the attempt to convene such a conference continues to be frustrated, my delegation will not hesitate to join other third-world States in demanding that the General Assembly focus attention on disarmament in a special session.

124. I should now like to touch upon some of the specific political issues involving international peace and security on which this Assembly must act.

125. The past year has witnessed very startling developments in the liberation struggle, both in Indo-China and in Africa. The people of Viet Nam have reasserted their independence and can now look forward to taking their rightful place in this august Assembly. My delegation hopes that it will not be long before the obstacles being placed in the way of the admission of the two Viet Nams is removed. In Cambodia, too, a popular régime has been installed. My delegation is happy that the Cambodian people will now be able to harness its efforts for the reconstruction of its country and the rehabilitation of its war-ravaged economy. We welcome them back into our midst. We also note with satisfaction the emergence of Papua New Guinea to independence and look forward to welcoming this new country to the United Nations.

126. In Africa, through the persistent struggle of the liberation movements, supported by all forces opposed to oppression, the battle cry has been sounded against Portuguese colonialism. The glorious example of the entry of Guinea-Bissau into this community of sovereign States has been followed at this session by the admission of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. We again congratulate those new countries on their achievements and look forward to working closely with them.

127. We call upon the international community to rally to the assistance of these new nations, which are confronted with tremendous problems arising from

their long colonial status. Sao Tome and Principe, as well as Cape Verde, urgently requires assistance in coping with the great influx of refugees who have been displaced by the Angolan situation. My delegation hopes that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will take appropriate and urgent action to help in finding a solution to this humanitarian problem.

128. Regrettably, Angola, whose emergence as a sovereign State and membership in our Organization we had looked forward to with hope, is engaged in a fratricidal conflict that is sapping its energy and diverting it from constructive pursuits. The Nigerian Government vehemently deplores the instigation of one group of Angolans against another. Most solemnly and in the name of humanity we call upon the outside meddlers in the Angolan situation to keep off and to give the Angolan people the chance of settling down to the immense task of nation-building. The Nigerian Government will not accept the truncation of Angola as now constituted. We do not believe there exists in Angola any problem that cannot be solved within a united Angolan nation. I therefore appeal to the Angolan leaders to place the interests of the Angolan nation and people before party and personal advantage. I sincerely hope that statesmanship among the Angolan leaders will yet prevail, for my delegation will derive great joy from being able to welcome a united, peaceful Angola into our midst before long.

129. Notwithstanding the progress made in decolonization, imperialism still constitutes the most potent threat against international peace and security in southern Africa. The problem of Zimbabwe is a great reminder, if indeed one is needed, of the great hurdle that still has to be surmounted before we see the end of racism and imperialism. By an adroit act of political gamesmanship, the white rebel clique in Zimbabwe, aided by the racist régime in South Africa, almost succeeded in luring the international community into a sense of false security. We were almost led to believe that the rebel clique had at last read the signs, recognized the futility of its senseless policy and decided to take the indispensable steps towards ensuring for itself and its children conditions of peaceful and meaningful co-operation with the indigenous population it had so long oppressed. Regrettably, Ian Smith has once again shown his determination to wreck all chances of a peaceful transfer of power. By wrecking the talks between his illegal Government and the African National Council, by engaging in the dangerous game of trying to divide the nationalist united front, by seeking to hold talks with puppets in the assembly of tribal chiefs, Ian Smith is inviting an intensified armed struggle whose ultimate result is not in doubt.

130. Since the United Nations is witness to the bad faith and unreliability of Ian Smith, it should give maximum support and encouragement to the nationalist movement of Zimbabwe. The Federal Military Government of Nigeria pledges its unflinching support. My Government meanwhile calls on the African National Council to close ranks, to cast aside petty jealousies and personal ambitions, and to concentrate, in unity, on the task of ridding its fatherland of the oppression of the white rebels.

131. The situation in Namibia continues to deteriorate. Not only has South Africa flagrantly defied the United Nations; it has even refused to make a declaration, as required by Security Council resolution 366 (1974), that it would comply with the resolutions and decisions of the Organization. Besides, South Africa has persisted in its diabolical policy of Balkanizing Namibia through the creation of bantustans. Under the guise of permitting black and white ethnic groups of the Territory to determine their own future without interference, the Vorster régime has continued to perpetuate its stranglehold on Namibia. How can the entire world body look on helplessly when South Africa continues most blatantly to violate the tenets of our Organization? The Namibian people have almost exhausted their patience waiting hopefully for the United Nations to assume its responsibility. Are we going to fail them, or shall we resolve more than ever before to confront South Africa with the force necessary to bring about withdrawal? My delegation believes that if we have the political will we can in a short time solve the Namibia problem.

132. To insist, as do some Members of the United Nations, that the situation created by South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia does not constitute a threat to international peace and security is to be guilty of multiple standards. The Namibian situation is capable of provoking a racial war on a continent which needs a long period of peace to recover from imperialist exploitation. I therefore hope that those who used their veto power to prevent effective action against South Africa will reconsider their position and recognize that their responsibility under the Charter extends to the world at large.

