

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTIETH SESSION

Official Records



2355th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 22 September 1975,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

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(Luxembourg).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/10250)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall first of all take up the question of agenda item 125 entitled "Question of Cyprus". Members will recall that the General Committee recommended that agenda item 125 should be considered by the Assembly directly in plenary meetings and that the President should hold consultations with a view to reaching a consensus on the way the item should be dealt with.

2. After holding consultations over the entire weekend concerning the allocation of the item the "Questions of Cyprus", I must say that I have not been able to reach a consensus on all the points involved.

3. In order to help the General Assembly in its work, I should like to propose that, in taking up this item, we follow the procedure agreed to by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session [*see 2237th meeting, para. 2*].

4. At that time, the President of the Assembly, Mr. Bouteflika, announced that an understanding had been reached to the effect that, when it considered the item, the General Assembly would invite the Special Political Committee to meet for the purpose of affording representatives of the Cypriot communities an opportunity to speak in the Committee in order to express their views. The General Assembly would, it was understood, then resume its consideration of the item taking into account the report of the Special Political Committee.

5. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, I should like to say that we do not object to following last year's procedure. However, it must be remembered

that since last year there have been a number of unilateral actions by Turkey taking advantage of its military occupation of the invaded area, and one of these unilateral efforts aimed at creating a *fait accompli* on matters which relate to the very substance of the question of Cyprus was the declaration, through the Turkish Cypriot community leadership, of a separate so-called "Federated Turkish State of Cyprus". That action was disapproved by the Security Council in paragraph 2 of its resolution 367 (1975) of 12 March 1975 and was condemned outright by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, representing the majority of the General Assembly.

6. There is a situation with which we have to deal. In June last the Turkish Cypriot representative was given the opportunity to speak in the Security Council by the President on condition that he speak in his personal capacity. But as soon as he took the floor he ignored that decision by the President of the Security Council and started expounding on the so-called separate Turkish Cypriot State of Cyprus. That created an atmosphere alien to the discussion of the problem before the Security Council concerning that State.

7. We therefore want to prevent the same thing from happening again today, but this would happen if we simply adopted last year's procedure without taking any notice of the fact that a so-called separate Federated Turkish State of Cyprus has been arbitrarily and unlawfully declared in violation of the Constitution of Cyprus of 1960, on which the Turkish Cypriots rely for their excessive rights, and in violation of international law and of every concept of legality in this matter.

8. We now propose, therefore, that we follow the procedure of last year but indicate that we do so with due regard to paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 367 (1975), which is intended—without spelling it out—to remind the Turkish Cypriot participant that he must act in accordance with his explicit request, that is, to speak on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot community, because if he asked to speak on behalf of the so-called separate Federated Turkish State of Cyprus he would not be permitted to speak. He should not start speaking as if he were the representative of the so-called Federated Turkish State of Cyprus. That is the purpose of my proposal.

9. I should therefore like to submit the following proposal to the General Assembly:

"In order to give the opportunity to the Turkish Cypriot community to express its views, the procedure adopted by the General Assembly on this item last year will be followed and the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community will speak as such. It should be recalled that in Cyprus there

is only one State, as recognized by the United Nations, namely the Republic of Cyprus."

According to last year's arrangement, referred to above [see para. 3], the General Assembly, when it considers this item, will invite the Special Political Committee to meet for the purpose of affording representatives of the Cypriot communities an opportunity to take the floor in the Committee in order to express their views. The General Assembly will then resume its consideration of the item, taking into account the report of the Special Political Committee.

10. This is the procedure which, in my submission, should be followed. I would request the President to put the text of what I have read out to the vote.

11. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I have made a proposal which, according to my consultations, had led me to believe that it would meet with the almost unanimous support of the Assembly. Now the representative of Cyprus has made a counter-proposal which, if it is to be put to the vote, should be before me in writing, and it must be translated and then distributed to all delegations.

12. I shall make a further appeal to the representative of Cyprus. In the absence of unanimous agreement, I shall ask the Assembly to defer this matter, because I do not think that we should continue to put off the general debate, which everybody is anxious to see begin. I think that, in accordance with our rules, we should not confuse procedure and substance in the debate. That is why I felt that the settlement reached last year, which would make it possible for the Cypriot communities, if they so wished, to be heard, would serve the purpose. That is why I did not simply mention any specific Cypriot community, since the Assembly last year had expressed the wish that all communities that wanted to express themselves should have the opportunity of doing so. To say "the Turkish Cypriot community" without mentioning the other, would imply a choice and we might perhaps have to come to the General Assembly again when the other community expressed a desire to speak.

13. The Assembly knows which States are Members and are recognized as such. I do not know whether we should include in a debate on procedure statements which might have to be put to a vote at the end of the procedure of the Special Political Committee.

14. I therefore ask the representative of Cyprus whether he insists that his proposal be put to the vote. If so, I would ask the Assembly whether we should not defer this debate until tomorrow, so that we could now begin the general debate while waiting for the document to be distributed. But I am open to any procedural proposals which may be submitted.

15. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I have not heard any objection to the text that I have proposed. If there is an objection, then the only thing to do, in accordance with our rules of procedure, is to hear three speakers in favour and three against. If no one wishes to speak, it should then be put to the vote and the matter finished with. I do not think that this matter of allocation is one which should take up the precious time of the General Assembly. It is a very simple matter. We are not far from agreement because agreement is almost unanimous. Let us therefore put it

to the vote. I do not see why we should be so frightened of putting something like that to the vote. Let us put it to the vote and be finished with it and let the normal procedure of the General Assembly take its course. It is the purpose of the General Assembly to decide the issues by vote, and not to perpetuate issues and not to be unable to decide issues because of a desire to reach unanimity. Where does it say that there must be unanimity in the allocation of an item? It is merely a matter of a simple majority. Therefore, Mr. President, I am very sorry, but I have to insist that this item be put to the vote. I heard no objection, but if there is any objection, then my proposal should be put to the vote.

16. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The experience of the representative of Cyprus in this Assembly is greater than mine. However, I should like to recall rule 78 of the rules of procedure, which I must uphold:

"Proposals and amendments shall normally be submitted in writing to the Secretary-General, who shall circulate copies to the delegations. As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the General Assembly unless copies of it have been circulated to all delegations not later than the day preceding the meeting."

17. Last year's proposal is known to all. A new proposal has been the subject of negotiations for two days and most representatives agreed with my proposal—except the representative of Cyprus. This proposal includes so many points that it would be forcing the Assembly to work too hastily if it were put to the vote before the actual documents were translated into the official languages and distributed to all delegations.

18. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): It would seem to me, with great respect, that the Assembly is perhaps in danger of confusing two issues. The point we are considering this morning is the allocation of the item: that is, we should decide where, in principle, it should be taken up. The secondary question which has been brought into the discussion is how the various communities involved should be represented in the subsequent discussions of this item, how they should speak, where they should speak and, I suppose, how they should be described.

19. We had very much hoped that the negotiations you had undertaken over the weekend, Mr. President, would by now have been successfully concluded so that this item could have been allocated without further controversy. We still believe that further efforts on your part between now and the time when the discussion of this item on Cyprus actually takes place will lead to an eventual agreement between the parties. We therefore have every confidence that you will be successful, provided those consultations can take place at a more relaxed pace and without the pressure of a two-day deadline.

20. I would therefore formally propose—and I think that I am perfectly in order in doing this, since it is already on the agenda of the Assembly in the report of the General Committee—that we now take a decision to allocate the item on Cyprus to the Assembly in plenary in the expectation and hope that you, Mr. President, will continue your consultations with

a view to reaching a solution of the problem of how best to give the Turkish Cypriot community an opportunity to speak on that item. As for my delegation, we believe that the arrangement agreed to last year, by which the representatives of the two communities address the Special Political Committee before the debate proper takes place in the plenary meetings, to be the most appropriate arrangement.

21. We would look forward to a report by you when your consultations have been successfully concluded and before discussion of the item begins. It seems to me that we are in grave danger here, if we continue with the debate in the way in which it has started today, of having a long and perhaps bitter wrangle over the issue of how the two communities can best deal with this matter when it comes to substantive debate. I would suggest, therefore, that the Assembly decide to allocate the item for discussion in plenary meetings but do no more than that this morning; that you, Mr. President, continue your consultations to see how the communities may best be accommodated; and that, when those consultations have reached a successful conclusion, you report back to the Assembly, before the discussion of the substantive item takes place.

22. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I am grateful to the representative of the United Kingdom, for this constructive proposal. Could all those who have asked to speak agree with this?

23. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): As I indicated earlier, we voted against the inclusion of the question of Cyprus in the agenda of the General Assembly because we found it impossible to cast a positive vote as long as the issue of enabling the two communities to express their views remained unresolved. Our position was based on the firm conviction that there could be no valid debate on the Cyprus problem without the participation of the communities which are recognized by resolution 3212 (XXIX) of the General Assembly as the parties mainly and directly concerned.

24. Mr. President, I should like to thank you for all the efforts you have made in order to reach a consensus on this question before this meeting today. We are perfectly ready to support your proposal that the ruling of last year should be repeated. We shall support that, and we find it impossible to accept anything else.

25. Now, the Ambassador representing the Greek-Cypriot community has put forward another proposal, the text of which I do not have. He spoke of the unanimity of this question. Since Turkey is also a Member of the United Nations, we should be included in that unanimity. As I said, we have not even seen the text of the proposal.

26. Also, we cannot accept the proposal of the representative of the United Kingdom because the question of the inclusion and allocation of the item is closely related to the procedure we are going to follow in order to enable the two communities to speak. As the representative of the United Kingdom will recall, last year the question was decided during the allocation of the item to the Assembly in plenary meetings. We cannot change this procedure now because this would mean that the question of the right of the two communities to speak would be post-

poned for ever, and we have come to know something of the dilatory tactics that can be used in this respect.

27. Mr. Rossides has also used this opportunity to direct some attacks against the Turkish community regarding its decision to create a federated State. I repeat that what the Turkish community has done does not constitute forming an independent State. The Federated Turkish State does not claim to have external sovereignty; its purpose is mainly to achieve the creation in Cyprus of a federal State, and it has proclaimed several times that it is ready to amend its constitution in the light of the future federal constitution.

