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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. FAHMY (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*):
Mr. President, it is a source of pride and gratification for me to express to you my heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly during the current session, which is undoubtedly considered one of the most important sessions in the history of the United Nations on account of the vital questions set before it and because of the present critical stage in the history of the relations between countries and peoples. Your election to the presidency is also to be looked upon as a compliment addressed by the United Nations to your country and to its great leader, President Houari Boumediène, who has dedicated himself to the cause of all peace-loving peoples.
2. I should like to pay a tribute to the tremendous effort exerted by your predecessor, our dear friend Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who conducted the deliberations of the previous Assembly session and of the sixth special session with wisdom, foresight and objectivity.
3. I should also like to pay tribute to the work accomplished throughout the whole of last year by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and to his devotion to the objectives and principles of the United Nations.
4. It gives me pleasure to welcome the friendly countries which have joined our Organization. The admission of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations is undoubtedly an incontestable victory for the right of all peoples to decide their own fate and to shoulder their international responsibilities in full and to undertake a positive, constructive role for the building of a better world for all of us.
5. We look forward to the declaration of the independence of the remaining countries which have been suffering for many centuries from the fetters that have

bound them, depriving them of their natural right to participate effectively in decision-making which influences the future of the human race. Here, I refer in particular to the necessity of declaring the independence of Mozambique in conformity with the Lusaka Agreement. The same right has to be acknowledged in respect of the struggling people of Angola.

6. While welcoming the spirit which has motivated the Portuguese Government to abandon the old logic of colonialism and to turn a new page in the history of relations with the peoples of countries previously under Portuguese occupation, we express the hope that this trend will continue and will be consolidated in such a way that it will make it possible to achieve concrete and tangible results with respect to all Territories which are still under Portugal's domination. Then can all the African peoples turn a new page in their relations with Portugal, and only then can co-operation replace conflict and strife.

7. It is indeed deplorable to find that government in South Africa is still based on racial discrimination and on the deprivation of the African peoples, the rightful owners of their territories, of their fundamental rights, in order to serve the interests of an exploiting minority. The racist minorities in Zimbabwe and Namibia are still persisting in the policy of imposing settlers' colonialism and are still following practices designed to change the demographic structure in those regions in order to destroy their heritage and to usurp their wealth.

8. The first and foremost responsibility which we should face in our deliberations during this session and, indeed, in every session is to scrutinize and look searchingly at our world so that we may know where we stood yesterday, where we stand today and in which direction we are to proceed in the near and distant future. It behoves each of us to envisage the development of the world in the future and to evaluate the events of the past. It is on the basis of this mutual assessment of the past and of the future that we can reach an identical, or at least common, view of international situations, thus enabling each Member State to define for itself the course it can follow, the burdens it can assume and the challenges it can accept within the framework of efforts to achieve common goals.

9. Representatives probably know that our concept of the future—be it the result of an individual or a common endeavour—should be governed by rules of legality and morality. The fusion of these two essential elements should be the basis on which we deal with reality and govern our policies, otherwise we would fall prey to day-dreams and, surrendering to illusions, would build our palaces on sand, to be shattered by the winds and transformed into a series of frustrated hopes.

10. The tremendous scientific achievements of humanity in recent years have provided us with new criteria which should govern our evaluation of the future in the light of our past and present experience. Suffice it to refer here to the principles and methodology employed by the science of "futurology", so that our vision of the future of international relations may not be based on star-gazing, speculation or guesswork.

11. A quick glance at the world in the past few years reveals that the most important development on the international scene is the emergence of what has been termed "*détente*". Opinions are divided about *détente*, for there are Members who view it with optimism as the peace which will save humanity from the scourge of war, violence and hatred, while others deny that it can lead to anything good for human society. Perhaps the non-aligned countries are more entitled than others to have their say about this new element in international relations, since they were the first to call for the reduction of tension and to stress the necessity of lessening the danger of confrontation, which can result in nothing but catastrophe for us all. They were also the first to seek a common ground where all peoples could come together in peace and express their creative faculties in the service of the welfare of all humanity.

12. Perhaps the best attitude to be adopted towards *détente* is to insist that its application should conform to its theory and that its implementation should be a fulfilment of expectations. *Détente* should continue and should be consolidated in the interest of all, yet not at the expense of anybody. We do not look upon *détente* as a matter which concerns the two super-Powers more than others; it concerns us all to the same degree since it affects the features of international relations in the present and, to say the least, in the near future. In fact, this doubles the responsibility of the two super-Powers to contribute to the solution of all urgent, burning problems since interdependence prevails in the world of today and it has become impossible for a country or for any group of countries, no matter how strong they may be in the political, economic or military fields, to live detached from the rest of the world. It should by now be impossible for them to imagine that they can act as if they were on an isolated island where they cannot be affected by events in the world at large.

13. It is imperative, in the light of these conditions, that each of us should have support for the role he plays within the international community. It should also be clear that there is no place on the international scene for those who just watch and observe. All of us must insist on rejecting any system by which a country or a group of countries would have the exclusive authority to take decisions that affect the destinies of peoples, because such a monopoly can only lead to abuse of responsibility. Participation in authority and the sharing of responsibility are both a right and a duty for us all, and this necessitates a full participation of all from the very start in decision-making, so that we do not find ourselves confronted with a *fait accompli* that has been dictated to us and for which we can find no solution. It is wrong to assume that others would willingly acknowledge our right to positive participation, for such a right is to be prac-

tised and not to be granted. Such a course is made increasingly clear by the continuous experience of every day and is becoming a firmly rooted tradition in international relations.