133. At its twenty-ninth session, the General Assembly in its wisdom adopted resolution 3207 (XXIX), in which it called upon the Security Council to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Unfortunately, the Security Council could not take a decision owing to the use of the veto by some of its permanent members. The rest of the story leading to the exclusion of South Africa from further participation in the work of the session is well known.

134. The interesting thing is, however, that South Africa has now intensified its propaganda campaign to project an imaginary process of liberalization. As we all know, the truth is that nothing has changed. The most obnoxious aspects of *apartheid* are still very much in evidence. Rather than begin the necessary contacts on the basis of equality with the black South Africans, the racist régime prefers to conduct so-called dialogue with independent African countries. Vorster will not talk to fellow South Africans who happen to be black, but he will wine and dine, and will even pay secret visits to, black leaders elsewhere. The confusion which this monumental hypocrisy was intended to cause in the ranks of the OAU was, happily, exposed at the ninth extraordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers held at Dar es Salaam last April. The Declaration adopted at that time confirmed Africa's view, first articulated in the Lusaka Manifesto,⁵ that friendship between South Africa and the rest of the continent can have as its basis only the

abandonment of *apartheid*. To insist that meaningful dialogue can be commenced with South Africa under its present leadership is to betray the oppressed non-whites in the country.

135. The Federal Military Government of Nigeria acknowledges the sovereign right of each country to determine its policy on specific issues. However, the Federal Military Government also believes that certain self-evident facts should unite all Members of the United Nations on an issue such as *apartheid*, which is so abhorrent to our Charter. It is sheer self-deceit to speak of being opposed to *apartheid* while at the same time maintaining diplomatic, economic and other forms of links with a régime based exclusively on *apartheid*. It is even more serious when some Members of this Organization continue to supply South Africa with the weapons it needs to protect and perpetuate its obnoxious system. It is therefore incumbent on this Assembly strongly to reaffirm its arms embargo on South Africa and to demand the end of economic collaboration and all other forms of contact with South Africa. My delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation of the indefatigable effort of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, in exposing the evils of *apartheid*, and we hope that all Members of the United Nations will join wholeheartedly in the great task of effectively annihilating *apartheid*. Let those who at this time choose to develop or strengthen contacts and co-operation with South Africa beware.

136. My delegation is concerned that no solution has yet been found to the problem of Cyprus. We are apprehensive lest in this day and age the interests of a weak non-aligned country be sacrificed on the altar of big-Power politics. The current crisis in that island State was provoked and is sustained by the political and territorial ambitions of its big-Power neighbours who act ostensibly in protection of one or the other of the two sections of the Cypriot community.

137. Until the Cypriot people as a whole are made to believe that their first loyalty is to Cyprus and not to their ancestral home either in Greece or in Turkey, so long will there be room left for outsiders to fish in the Cypriot troubled waters. Nigeria does not believe in big-Power enforced settlement of the problems of a weak State. The principle of equality of States enshrined in our Charter is the very antithesis of imposed solutions. We are not unmindful of the communal fears; however, we do not share the position of those who would rather partition Cyprus. The territorial integrity of that young State must be maintained. The General Assembly must once again call on all parties directly involved in the Cyprus problem to show constructive statesmanship and work for a solution on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX).

138. This Assembly will be faced once again with the unresolved problem of the Middle East and the intimately related question of Palestine. When we separated these two issues for discussion last year, we demonstrated, perhaps for the first time, our full recognition of the human tragedy created by the prolonged upheaval in that area. The deprivation of their homeland inflicted on the Palestinian people and the need to resettle them, not in refugee camps, not even in brotherly Arab countries, but in a country of their

own, has become a most vital element in the search for meaningful and lasting peace in the area. The twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly gave somewhat overdue recognition to this aspect of the problem when it accorded Yasser Arafat the honour of addressing it. The Assembly then went further and accorded the Palestine Liberation Organization, the authentic voice of the Palestinian people, a place of honour in this Assembly and in other organs of the United Nations [*resolution 3210 (XXIX)*]. My delegation believes that these developments of the twenty-ninth session are indispensable steps towards peace. The people of Palestine must be associated closely with a settlement under whose umbrella they are expected to live.

139. Regrettably, the threat to international peace and security which the situation in the Middle East constitutes still persists. The uncertainties in the course of events constitute a severe drawback in the pursuit of constructive efforts by the virile people of the area. The important issues are still unresolved even if some tentative progress has been made in creating conditions to facilitate peace contacts. My delegation believes that any breakthrough in any of the complex issues of the Middle East is a step for peace and must be welcome. The value of an all-or-nothing approach to a complex problem can be as doubtful as the arrogance which finds expression in the defiance of United Nations resolutions and genuine peace efforts. While we should therefore acclaim the recent accord, we must stress that lasting peace demands continuous movement. Israel must show positive signs of its willingness to abandon its defiant attitude and to negotiate on the basis of the resolutions of the United Nations. The goodwill of many Members of this Organization towards Israel has been more than vividly demonstrated in the decisions taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975 and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima in August. Israel has the chance to reciprocate this goodwill and thus ensure for itself and its people peace within recognized borders. It is in the interest of international peace and security for Israel to be more constructive at this session of the Assembly; what is more, it is in the interest of the State of Israel.

