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*President:* Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM  
(United Republic of Tanzania)

*Address by Mr. Bruno Kreisky,  
Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria*

1. The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Bruno Kreisky and inviting him to address the General Assembly.
2. Mr. KREISKY (Austria): It gives me great pleasure to address this General Assembly, which meets under your distinguished leadership, Mr. President. I should like to take this opportunity to convey, through you, my greetings and the expression of my highest esteem to President Nyerere, one of the most eminent statesmen of Africa.
3. It has been five years since I last spoke before the General Assembly of the United Nations.<sup>1</sup> The problems which I brought up then are still problems which are on our agenda today. Among the issues I dealt with were the oil problem, the situation in the Middle East and the relations between the industrialized countries and the developing nations. On that occasion I expressed the opinion that the intricate problem of bringing peace to the Middle East could not be solved without taking into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. I asked you to consider the Middle East problems as intimately linked with the over-all world-wide process of détente.
4. There have been significant developments in world affairs during this five-year period. Permit me to refer to some of them.
5. On 1 August 1975 the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was concluded in Helsinki. After thorough preparation, the Conference confirmed and was indeed the culmination of détente, which I believe started with the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty<sup>2</sup> 25 years ago. This process has not been without setbacks. There have been deadlocks and many crises. There were periods of pessimism and optimism. Finally it was possible to bring about the Conference in

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2279th meeting.*

<sup>2</sup> State Treaty for the re-establishment of an independent and democratic Austria, signed at Vienna, on 15 May 1955 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 217, No. 2949, p. 223).

Helsinki, and the Final Act was signed by the representatives, the heads of Government or State, of 35 nations. Although the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act do not have the force of a treaty, they nevertheless include a broad range of declarations of intent, concessions and norms of conduct, and the very fact of their formulation in the Act gives them an important role in our international relations.

6. Even though not all of the Act's provisions are being complied with to the letter, the document does provide signatory States with legal authorization, so to speak, to seek recourse to the Helsinki Act without having to fear accusations of intervention in the domestic affairs of another State.

7. A second reason for the importance of the Helsinki Act is, in our view, the fact that it established human rights as an international political issue. Finally, we also consider the Helsinki Act to be the essential beginning of a dynamic process, a process which is necessary to develop détente and normalization between people in the West and the East.

8. However, this dynamic process will only take place if economic co-operation between the States in Eastern and Western Europe continues and if new, constructive forms of co-operation are found which go beyond the limits of a mere exchange of commodities and financial transactions.

9. The process of détente in Europe will be promoted if substantial disarmament is achieved. Therefore, we hope that the statements made by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, will open new prospects in this area. The efforts of the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, to create the necessary conditions for the ratification of the Treaty resulting from the second round of talks on strategic arms limitation are of extreme importance.

10. When the next meeting of the States which participated in the Helsinki Conference takes place in Madrid in November 1980, it should be held on a level which will ensure that important decisions can be taken to give further impetus to the process of détente in Europe.

11. It is true that there are no military conflicts, and no civil wars either, in Europe today—something which has not often been the case in the history of that war-torn continent. However, we know all too well that, given the interdependence of world politics today, this détente in Europe will remain precarious as long as there are areas of tension which, again and again, engender warfare. One region which causes us this particular concern is the Middle East.

12. I am among those who have been trying for more than 20 years to grasp the complexity of the issues of

this area. I admit very frankly that for many reasons—reasons of my personal political conviction and reasons of *realpolitik*—I constantly search for possible solutions. Because of the interest accorded me by the media from time to time, and the criticism and support I sometimes meet with, I feel justified and, I would almost say, obligated to say a few more words on these issues.

13. I should like to speak as clearly as the situation requires in order, if at all possible, to prevent misunderstandings. The peace process is now a reality for the Arab Republic of Egypt and Israel and has, in my view, a value of its own which should not be underestimated. This peace remains an historic achievement of President Anwar El-Sadat of Egypt.

14. Important as it is, it has not, however, solved the substantial problem of the area: the problem of the Palestinian people. This problem is so difficult and so tragic because two peoples are confronting one another in a very small area to which both lay claim. Both peoples, the Palestinians and the Israelis, are communities shaped by fate. No one else but these two peoples themselves can solve their problem. It cannot be solved by any mediator. No State, however powerful, can accomplish this task, nor, in my view, can the brother peoples of the Palestinians solve this problem. Only negotiations and agreement between the Palestinians and the Israelis, on the basis of mutual recognition, will lead to results. Without this readiness to negotiate and the will to achieve agreement there will be no peace in this region.