14. Egypt, being one of the oldest civilizations known in human history, is perfectly willing and prepared to shoulder all its international responsibilities with all the risks and sacrifices that this may entail, and it reaffirms once more its basic and fundamental commitment to the struggle to be waged along with all peace-loving peoples that are aspiring to freedom in various parts of the world.

15. Egypt has established its foreign policy on the basis and within the framework of humanitarian ideals which recognize no discrimination and no isolationism. Thus the Arab movement is a positive one, in full interaction with all human aspirations and movements; it is a movement which keeps pace with events and does not stand against the tide of history.

16. Our obligation regarding the future of Africa is in essence a human obligation, because it grows out of the fraternal links and organic ties between peoples brought together by civilization, history, aspirations and common interests. We may perhaps all agree that the countries of the African continent have been able within a short period, after having shaken off the evils of colonialism, to set an example in the sense of responsibility, good judgement and foresight. It is obvious to all of us that the achievements of our African peoples throughout the limited years, be they on the regional or international level, are achievements that enrich human experience.

17. In a broader context, the non-aligned countries, despite obstacles and challenges, have been able to consolidate the gains which they had achieved in the past in the interest of all humanity. They have remained in the vanguard of the forces which are attempting to rationalize international conduct and to base it on criteria that should lessen egoism, domination and dictating of terms. We firmly believe that many of the problems with which we are still living today could have been solved, had the countries of the third world been able to overcome the obstacles put in their way and had they been able to neutralize the elements that benefit from the continuation and aggravation of those problems. We are confident that the non-aligned countries will in the near future play a role of no less importance than that which they have played in the past.

18. It is within this framework that Egypt conducts its relations with all countries of the world—full of confidence and without complex. Consequently, Egypt, while determined not to become a sphere of influence for anybody, is capable of extending its international co-operation in various directions. Egypt honours all its obligations and responsibilities in the same spirit in which it safeguards its rights. In its relations with all peoples of the world Egypt determines its policy in the basic belief that there are no insurmountable problems between Egypt and any other peace-loving people, and that there are no conflicts or contradictions that are impossible to overcome.

19. Egypt has followed these principles in its relations with the two super-Powers, the pillars of the

policy of *détente*. Bilateral relations with the Soviet Union are founded on friendship and mutual co-operation. We have appreciation for the Soviet people and their leadership in siding with the Egyptian people on their march towards social and economic development and their support of the Arab nation in its legitimate struggle to regain its territories and to repel aggression.

20. At the same time, Egypt has welcomed the relative change that has taken place in the American attitude as a result of the glorious October war, and viewed it as a step in the right direction which is worthy of response. As a result, Egypt has restored the channels of communication between the two countries and has also responded to the American efforts in the field of disengagement on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts. These efforts have resulted in military agreements which help to consolidate the fragile and the dangerous cease-fire that existed before. Despite the fact that the American policy towards the Middle East still leaves much to be desired, we are anxious to give America every opportunity to bring that policy into greater harmony with right, law and principle.

21. As a parallel to that, we have welcomed the constructive role played by the European countries after they realized the facts of the situation and understood its dimensions. For our part, we look forward to enlarging this role, now and in the future, for the sake of peace, justice and common interests. Undoubtedly, the European community, which has suffered the scourge of wars and destruction, and which throughout its existence has maintained historical, cultural and economic ties with our region, is qualified to contribute a great deal to the establishment of peace and prosperity in the region.

22. Egypt has responded to the readiness of European countries to strengthen our ties of co-operation, and has established close contacts with each and all of them. Egypt has also reacted positively to the desire of the European group to establish a dialogue with the Arab countries, so that co-operation between the two groups may reach a level that would ensure the welfare of all their peoples and open new horizons for wider and more extensive international co-operation. While we welcome this Arab-European co-operation, we do not believe that it should be confined to one particular field, because all fields of co-operation and exchange are interlinked and it is difficult to separate them.

23. As far as we are concerned, the European continent is of strategic importance: in the first place, because the security of the Middle East region is closely linked with the security of Europe and is affected by whatever happens in Europe, and vice versa. Economic and cultural interests are also interlinked in such a way that they have to be moulded within a framework of co-operation and interdependence.

24. I agree with the words of my colleague and friend the Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Jean Sauvagnargues, who stated before this Assembly a few days ago:

“This type of co-operation that we are both trying to establish does set an example and opens

up a promising outlook. It is a question of working together, with all the participants on an equal footing, towards social and economic progress. The undertaking must not interfere with the interests of any country.” [2238th meeting, para. 154.]

25. As a parallel to this enlightened policy, Egypt has followed a course founded on the open-door economic policy that aims at consolidating co-operation with all peoples that are prepared to deal with us on the basis of equality, interdependence and mutual interest. It is a policy that does not discriminate between countries and peoples; it is also a policy that does not affect to any degree the path of socialist transformation which we have chosen for ourselves as a system to achieve development and to secure the future of every Egyptian citizen. Thinking and moving, as we do, within this framework, we have been sorry to hear from this rostrum and elsewhere, during the past few days, statements which have proved, from various experiences since the end of the Second World War, to be impractical and to lead to nowhere.

26. We were told that some countries were manipulating basic human needs for the sake of narrow national interests; that the use of some raw materials as a political weapon and the imposition of the oil embargo against certain countries were policies that might eventually lead to confrontation instead of co-operation. It was even claimed that the fragile framework of international economic co-operation would be exposed to danger if the oil-producing countries continued their present pricing policies. We have heard the new thesis that the high cost of oil is not the result of the dynamics of economic factors but of political and selfish decisions that have not taken international interests into consideration.