140. I dealt extensively at the beginning of my statement with the emphasis which our Organization has been placing on the economic development of Member States. This emphasis, which is long overdue, is in keeping with the ideals of our Charter. In the 30 years since that historic gathering in San Francisco which saw the birth of the United Nations, the glaring disparity between the few rich countries and the many poor countries has become more pronounced, to the point where urgent action is necessary if international peace and security are not to be jeopardized by open antagonism provoked by economic disparities. The Members of this Organization have within their capacity the means, and I hope the will, for spectacular progress in creating the conditions for a decent standard of life for everyone. The United Nations will be judged by the extent to which it is successful in combining this task with the equally vital job of upholding peace and promoting self-determination and human dignity. Let it not be said of us that when we

had all the tools for making our Organization satisfy the yearnings of humanity we preferred to indulge our petty national self-interest rather than work for the over-all good of humanity.

141. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have asked to exercise their right of reply. Members will recall that the General Assembly at its 2353rd plenary meeting decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. I shall call now on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

142. Mr. KINENE (Uganda): I have asked to speak in order to exercise my right of reply to allegations which were made in this Hall yesterday [2376th meeting] by the representative of the United States against the person of my Head of State and current Chairman of the OAU, Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada, President of Uganda.

143. In his statement yesterday the representative of the United States of America, Mr. Mitchell, attacked President Amin of Uganda and made wild allegations about the disappearance of people in Uganda. He based his allegations on the International Commission of Jurists' report which was submitted to the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations. Had those who sent him to speak given him the correct information, or had the United States representative who attended the Geneva meeting cared to brief him, he would have known that the rules insist on the confidential nature of the work of the Commission on Human Rights and therefore should not have come here basing his allegations on a report that is still under consideration by that Commission.

144. However, since he has chosen to do so, I have no alternative but to put matters right. Effectively, the Commission on Human Rights met in February this year to consider part three of the allegations contained in the International Commission of Jurists' report. I say part three because part one and part two which alleged that there was racism and a breakdown of the judiciary in Uganda were found to be unfounded and were dropped at the level of the Sub-Commission of the Commission on Human Rights. I wish to inform this august Assembly that Uganda had expressed its willingness to co-operate with the Commission on Human Rights in its discussion of the item on Uganda. To this end, Uganda requested the postponement of the discussion of the item on Uganda in view of the fact that at that time an independent commission of inquiry into the alleged disappearance of persons which had been set up in June 1974 by the President of the Republic of Uganda had not concluded its work. The commission was headed by a non-Uganda-citizen High Court Judge, Justice Mohammed Saied, who comes from Pakistan and who has lived in Uganda for the last 20 years. Shortly after handing over the report he went on leave to the United Kingdom, whence he returned just two weeks ago to act as the Chief Justice of Uganda. The commission was given the following terms of reference: (a) to inquire into and establish the identity of the persons who are alleged to be missing; (b) to establish whether such persons are dead or alive; (c) as regards those persons believed to be living outside Uganda, to ascertain the reasons and circumstances that led to their quitting Uganda as far as such reasons and circumstances can be

ascertained; (d) as regards those proved dead, to establish how, when, where and in what circumstances they met their deaths; (e) to establish whether there are any individuals or organizations or persons, whether within or outside Uganda, who are criminally responsible for the disappearance or deaths of the missing persons and what should be done to the persons criminally responsible for such disappearances or deaths; (f) to establish what should be done about the affairs and families of the missing persons bearing in mind the provisions of Decree No. 20 of 1973; and (g) to decide what the Government should do to put an end to the criminal disappearance of people in Uganda.

145. The commission gathered evidence throughout Uganda and received affidavits from inside and outside Uganda. Let me now quote from the report of the commission of inquiry:

"Let us begin by saying that there was no evidence where there was even the remotest suggestion that Your Excellency had directed the disappearance of any person or the annihilation of any ethnic group of persons. Whatever the international media may say . . . we are convinced that, and we say this at the expense of repetition, we are guided by the evidence we had and nothing else."

146. The commission found out that only 308 people had disappeared, about three quarters of whom were from the security forces. The report disclosed that the highest rate of disappearance was during the first quarter of 1971, shortly after the military take over, when many people were killing each other on political grounds, and in the last quarter of 1972 during the invasion of Uganda by guerrillas.

147. However, it is not a surprise to us to hear the representative of the United States basing his allegations on a report that was compiled by a group of people who have never been to Uganda. In any case, Uganda's reply is scheduled to be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights at Geneva before the end of this year. It would appear that the representative of the United States, under strong pressure from the Zionists in this country, could not wait for the conclusions in the findings of the Commission on Human Rights. We understand and appreciate his difficulties.