28. So the only point we have here is that the Turkish community is asking to address the General Assembly or the Special Political Committee, as the Assembly decides, in its capacity as the representative of the Turkish community. But we should also accept the fact that the Turkish community cannot agree to speak under conditions dictated by Ambassador Rossides.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): My only concern is to advance the work of the Assembly. Before calling on other speakers, therefore, I shall ask members to familiarize themselves with the proposal that has been made by the representative of the United Kingdom. I must correct certain misunderstandings. This would not signify that the debate would never be settled. The United Kingdom proposal—and I am speaking subject to correction—was that the consultations and contacts should continue and that before the discussion could begin a proposal would have to be made on the way in which the debate would be conducted. Thus it is not a proposal not for indefinite postponement but a proposal that the procedural decision just referred to by the representative of Turkey should be taken not today but before the debate on the Cyprus question begins.

30. Since we are referring to the consultations, I should like to say that none of the parties has objected to the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community being heard. So I think that we can reach some arrangement, and I ask all members not to confuse the substance of the issue with the procedural debate we are having today.

31. I shall consult the Assembly on the United Kingdom proposal.

32. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I recognize that, unless the President wishes to act otherwise in accordance with rule 120, my proposal would require 24 hours' notice for its publication before being put to the vote. Therefore, I would not insist that it be put to the vote. The proposal of the representative of the United Kingdom is not a question of any document but is a question pertinent to the allocation of the item, and therefore I believe that if there is any objection it can be put to the vote at once. If there is no objection, of course, it will stand. For my part I have no objection.

33. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to come back to the United Kingdom proposal and to ask the General Assembly, before seeing whether it is necessary to proceed to a vote, if there is any objection to that proposal. If there is none we shall have saved a great deal of time.

34. I hear no objection to the United Kingdom proposal, and I therefore take it that it is adopted by the General Assembly.

It was so decided.

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): For the sake of greater clarity, I would point out that what the United Kingdom proposal calls for is: first, the allocation of this item for discussion in plenary meetings of the Assembly; secondly, a request to the President to continue his consultations and, before the question of Cyprus is actually discussed, to make proposals, if possible, on the basis of a consensus. A decision would then be taken, either by consensus or by majority vote, on the procedure to be adopted for the debate. As I hear no objection, we shall proceed accordingly.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate

36. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before calling on the first speaker I should like to remind members of the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its 2353rd plenary meeting, held on 19 September 1975, regarding the procedure concerning the general debate, particularly in connexion with the list of speakers and the exercise of the right of reply.

37. Mr. AZEREDO DA SILVEIRA (Brazil):* Mr. President, may my first words express the satisfaction with which the delegation of Brazil received the news of your election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Luxembourg has a long history of peaceful coexistence and international co-operation which, along with your personal qualities, augurs well for a particularly productive session.

38. It is also a pleasure for me to voice the recognition of the delegation of Brazil for the dedication and efficiency with which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, the eminent Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, guided the work of the twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session just concluded.

39. The tradition that the delegation of Brazil opens the general debate offers me the very particular satisfaction of being able to extend the first welcome to the delegations of three new Members of this Organization. These are Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique. Brazil is especially linked to these nations by the ties of a past that is common in many respects and that we now wish to see projected towards a future of co-operation and understanding. I am certain that the presence of the three Members in this Organization will be reflected in benefits for the international community.

40. In greeting the new Portuguese-speaking nations that have joined the Organization, I wish to express the fraternal understanding with which Brazil follows the unfolding process of decolonization in Angola. Brazil feels linked to the future new African State by ties of history and blood that underscore the community of interests resulting from a spirit of brother-

liness forged over the Atlantic. We extend our wish that those who so vigorously promoted the liberation of Angola may overcome the difficulties of the present moment in order to give the new nation the political stability that will definitively ensure its territorial integrity and its independence, free from foreign interference of any kind.

41. Our Organization is about to conclude the third decade of its existence. For individuals, as well as for institutions, 30 years of life has a more than merely chronological significance, in the sense that that space of time usually covers fundamental changes in social life and coincides with the very rhythm by which generations succeed one another and history is renewed. The United Nations is undergoing a dynamic and critical revision which could, we all hope, renew it and prepare it for the difficult tasks of the coming years. That impulse for renewal is not generated spontaneously. It springs from all of us who compose the Organization and who are, in fact, its essence.

42. That is a fact frequently overlooked in evaluating the performance of the Organization during these 30 years. Thus it is that the frustrations felt by the international community are systematically attributed to the United Nations as an Organization, when, in the majority of cases, they result from the very limitations inherent in the current international order. Our Organization, however flexible its constitutional structure may be, does not operate within a closed system but in an ambience of constant interaction with the international macrostructure.

43. Thus, the scepticism which for some time has surrounded the activity of the United Nations often constitutes a kind of shifting of blame by which States attempt to absolve themselves from responsibility for the failures that, in the final analysis, rest primarily upon them. As far as Brazil is concerned, we prefer to avoid straying into a state of general pessimism, in the same way that we frankly avoid the illusions of an equally unrealistic international optimism. Above all, we lean towards a sober vision of the limitations and the possibilities of the United Nations, a vision that would lead us to achieving the objectives of its Charter with a maximum of efficiency.

44. We do not deny reality and we recognize that the United Nations has been unable to achieve the lofty objectives entrusted to it in such fundamental areas as the maintenance of international peace and security and the creation of a more equitable international economic order.

45. It was customary initially to attribute the limitations of the United Nations in respect of maintaining peace and security to the trauma of the cold war, which paralysed the will of the Organization in those frequent cases in which a conflict of interests occurred between the super-Powers. Currently, the tendency is to blame détente, a policy which would dispense with the intervention of the United Nations and permit a direct and bilateral understanding between the two principal centres of world power. In any event, both trends reflect the same reluctance, rooted in centuries of power politics, to accept the workings of a system such as that of the United Nations, which aims at the adoption of horizontal guidelines based on the principle of the sovereign equality of States, in favour of a vertical system marginal to the Charter and founded

* Mr. Azeredo da Silveira spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

upon subordination. The so-called crisis of the United Nations, as far as the implementation of its loftiest objective is concerned, is based on that fact. It does not originate, either in part or even primarily, in the structural faults of the Organization, but rather in the decision, inspired by considerations of power, not to resort to such means as it places within the reach of States.

46. The long history of disarmament negotiations is a striking example of what I have just said. Article 11, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations expressly mentions "the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments" as constituting the special responsibility of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, as does Article 26. Nevertheless, for some years now disarmament negotiations have been experiencing a growing bilateralization that limits all initiatives in the matter to the two super-Powers, as if the security of those Powers exists above or at the margin of the international community, or as if the developing nations did not have their own security interests, which are qualitatively different from the security interests of the great Powers or even of the developed nations.

47. The examples that may be extracted from an analysis of the conduct of the United Nations in the economic area are no less eloquent. In that sphere, we must recognize that the Charter was less precise in formulating the objectives and principles for international co-operation. But those were different times. During the past 30 years great progress has been made in the universal awareness of the real significance of economic co-operation. The United Nations rendered significant service in this respect, having served as the principal forum for the dialogue between the major groups, the developed and the developing nations. Notwithstanding the multiplication of specific forums for dealing with economic matters within the Organization, there has always existed, particularly on the part of the Governments of the more developed nations, an unshakable objection to considering as guidelines recommendations designed to orient international co-operation in a way that would foster the balanced development of the community of nations.

48. Such thoughts do not relieve us of the responsibility to rethink these mechanisms and reorder the activities of the Organization. On the contrary, they should stimulate our efforts in that regard.

49. Brazil has given all its support to the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations. But we understand that the updating of the United Nations must include, along with a revision of the Charter, the adoption of measures that might be put into force independently of amendments to the basic document of the Organization. In fact, this concerns two means leading to the same end, both of which must be undertaken jointly.

50. The revision of the Charter, as is natural in constitutional reforms, gives rise to unfounded enthusiasms and unjustified fears. We should moderate the former and dissipate the latter through an objective effort to identify those Articles that really should be amended. Above all, we should avoid overambitious plans for an ideal revision, which the Charter does not need, in favour of a pragmatic reform that trans-

forms it in the light of what the experience of 30 years has taught us. We should bring together the results of different efforts dispersed among various organs, such as the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System. Finally, we should not overlook the possibility of reforms that do not require a revision of the Charter. If these premises are observed, I believe that a revision is politically feasible, as is evident from the progress already achieved with the approval of amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter, which came into force in 1965.

51. During the seventh special session [2327th meeting], I had the opportunity to express the position of Brazil concerning the present state and future perspectives of international economic relations. Whereas a reasonably efficient structure of guidelines prevails in economic relations among industrialized nations, a virtual *laissez-faire* prevails in the relations between developed and developing nations. The main reason for this lack of symmetry was the fact that, until recently, recessions originated at the centre of the world economic system, that is, in the industrialized nations, and propagated themselves in the direction of the periphery, that is, towards the developing nations.

52. From this perspective, it was determined that the crises could be overcome by anticyclical regulations in the national sphere in the more developed nations, complemented by trade and monetary accords among them. Similarly, according to this reasoning, an objective solidarity of interests existed between the centre and the periphery. The latter, being the first to feel the repercussions of a crisis, would benefit from a renewed expansion of interchange among the industrialized nations.

53. The current crisis in the world economic system differs considerably from that model. This time, the periphery, instead of passively suffering the effects of the crisis, has also engendered pressures of a recessionary nature. The destabilizing potential of the current international division of labour and the risks inherent in the current structure of North-South economic relations were cruelly felt. Today it is no longer possible not to recognize the need to extend to the relations between industrialized and developing nations the structure of guidelines until now limited to the industrialized sector of the world.

54. It was in the light of these observations that the delegation of Brazil proposed, during the seventh special session, the negotiation of a general agreement on trade between developed and developing nations, in order to provide a politico-juridical matrix for specific negotiations. Such a general accord would not be a substitute for general agreements in force, nor would it attempt to replace existing forums and mechanisms. But it certainly would be an attempt to bridge the gaps left by these and correct the distortions resulting from a vision centred on the developed nations.

55. On that occasion we stated that we believed the time had come to proceed from declarations of principles and maximalist claims to a negotiation of specific guidelines to govern the economic relations between developed and developing nations.