27. The advocates of this theory want us to forsake reason and to believe the following: first, that oil is the only raw material the price of which has gone up; secondly, that the rise in oil prices has resulted in a spiralling rise in the prices of substitute materials and of manufactured goods; thirdly, that the rise in the prices of oil products was not due to economic factors; fourthly, that there is an implicit assumption that the Arab oil-producing countries are the only producers that have raised their oil prices; fifthly, that the industrially advanced countries are the ones that deserve attention and protection, because the rest of the countries of the world depend upon them in meeting their needs for manufactured goods.

28. We should have expected that everyone had grasped the profound quantitative and qualitative changes witnessed by the world and realized that the peoples that obtained their independence at the cost of many sacrifices cannot permit any encroachment upon their sovereignty, or any return of guardianship over them under a new guise; nor can they be content with only a façade of political independence.

29. The following established and indisputable facts should be recognized. First, oil prices rose only after the prices of other raw materials and manufactured goods had gone up. Secondly, the industrially developed countries exclusively have controlled international prices through speculation and monopolies, regardless of the requirements of world social and economic development. Thirdly, the Arabs were not

the only ones to raise their oil prices but joined with other producers in different parts of the world in so doing. At the same time, it is obvious that the international monetary system established at Bretton Woods in 1944 has not lived up to the world's expectations. Finally, when the Arabs decided to mobilize their oil to serve their struggle for their destiny, they did not manipulate the destinies of other peoples. They feel nothing but love and sympathy for all other peoples, but when they did follow such a course, that was in response to a foolish policy adopted by some statesmen without any consideration for Arab interests and their feelings. They also used their oil only within the limits that would secure their legitimate rights.

30. The following facts should not escape our attention. First, the Arab countries did not take any action relating to oil supplies until after they had warned the countries which assist Israel in maintaining the occupation of Arab territories in defiance of the international will and the resolutions of the United Nations. Secondly, the Arab countries lifted the oil embargo immediately after the countries against which it was imposed—and in particular the United States—had changed their attitude and had directed their policy towards contributing to a just and lasting settlement of the problem. Thirdly, some of the statesmen in the developed countries are attempting, before their peoples, to put the blame on the Arabs with respect to inflation, either to evade responsibility for facing the internal situation or to seek the favour of some pressure groups which find it in their interests to launch a campaign against the Arabs.

31. We would have expected everyone to realize the profound change brought about by the glorious war of October, and the far-reaching effects which that war brought about militarily, politically, economically and psychologically. The proper thing to do was to create the circumstances conducive to a peaceful settlement. In that respect, it would have been preferable to take immediate decisions to stop providing Israel with unlimited shipments of arms. This policy has contributed to heightening Israeli arrogance.

32. It may perhaps be appropriate to refer here to a voice which was raised in the United States of America, calling for wisdom and rationality. The voice was that of Senator James Abourezk, when he addressed a meeting of the United States-Arab Chamber of Commerce on 25 September 1974. In his speech Senator Abourezk said:

“It is clearly in the interests of humanity, as well as of the United States, that we stop furnishing warplanes, missiles, napalm, phosphorus bombs and the money used to provide these weapons to Israel, so long as Israel continues its mission of destruction of innocent civilians and of their crops in Southern Lebanon.”

The Senator went on:

“It is clearly in the interest of the United States to bring about a durable peace in the Middle East, rather than the present political stalemate which will once again ignite bloody conflicts in that part of the world.”

33. The problem of high prices of goods is much more complicated and deep than we think. It is not

confined to one commodity to the exclusion of others, and it does not relate to one producing country or a group of countries. It affects the whole world. In the final analysis, this question cannot be tackled on the basis of isolating its political factors from economic considerations or vice versa, for it is a mixture of both.

34. International relations are established on the basis of mutual interest and not on dictation, domination and threats. Political decisions should reflect a sense of responsibility and should be based on an exchange of interests. The industrially advanced countries would be under an illusion if they imagined that they could expose the security of developing nations to danger or that they could continue to manipulate their wealth and expect them to remain idle.

35. As the Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Gromyko, has rightly stated before this Assembly a few days ago:

“The general state of world affairs is being moulded by a tremendous number of factors, ranging from political and military to national or even psychological factors. And it therefore hardly lends itself to one-dimensional assessment.” [2240th meeting, para. 125.]

36. The attempt to distort the reputation of Arab countries and defame them will only lead to widening the gap between the parties concerned and this is bound to delay reaching a balanced solution that can guarantee the common interests of all peoples in all corners of the world. The assumption that developing nations will continue to surrender to injustice, suppression and pressure is a dangerous one and it is of the utmost danger because it can only lead to a series of explosions and armed conflicts and an economic and psychological struggle which can only result, in the long run, in a deterioration of international relations which would engulf us all in the worst of consequences.

37. Let us discuss matters rationally and listen to a sincere voice emanating from a rational source which belongs to the third world. Let us listen to the Foreign Minister of Peru, Mr. de la Flor Valle, when he says:

“It becomes apparent in the multidimensional struggle of the countries of the third world to create a new international economic order which takes concrete form in the defence and recovery of natural resources;” [2238th meeting, para. 172.]

38. I wish also to quote the Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Jean Sauvagnargues, when he said:

“In this connexion the right of the third world countries not only to receive a fairer share of the fruits of economic and world progress but also to influence the choices on which this activity depends cannot be contested.” [Ibid., para. 149.]