148. Yesterday [2375th meeting], the representative of Dahomey, who is the Chairman of the African group for this month, put Africa's response to Mr. Moynihan's slanderous allegations against the person of the President of the Republic of Uganda and current Chairman of the OAU very clearly. The response was so clear that I found it unnecessary to make a reply to those allegations from this rostrum and I therefore decided to send my reply to the Secretary-General whom I requested to circulate the reply as an official document of the General Assembly. However, the replies made by the representative of Dahomey, and the representatives of the Libyan Arab Republic and Senegal before him [*ibid.*], did not seem to have enlightened the representative of the United States as they were intended to do. I must say that Mr. Mitchell made himself ridiculous and reduced the whole show to a mere farce. To say the least, all that he said was mere trash and had no relevance to what the representative of Dahomey had said earlier in the day.

149. Mr. Moynihan referred to President Amin as a "racist murderer". Alas, who is the racist murderer? Let me say that before the question of domestic spying was revealed to the American people the CIA persisted in denying its actions in the same way as it used to deny its activities in foreign countries. Today it is common knowledge that the CIA, over the years, has been engaged in the most insidious crimes ever recorded in the history of man.

150. It is on record that the CIA sent poisonous material to kill the then Congo's revolutionary leader Patrice Lumumba. It is on record that the CIA organized the abortive invasion of the Bay of Pigs or Playa Girón. It is on record that the CIA planned to kill the Cuban revolutionary leader Fidel Castro, just to mention only a few examples of what that murder squad is capable of doing.

151. As far as the extent of the Zionist influence in this country is concerned, I want to make it absolutely clear that President Amin was not the first one to refer to Zionist influence and the grip it has in this part of the world. Many highly placed people, including American officials, have already spoken about it.

152. The United States imperialist representative stated further that the United States of America will continue to defend the Jews, the Arabs, the Asians and the Africans. This was nothing but sheer delusion and hypocrisy of the highest order and a reflection of a confused mind unless to him repression is synonymous with defence. Because we all know that it was in the name of defending the peoples of Asia that the United States imperialists murdered thousands of Vietnamese people for a period exceeding two decades. We also know that it was in the name of defending the African people that the United States imperialists sent arms, money and poison to the racist régimes in South Africa and other parts of the African continent. And we also know that it was in the name of defending the people of the Arab world that the United States imperialists have sent and continue to send sophisticated weapons to Israel not only to exterminate the Arabs and the Palestinian people, but also the Jews. Even now the United States imperialists are favourably considering arming Israel with the Pershing missile capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Is this the protection that the United States imperialists promise to afford to the people of the world?

153. We shall not be deceived by emotional and sensational outbursts which add nothing to the constructive and rational debate that this Assembly has had so far. My only piece of advice to Mr. Moynihan's advocate is that he should recollect himself, read the speech made by President Amin [2370th meeting] again, and I hope that he will in the end get the message, the revolutionary zeal that it portrays, and above all, if he fails to understand it, he can always consult Uganda's Permanent Mission instead of going around shouting empty slogans that signify nothing.

154. In conclusion, I wish to clarify one point out of which the assailants of President Amin have made great capital.

155. I am sure that the United States representative clearly understands this point but characteristically wishes to stifle the truth to suit his crusade. President Amin called for "the extinction of Israel as

a State". Further on in his speech President Amin called for the acceptance of the existence of the State of Palestine in which Arab, Jew, Christian, Muslim and other faiths and races will live in amity, tranquillity and equality. Zionism does not permit this state of affairs. Zionism is based on race and religion. Zionism is the social philosophy and political ideology of the artificial State of Israel. A State built on this philosophy and ideology cannot coexist with the rest of the world community and cannot fulfil the qualifications enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. That is why Israel has defied, scorned and ignored all United Nations resolutions.

156. The PRESIDENT: I must ask the representative of Uganda to confine himself to the time-limit and conclude his statement. You must abide by the rule.

157. Mr. KINENE (Uganda): I thank you very much, Mr. President, and I hope that the message has reached the representative of the United States from this rostrum.

158. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the preceding meeting, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco referred to the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla, the Peñones of Alhucemas and Vélez de la Gomera, and the Chafarinas Islands. In document A/AC.109/477, dated 13 February of this year, my delegation clearly set forth the position of my country and my Government. In order not to avoid speaking at length on this, I will merely say that our position is still the same.

159. I merely wish to point out that any comparison with Gibraltar is unfounded. In this regard I would remind you that in Gibraltar the population was expelled, while in these cities there is an indigenous population.

160. The delegation of Morocco has repeatedly and consistently accepted in resolutions of the General Assembly the application to Western Sahara of the principle of self-determination. My country agreed, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain indicated from this podium, out of a spirit of true international co-operation which underlies the process of decolonizing Western Sahara, to allow the population freely to decide its own future and to permit fruitful co-operation with the other countries of the Maghreb so as not to upset the stability of the region and thus to maintain peace there [2367th meeting, para. 118]. In another passage, he added that Spain settled in Western Sahara without requiring the agreement of anyone but the indigenous population [*ibid.*, para. 122].