56. We do not ignore the important role that resolutions adopted in the General Assembly and other forums of the United Nations have played and continue to play in the formation of a universal awareness of the problem of development. In this respect, what is declaratory or revindictory is not irrelevant. We find, then, that many of the ideas presented so far have already matured, especially in the heat of debates and antagonisms. We believe that the time has come to undertake negotiating efforts that will lead to concrete and comprehensive results. We wish to build on what has already been achieved by the alert warnings of the past. We believe that it is time to proceed beyond warnings and appeals, just as we believe that it is too late for palliative or miniaturized solutions.

57. A general agreement of the type we propose would be the antithesis of all that. It would be structured for the purpose of operational efficiency and would attack the problems of international trade in a direct manner and at the very core. For the developing nations, it is a matter of recognizing their right of access to the markets of developed nations for their export products—not only their raw materials, but also, and in a growing manner, for their manufactured goods. It is also a matter of recognizing their right of access to the markets of assets which are indispensable to the development process, be they material or cultural. For the developed nations, it is a matter of recognizing, reciprocally, their right to guarantees of supplies of raw materials under equitable conditions of price and as a counterpart to concessions offered to the developing nations.

58. The negotiation of such a general agreement should not interrupt the understandings arrived at within the scope of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which so far have attended primarily to the needs of the industrialized nations. On the other hand, it would not prejudice the negotiation of specific mechanisms aimed at preserving the purchasing power of the export earnings of nations producing specific raw materials. All these efforts would be complementary if certain general guidelines were accepted by the parties as being capable of governing international co-operation.

59. The admittedly brief period available to the seventh special session to carry out its mandate did not permit an in-depth examination of the proposal then made by Brazil. Nevertheless, I am certain that it will be possible to reflect on its terms during the session that is now beginning. The fact is that we have today, for the first time in the history of international economic negotiations, a real opportunity to begin the task of constructing a new world economic order. For the first time the developed nations and the developing nations are in a position to achieve concrete results, since the negotiating conditions are less unequal than before.

60. We have before us a long general debate and a complex agenda that will demand our best efforts during the coming three months. At the end of that period, we shall have made progress on several questions, advanced slowly on others and perhaps achieved nothing on some. The decision-making process in multilateral diplomacy is slow by its very nature and constantly challenges the subtlety and patience of

those who practise it. Nevertheless, there is no more effective alternative for the consideration of the problems that are constantly increasing today and that are of interest to a large number of States.

61. We must not succumb to the quantitative temptation of measuring the achievements of the United Nations by using the arithmetic applied to decisions implemented, problems resolved and objectives achieved. Its influence is more subtle and diffused. The Organization should also be assessed on the basis of the trends it impresses upon, and the directions it sets for, the international community. Also, it acts principally through ideas, which historically have constituted a more efficient agent of political change than other forces, such as power, to which homage is so frequently paid.

62. Mr. KISSINGER (United States of America): At the outset, let me say how pleased we are that our deliberations this year take place under the presidency of the Prime Minister of Luxembourg. His contribution to European co-operation, his diplomatic skills, his devotion to democracy, give us confidence that this thirtieth session will be marked by a constructive and creative spirit.

63. I want also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, whose fairness, leadership and tireless efforts are dedicated to carrying this Organization forward into a new era of co-operation for world peace.

64. This century has seen war and cataclysm on an unprecedented scale. It has witnessed the breakdown of established patterns of order and practices of international conduct. It has suffered global economic depression and cycles of famine. It has experienced the birth of thermonuclear weapons, and the proliferation of armaments around the planet.

65. But this century has also seen the triumph of the principle of self-determination and national independence. A truly global community has begun to evolve, and this development is reflected in a multitude of institutions of international co-operation. We have shaped new methods of peaceful settlement and of arms limitation, and new institutions to promote economic development and to combat hunger and disease world-wide.

66. As we deliberate the future, an event of potentially vast implications has just been achieved in this Organization: the unanimous agreement produced by the seventh special session of the General Assembly on measures to improve the economic condition of mankind [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*].

67. Despite differences of ideology and of approaches to economic development, the nations assembled here began the move towards the recognition that our interdependence spells either common progress or common disaster; that in our age no nation or group of nations can achieve its aims by pressure or by confrontation and that the attempt to do so would damage everyone. They agreed to transcend the stereotypes of the past in the search for a co-operative future. The seventh special session forged a sense of common purpose based on the equality and co-operation of States. Now we must dedicate ourselves to the implementation of this consensus.

68. Let us carry forward the spirit of conciliation into the deliberations of this regular session. Let us

address the issues of world peace—the foundation of all we do on this planet—with this same consciousness of our common destiny. It is our duty to avoid empty slogans and endless recrimination.

69. Only in a structure of co-operation can disputes be settled and clashes contained. Only in an atmosphere of conciliation can the insecurity of nations, out of which so much conflict arises, be eased, and habits of compromise and accommodation be nurtured. Social progress, justice and human rights can thrive only in an atmosphere of reduced international tension.

70. The United States stands ready to dedicate itself to co-operative efforts to harmonize the different perspectives of the world community in creating a new sense of security and well-being. We do so, not out of fear, for we are better able to sustain ourselves in situations of confrontation than most other nations. Nor do we do so out of a sense of guilt, for we believe that on the whole we have used our power for constructive ends.

71. We affirm our common destiny because of our recognition of global interdependence and because global peace requires it. Indeed there is no realistic alternative to shared responsibility in dealing with the international agenda of peace, security, economic well-being and justice.

72. Let me set forth the views of the United States on the work we face in each of these areas.

73. Our first and transcendent concern is for peace in the world. Peace is never automatic. It is more than the absence of war. And it is inseparable from security. A world in which the survival of nations is at the mercy of a few would spell oppression and injustice and fear. There can be no security without equilibrium and no safety without restraint.

74. Only when the rights of nations are respected, when accommodation supplants force, can man's energies be devoted to the realization of his deepest aspirations.

75. The United States will pursue the cause of peace with patience and an attitude of conciliation in many spheres. We shall nurture and deepen the ties of co-operation with our friends and allies. We shall strive to improve relations with countries of different ideology or political conviction. We shall always stand ready to assist in the settlement of regional disputes. We shall intensify our efforts to halt the spiral of nuclear armaments. We shall strive to improve man's economic and social condition and to strengthen the collaboration between developed and developing nations. And we shall struggle for the realization of fundamental human rights.

76. America's close ties with the industrial democracies of North America, Western Europe and Japan have been the corner-stone of world stability and peace for three decades. Today, looking beyond immediate security and defence, we are working together on a range of new issues. Through our consultations, we have begun joint efforts to ease international tensions; to co-ordinate our national policies for economic recovery; to work together on common challenges such as energy and the environment; and to address the great issues that concern the developing countries.

77. In the same spirit, the United States has opened a new dialogue with its neighbours in Central and Latin America. We have taken important steps towards resolving major political problems; we have begun close consultations for co-operation in promoting economic and social development. Alliance relations in the Western Hemisphere have a long history and great promise for the future. With imagination and dedication, we can make inter-American co-operation on the tasks of development an example to and a pillar of the global community.

78. Peace, to be secure, must place on a more durable and reliable basis the relations between the nations possessing the means to destroy our planet.

79. In recent years, the bipolar confrontation of the last generation has given way to the beginning of dialogue and an easing of direct conflict. In this body, of all organizations, there is surely an appreciation of the global importance of lessened tension between the nuclear super-Powers. All nations have a stake in its success. When weapons of mass destruction can span continents in minutes, nuclear conflict threatens the survival of all mankind.

80. We recognize that the suspicion and rivalry of a generation will not be swept away with a document or a conference. Real ideological and political differences exist. We shall firmly defend our vital interests and those of our friends. But we shall also never lose sight of the fact that in our age peace is a practical necessity and a moral imperative. We shall pursue the relaxation of tensions on the basis of strict reciprocity. We know the difference between posturing and policy; we will not encourage the belief that anyone can benefit from artificial tensions. We are deeply conscious that we owe it to future generations not to be swayed by momentary passions.

81. The state of United States-Soviet relations today and just a decade ago presents a dramatic contrast. The world is no longer continually shaken by chronic and bitter confrontations. Periodic consultations—including those held at the highest level—encourage restraint and amplify areas of mutual interest. The forthcoming meeting between the President of the United States, Mr. Ford, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, should strengthen this process.

82. Principles of mutual restraint have been enunciated at various summit meetings; they were reaffirmed by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe two months ago. These principles provide a standard of behaviour by which our actions will be tested. If they are observed—as we insist—and if neither side seeks unilateral advantage, the spectre of general war will be lifted not only from our own peoples but from all nations. There can be no more important task before us.

83. We have likewise pursued more constructive and beneficial relationships with the countries of Eastern Europe. The United States has many traditional and deep-rooted bonds of friendship with the proud peoples of that region. We see widening possibilities for practical co-operation as the barriers between East and West in Europe diminish.

84. There is no relationship to which the United States assigns greater significance than its new ties with the People's Republic of China. We believe that the well-being and progress of a quarter of humanity is an important element in global stability. The hostility of decades between our two nations has been replaced by a relationship of mutual respect which is now a durable feature of the world scene. It serves not only the interest of our two countries but also the broader interests of peace and stability in Asia and around the world. President Ford plans to visit the People's Republic of China later this year to confirm the vitality of our relationship and to advance the ties between us on the basis of the strict implementation of the Shanghai Communiqué. We take seriously the process of normalizing our relationship. We are dedicated to pursuing it.

85. The world community must find a way to contain or resolve regional conflicts before they spread into global confrontation. Nowhere has the danger been greater than in the Middle East. Nowhere has the need for persistent and imaginative negotiation between suspicious rivals been more evident. Nowhere is there greater promise of moving from perennial crisis towards peace. Nowhere has the Security Council established a clearer framework than in its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

86. The road towards a lasting peace stretches long and hard before us. The Middle East has seen more than its share of dashed hopes and disappointment. But the conclusion of the recent Sinai agreement¹ marks a major step forward. It is the first agreement in the long and tragic history of the Arab-Israeli conflict which is not the immediate consequence of hostilities. It could mark a turning-point.

87. The agreement deserves the support of all the countries assembled here because every nation here has an interest in progress towards peace in the Middle East. It is another step in the process launched by Security Council resolution 338 (1973). The alternative was a continuing stalemate which would have led over time to another war creating a serious threat to world peace and the prospect of global economic confrontations.

88. Neither fear of the future nor pride should obscure the fact that an unusual opportunity for further progress on all issues now exists. But opportunities must be seized or they will disappear. I want to emphasize that the United States did not help negotiate this agreement in order to put an end to the process of peace, but to give it new impetus.