39. Let us listen also to another rightful piece of testimony coming from the representative of one of the developed industrialized countries. Mr. James Callaghan, the British Foreign Secretary, said the following a few days ago:

“The unprecedented world-wide economic boom of recent years led to higher commodity prices prior to the recent increases in world oil prices.” [2240th meeting, para. 219.]

40. This session is worthy of being distinguished from previous sessions. It should not be just a quantitative addition of another pile of papers to the records of the United Nations. There is nothing more worthy of the attention of this session than the Palestinian people. So, let us make this session "the session of the people of Palestine". Let us see to it that history will record that we have directed all our energies and resources towards safeguarding the right of an entire people to maintain their entity, to decide their fate and to continue their creative march together with other peoples working for the establishment of a better world.

41. The international community has committed an historical error by ignoring this people and denying that they existed after they were uprooted from their homeland. History is witness to the fact that throughout the ages Jews have never enjoyed more magnanimity and brotherhood than that which they enjoyed from the people of the Arab world when they lived with them; Jewish culture has never flourished more than it has under the umbrella of the Arab countries, where there has never been any discrimination, persecution or racism.

42. The international community persisted in the error by considering the Palestinian people, victims of oppression, as only groups of refugees deserving of nothing but mercy and pity. Authenticity and the history of the Palestinian people have protected them from disintegration and dispersal.

43. Despite the labyrinth in which the Palestinian people have lived in the twentieth century, they are more determined than ever to exist and to face all challenges with rare courage. Today, the Palestinian people stand with dignity, capable of shouldering their international responsibility and participating in the construction of the new life in the Middle East.

44. When we consider the facts of the situation and look at the cause of the Palestinian people in its proper perspective as first and foremost a political matter, we are neither granting these people a right nor bestowing upon them a privilege; we are correcting an historical error which we committed against them and against the whole of humanity. To withhold the recognition of the natural rights of a people would be tantamount to the humiliation of the whole of mankind. The structure of humanity is indivisible, and we cannot deal with the fate of peoples on the basis of double standards which give or deny without reasoning.

45. The Palestinian people are capable of seizing their own rights and of imposing their will, but it would be better for us to give their movement international legitimacy instead of imposing upon them the task of struggling outside that framework of legitimacy. By virtue of their long history of dealing with situations and facing reality objectively and without evasiveness, the Palestinian people are qualified to assume this task. They realize that the glorious war of 6 October has opened new horizons for all the Arabs and has for the first time afforded an opportunity to reach a just and permanent peace in the area that would make it possible for its people to devote their attention to development, and to the task of economic and social transformation which is needed to make their future secure.

46. For those reasons, we suggest that the General Assembly should discuss the cause of the Palestinian people during this session on the basis that it is the essence of the problem, with the following principles as guidelines: first, the reaffirmation of the basic and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the rejection of any neglect or usurpation of those rights; secondly, the reaffirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without any outside intervention and to securing their national independence and their right to return to their homeland—I am sure that the General Assembly will call upon the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the representative of the Palestinian people, to take part in the debate in the General Assembly when the Palestinian question is to be discussed; and thirdly, the reaffirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to use all means to achieve their basic rights in accordance with the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

47. We should recollect that President Mohammed Anwar El-Sadat stated when the fighting was going on in Sinai and the Golan Heights:

"We are not war adventurers, we are peace-seekers; and we are not fighting to launch aggression on other people's lands, but we have fought and will continue to fight to attain two objectives: first, the full restoration of all our lands that have been under occupation since 1967; second, the finding of means to restore and ensure respect of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine."

48. This is our basic and established policy from which we will never deviate. When we talk about peace, and work for peace, we mean genuine peace that tackles the essence of the problem and ends the cause of conflict, and not simply a peace that only addresses itself to superficial symptoms. The problem has transcended temporary and partial solutions which are intended to prolong the period of the truce—a truce that has not prevented three wars from breaking out in less than 20 years and has failed to pave the way for peace.

49. We agree that there are certain ethical principles to be followed in international relations and policies that should be respected in the interest of international life. The first of these is that aggression should not go unpunished. And therefore we do not allow Israel to commit aggression and to go unpunished, let alone being allowed to reap the fruits of that aggression. Israel should pay for the destruction which has been inflicted on the cities of Suez, Ismailia, Port Said, Quneitra and other civilian targets.

50. Furthermore, economic piracy and the looting of natural resources is something which cannot be tolerated. Therefore, Israel will bear full responsibility for sapping our natural resources; I refer here in particular to the oil and other resources that have been stolen from Sinai.

51. I have declared on more than one occasion that Egypt did not and will not accept the state of "no peace, no war". I repeat this here, from this rostrum, because such a state of affairs can only serve aggressive Israel; it does not serve peace, and Egypt rejects it categorically. If anyone should try to maintain such a state of affairs, he would discover that his calcula-

tions were based on a gross error and an unsound estimate.

52. We want a just and lasting peace and we are not asking too much in demanding that the peace should be just, for experience has proved that unless peace is just it cannot be durable because it fails to become implanted in the conscience of the nation and it fails to create the proper mental and psychological environment for coexistence between peoples. It is, indeed, deplorable that Israel should not have thoroughly absorbed this fact. Israel's accumulated arrogance and conceit and its superiority complex and desire for expansion have made it impossible for Israel to digest the lessons to be learned from the October war of 1973 in all its dimensions. We still hear every day statements by the officials in Israel threatening that they will not relinquish the lands that they have occupied by force and their audacity has reached the point of denying the very existence of the Palestinian people. It is, indeed, a mockery that Israel should argue about the recognition of the Palestinian people at a time when it demands more international recognition for itself. Thus positions are reversed and the intruder who has unjustly implanted himself in the area claims for himself what he denies to the owners of the land.