161. Spain has abided by the procedures established in the Charter regarding non-autonomous territories and the additional resolutions of this Assembly in which some countries have been termed "interested parties" for the sole purpose of holding a referendum in order further to guarantee self-determination.

162. On 20 August 1974 the Spanish Government conveyed its decision to implement the self-determination of the Territory along the lines set forth in resolution 3162 (XXVIII). Later on, the Assembly decided in resolution 3292 (XXIX) to ask the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion and to postpone the referendum envisaged by the administering Power and send a visiting mission in accordance with an invitation we extended.

163. My country agreed to follow the procedure established in that resolution. The referendum has been postponed; the Visiting Mission went to the Territory in May this year, and we hope that we shall soon have the relevant report. The International Court of Justice is about to hand down its advisory opinion. In this regard, I should like to recall that the President of the International Court of Justice stated towards the end of the sessions devoted to the consideration of the question of the Western Sahara that he thanked the delegation of Spain for the support it had given to the Court during the oral proceedings. He also expressed his appreciation to the Spanish Government for having given the Court valuable help in the matter.

164. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco seems to mistake the elements which must be used before a court of justice adequately to defend the substantive position, which in this case is the right to self-determination of the population of the Sahara, with a negative and rigid attitude clearly denied by the facts. It never fails to surprise my delegation that, although it was the Government of Morocco that decided to resort to the International Court of Justice and seek an advisory opinion, that Government should try at this time when the question is *sub judice* and about to be concluded, to shelter behind a pretended lack of sufficient documents and proofs to back up its position.

165. The position of my Government is well known, for it has presented complete and exhaustive documentation on the subject. The advisory opinion of the Court will be an additional element of judgement, as indicated in resolution 3292 (XXIX), without prejudice to the right of the population to self-determination.

166. On 23 May this year, without any trace of doubt, my Government formally declared its decision to put an end to its presence in the Territory, and urged the neighbouring countries to assume their responsibilities for the maintenance of peace. We merely ask that we may leave the Territory with the dignity and honour of an administering Power which has maintained a correct attitude at all times.

167. We have always striven to comply with the resolutions, and in this respect I wish to recall once again what was stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain when he referred to the referendum under the auspices of the United Nations:

"Regardless of the results of this referendum on self-determination, the Saharan people themselves, and only they, can decide on that matter, because the idea of subjecting them to an imposed solution would, if carried out, create a very dangerous uncertainty for the entire future of decolonization.

"... my country will continue to shoulder its responsibilities as the administering Power until the process of decolonization is concluded, so long as other States, and particularly the neighbouring States, respect the peaceful evolution of that process and do not allow the premises on which the process rests to be upset, because they have been set up in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. If any alteration in the situation takes place that might threaten peace and increase our responsi-

bilities, the Spanish Government reserves its right to draw the attention of the Security Council to the necessary measures that should be adopted to maintain peace and also to undertake whatever necessary action might be called for to finalize the process of decolonization." [*Ibid.*, paras. 129 and 130.]

168. The decolonization process in the Sahara is being unduly delayed, and Spain is not to blame. My Government considers to be imperative—and I continue to quote the Spanish Foreign Minister "that this process of decolonization [should] be allowed to be concluded as soon as possible. We trust that the General Assembly at this session will adopt a resolution setting a time-limit as soon as possible." [*Ibid.*, para. 132.]

169. My delegation will co-operate in the Fourth Committee as it has done in the past in the search for peaceful and just solutions for the decolonization of the Territory within the framework of the purposes and principles of this Organization.

170. Mr. SLAOUI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Spain has attempted once again to convince us of the purity of the intentions of his Government—purity as far as the substance is concerned, because Spain, he says, no longer has any interest in the Sahara; and purity as regards its attitude to the problem, because Spain has always wished to speed up the process of decolonization, whereas Morocco is supposed to have adopted the opposite attitude.

171. By his statement and by his insistence on rejecting the dilatory tactics, which Spain itself has been responsible for, blocking the process of the true decolonization of Western Sahara, the representative of that country has just given further proof of the uneasy conscience of his Government and of the profound contradiction in which it is floundering. In fact, it is impossible, on the one hand, to express profound respect for the principles of our Organization while, on the other hand, acting in a way which strips them of their true significance.

172. I shall limit myself to a brief recapitulation of the facts, and these facts are overwhelming. For eight successive years, from 1966 to 1973, Spain systematically opposed both the various draft resolutions and the sending of a visiting mission to the Sahara. In 1974, the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority adopted resolution 3292 (XXIX), which sought the opinion of the International Court of Justice. The General Assembly expressed strong reservations about the sincerity of Spain's desire for real liberation of the Territory by proceeding, itself, to organize a referendum on its self-determination.

173. Our Assembly furthermore recognized the specific nature of the question of Western Sahara and the need to take due account, in conducting the process of decolonization, of the rights of both Morocco and Mauritania with regard to their territorial integrity. This was, furthermore, solemnly confirmed in the ruling on 22 May 1975 by the International Court of Justice regarding the composition of the Court, in which it decided that, since there was, in fact, a dispute between Spain and Morocco, an *ad hoc* judge should be designated by Morocco to act for it in the Court.