15. For such negotiations, it is necessary for each side to concede to the other the decision on who is to speak on its behalf.

16. It seems to me that it is high time to be absolutely clear on this issue. Since all the Arab peoples, including Egypt, recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians, since the group of non-aligned countries has clearly demonstrated similar recognition and since the representative of the PLO has his place here in this Assembly with the consent of practically all of us, the time must soon come when all States in this great community of nations will recognize that the PLO today simply is the representative of the Palestinian people.

17. For its part, the Austrian Federal Government will take this fact fully into account and will advocate this position with all due clarity in its relations with other States. One, and not the least important, reason why, among the European democracies, we Austrians are taking such a clearly defined position here is that many of us know very well how much we would have been spared, including perhaps even a 10-year occupation after our liberation in 1945, had such representation of our national interests existed after 1938.

18. I am deeply convinced that this recognition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians will eventually be granted by most, if not all, Governments.

19. Once the question of representation has been solved, it will be necessary, as a further pre-condition for negotiations between the parties concerned, to recognize the national rights of both peoples in conformity with

the spirit and the letter of the Charter of the United Nations.

20. To put it in clear and precise terms: the Palestinian side would have to acknowledge as a reality the existence of the State of Israel and Israel would have to recognize as legitimate the national rights of the Palestinians. Any draft resolution presented to this Assembly and reflecting this view will find the support of the Austrian Government. It is only at that stage that, in my opinion, the moment for first exploratory talks will have come.

21. Having had a quarter of a century of experience in negotiations, and often with very difficult negotiating partners, I can certainly imagine such exploratory talks taking place prior to genuine negotiations along the following lines: even if one party declared that the idea of a Palestinian State appeared unacceptable to them, and even if the other declared that only such a State could be regarded as a satisfactory solution, they could nevertheless discuss soberly all the aspects which would result from a State solution, such as, for instance, the common border, questions of security, economic co-operation and many similar issues.

22. Only after these questions have been clarified can it be determined, as I see it, whether the idea of having one's own State is an impossible one, or whether it cannot, after all, be conceived of through co-operation with the neighbouring States, including, of course, Israel. But in all fairness, one would also have to discuss in this context the question of autonomy in all its aspects.

23. Not until these exploratory talks have taken place and produced guidelines as to possible solutions could one resume negotiations such as those held in Geneva. Then a decision could be taken to begin negotiations in the proper forum, with the United Nations serving as an "umbrella".

24. Let me say finally how much I hope that it will be possible for the two peoples, the Israeli people and the Palestinian people, not only to co-exist, but to live together as well. Both peoples, without having great material resources—without oil, for example—are rich in great intellectual resources. Both have numbers of intellectuals and university graduates quite exceeding those of many other peoples.

25. With the intellectual and human resources of the Israelis and the Palestinians, a region of prosperity could be created, probably less rich than other countries but certainly more productive and more creative.

26. What is most important is that talks begin because, whatever view one may take, "in the beginning was the Word" and, if goodwill, intelligence and the feeling of responsibility for suffering human beings and peoples triumph once again in this painful process, there will be peace. Both peoples and their peacemakers will truly gain the respect and admiration of the entire world, and the word of the Holy Scripture will be fulfilled:

"And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. *Isaiah 2:4; Micah 4:3.*"

27. Permit me now to state our position on a third question, which concerns us in Europe as much as it does those who come from other continents. I am referring to the North-South dialogue. It would be an oversimplification to believe, although this impression is often created, that this issue is simply one of a confrontation between the industrialized States and the developing countries. The industrialized nations also have differing positions in this dialogue, depending upon the political philosophies of their Governments. It may well be that on this issue the industrialized States give too strong an impression of having a firm, unified position on this entire complex of issues; but we too see the problems in very different ways, depending, as I have said, on our political perspectives. I feel that something is lacking in this dialogue namely, a "grand design" based upon strong feelings of responsibility and international solidarity from which everything else should flow.

28. In this forum, proposals on economic co-operation have repeatedly been made. There can be no doubt that economic issues cannot be considered independently of fundamental political views. They meet with approval to the extent to which they are in line with the respective political philosophy of the countries concerned. Certainly, many of these proposals appear attractive and — from the point of view of economically developing countries — are not only useful but also urgently needed. On the other hand, the reality of the international situation with which we are confronted will have to be taken into account. Economic thinking can only rarely be influenced by considerations of international solidarity. This conclusion may not be to the liking of many of us, and it certainly is not to mine, but this is how the world is today.