53. To all these Israeli hysterical and desperate cries we say:

“Stop that, because it will not do you any good. If you are genuinely seeking to coexist peacefully with the peoples of the area, it is imperative that you discard those reckless tendencies now and for ever. You should not be deceived because some are still supplying you with their assistance and flooding you with charity, giving you arms in limitless quantities. All this is not going to realize for you the dream which apparently you are still entertaining, namely, breaking the Arab will and forcing the Arab people to surrender to your conditions. All this can only produce a prolongation of the conflict, complicating it beyond solution. You will have only yourselves to blame if you later regret wasting this golden opportunity to reach an honourable solution. Look around you, you will see a wall of international refusal of your expansionist and aggressive intentions. You will find a collective denunciation of your shameful conduct which spurs you to attack women and children in villages and in peaceful camps.”

54. There is no alternative to a return to the truth, logic and international law. And it is futile to cling to traces of the past with their misleading mirage and their unrealized dreams. The destiny of peoples can only be decided on the basis of the just truth and not on the basis of unjust illusions.

55. On our part, we have firmly resolved to enter the battle for peace with the same determination that led us to engage in fighting, for our objective in both cases is one and the same: the liberation of our occupied land and the achievement of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. It is for this reason that we have welcomed the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, which is in fact a practical echo of an idea submitted by President Anwar El-Sadat.

56. We should remember and it is always beneficial to remember that Egypt was the first country which agreed to the convening of the Geneva Conference, and we went there with a sincere heart. We still believe that it is the appropriate formula for discussing all aspects of the question and for reaching a comprehensive and permanent solution to the crisis. Egypt therefore is ready to go to that Conference at the nearest suitable time after the completion of the preparation for the resumption of the Conference on the part of Egypt and others and in the light of Egypt's responsibility to bear the greatest burden in moving towards a just peace in the area, as well as the special responsibility of the two super-Powers with respect to Security Council resolutions and for the maintenance of international peace and security.

57. It is only natural that, while we are exerting our efforts to establish peace in the area, we should also seek to establish a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Middle East, so as to strengthen peace in that area. This should be parallel to the efforts that are being exerted to encourage the establishment of such zones on the regional level, in order to pave the way to general and complete disarmament.

58. We all know that the countries of the Middle East are regarded at present as non-nuclear Powers and that they are unwilling to direct their resources towards the production of nuclear weapons, with the exception, that is, of Israel. Israel has refused so far to take any step towards acceding to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], despite the fact that the majority of the countries in the area have gone a long way towards acceding to that Treaty. That in itself is sufficient to demonstrate and to prove the expansionist intentions of Israel. Israel's refusal to accede to the Treaty explains why Egypt, after having signed it, has not yet ratified it. Should this state of affairs continue, it will constitute a great danger and threat to security and to peace. Speedy action is therefore called for in order to close this gap. The responsibility of the two super-Powers in this respect is a fundamental one, because of their special position in the Treaty and their responsibility, together with the rest of the permanent members of the Security Council, for the maintenance of international peace and security. I should like to repeat here what I have already said, namely, that Egypt is prepared to ratify the Treaty when Israel agrees to accede to it and to adhere to its provisions.

59. We are of the opinion that when we submit this question jointly with Iran [*A/9693 and Add.1 and 2*] for discussion at our present session, we should concentrate on three basic principles: first, on an obligation not to introduce nuclear weapons to the area in any form whatsoever; secondly, on an obligation on the part of the nuclear Powers not to use nuclear weapons against countries of the area, and not to introduce nuclear weapons into that area; and thirdly, on the establishment of an appropriate safeguards system to guarantee the fulfilment of these obligations.

60. Within this framework, the whole area and its peoples can be made secure against the dangers of nuclear destruction, and at the same time nuclear energy can be used for peaceful purposes in accordance

with the provisions of the non-proliferation Treaty and the guarantees provided for therein.

61. We cannot speak of the Middle East without expressing our deep regret at the sad events that have taken place in Cyprus, resulting in the undermining of the legitimacy and peace of that non-aligned country. We have ties of affection with the people of Cyprus; we are linked by proximity, common interest and a desire for mutual security. We firmly believe that there is no way to restore peace to the various parts of the island without a return to legitimacy and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. There should be no interference from outside in its affairs, and the two communities of the nation should be left to decide freely their own internal affairs.

62. The non-aligned countries have taken it upon themselves to play an active and positive role in deploying the necessary efforts towards reaching a solution to the crisis, in the light of these principles and free from all ambition, selfishness and desire to toy with the destinies of peoples. In doing so, the non-aligned countries are seeking a quick end to the sufferings of the tens of thousands of Cypriots who have been rendered homeless and who have had imposed upon them the tragedies of a war they did not want, a war in the decision of which they have had no part.

63. When we concentrate our attention on the Middle East and the events and developments of that region, we do not overlook the fact that there are other questions to which we should also devote much of our attention; for we believe in the indivisibility of the struggle of peoples for liberation and for ridding themselves of foreign domination and exploitation. We believe in the unity of mankind's destiny, and our relationships with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are friendly relationships based on fundamental principles. We therefore regard with great attention the events in Indo-China and we demand strict adherence to the Paris Agreement concerning Viet Nam.