174. The justification of resolution 3292 (XXIX) was thus made quite clear and obvious. Furthermore, instead of respecting that resolution and lending assistance to the lofty International Court, Spain, on the contrary, once again resorted to a series of manoeuvres to thwart the action of our Organization. It was thus that Spain introduced before the International Court of Justice all the legal quibbles it could in order to oblige the Court not to discharge its mandate as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The General Assembly—it maintained—had only put to the Court questions that were of an academic nature and without interest, and the Court, under those circumstances, should therefore refrain from enlightening the General Assembly.

175. Morocco sees in these manoeuvres a manifestation of the flagrant opposition of Spain to action on the part of the United Nations. However, it was the official declaration of the Spanish Government, on 23 May last, which revealed most clearly the pernicious designs and plans of the administering Power. In fact, on the very day after the International Court of Justice had handed down its ruling recognizing the existence of a legal dispute between Morocco and Spain, the latter, noting that its trickery had been unmasked to international public opinion, proclaimed that it wished to withdraw as soon as possible from the Territory, handing over power to so-called local authorities. Spain thus revealed its constant intention to work outside the United Nations and to create a false climate that would make it possible for it to perpetuate its domination to the detriment of the fundamental rights of Morocco and Mauritania and of the people of the Sahara themselves.

176. Whom did Spain actually wish to put in power and make responsible for the administration of the Territory? The Saharan National Union Party, whose leaders are at Rabat, or the splinter group of the same party which it keeps prisoner in El Oaïún? Will it decide to invest with full authority the Yema'a, which is something which Spain itself established and whose President just left the Territory of the Sahara a few days ago? Does Spain intend to choose the Mouvement de résistance des Hommes bleus or the Front de libération et de l'unité whose leaders are exiled and live respectively in Brussels and Rabat? Even if it intends to negotiate with the sole liberation party of Río de Oro and Sakiet El Hamra, it would still have to choose between the opposing factions of that party that are installed one in Mauritania and one in Senegal and a third in Algiers.

177. The United Nations in pursuing a calm and sensible policy will treat the Spanish manoeuvres as they deserve and will ensure that in the process of decolonization the rights of the parties concerned, namely Mauritania and Morocco, to their national unity and territorial integrity are respected.

178. Regarding the Spanish colonial enclaves in Morocco, my Government, with the support of all the non-aligned countries expressed at the Lima Conference, solemnly proposed to the Spanish Government that direct negotiations should be initiated for peaceful return of Ceuta, Melilla, the Jaafarines Islands and the Rocks of Alhoceima and Velez. We cannot fail to demonstrate the glaring similarity, and this must be repeated, of this proposal to that made

here by Spain to the British Government for the restitution of Gibraltar. The Spanish Government cannot defend one thing and its opposite. It must fully accept, at the international level, the consequences of the positions it has adopted. Both situations relate to enclaves which were seized long ago under treaties signed under duress. To be consistent, the Spanish Government must immediately start negotiations with Morocco and agree upon ways and means of ceding those enclaves which it maintains under its colonial domination.

179. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I should like to refer briefly to the statement made at this meeting by Archbishop Makarios. I am sure it is the general feeling here that that statement calls for a reply on the part of the Turkish delegation, as the bulk of the speech was directed against my country.

180. I am aware of the statement made this morning [2377th meeting, paras. 194-197] by the President of the Assembly in connexion with a request by the representative of Spain. That statement does not, in our view, apply to this case, since Archbishop Makarios spoke only and solely on behalf of the Greek-Cypriot community, which is only one of the two national communities constituting the Republic of Cyprus.

181. Mr. Rauf Denktaş, the President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, has sent messages to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General making that point very clear. However, out of courtesy and respect to the presidency of this august body I shall refrain from commenting on the substance of the remarks of the Archbishop. I want to simply state that we shall exercise our right of reply in writing.

182. I expect that the Turkish community also will make its views known during the forthcoming debate on the question of Cyprus.

183. My delegation reiterates that Archbishop Makarios does not have any authority whatsoever to speak on behalf of the Turkish community, for he does not represent a single Turk of Cyprus. I am sure that his biased and slanderous presentation made that point abundantly clear.

184. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation fails to comprehend the desire of the delegation of Morocco to mislead this Assembly. The delegation of Morocco should be patient. The report of the Visiting Mission will soon come out and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice will soon be issued, and in both the truth of what has occurred will shine forth.

185. I categorically refute the accusations that we have attempted to confuse either the Assembly or the decolonization process.

186. The representative of Morocco knows full well that it was not possible to achieve self-determination in the Territory until the population, which has the same right as any other to self-determination, had sufficient resources. Fortunately, it was possible to convert that nomadic population into a sedentary one. That is the reason behind the delay. The population is there. It has considerable wealth and it is perhaps that wealth that has whetted the appetites of its neighbours. Until very recently no one was interested in that Territory.