29. Recently my esteemed friend, the President of Mexico, Mr. López Portillo, submitted specific proposals to this Assembly [11th meeting]. Likewise, the President of Cuba, Mr. Fidel Castro, proposed a global development programme [31st meeting] — a very expensive one, I believe. And we still recall the proposals on a new international economic order put forward by the late President of Algeria, Mr. Boumediène.<sup>3</sup>

30. A few months ago, a commission established outside this forum and composed of eminent persons from the South and the North headed by the former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Willy Brandt, concluded its work and issued its report<sup>4</sup> in which were submitted a series of very important and valuable proposals.

31. In order to approach these problems in the most realistic manner, one should try to arrive at a synthesis of all these plans and ideas, taking into account everything that has already been accomplished. In this context, we should also not forget that considerable means have already been made available by the Western industrialized countries. Over the past two decades the net flow of resources from the donor countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development to the developing world has amounted to more than \$350 billion.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 7, document A/9541, annex and *ibid.*, *Plenary Meetings*, 2208th meeting.

<sup>4</sup> *North-South: A programme for survival*, The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (London, Pan Brooks Ltd., 1980).

32. It will not be easy to bridge the gap between the various more or less ideologically motivated programmes. It is not my intention to propose any new United Nations body or institution, since I believe that this immense task could best be accomplished by the existing mechanisms.

33. Permit me to refer here to the ideas which I began to develop decades ago under the influence of the outstanding contribution made by the people of the United States to the reconstruction of the totally destroyed continent of Europe. This was indeed a major act of solidarity on the part of the people of the United States with the nations of Europe which were all invited to participate, irrespective of their social and political systems. I am a personal witness to the fact that this assistance was granted without any political strings. Obviously, such a model cannot be applied without modification to a very different situation, but some of its underlying concepts are certainly still valid.

34. A case in point is the provision of assistance in the form of credits in a manner that would allow the proceeds to remain in the recipient country for reinvestment. This is precisely what was done in Austria, and it is one of the reasons the Austrian Federal Government has been able to pursue in recent years — and is still pursuing — a successful investment policy.

35. What I have in mind is the great, historic example of the Marshall Plan, through which the United States made it possible for the European countries to recover from economic ruin after the war and to build new industries. My view is that global economic and political co-operation is only possible if the industrialized States are able, through large-scale, joint actions, to assist in building up the infrastructure of the developing States — and what we mean here is infrastructure in the broadest sense of the word, ranging from the building of a subcontinental railway system to the development of telecommunication. Although I am fully aware that such a plan should be financed mainly by the industrialized countries, I would also envisage financial participation on the part of those countries that are receiving large revenues from the sale of oil. Let me make it clear that this would mean not only financing, but also participation.

36. Since I know that such ideas are not easy to put into effect — and I am saying this from painful experience — the Austrian Federal Government is trying to interest some European countries, together with some African countries, in the preparation and subsequent implementation of a smaller model which could serve as an example for a more global solution.

37. The Austrian Federal Government will always continue to give the greatest possible attention to such concepts and to promote their implementation.

38. On 23 August of this year, the Vienna International Centre was handed over to the United Nations. The construction of the Centre by the Austrian Government and the city of Vienna should be regarded as a sign of our dedication to the principles of the United Nations.

39. We are happy that the United Nations and some specialized organizations have now found a new home on the Danube. A large congress centre will be added to

the complex and will be at the disposal of the world community in 1983.

40. In conclusion, I would like to assure the nations assembled here, this Organization and its Secretary-General how greatly we in Austria appreciate the activities of the United Nations. I would also like to express my conviction that to date no better alternative to this institution, in which big and small nations have a voice, has been found. In any event, the growing trend in world politics towards submitting important issues to an increasing degree to new summit conferences has yielded no convincing results.

41. Once again, my optimism may be held against me. But why should I not be optimistic, since I can use the Austrian example to demonstrate convincingly what a great contribution to détente was made through the

agreement achieved by the Allied Powers on a State Treaty with Austria 25 years ago—a contribution not only to détente in Europe, but also to a prosperity and social peace hardly known before in Austria.

42. I wish to thank you once more for giving me this opportunity to put forward to this Assembly some ideas on current issues. The increasing degree to which some of them are gaining recognition makes me certain that a better order can also be achieved in international life.

43. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Federal Chancellor of Austria, His Excellency Mr. Bruno Kreisky, for the important statement he has just made.

*The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.*