64. We also urge that the peoples of Cambodia and Laos be left to decide their own affairs without dictation or pressure from abroad, since the bitter experiences of the past have proved that foreign intervention leaves behind it nothing but more conflict, more devastation, more suffering. We also hope that the foreign forces will be withdrawn from South Korea and that the Korean people in both the North and the South will be left to decide their own affairs, free from provocation or intervention.

65. The General Assembly at this session is faced with one of the most important tests it has had to meet since the emergence of the United Nations as a means for the expression of the international will and as an instrument for serving the cause of peace and co-operation among nations and peoples. In view of the pressing problems that face the world today, we cannot bury our heads in the sand and we cannot afford to be blind to the facts of the situation, for if we do, we shall be paralysed or able to do very little—and too late.

66. The test before us is clear and there is no ambiguity about it: either we side with the cause of peace, freedom and progress, or we waste this opportunity—which may be the last—for the fulfilment of human-

ity's hopes, thus ruining the dreams of coming generations.

67. I appeal to this august Assembly—and I am filled with hope—to rise to the level of its responsibility and to the level of the international events at this turning-point in history, and to fulfil the expectations of the peoples we have the honour to represent, so that their confidence in the United Nations and their respect for its principles and objectives may be restored.

68. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on behalf of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic upon your election to the high post of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In this connexion, I should like to point out that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria are linked by ties of friendship and struggle for progress and the freedom of peoples. We look upon the election of the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria as a further recognition of the important role played in the United Nations by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

69. We sincerely welcome to our midst the new Members of our Organization, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and Grenada. Their admission to the United Nations proves that the present international political transition from tension towards *détente* creates conditions for the successful advancement of the national liberation movement, for the realization of the aspirations of peoples to a free and independent life.

70. The twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly is meeting on the eve of the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over fascism in the Second World War which has brought, thanks to the victory of the Soviet Army, freedom to our people, too, following the period of six years of Nazi occupation. This year Czechoslovakia has recently celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Slovak national uprising, which represented not only a significant event of resistance against the Nazi occupants, but also one of the important popular military actions in Europe. Next year we shall celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of our State which, as one of the founding Members of the United Nations, has always endeavoured to prevent the repetition of the horrors of war.

71. Today we can already state with satisfaction that in the qualitatively new era of the 1970s the prospects for strengthening and maintaining peace are more promising than ever before. This is a remarkable positive phenomenon in a history filled with almost never-ending wars. It is therefore our duty to deepen the process of international *détente*, to make it spread to other areas of our planet—in short, to spare no effort in order to ensure that mankind may enhance its spiritual and material values in peace and in constructive international co-operation. This too should become a guiding principle in the activities of the United Nations and at the current session.

72. The axis of international development should not lie in tensions which threaten at every moment to grow into dangerous confrontations, in the feverish arms race accompanied by a senseless waste of material

values or in the exploitation of other peoples, but, on the contrary, in *détente*, disarmament and development.

73. Thanks to the efforts of peace-loving forces and thanks to their growing unity against the forces of aggression, there exist nowadays the necessary prerequisites for the implementation of the aims and objectives expressed in the three aforementioned concepts.

74. The changing balance of forces in the world, the growing might of the Soviet Union and of other countries of the socialist community, the strengthening of the political independence and economic self-reliance of the developing countries, the dynamism of progressive and democratic forces as well as the realistic approach on the part of a number of statesmen and political circles in the capitalist countries in their assessment of the international situation—all this has rendered the policy of the cold war absurd. The danger of an armed conflict between the States of the capitalist and socialist systems has been reduced. Conditions have been created for a further lessening of tensions, for a consistent implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with differing social systems.

75. The twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly is meeting precisely when *détente* is the predominant feature in the development of international relations. The settlement of conflicts is in principle moving to the political sphere. At the same time, however, certain recent events indicate that efforts are being made to obstruct this process.

76. The policy of *détente* is most in evidence in Europe, where substantial changes have made it possible for European countries to begin an era of constructive co-operation. A particular role has been played in this area by the normalization of relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany as embodied in the respective bilateral treaties. Relations between the countries of the socialist community and other Western European countries are also developing. In these circumstances, it seems only logical and completely realistic that the Governments of the European States be required to elaborate the principles which should guide their mutual relations.

77. This is the purport of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Conference has already achieved many positive results. Nevertheless, it is our belief that its course might have been easier had it not been for certain impediments, such as, for instance, attempts to delay the conclusion of the Conference and the casting of doubts as to the level at which its final act would be concluded. Every effort should now be made to promptly achieve the historic objectives of the Conference. It is our belief that the negotiations in Geneva will be concluded successfully in the near future through the joint efforts of all participants.

78. A system ensuring security and constructive co-operation among European nations will benefit not only the European continent but also other regions of the world. At the same time, it will set a good precedent which may indicate a suitable course in

other areas. I am referring, for instance, to the efforts to build a system of collective security in Asia.

79. Negotiations and decisions agreed on in the multilateral sphere are not the only path we are following towards international *détente*. The basis for a multilateral normalization of international relations lies in good bilateral relations among States. There is no doubt that this is particularly true of negotiations of such importance as those between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. It is our firm belief that the fruitful results these negotiations have yielded in the political, military, economic and other fields and their implementation will contribute substantially to making the process of *détente* the common denominator of foreign affairs throughout our planet.

80. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic unremittably supports peaceful developments in the world. This is in the very nature of its socialist ideology and of the programme of peace which it is trying to carry out, together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in international relations. Therefore we have striven and shall continue to strive to develop equal and mutually beneficial relations with every country interested in such relations. We have been trying and shall continue to try to overcome obstacles to the development of such relations.