89. President Ford has stated that we will not accept stalemate or stagnation in the Middle East. That was true before the Sinai agreement was signed; it remains true today. The objective of our policy is not merely to create another temporary truce but to sustain the momentum of negotiations. The United States is determined to take every feasible step to help promote further practical progress towards final peace.

90. As a first step, it is essential that the Sinai agreement be carried out impeccably, within the terms and the time-frame that are stipulated.

91. In the improved atmosphere thus created, the United States stands ready to participate in any pro-

missing initiative towards peace at the request of the parties concerned.

92. We have made clear that we are prepared to make a serious effort to encourage negotiations between Syria and Israel.

93. We also intend to consult over the coming weeks with all concerned regarding the reopening of the Geneva Conference which met at an early crucial phase. As co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference together with the Soviet Union, our two countries have special responsibilities in this regard.

94. We are prepared also to explore possibilities for perhaps a more informal multilateral meeting to assess conditions and to discuss the future.

95. The United States seeks no special benefit; we do not attempt to exclude any country. We will cooperate with any nation that is willing to make a contribution. We have no preference for any particular procedure. We will support whatever process seems most promising. Our approach will continue to be both flexible and determined.

96. The search for final peace must be conducted on a wide basis. We are in frequent touch with Governments in the Middle East. We have begun discussions with the Soviet Union with a view to assessing the current situation and weighing possible diplomatic approaches to bring about a just and durable peace in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). While we have had important differences with the Soviet Union, our two countries have held parallel views that the situation in the Middle East poses grave dangers and that partial steps must be part of and contribute to progress towards a comprehensive settlement.

97. The role of the world Organization remains essential. If this Organization had no other accomplishment than its effective peace-keeping role in this troubled area, it would have well justified itself. These soldiers of peace, wearing the blue beret of the United Nations, as members of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, the United Nations Emergency Force, and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force have become indispensable to the maintenance of the two 1974 disengagement accords as well as the Sinai agreement. I want to take this occasion to salute the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, and his staff, and General Siilasvuo, the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations peace-keeping missions in the Middle East, and all the men and women from many countries who have served in these forces which have no enemy.

98. The deliberations of this Assembly regarding the Middle East also play a central role. They can encourage progress or exacerbate tensions. Procedural decisions can be based on the recognition that dialogue requires universality of membership, or they can fuel a futile, self-defeating effort to discriminate—in violation of the Charter—against a Member State whose participation is vital for a solution.

99. The Middle East will continue to be an area of anguish, turmoil, and peril until a just and durable peace is achieved. Such a peace must meet the principal concerns and interests of all in the area; among these are territorial integrity, the right to live in peace

and security and the legitimate interests of the Palestinians.

100. In the Middle East today there is a yearning for peace surpassing any known for three decades. Let us not doom the region to another generation of futile struggle. Instead, let the world community seize the historic opportunity before it. The suffering of all the peoples of the Middle East cry out for it; the hopes and interests of all the world's peoples demand it. The United States promises its full dedication to further progress towards peace.

101. The contribution of the United Nations to the process of peace is essential in Cyprus as well. The Secretary-General has the responsibilities of organizing the peace-keeping forces on the island and of facilitating the talks between the leaders of the Greek and Turkish communities.

102. Strict maintenance of the cease-fire is imperative. For this we look to the restraint of the parties and the efficacy of the United Nations peace-keeping forces.

103. We know that the world community shares our sense of urgency that the negotiating process be resumed and that the parties demonstrate flexibility and statemanship. The *status quo* on the island must not become permanent; a rapid and equitable solution is essential. The Secretary-General has worked tirelessly and imaginatively under the most difficult circumstances to narrow the differences. He deserves the full support of the parties and of every nation here.

104. The details of a Cyprus settlement are for the two communities themselves to decide. However, in keeping with United Nations resolutions which the United States has fully supported, the following principles are believed by my Government to be essential:

(a) A settlement must preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It must ensure that both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities can live in freedom and have a large voice in their own affairs.

(b) The present dividing lines cannot be permanent. There must be movement from these lines to agreed territorial arrangements which reflect the economic requirements of the Greek Cypriot community and take account of its self-respect.

(c) There must be provision for the withdrawal of foreign military forces other than those present under the authority of international agreements.

(d) There must be security for all Cypriots; the needs and wishes of the refugees who have been the principal victims and whose tragic plight touches us all must be dealt with speedily and with compassion.

105. Another area where this Organization will be called upon to take responsible actions is the Korean peninsula. This requires, above all, maintenance of the armistice, pending agreement by all of the parties most directly concerned to replace it with a new arrangement. The existing Armistice Agreement is the only legal instrument committing the parties to maintain the peace. It is a carefully designed structure for monitoring and policing the military demarcation line.

106. The United Nations Commander-in-Chief is a signatory to that Agreement. The armistice machinery functions daily. None of the signatories has repudiated it. Nor could they do so without serious risks to the peace of the world.

107. Since 1972, South and North Korea have pledged themselves to enter into a dialogue and to seek unification without resort to arms. This Assembly in 1973 and 1974 encouraged this process—first in a consensus supporting talks between the two sides,² then in a resolution [*resolution 3333 (XXIX)*] which looked towards termination of the United Nations Command. The United States agrees that 20 years after the end of the Korean war it is timely to terminate the United Nations Command. We have, in fact, sponsored a draft resolution to that effect which is now before you.

108. It would be foolhardy, however, to terminate the United Nations Command without new arrangements to preserve the integrity of the Armistice Agreement. In the interest of peace, the United States cannot accept any solution which fails to provide for the continuing validity of the Armistice Agreement.

109. The Republic of Korea and the United States have stated their general readiness to meet with representatives of the other side and with other members of the Security Council to discuss the termination of the United Nations Command while preserving the Armistice Agreement.

110. Today I can be more specific. The United States and the Republic of Korea, looking forward to the time when a lasting solution of the Korean problem can be achieved, are herewith proposing to the parties to the Armistice Agreement the convening of a conference to discuss ways to preserve it. At such a meeting we would also be prepared to explore other measures to reduce tensions on the Korean peninsula, including the possibility of a larger conference to negotiate a more fundamental arrangement.

111. It would be in keeping with this spirit of dialogue for this body to open its doors to full membership for the two Korean Governments. The United States supports the dual entry of both South and North Korea into the United Nations without prejudice to their eventual reunification. For our part, if North Korea and its allies would move to improve their relations with the Republic of Korea we would be prepared to take similar reciprocal action. It goes without saying that no proposal for security arrangements on the Korean peninsula which attempts to exclude the Republic of Korea from the discussions can be accepted by the United States.

112. The United Nations can contribute significantly to the process of peace on the Korean peninsula by supporting a responsible approach.

113. Over the past year the United States has followed carefully and with great sympathy the efforts to reach peaceful settlements in southern Africa.

114. We welcome the statesmanlike efforts of both black and white African leaders who are seeking to prevent violence and bloodshed and to promote a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia. The differences between the two communities in that country, while substantial, have been narrowed in the last decade. Both sides in Rhodesia, and Rhodesia's neighbours, black and white, have an interest in averting civil

war. The United States will support all efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement.

115. In underlining our goal of peaceful change for southern Africa, I want to emphasize the importance of an early settlement in Namibia. My Government's opposition to South Africa's continuing occupation of Namibia and our rejection of South Africa's *apartheid* system are well known. The United States has consistently conveyed our position on this subject to South Africa. We will continue to do so.

116. We believe that the people of Namibia should be given the opportunity, within a short time, to express their views on the political future and constitutional structure of their country, freely and under United Nations supervision.

117. Peace in the world will be fragile and tenuous without a curb and, eventually, an end to the arms race. This is why the United States has embarked, with the Soviet Union, upon the difficult and complex negotiation to limit strategic arms. Our objectives are to prevent unchecked destabilizing competition in strategic armaments; to achieve reduction of these arms; to lessen further the likelihood of hasty decisions in times of crisis; and to ease the economic burden of the nuclear arms race.

118. The Vladivostok accord of last autumn marked a major step towards achieving these goals. When this agreement in principle is translated into a treaty, agreed ceilings will be placed on strategic force levels for a 10-year period. This unprecedented step will slow the pace of new arms programmes, especially those driven by fear of major deployments by the other side.

119. The United States is actively engaged in other arms control negotiations. Together with the Soviet Union, we have made progress towards establishing a régime for peaceful nuclear explosions, and we have agreed to set a threshold on the underground testing of nuclear weapons. These are significant steps towards a verifiable comprehensive test ban.

120. In addition, the United States and the Soviet Union have presented to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament identical drafts of a convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques [A/10027, annex II, documents CCD/471 and CCD/472]. Misuse of this knowledge might open new avenues of military competition and wreak untold and irreversible harm upon all humanity. We urge the Conference to complete its consideration rapidly.

121. Another urgent task is a substantial reduction in the high levels of military forces now confronting each other in various parts of the world. The United States believes that the time has come to give new impetus to the negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions in central Europe. The significance of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe depends to an important extent on whether we can achieve progress in this area. An agreement that enhances mutual security in central Europe is feasible and essential. We will work towards that goal.

122. The world faces a paradox with respect to the proliferation of nuclear energy. Men have fashioned from the atom weapons which can in minutes end the

civilization of centuries. Simultaneously, the atom is fast becoming a more and more essential source of energy. It is clear that the cost and eventual scarcity of oil and other fossil fuels will increasingly spread nuclear power around the world in the decades ahead.

123. But the spreading of nuclear power poses starkly the danger of proliferating nuclear weapons capabilities—and the related risks of the theft of nuclear materials, blackmail by terrorists, accidents or the injection of the nuclear threat into regional political conflicts. Now is the time to act. If we fail to restrain nuclear proliferation, future generations will live on a planet shadowed by nuclear catastrophe.

124. Over the past year the United States has repeatedly urged new efforts among the supplier States to strengthen and standardize safeguards and controls on the export of nuclear materials. We must not allow these safeguards to be eroded by commercial competition. We must ensure the broad availability of peaceful nuclear energy under safe, economical and reliable conditions.

125. The United States has intensified its efforts within the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] and with other nations to broaden and strengthen international standards and safeguards, and has proposed an international convention setting standards to protect the physical security of nuclear materials in use, storage and transfer.

126. The United States continues to urge the widest possible adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and the associated safeguard measures of the IAEA.