187. I wish to reaffirm that the Spanish Government, in its contacts with the countries bordering on Western Sahara, has not ceased to seek for a basis of understanding which will reconcile the interests of all parties concerned with those of the population, in order to ensure peace and stability in the Maghreb, as the foundation for fruitful co-operation.

188. Any other distortion of the truth, in the opinion of the Spanish Government—and I am the authorized spokesman of that Government—is contrary to the facts.

189. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): There is an accepted practice of long standing in the United Nations whereby, when a head of State delivers his address to the General Assembly, as head of State and therefore not as taking part in the general debate, no right of reply is allowed. That practice was duly upheld this morning by the President of the General Assembly in connexion with the statement of the President of Mexico. It should also be applied in connexion with the address of the President of Cyprus.

190. Yet the representative of Turkey was allowed to come to the rostrum in order to dispute the President's right to speak on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus and to label his address as a "biased and slanderous presentation". This is a regrettable procedural precedent for the Assembly.

191. His allegation that the President, Archbishop Makarios, does not represent Cyprus is not only untenable and futile but also arrogant, in view of the fact that the United Nations and the whole of its membership fully recognizes him as President of the Republic of Cyprus.

192. At the previous session no right of reply to the address of President Makarios was allowed although it also referred in no less clear terms to Turkish aggression and invasion of the island. On what grounds does the Turkish representative pretend that the President of Cyprus has no equal rights in the United Nations? Is it because, as a result of the international crime committed against Cyprus by Turkey, 40 per cent of its territory is under the invader's military rule and 200,000 indigenous Cypriot people were uprooted by force from their homes and properties, and people from Turkey in great numbers were brought in to occupy the usurped homes and properties of the expelled Cypriots for the purpose of changing the demographic character of Cyprus?

193. The Turkish representative in effect is asking the General Assembly to sanction this crime. This shows what the spirit of Turkey towards the United Nations and towards the very tenets of civilized society is. He wants the rule of the jungle to apply in Cyprus and to be reflected here as the rule of the General Assembly in a return to barbarism.

194. Mr. SLAUI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Spain said a few moments ago that if Spain had in fact held up the decolonization of the Sahara it was because of the imperative need for it to wait for the nomads to become city-dwellers. He therefore admits that Spain has considerably delayed the decolonization. Regarding the transformation of nomads into city-dwellers, I am a Moroccan from the south of Morocco, and I know that the report of the Visiting Mission, drawn up

by competent and honest people, will undoubtedly tell us precisely to what extent the nomads have been transformed into city dwellers.

195. The second point made by the representative of Spain was that the claims of Morocco were not made until the phosphate deposits, the mineral wealth of the Sahara, were discovered. First, I must say that the Moroccan claims go back to 1956. Secondly, the wealth of the Sahara represents a reserve of 1,700 million to 2,300 million tons, or approximately 2,000 million tons. I must point out to members of the Assembly that the reserves of phosphates held by Morocco amount to 50,000 million tons; in other words, the reserves in the Sahara represent only 4 per cent of total Moroccan reserves. In all seriousness, Morocco not claim the territorial integrity of its country simply to recover 4 per cent of its reserves. And I must point out again that our claims do in fact go back to the very day on which we acquired independence in 1956.

196. Regarding the third point, the offer which Spain says it has always made to settle the problem between the parties concerned, Morocco has never rejected this possibility and it is the abnormal conditions imposed by Spain in the case of every attempt to arrange a meeting that have led to the failure of those attempts.

197. If, therefore, Spain is prepared to meet with us in normal and objective conditions, taking into account the history of the Territory, such as it is and such as it has been, we are prepared to agree to this.

198. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I should like to exercise my right of reply to Mr. Rossides.

199. Mr. Rossides, in his vehement speech, full of distortions, unfounded allegations and sterile diatribes, has lost sight of two important dates in the history of Cyprus, and those dates have a great bearing on what he said about our not recognizing Archbishop Makarios as Head of the State of Cyprus.

200. Mr. Rossides should remember 21 December 1963 which marked the beginning of the tragedy of Cyprus. On that day the signal was given for a general onslaught on the Turkish community, as a result of which countless Turks were murdered and the entire community was condemned to live under oppression, humiliation and fear for more than a decade. On that date the Constitution of Cyprus, which was based on the equal participation of the two communities, was grossly violated and cast aside, and a State apparatus was converted into an instrument of Greek tyranny against the Turkish community.

201. The second important date is 15 July 1974. Mr. Rossides will remember that the Head of the Greek Cypriot administration, which he represents, described the events which unfolded in July of last year in this way when he addressed the Security Council on 19 July 1974.

"The military régime of Greece has callously violated the independence of Cyprus. . . . without trace of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, the Greek junta has extended its dictatorship to Cyprus.

" . . . it was an invasion which violated the independence and sovereignty of the Republic. And the

invasion is continuing so long as there are Greek officers in Cyprus.