81. In this context, note should be taken of the importance of the Treaty on mutual relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which came into force on 19 July 1974. We look upon it as a victory of reason and realism. The Treaty marks the end of a difficult past and paves the way towards the development of equal and mutually beneficial co-operation. In the effort to make our whole frontier a boundary between good neighbours we have also taken steps to remove obstacles to the development of normal relations with Austria.

82. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has recently conducted a series of useful talks with other Western countries as well. It has continued to develop its traditionally friendly relations with non-aligned and developing countries. It has established diplomatic relations with a number of States and has signed numerous bilateral agreements in economic, cultural, consular and other fields. We are also endeavouring to achieve such normalization of relations with the United States of America, which would be in accordance with the policy of international *détente* and would promote the development of mutually beneficial relations between the two countries. We hope that these efforts will meet with a positive response from our partners.

83. We are also aware, of course, of the fact that the encouraging international trend towards the strengthening of peace is not an automatic phenomenon. The surface of the international situation continues to be troubled by events that contrast with the policy of *détente* and are contrary to the requirement that disputes between States should be dealt with exclusively by negotiation. These events have a negative effect on the international political atmosphere.

84. Last year we welcomed with satisfaction the Paris agreements as fundamental prerequisites for ensuring peace in South-East Asia. Nevertheless, a normalization of the situation in Indo-China has not yet been fully achieved. We therefore support the position taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam requesting strict adherence to all the provisions of the Paris agreements and the consistent implementation of the decisions adopted by the International Conference on Viet Nam in March 1973. We condemn the activities of the Saigon administration, which erects obstacles to the creation of an atmosphere of national reconciliation in South Viet Nam. We consider that a realistic way out of the present situation is the plan of 22 March 1974 of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. Czechoslovakia, together with all other forces of peace and progress throughout the world, will continue in the future also to support not only the efforts of the Viet Nameese people but those of all other peoples of Indo-China aimed at satisfying their legitimate aspirations.

85. The attention of world public opinion has been focused for many years on the Middle East, where international security has been threatened by long-lasting tensions and war operations. The roots of the explosive situation have not yet been eradicated. The main cause of the grave situation persisting in the Middle East lies in the aggressive policy of Israel. Israel must withdraw its troops from the Arab territories it has occupied and must stop flouting the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

86. The Czechoslovak delegation supported the initiative taken by the Arab States, Members of the United Nations, in proposing the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the question of Palestine as a separate item. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic deems it necessary to put in motion all political means that might achieve a Middle Eastern settlement in the spirit of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council. It is particularly essential to resume as soon as possible the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all directly concerned parties, including the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] acting as participants with equal rights. The Conference must focus its attention on a concrete solution to the basic problems of the Middle East.

87. A new focal point of tension has recently appeared in the eastern Mediterranean. For certain circles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], which are attempting to liquidate the independent State of Cyprus, a sovereign Member of the United Nations, and turn the island into a NATO base, the policy of non-alignment was a real thorn in the flesh.

88. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always supported the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and has opposed attempts to divide and annex it. The Government of Czechoslovakia remains convinced that an end must be put to outside interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus and that it is essential to implement scrupulously the provisions of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, particularly

resolution 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974, to withdraw all foreign troops and military personnel from Cyprus, and to leave to the people of Cyprus and its legitimate Government the right to decide freely on the destiny of the country. Those are the aims pursued by the proposal of the Government of the Soviet Union, of 22 August 1974,¹ for the convening of an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations. The Government of Czechoslovakia fully supports the above proposal.

89. It is also necessary to strengthen peace and ensure healthy international development in a number of other regions of the world. One of them is the Korean peninsula. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, aware of the importance of the reunification of Korea for peace and security in Asia, strongly endorses the policy pursued by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the aim of which is the peaceful democratic unification of the country without outside interference. The decision taken at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly to dissolve the unlawful so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea² was welcomed in Czechoslovakia. The General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session, must take a further step toward the removal of this anomalous situation which has kept our Organization involved in a policy inherited from the cold war, and it must bring about the withdrawal from South Korea of all foreign troops still unjustifiably stationed there under the United Nations flag.

90. It is indeed outrageous that in today's world the peoples of certain territories should still have to suffer from colonial and racist oppression. The United Nations must press ever harder for a complete and uncompromising implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. The recent achievements of the national liberation movement have posed anew the question of further organized efforts by the United Nations towards a full elimination of the remnants of the system of colonialism in the world in the immediate future.

91. We welcomed the fact that the new provisional Government of Portugal, supported by the whole of Portuguese democratic public opinion, has dissociated itself from the reactionary position taken by the previous régime, and has decided to recognize the independence of Guinea-Bissau and concluded an agreement with the representatives of the national liberation movement of Mozambique on the granting of independence to that country. We should like to express our deep conviction that the people of Angola, as well as the peoples of other territories under Portuguese administration, will also attain complete independence in the near future.

92. Surely it is high time now to put an end to colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in the whole of southern Africa. The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia also must be able to live in freedom, independence and equality.

93. During the year that has passed since the Fascist *coup* in Chile, a world-wide campaign of solidarity with the Chilean people, and a campaign to release Luis Corvalán and other patriots, has been widely reflected in the organs of the United Nations. In the

future, too, the United Nations should take further steps against the mass violations of fundamental civil freedoms and human rights by the military junta in Chile.