127. The greatest single danger of unrestrained nuclear proliferation resides in the spread, under national control, of reprocessing facilities for the atomic materials in nuclear power plants. The United States therefore proposes, as a major step to reinforce all other measures, the establishment of multinational regional nuclear fuel-cycle centres. These centres would serve energy needs on a commercially sound basis and encourage regional energy co-operation. Their existence would reduce the incentive for small and inefficient reprocessing facilities, limit the possibility of diverting peaceful nuclear materials to national military use, and create a better framework for applying effective international safeguards.

128. We urge that groups of nations begin now to explore this concept and that all States support the work of the IAEA in this field.

129. In the last two years the world community has been reminded dramatically to what extent economic relations are an essential foundation of the economic order. It would be one of history's most tragic ironies if, at a time when we are putting behind us the tensions of the cold war, we were to enter a new period of conflict between North and South, rich and poor. At the recently concluded seventh special session, the United States called for an end to the sterile confrontations of the past. We stated that, when the ancient dream of mankind, a world without poverty, becomes a possibility, our moral convictions also make it a duty. And we emphasized that only co-operation, not extortion, can achieve this goal.³ The outcome of the seventh special session

gives us ground for hope that, at least for the immediate future, a choice has been made to turn away from confrontation towards co-operation. The United States is proud to support the final document [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*], which is the product of the arduous effort and dedication of so many in this chamber.

130. The United States considers the achievements of the seventh special session a beginning, not an end. As recommended in the final report, we must now move forward in available forums to give reality and content to the objectives on which we have agreed. In the difficult negotiations ahead my Government will participate energetically, in a co-operative and conciliatory spirit.

131. Beyond peace, security and prosperity lies a deeper universal aspiration to dignity and equal opportunity. Mankind will never be spared all the tragedies inherent in the cycle of life and death. But we do have it in our power to eliminate or to ease the burden of social tragedy and of organized injustice.

132. The United States has traditionally been an advocate of extending the reach of international law in international affairs. We have offered our help to the victims of disease and natural disaster. There is no longer any dispute that international human rights are on the agenda of international diplomacy.

133. The reach of international law must extend to the last frontiers of our planet, the oceans. They are the common heritage of mankind, but they can turn into arenas of conflict unless governed by law. They hold untapped sources of energy, minerals and proteins; their environmental integrity is crucial to our survival.

134. The United States welcomes the United Nations mandate for a comprehensive treaty governing the use of the oceans and their resources. Last month at Montreal I set forth our approach to this negotiation and urged that next year's session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea move matters to a rapid and successful conclusion. No international negotiation is more vital for long-term political and economic stability and the prosperity of our globe.

135. International law must also come to grips with international terrorism. Innumerable innocent lives have been lost as a consequence of the lack of internationally accepted standards specifically designed to avert unlawful and dangerous interference with civil aviation. The hijacking of aircraft, the kidnapping and murder of innocent civilian victims for presumed political gain remain a plague on civilized man. This remains one of the under-developed areas of international law which merits the most urgent attention of this Organization.

136. Compassion for our fellow men requires also that we mobilize international resources to combat the age-old scourges of mankind: disease, famine and natural disaster.

137. The great human rights must be recognized, respected and given reality in the affairs of nations. The earliest United Nations declarations and the recent Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe leave no doubt that these are matters of international concern. The United States will support these principles. Throughout the world, in all continents, viola-

tions of human rights must be opposed whether they are inflicted by one race upon another or upon members of the same race. Human rights must be cherished regardless of race, sex or religion. There can be no double standard.

138. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights has taken its first steps against gross violations of human rights where serious and reliable allegations are submitted by individuals. We support those steps. The organized concern of the world community can be a potent weapon in the war against degradation of human values.

139. One of the most persistent and serious problems is torture, a practice which all nations should abhor. It is an absolute debasement of the function of government when its overwhelming power is used not for people's welfare but as an instrument of their suffering.

140. The United States urges this Assembly to adopt the draft Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, recommended for adoption by the Assembly by the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held at Geneva recently.⁴ In addition, we propose that this General Assembly establish a group of experts, to be appointed by the Secretary-General, to study the nature and extent of torture in the world today and to report back to the next session of our Assembly.

141. This Organization was created in the belief that the universality of the human race can be reflected in the conduct of international affairs. This Chamber symbolizes the hope that mankind places in the force of nations working together in the common interest, with reason, responsibility and mutual respect.

142. The problems we face are complex and perilous. The sterile slogans of yesterday, the solutions of the past, the dwelling upon old resentments, can only widen the gaps between us and allow the dangers to peace and the well-being of our peoples to fester and to grow.

143. We have it in our power to prove to future generations that the last quarter of the twentieth century was not an era of violence and conflict, but one of the creative epochs of world history.

144. My country's history tells us that it is possible to fashion unity while cherishing diversity; that common action is possible despite the variety of races, interests and beliefs we see here in this Chamber. Progress and peace and justice are attainable.

145. So we say to all peoples and all Governments: let us fashion together a new world order. Let its arrangements be just. Let the new nations help shape it and feel it is theirs. Let the old nations use their strengths and skills for the benefit of all mankind. Let us all work together to enrich the spirit and to ennoble mankind.

146. Mr. MONTIEL ARGÜELLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me first and foremost to add the warm congratulations of my delegation and my own to those already extended to you upon your election to the high office of President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a well deserved recognition of your

outstanding qualities and a tribute to the hard-working and highly civilized country that you represent. The Government of Nicaragua, headed by its President under the constitution, General Anastasio Somoza Debayle, and the people of Nicaragua, cannot but express their joy at this signal event, and I bring to you their greetings and felicitations. We are convinced that your wisdom and experience will serve to guide our deliberations and will augur well for the success of this Assembly.

147. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, for his efficient work at the twenty-ninth regular session and at the seventh special session of this Assembly.

148. May I respectfully request that you, Mr. President, convey our greetings to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose efforts in the very complex tasks of his high office we follow with keen attention and highly appreciate.

149. A little over 30 years ago, on 26 June 1945, the representatives of 51 nations signed, at San Francisco, California, the Charter of our Organization. It was at the end of a war which had devastated the free world as a result of the ambitions of the Axis Powers which, in the previous month of May, had suffered a further defeat at the hands of the liberating Allied Command. Nicaragua is proud of the fact that it was one of the signatories of the Charter and that its delegation has subscribed to it and attended all regular and special sessions of the General Assembly.

150. Now that the United Nations has completed 30 years of existence, we welcome the admission of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, to whose delegations we extend a warm welcome.

151. The emergence of independent nations is a characteristic feature of history that repeats itself today, because in this century the African peoples have waged an unrelenting war against colonialism, a struggle in which the United Nations has played so crucial a part.

152. In the exercise of its universal responsibility as a harmonizer and promoter of the aspirations for development of all peoples, our Organization has no parallel. It has succeeded while at the same time fulfilling the other three purposes laid down in Article I of the Charter: the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among peoples, and the achievement of international co-operation in solving the world's economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems.

153. The functioning of the United Nations has shown that the present international community demands new purposes and new activities from an organization such as ours.

154. International peace and security, friendship and co-operation among peoples cannot be achieved by discrimination. Universality should not be a mere word used in speeches. It should be practised effectively. We must guarantee to all peoples without exception their admission as fully fledged Members of the United Nations, by reason of the fact that they are States and meet the requirements of the Charter.

155. Development and relations among nations have shown that some States are more vulnerable than others to the effects of power and influence. The international order and its regulating organs must have more rational bases.

156. Hence, if the United Nations is fully to comply with its traditional purposes it must, in addition to being universal, be an effective and formal source of international law and a centre of initiatives and action aimed at the economic and social development of all peoples. It is on this fundamental concept of the purposes and principles of the Organization that the action of the delegation of Nicaragua is based.

157. The thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations affords us an opportunity to reflect about the coming decades. It is impossible to judge a historical period exclusively in relation to events occurring within that period particularly when those spans of time are short and the events occurring are the consequence of earlier developments or initiatives engendered subsequent to their inception.

158. I do not believe that it can be said that the behaviour of the international community is entirely satisfactory—as I shall indicate later—and undeniably the Organization must undergo considerable reform, which should begin at its very root.

159. I believe that the seventh special session was a significant step towards that end, since it continued the process for the establishment of a new international economic order and created an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*], open to all States, to initiate the process of restructuring the United Nations system in regard to international co-operation and development. Thus another milestone is added to resolutions 3172 (XXVIII) and 3343 (XXIX), to the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] produced by the General Assembly in these past years.

160. This is not the appropriate time or place to analyse in detail the results of the seventh special session, which is to be done at the level of the Main Committees. Allow me simply to recall that during that special session the head of the Nicaraguan delegation, said "My delegation trusts that the method selected by the *Ad Hoc* Committee [*of the seventh special session*] to carry out its discussions and negotiations will lead to practicable results."¹⁵ It was that body, appointed at that session, that produced a new document which was adopted by consensus [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*].

161. It is now the task of Governments to interpret those purposes, implement those plans, achieve those goals, recognize that the essence of the new international economic order is co-operation, streamline the international institutional framework in order to supplement national development efforts, and become aware of the fact that the objectives of that order are universal and that the continuing process of development should not offer an opportunity for new profits but rather constitute an ethical undertaking designed

progressive, to reduce disparities between the nations of the world.

162. The foregoing leads to the recognition of the fact that the structural reform of the United Nations must include the reform of its juridical bases. Nicaragua has endorsed such efforts since they were first undertaken.

163. The agenda of the current session is lengthy and includes many important items. The responsibilities that the Charter and practice have imposed on the United Nations encompass the most varied of responses to the problems affecting man and States. The approach to problems and to the solutions achieved is not uniform, and divergences of view and the need to harmonize them justify a dialogue. I shall venture to express some specific views that Nicaragua regards as important.

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

164. The Middle East crisis is far from settled, although we welcomed with great satisfaction the agreement arrived at this very month between Egypt and Israel. A similar remark can be made about the crisis in Cyprus. There has been no significant progress in the reduction of the armed confrontation between the great Powers and the atomic danger hovers ominously over the whole of mankind. Small countries are marching increasingly towards the acquisition of arms, and this has the two-pronged effect of delaying their economic progress and fostering new tensions and crises. Recent events in South-East Asia have had repercussions in the area of Korea, leading to an increase in tension between the North and the South.