" . . . the events in Cyprus do not constitute an internal matter of the Greeks of Cyprus. The Turks of Cyprus are also affected. The coup of the Greek junta is an invasion, and from its consequences the whole people of Cyprus suffers, both Greeks and Turks." ⁶

202. This is indeed a vivid explanation of what happened in July 1974. It was the Greek invasion which violated the independence and the sovereignty of Cyprus and threatened the very survival of the Turkish community. And what Turkey has undertaken was nothing other than action in conformity with international treaties to forestall the imminent threat to the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus and the danger directed against the two communities. The intervention of Turkey was legal, legitimate and rightful. If Turkey had failed to intervene, Cyprus would have lost its independence for ever and been condemned to live under a dictatorship, which is so rightly abhorred today.

203. We would, therefore, be better advised to avoid unnecessary polemics and flamboyant performances, and instead concentrate our energy and attention on realistic ways of resolving the conflict.

204. Speaking in that spirit, the Foreign Minister of Turkey recently pointed out in his statement in the general debate:

" . . . the Turkish Government considers that any solution should be based on the following principles and considerations.

"First, the two communities are now negotiating on an equal footing on the basis of resolutions of the United Nations. Any attempt to damage that equality, any manoeuvre aimed at sowing distrust, could only make continuation of the negotiations impossible.

"Secondly, the last phase of the Cyprus conflict originated in a military *coup* from the outside, aimed at ending the independence of the island. Any future solution should be based on respect for the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus. The State of Cyprus should be able to follow a policy of non-alignment, which would best respond to the interests of the two communities and contribute to peace and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean.

"Thirdly, the constitution of the island should provide for the establishment of a bizonal federation, with modalities and arrangements taking into account the economic situation of the island and the structures and needs of the two communities, as well as the need to ensure co-operation based on security and mutual trust.

"Fourthly, the two communities should participate in the federal government on an equal footing" [2364th meeting, paras. 175-179.].

205. The General Assembly, in its wisdom, and the Security Council have also constantly advocated negotiations between the two communities. An overwhelming majority of delegates who participated in the general debate also expressed the same desire.

206. The Turkish community has made known its willingness to engage in meaningful negotiations. The Greek Cypriot representatives would better serve the cause of their community by helping to create the right atmosphere of dialogue.

207. It is difficult, however, not to doubt seriously the ability of the head of the Greek Cypriot administration to bring forward such a contribution. Compelled by fate to live side by side, and for the last decade under cruel oppression, the Turkish Cypriots long ago reached the unavoidable conclusion that this head of the Greek Cypriot Administration can offer no positive contribution to the solution of the problem of Cyprus and that there can be no settlement as long as his mentality prevails.

208. That he is unable to rid himself of his obsessions was made eloquently clear in a recent interview with the Mr. Lawrence Stern which appeared in the summer 1975 issue of the *Foreign Policy Journal*:

“The fact that I never seem to come to an agreement with the Turks in the intercommunal talks probably accounts for the prolongation of my life politically.”

Shall we, for the sake of prolonging a political life, forgo for ever a settlement of the problem of Cyprus and the return of peace and tranquillity to the Eastern Mediterranean?

209. Mr. Rossides spoke about aggression, while it was the Greek Cypriot Administration that initiated the aggression in 1963 against its Turkish compatriots. As early as 1962 the then head of State of the young Republic of Cyprus was provoking one part of his people against the other in unbelievable public statements, one of which I quote:

“Unless the small Turkish community, forming part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism, is expelled, the duties of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated.”

210. Mr. Rossides spoke about occupation. It was Archbishop Makarios himself who invited the occupying forces of Greece to Cyprus. He headed a foreign-occupied Cyprus for more than a decade—eventually to be overthrown by the very forces he had invited. He spoke about refugees. It is ironic that a man who, through his systematic policies, compelled the Turkish Cypriots to become and remain refugees in their own homeland three times over the

last decade, could speak about the plight of the refugees. He speaks about Turkish designs to partition the island, while he himself took an oath to deliver the island undivided to Greece.

211. The Turkish and the Greek communities of Cyprus have suffered too much for too long. An end must be brought to this tragedy. Such an end will only come with a settlement that would preserve the mutual rights of the two communities and secure and ensure a genuine partnership between them. Let us then, once and for all, give up propaganda and slander and work towards this goal.

212. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Cyprus has indicated his wish to exercise his right of reply. First, however, I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia who wishes to speak on a point of order.

213. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): This marathon of rights of reply is interminable, for every reply elicits another reply. We have borne it all patiently here. There is no end to it that I can see, and the hour is late. Therefore, it is my privilege to ask for an immediate adjournment.

214. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the rules of procedure a motion for adjournment shall not be debated but shall be put to the vote immediately. Accordingly I now put to the vote the adjournment motion proposed by the representative of Saudi Arabia.

The motion was adopted by 40 votes to 5, with 24 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twentieth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1965, document S/6253.*

² A/AC.176/7.

³ *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.7).

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 2349th meeting, paras. 25-29.*

⁵ *Manifesto on Southern Africa. See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.*

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, 1780th meeting, paras. 9, 23 and 32.*