165. One might almost say that the only ray of light on the horizon was the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was held at Helsinki. We believe that it represents an important step in the quest for new forms of improved relations and the elimination of international tension, provided there is a will to apply in good faith the letter and spirit of the agreements.

166. Permit me to dwell for a moment on the question of Korea, since my delegation, together with delegations of countries from several regions of the world, has sponsored a draft resolution on that question which will be submitted to the Assembly for consideration [A/C.1/L.708]. We believe that the solution lies in the peaceful reunification of Korea through negotiations between the North and the South, that the parties directly concerned should be encouraged to hold such negotiations so that it may be possible to dissolve the United Nations Command while maintaining in force the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953. The foregoing would be a logical development of resolution 3333 (XXIX) adopted last year and a positive step towards peace and security in that important region of the world.

167. In the inter-American sphere we have pursued our task of restructuring our regional organization, which was established within the framework of regional agreements as laid down in Chapter VIII of the Charter, and a little over a month ago a conference was held which amended the Rio de Janeiro Treaty of 1947, so as to make it applicable, in regard to the maintenance

of peace and security on the American continent, to the prevailing circumstances. My Government considers that tensions and situations of terrorism and violence must be replaced once and for all by constructive dialogue and a climate of democracy and freedom. Although it has consistently maintained a positive attitude towards the political and economic problems of peoples, it has always believed that no measure of or desire for conciliation and peace should prevent compliance with the first duty of a democratic State, which is vigorously to condemn every movement of terrorism and violence.

168. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was held from March to May this year. That Conference drafted a single text which should serve as a basis for purposes of negotiation.

169. My delegation attaches particular importance to informal consultations among delegations attending the current session of the General Assembly as such consultations will advance the work of the fourth session of the Conference to be held as of March next year. Nicaragua is especially interested in participating in those negotiations and sincerely hopes that the Conference will be successful in adjusting the law of the sea to present-day circumstances, while eliminating a source of acute controversy and international conflict that undoubtedly would arise unless a solution is found that reconciles important conflicting interests while still not losing sight of the need to achieve a more equitable international order where obsolete theories are abandoned and account is taken of the just aspirations of the developing nations for whom the sea is an indispensable element of full development.

170. As agreed three years ago, 1975 was proclaimed International Women's Year, and the culmination of the programme was the holding of the World Conference of the International Women's Year at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July.

171. We believe that respect for human dignity imposes equality between men and women and that both the legal and customary obstacles that, in the course of centuries, have prevented that equality being made effective, should be eliminated in order that we may have a society based on justice where the beneficial influence of women may be felt in all spheres of human endeavour. Consequently, my delegation will support any initiative aimed at giving practical effect to the relevant resolutions of the world Conference.

172. In reiterating our condolences to Turkey following the recent earthquake that shook that country, may I be permitted to make a few remarks on the subject of natural disasters?

173. As a country which received assistance from the Organization as a result of the destruction of our capital city by an earthquake in December 1972, Nicaragua is highly conscious of the importance of international aid in cases of natural disaster in the developing countries.

174. We believe that for that assistance to be more effective the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator should be strengthened and that the expenditure incurred should be charged to the regular budget of the United Nations.

175. If this is not done, uncertainty regarding the availability of funds and the possibility of political pressures being exerted by voluntary donors in respect of the use of such funds, will continue. Moreover, the basic guidelines of the programmes should stem principally from those countries which, for various geographical reasons or because of their degree of development, are the most vulnerable when natural disasters occur.

176. Although at the beginning of my statement I gave a general outline of our position in respect of economic and social questions, I would venture to single out some specific topics to which my Governments attaches particular importance.

177. In particular, we attach great importance to international co-operation in regard to food. The population of the developing countries is still affected by a shortage of foodstuffs and production is still concentrated in the developed countries. The acceptable solution to shortages resulting from droughts or other natural disasters is that of the supply of foodstuffs to affected countries, but the only long-term solution against chronic shortages is the promotion of the production of foodstuffs while improving procedures for financing, production and storage.

178. In order to achieve that objective and through it to achieve world food security, international co-operation, the contribution of capital and the transfer of technology which will extend the areas of land under cultivation, irrigation, the acquisition of agricultural machinery, the use of insecticides and fertilizers are indispensable.

179. The work of the United Nations Special Fund, the report of whose Board of Governors we have before us [A/10021], calls in our view for consideration and reform. We believe that a review of the criteria laid down for determining which countries are most seriously affected by the international economic crisis should be undertaken. A more significant set of economic variables which realistically and more accurately reflect the harm done by the present international crisis should be applied. Otherwise, the impoverishment of countries having serious economic difficulties aggravated by the crisis, will grow. Those countries see that their options are greatly narrowed or reduced by the application of restrictive criteria which would lead to a slowing down of the development of their peoples.

180. For reasons similar to those given in regard to the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator, my delegation believes that the administrative and financial expenditure of the Special Fund should be charged to the regular budget of the United Nations and not defrayed through voluntary contributions.

181. In reaffirming the concept of the ethics of development, my Government does not disregard the need for objectivity, pragmatism and foresight in the new structures and programmes. We sincerely believe in the compensatory stimulus of capital and labour on which our economic system of private property and free enterprise is based.

182. We also believe it valid to apply the principles of efficiency and effectiveness to the administration of resources as the most useful element for the deter-

mination of the extent of an undertaking especially because the main promotion in development should be oriented towards the ethical basis of well-being and equity.

183. Mr. MANDUNGU BULA NYATI (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): In connexion with the well-deserved election of Mr. Thorn to the Presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, I should like to extend to him the sincere congratulations of the President and founder of the Popular Revolutionary Movement, the President of the Republic of Zaire, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga, and also of the entire Zairian people comprising the Popular Revolutionary Movement. As an experienced political leader of his country and an ardent advocate of peaceful coexistence among different States, he has always rendered signal services to the international community. Today, the latter in its turn pays him a heartfelt tribute by calling upon him to preside over the work of this session, which is being held immediately after the important and historic seventh special session devoted to development and international co-operation. The intellectual and human qualities which have made him a universally recognized statesman, will, I am sure, enable him to help our Assembly always seek an appropriate general consensus on the numerous and difficult problems which appear on our very heavy agenda.

184. I should like to take this opportunity to associate myself with previous speakers and to extend my congratulations to his predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria, who brilliantly directed the work of the twenty-ninth session as well as the seventh special session.

185. I would be remiss were I not to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the ceaseless efforts which he has made to defend the great humanitarian principles which we all endorse and which, reproduced in the Charter of the United Nations, form a platform for international co-operation and for human justice on a planet-wide and world-wide basis.

186. May I recall before this Assembly and with a certain degree of emotion, that on 4 October 1973, from this self-same rostrum, the President and founder of the Popular Revolutionary Movement, the President of the Republic of Zaire, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, denounced the injustices committed by rich countries against the poor countries because the former have everything, and the latter have nothing, to say. After this courageous denunciation, he concluded his brilliant statement, which was a charter for international peace and co-operation, by expressing the hope that "thanks to it and through it [United Nations], we shall be able to do more to promote co-operation among the inhabitants of our planet in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields, for the building of a better, fairer and more just world, in absolute respect for the authenticity of everyone."⁶

187. Today, the delegation of Zaire is gratified to see, after the sixth special session and particularly after the seventh special session, which has just concluded its work, that our Organization has unequivocally expressed its resolve "... to eliminate injustice and inequality which afflict vast sections of

humanity and to accelerate the development of developing countries, . . .”⁷

188. After debates which have often been difficult but which have always been imbued with a spirit of mutual understanding, all States Members of our Organization have finally endorsed the principle of creating a new international economic order whose foundations have been defined in the Declaration and the Programme of Action as well as in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

189. The work of the seventh special session witnessed the group of industrialized countries and the developing countries resorting to concerted action as a way to work together in order to put an end to the imbalance at present existing between these two groups. Thus, international solidarity henceforth will be embodied in more realistic forms than those of the past.

190. Apart from this wish for a better future for all inhabitants of our planet—a hope which has been kindled by the seventh special session—it has also been clearly confirmed that a new reality in the world has been brought about by it. The world is at present divided into two groups: first, the “haves” or the industrialized countries and, on the other hand, the “have-nots”, or the developing countries. Some even prefer to call them rich and poor countries.

191. We shall not dwell on purely semantic problems, but, rather, deal with this brutal reality which, as has been stressed by the President and Founder of the Popular Revolutionary Movement, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, in his statement of 4 October 1973 in the United Nations, has meant that our world “. . . is no longer divided by ideology, nor even all that much by race or by political geography, but by economics . . .”⁸

192. During the work of the seventh special session, we have seen this division strikingly illustrated in the discussions which took place between two quite distinct major groups: the Group of 77, or the developing countries, and the industrialized countries divided into two subgroups, the Western countries and the socialist countries.

193. The new reality of the present world obviously will require a revision of the old *clichés* which were characteristic of the geopolitical definitions which the industrialized world, whether it belonged to the right or to the left, always sought to impose upon us.

194. This revision is particularly essential for the developing countries, which must realize that their state of under-development and the poverty which is a characteristic of all of them, must also encourage them to co-operate first among themselves and to harmonize their relations with the industrialized countries.

195. This revision is equally indispensable for the industrialized countries, which must henceforth understand that for us the developing countries both their level of development and their close co-operation, which is channelled through the various arrangements which are always arrived at by the two major blocs, make both blocs alike appear to us wealthy. Let us, above all, not forget that poverty can only be defined with reference to wealth and this is found among the industrialized countries.

196. It is this fresh reality which has made the developing countries aware of their condition and it is in this light that efforts to diminish the gap between the rich and the poor have been carried out vis-à-vis not merely one section of the industrialized countries but all industrialized countries without exception.

197. By enshrining the idea of concerted action between the rich and poor alike, the seventh special session has confirmed the correctness of the policy of positive neutralism, of belonging neither to the right nor to the left nor even to the centre, advocated by Zaire, which wishes to remain authentically itself in its relations with all countries. In fact, by entering into direct dealings with all the industrialized countries without distinction, and dealing with the problem of under-development, the poor have admitted that now they must have contacts with all rich countries without taking account of ideological differences. And the rich countries, by agreeing to negotiate with the poor countries as members of a single group, have also admitted thereby that the solution to the problem of under-development is part and parcel of international solidarity and not something which pertains to ideological confrontation.

198. The spirit which marked the seventh special session is a major step forward for the cause of international co-operation and world peace. In all events, one thing is quite certain—if the spirit of the seventh special session continues to animate all States Members of our Organization in their relations, one can say without fear of contradiction that the cold war has been outlawed once and for all, not only among the great Powers but also throughout the entire world. For the great Powers will no longer have to look for client-States; on the contrary, they will have to work together in order to assist the countries lacking in capital equipment in accordance with the proposals formulated by the rich and the poor together during the seventh special session.

199. International solidarity having now been defined, it is now for the poor countries themselves to make serious efforts to resolve their development problems. In order to do this, they must remain authentically themselves in order to be able to produce the necessary political will to bring about national, continental and intercontinental development which would take into account above all the interests of their populations. The authenticity which is permanently reshaping our political plans will now make it possible for us really to control our natural resources. It will make it possible for us to foster solidarity among the developing countries and will strengthen our relationships with the industrialized countries, whether they belong to the left or to the right.

200. The serious consequences of the world crisis, which are felt with unprecedented acuteness by under-equipped countries must serve as experience and as a stimulus to bring about more active solidarity among the countries termed the third-world countries. Zaire, for its part, believes firmly in this solidarity, which it ardently hopes will be established immediately at the continental level and then at the intercontinental level.

201. So that this solidarity may be a reality in the African continent, Zaire has decided, in the field of trade with other African countries, to accept payment

in the local currencies of those countries. That step will undoubtedly give our people and the other peoples of Africa confidence in our national currencies. Thus we shall cease to think in terms of dollars, French francs, pounds sterling, deutschmarks, and so on. The development of inter-African trade, as well as the resulting development of African economies, will undoubtedly lead to the convertibility of African currencies.

202. Solidarity among the developing countries must affect all areas of endeavour. This solidarity must obviously be the fruit of development efforts to be undertaken by each of our countries both nationally and regionally. To achieve this we must above all rely on our own strength to resolve the development problems which confront us. The hunger which is rife in many of our countries will finally disappear only when our populations are able to produce their own foodstuffs. We certainly cannot deny the benefits of external aid, but Zaire believes firmly in the efforts which a country must itself make in order to resolve its own problems. This is the policy of *salongo* which in Zaire takes the form of mobilizing the population in order to improve both agricultural and industrial production. Through the policy of *salongo*, agriculture, which is the main priority in Zaire, will develop to such an extent between now and 1980 that by then our country will become self-sufficient in food.

203. It is obvious that an independent development policy necessarily implies for our countries sovereignty over their natural resources. Furthermore, this is perfectly in keeping with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

204. Experience in Zaire in this field has clearly demonstrated that sovereignty over natural resources creates the best conditions for co-operation between foreign investors and ourselves. In effect, since Zairianization, it has been possible for the State of Zaire not only to offer advantageous conditions for foreign investors from the West or the East, but also to provide them with reasonable guarantees. And—something of paramount importance—since Zairianization, any foreigner who invests in Zaire under our investment code receives free the land on which he can set up his enterprise. In Zaire, where land belongs to the State, anybody who is capable of working it will receive free the necessary land for his commercial or industrial enterprise. That was not the case before Zairianization took place.

205. Now that all the States Members of our Organization have made the United Nations the focal-point of genuine international solidarity, Zaire welcomes the determination which has been evinced by both rich and poor to reduce the major gap existing between them. The Paris Conference of producers and consumers of commodities which has just been convened by the French Government to take place on 15 October will undoubtedly constitute a concrete expression of the international solidarity which the seventh special session has just endorsed.

206. Zaire wishes to make it quite clear that it is in favour of co-operation between industrialized and developing countries; it is therefore opposed to confrontation.

207. On 4 October 1973, speaking at this rostrum, the President and Founder of the People's Revolutionary Movement, the President of the Republic of Zaire, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, in connexion with the colonized countries of Africa, said:

“Now that we have achieved political, economic and social stability, we cannot be happy while our brothers of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia are still languishing under the yoke of the Portuguese colonialists, the British settlers of Rhodesia and the racists of South Africa.

“... It is therefore an imperative political duty for Zaire to make its material and military contribution to all its neighbours that are still subjected to colonialism of any sort.”

208. Today the fact that several of those countries have become independent and are now Members of the Organization is something which Zaire sincerely welcomes. We extend to our brothers and sisters, the representatives of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, our sincere congratulations on the victory of their respective peoples over colonialism and racism. I associate myself with previous speakers in welcoming them to our midst.

209. We also welcome the legitimate return to our ranks of the representatives of the Royal Government of Cambodia, whose valiant people has justly regained its national independence.

210. Our Organization, which has already been in existence for 30 years, is now passing through a new historical phase which obviously makes necessary a revision of its structure. It would be difficult for changes not to take place within the United Nations when, during the seventh special session, this very Organization has already endorsed the need for a new international economic order as the only way to adapt our world to the requirements of our times.

211. The majority of the Members of the United Nations recognize that the world situation is different from that which obtained when the United Nations was founded at San Francisco. Furthermore, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in one of his reports very clearly expressed this general view. He said:

“The evolution of the post-war world—including the introduction of nuclear weapons, the establishment of regional military pacts, the accelerated pace of decolonization, the extraordinary advances of applied science and technology, dramatic increases in population and the emergence of a large group of independent developing nations—has created a new geopolitical structure in the past 30 years. Thus the basis of power, both political and economic, in the world as a whole has changed radically in a way which could not be foreseen at San Francisco.” [A/10001/Add.1, sect. I.]

212. We scarcely need to recall or to dwell on the fact that in 1945 there were only some 50 founder Members of the United Nations. Traumatized by the world cataclysm which they had just stayed by the defeat of nazism, they virtually turned our Organization into the sort of holy alliance that had appeared in Europe at another time after a cataclysm very similar to the one we all deplore. Now that the United Nations has a membership of more than 140 States,

is it not quite obvious and proper that we should turn our Organization into a genuine framework for international solidarity where there are neither large or small States but simply States.

213. We recognize the merits of our Organization as far as the cause of peace is concerned. Zaire is well qualified to say this. My country will never forget the efforts made by the United Nations to restore peace to Zaire, at that time the Congo, which was then in the grip of serious internal problems. We are still grateful to the United Nations for this.

214. However we believe that new historical conditions require that our Organization be adapted to this evolution. Hence in this connexion we would reiterate the position which our President expressed in this self-same Hall. Zaire therefore proposes

“... a revision of the Charter of the United Nations to adapt it to the present situation in the world, taking into account particularly the representation of the African continent and also the fact that those that were defeated yesterday have, in their turn, become today great Powers, and the decisions of our Organization should be applied by all its Members without differentiation and should not remain a dead letter in this forum”.¹⁰

215. We are particularly insistent on adapting our Organization to the present conditions in the world because the confidence which we continue to place in it encourages us to attempt to make it operational and effective in the task of preserving world peace and bringing about international solidarity as defined at the sixth special session and particularly at the seventh special session.

216. Events in Viet Nam and Cambodia as well as those in the Middle East are ample proof of the inability of the United Nations to play a positive and effective role in restoring peace to those areas.

217. In Viet Nam as in Cambodia the determination of the people was necessary, as well as the indefatigable support of all peace-loving peoples, for those countries to be able to recover their national independence.

218. Zaire would like to take this opportunity to hail the victory of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples over imperialism. For the people of Zaire this is also a victory of genuine individuality. The Vietnamese and the Cambodians wished to be themselves, and have proved that every people can live, can govern itself, can develop and flourish according to its own habits and customs, that is in accordance with its own authentic personality.

219. Although national independence and peace have returned to Viet Nam and Cambodia the same is not true of Palestine, Zimbabwe, South Africa or Namibia. In those countries the racists and the Zionists refuse to grant their respective populations their right to self-determination and to a homeland.

220. Zaire, therefore, unreservedly condemns the policy which is being pursued by Israel against the people of Palestine. The Palestinian people represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, with which Zaire has excellent relationships, can always count on our support.

221. The racist policies of the white settlers of Zimbabwe, as well as the *apartheid* practices by the

white minority in South Africa and Namibia, are unreservedly opposed by Zaire, which gives its total support to the fraternal peoples in those countries who are struggling for their national independence.

222. It is essential that our Organization continue to exert pressure on the minority régime of Pretoria to force it to recognize that the people of Namibia should enjoy their right to national independence and to the territorial integrity of their country.

223. Zaire would like to take this opportunity to thank France, whose President, Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, during his recent official visit to Zaire, announced the decision of his Government to decree an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. We would venture to hope that the example of France, which condemns the policy of *apartheid*, will be followed by other major Powers; thus the minority régime of Pretoria will be forced to respect the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

224. Our unreserved condemnation of the racist policy of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe and the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and Namibia should by no means be construed to mean that Zaire is in favour of driving the white minority into the sea. All that Zaire demands from the white racists in Zimbabwe and South Africa is that they respect the principle of majority rule, that will take account of the interests of all the people, whether black or white, in the area.

225. Regarding the situation in the Middle East, Zaire's position, which was clearly spelt out from this rostrum on 4 October 1973 by the President and Founder of the Popular Revolutionary Movement, President of the Republic, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, remains unchanged. May I remind you of what my President stated at that time which was as follows:

“Zaire, which has now reached the moment when it must choose, must dispel all misunderstanding and remove a certain ambiguity resulting from its African vocation. Zaire has therefore to choose between a friendly country, Israel, and a brother nation, Egypt. But between a friend and a brother the choice is clear and our decisions are made in full independence and freedom from all pressures.

“Therefore, by virtue of the prerogatives conferred upon me by article 24 of the Constitution of the Republic of Zaire, I announce to all the world the breaking-off of diplomatic relations with Israel, such severing of relations to continue until Egypt and the other Arab countries involved shall have recovered their territories at present under occupation.”¹¹

226. Since certain parts of the territories of Egypt and other Arab countries are still occupied by Israel, the position of Zaire concerning the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Israel therefore remains unchanged.

227. The situation which at present prevails in Angola is undoubtedly disturbing for Africa and particularly for Zaire, which shares more than 2,600 kilometres of frontier with that country. Zaire, which has supported and is still supporting the people of Angola in their struggle for national independence, will continue to observe strict neutrality respecting the three liberation movements, as it has done since the Kinshasa

Agreement of 1 June 1975 signed with the Portuguese Government.

228. We are convinced that the stability of the political situation in Portugal which, until 11 November 1975, will remain responsible for the administration and security of Angola, will make it possible for that country to take the necessary steps to restore peace to its colony. Thus the three liberation movements will be able to agree together on the political platform which will make it possible for them to accede to national independence under peaceful conditions.

229. Zaire has great respect for the principles of international law and justice, principles which we have all accepted and which are the very aim and object of the Charter of the United Nations. Thus the right to self-determination of peoples, which all Member States have endorsed and defended, should not be applied in a discriminatory fashion according to the avowed or unavowed interests of certain international circles even if these are disguised as progressist.

230. Thus in the case of Cabinda, which is a Territory under Portuguese administration and which is separated from Angola by Zaire, my country would make an appeal to the Portuguese Government requesting it to grant the people of Cabinda the right to self-determination. A positive attitude on the part of Portugal in this connexion will make an important contribution to safeguarding peace in an area which has already been shaken by conflicts whose outcome cannot be foreseen.

231. Zaire would therefore reaffirm its position that Portugal should grant the people of Cabinda their right to self-determination. In this connexion, in order to make it possible for the people of Cabinda freely to decide their own future, Zaire is in favour of a referendum being organized in Cabinda under the aegis either of the United Nations or of the Organization of African Unity.

232. In its relations with other countries, Zaire maintains diplomatic relations with all those countries which respect not only its authenticity but also the principles embodied in the Charter.

233. During the Vietnamese war, Zaire maintained diplomatic relations with the four signatories to the Paris Agreement, namely, the United States, North Viet Nam, South Viet Nam and the Government of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam. Now that the war is terminated in Indo-China, we will continue to maintain good diplomatic relations with the United States, North Viet Nam and South Viet Nam. According to the internal logic of our authenticity, Zaire supports the admission to the United Nations of North Viet Nam and South Viet Nam.

234. Turning to the Korean problem, Zaire, which has observed strict neutrality as regards the two entities, that is, the North and the South, considers that our Organization should take steps which will help to bring the views of the two parties closer together. Zaire, which maintains excellent diplomatic relations with both the North and the South, hopes that the two parties will work peacefully towards unity if this is the will of their populations. However, if the latter should decide otherwise, our Organization will have to admit to membership both Korean entities,

as has been the case for both Germanys and as undoubtedly will shortly be so for the two Viet Nams.

235. Regarding the situation on the island of Cyprus, where our Organization is involved in the difficult undertaking of maintaining peace, Zaire is in favour of national reconciliation. We appeal to the two Cypriot communities to seek through negotiation peaceful arrangements which will satisfy their respective interests.

236. Since concerted action among States has become a principle accepted by all in seeking solution or settlement of the disputes which may arise among them, Zaire considers and ardently hopes that this principle will continue to prevail in the negotiations at present under way on the law of the sea.

237. After the seventh special session it is only natural that our Organization should promote the readaptation of the law of the sea within the framework of solutions which will contribute to restoring the balance between the industrialized and the developing countries.

238. We hope that the great Powers will not take advantage of their technical superiority and their almost exclusive possession of great financial power arbitrarily to exploit the minerals which exist in the sea-bed. We appeal to them to continue to respect the spirit of the seventh special session and to display, in the forthcoming negotiations on the law of the sea, the same liberal spirit of understanding which they showed throughout the work of that session.

239. When we consider our poverty we note with some bitterness that over and above the economic exploitation we have been subject to there has also been the savage and systematic plundering of all our works of art by the colonialist Powers. Our invaluable artistic works have been purely and simply plundered. They are to be found in all the main cities of the industrialized countries. There is not a single museum enjoying a world reputation in industrialized countries of the East or the West in which African works of art are not to be found.

240. May I draw the attention of our Assembly to the fact that these African works of art which are the pride of the ethnographical and archeological museums and institutions of the industrialized countries of the East and the West were acquired practically free of charge. In other words, as citizen President Mobutu Sese Seko said on 4 October 1973 in the United Nations "Those works, which were acquired for nothing, have increased in value so much that none of our countries has the material means to recover them."¹²

241. Therefore the delegation of Zaire reiterates its appeal to all the industrialized countries, whether of the West or of the East, to understand the need to restore to the developing countries all the works of art they are holding. If those same industrialized countries thought it was quite normal that they were entitled to recover immediately after the Second World War their works of art which had been stolen by the Nazi régime, commonsense, justice and equity recommend that they restore to the developing countries their works of art. Thus the industrialized countries would be making an effective contribution to strengthening the cultural riches of the countries lacking in capital equipment.

242. Zaire would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium, which has accepted the principle of restoring our works of art which are to be found in a number of Belgian museums. The encouraging negotiations at present under way between the Kingdom of Belgium and our country for the return of our works of art to Zaire will undoubtedly lead to a positive outcome. It is our sincere hope that this example set by Belgium will be followed by other industrialized countries and that in the course of this thirtieth session our Organization will be able to draft a resolution which will lead to the establishment of clear procedures for restoring to the developing countries the works of art which are held by a number of industrialized countries of the West and the East.

243. Thanks to the dynamic activities of General Mobutu Sese Seko, Zaire has recovered its territorial integrity and its stability. Its peoples are reunited in the People's Revolutionary Movement and have become responsible for their own future.

244. Philosophically speaking, the Republic of Zaire is governed by what we call the concept of authenticity. This has been defined by citizen President Mobutu Sese Seko as:

“... being an awareness on behalf of the Zaire people of the fact that they should go back to their own sources, seek the values of their ancestors in order to judge which of them will contribute to their harmonious and natural development.

“It is the refusal of the Zaire people blindly to espouse imported ideologies. It is the affirmation of Zairian man or of man in general, wherever he may be, whatever he may be, with his own intellectual and social structures.”

245. The Zairian people, which considers authenticity, of which Mobutuism is the Zairian expression, as the only absolute weapon against imperialism and injustice, is therefore following its own process of structural development. It wishes to espouse neither the ideas of the left, nor the ideas of the right, because imperialism and exploitation are met with at every turn. Our people has chosen to be itself, in other words, to be authentic, because it is convinced that the problem of Zaire cannot be validly solved apart from the Zairian people themselves.

246. However, the Zairian people recognizes that recourse to authenticity is not narrow nationalism, a blind return to the past, but, on the contrary, an instrument for peace among nations, a condition of existence among the peoples, a basis for co-operation among States, for authenticity is not only increased knowledge of one's culture, but also respect for the cultural heritage of others.

247. We are therefore convinced that only respect for the authenticity of every people will make possible harmonious relations among States. Consequently, this will strengthen the universal nature of our Organization within which all States endowed with different social and political structures will be able to co-operate in the interest of restoring the balance between industrialized and developing countries, as well as serving the cause of world peace.

248. That is why the Republic of Zaire, which has great respect for the universality which is character-

istic of the United Nations, is anxious to work for its maintenance. Even if some Member States—for reasons with which we all disagree—for the time being attach an ambiguous interpretation to the resolutions of our Organization, it is our duty to exert on them and those Powers which support them the sort of pressure that will compel them to respect the recommendations of the United Nations. This pressure must therefore be exerted inside the United Nations and not outside it. What we must do is strengthen the Organization, not weaken it.

249. Thus, the Republic of Zaire has decided as a matter of principle categorically to reject the idea of the expulsion, exclusion or suspension of any State from any international organization. Zaire's position is therefore geared to States, not to the representativity of States.

250. Since we are so keen on strengthening the United Nations, we in Zaire consider that it is in the context of a new spirit of consultation and mutual understanding which should henceforth underlie the work of our Organization that the problem of general disarmament and peace should be solved by all Member States.

251. Zaire, which supports any initiative designed to bring about general disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons, is in favour of a straightforward policy, not a demagogic one. We cannot approve the attitude of those who speak about disarmament and the prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and bacteriological weapons but continue to step up the manufacture, refinement and testing of those weapons.

252. All States Members of the United Nations must therefore be concerned about the problem of general and complete disarmament and the prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and bacteriological weapons. Continuous pressure must be exerted on the major Powers to force them finally to decide to destroy those arms which permanently imperil all mankind.

253. Our Organization must also work to protect nature. Zaire highly appreciates the efforts made by the United Nations in this field. My Government, on the initiative of its President, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, has drawn up a far-reaching programme to safeguard our natural environment, which is of inestimable value to our people.

254. This year, which is dedicated to women, has seen our country actively involved in the implementation of various programmes suggested by the United Nations. Although women in Zaire enjoy the same rights and opportunities as men, our President felt that he should personally organize an international women's symposium in Kinshasa last May.

255. During that international meeting female delegates from various African countries and countries outside Africa had an opportunity to learn of the experience gained by Zairian women in their authentic society. Zairian women also took advantage of that meeting to learn from their foreign sisters what was happening elsewhere.

256. The World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico and organized by the United Nations, was a major occasion for representatives of women throughout the world to report

on their respective experiences. That Conference undoubtedly contributed to the development of understanding among peoples and the strengthening of international co-operation.

257. Zaire is gratified that during the work of the seventh special session the industrialized countries displayed a certain degree of generosity towards the developing countries. We have resolved to follow that example of generosity in our relations with all countries.

258. Thus, so far as Portugal is concerned, which is now suffering from a very difficult situation in respect of its colony of Angola, Zaire has decided that, apart from the Angolan refugees estimated at more than 1 million, it will welcome up to 400,000 Portuguese refugees who, for reasons of safety, may desire to leave Angola temporarily. All arrangements have been made to make it possible for those refugees to work and live normally until the situation in Angola becomes stable.

259. In conclusion, I should like to express to the President, on behalf of the Zairian delegation, the hope that the work of the present session over which he is presiding with such dynamism and perspicacity will consolidate the spirit of concerted action among the industrialized and the developing countries—the

spirit which was so characteristic of the seventh special session—thus making our Organization an effective tool for achieving the harmonious development of all Member States, for strengthening international co-operation and for bringing about genuine world peace.

The meeting rose at 2 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Signed at Geneva on 4 September 1975.

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, item 41.

³ *Ibid.*, *Seventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2327th meeting, paras. 46, 37 and 47.

⁴ Subsequently adopted in resolution 3452 (XXX).

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2345th meeting, para. 30.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting, para. 206.

⁷ A/AC.176/L.3.

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting, para. 163.

⁹ *Ibid.*, paras. 126 and 127.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, para. 202.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, paras. 136 and 137.

¹² *Ibid.*, para. 177.