94. At a time when the international political barometer raises hope for further *détente*, the need to stop the frenzied arms race, which is a threat to the whole of mankind, and the need to reach general and complete disarmament are becoming increasingly urgent. Political *détente* must be supplemented by *détente* in the military sphere, and the more than \$250,000 million spent annually by mankind on armaments must be used for economic progress in order to raise the living and social standards of the people, and in order to strengthen economic co-operation.

95. In order to attain positive results in the field of military *détente*, we feel that it is particularly important not to delay the negotiations on practical preparations for, and the convening of, a world disarmament conference, which would make it possible to move forward towards an over-all solution of the whole intricate complex of disarmament questions. It is our continued belief that more active use should be made of the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, particularly with regard to the question of a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, the limiting of underground testing of nuclear weapons, and the conclusion of an agreement on a comprehensive nuclear and thermonuclear test ban.

96. We have already welcomed the proposal made by the USSR to reduce by 10 per cent the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council and to use a part of the funds thus released for providing assistance to developing countries.³

97. At the current session, the Soviet Union has introduced a draft resolution [A/C.1/L.675] to which was annexed a draft convention on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health. This new peaceful initiative has come to occupy an important position in the whole matter of safeguarding mankind against the threat of a devastating war. I am convinced that this proposal will meet with the full support of this session.

98. We further trust that the results of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to be held in the spring of next year, will contribute decisively to the full implementation of the aforementioned Treaty and compliance with it.

99. We welcome the efforts made by the participants in the talks on the reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe and the constructive character of those deliberations. It is our firmly held belief that they will result in generally acceptable measures which would not put any of the parties at an advantage or at a disadvantage and would not threaten the security of any of the countries involved. Czechoslovakia, like other socialist countries, is prepared to provide maximum support for attempts to stop the frenzied arms race.

100. The present political atmosphere in the world and the further process of *détente* have created favourable conditions for the promotion of trade and

economic contacts among all countries, irrespective of their different social systems.

101. To bring about a complete normalization of international trade and economic relations, it is, however, necessary for the developed capitalist countries and certain economic groupings to abolish discriminatory practices and to liberalize their trade with all other countries. The agenda of this session of the General Assembly includes important economic and social questions as reflected in the decisions taken by the sixth special session of the General Assembly. These must be decided upon in the spirit of the Charter and in the interests of all countries.

102. The Czechoslovak delegation attaches particular importance to the consistent implementation of decolonization in international economic relations, for without it we cannot visualize true progress in the interests of the broad popular masses of the individual sovereign States of the so-called third world. In spite of the resistance of various exploitation-minded circles, the progressive principles are nevertheless gaining ground in all spheres of international economic life, just as the economic power of the countries of the socialist community is growing and the political and economic independence of the developing countries is becoming stronger.

103. We view the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] adopted at the recent sixth special session, as well as the future Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States—whose text should be speedily completed and adopted as a universal document—as an important basis for, and contribution to, the all-round development of international economic co-operation. The resolutions adopted at the twenty-ninth session pertaining to the items of the sixth special session must, we feel, reflect the fact that *détente* and peaceful co-operation are a prerequisite of progress and that disarmament is one of the possible sources of additional resources necessary for peaceful economic development.

104. We firmly believe that it is necessary to strengthen world peace and security as a basic prerequisite for a further systematic improvement in the world economic situation which would also be to the benefit of economic development and progress in the developing countries.

105. There is no doubt that the process of international *détente* and the degree to which the United Nations participates in strengthening it at the same time help to enhance this Organization. The role and significance of the United Nations in today's conditions, against the background of developed collective efforts of countries interested in the building of permanent and lasting peace, is undoubtedly increasing.

106. We regard the United Nations as an important international forum which is able to make a significant contribution to the strengthening of the present trend towards general *détente* in international relations so as to implement successfully in them the basic norms of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. The present trend towards international *détente* creates very suitable conditions which are highly propitious for the accomplishment

by the United Nations of the tasks assigned to it by the Charter and so that the United Nations can devote itself fully to carrying out the mission formulated in the Charter.

107. We are convinced that concerted action by all peaceful and progressive forces here also in the United Nations will stop all those who would attempt to reverse the course of history. The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is prepared to co-operate in this spirit at the present session, in a businesslike and constructive manner, with all delegations truly interested in peace, security and the further promotion of friendly co-operation among peoples.

108. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to address to you my most sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. Your election not only is a tribute to the militant sister-country of Algeria but also attests to the general appreciation of your personal talents and your constant efforts to support the movements of national liberation by backing them with effective means and by moving to a successful confrontation with imperialism and zionism. We are confident that under your presidency this session will be one of the most important and most effective. You have our most sincere wishes for success.

109. We also wish to extend our heartfelt thanks to Mr. Benites, President of the last session, for his efforts which yielded such good results. To him and his friendly country, our best wishes.

110. May we also congratulate the States of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada on their admission to our Organization. Their role in the bringing about of justice and peace will be, we are sure, a very prominent one.

111. We must ever bear in mind that the objectives for which the United Nations was created still fall short of complete realization. There is no doubt, however, that international relations have gone a long way towards international *détente*, thanks to the dialogue established in all fields between the two greatest Powers.

112. Moreover, a number of peoples have taken a great step forward in their continuing struggle to achieve liberation and independence, albeit at the cost of tremendous human and material sacrifices. In the vanguard stands Guinea-Bissau, which has gained its independence through its heroic struggle; and the people of Mozambique are about to attain independence, thanks to the blood shed by its sons. We salute the courageous policy of the Government of Portugal, which has come to understand the real interests of the Portuguese people and has abandoned its colonial policy, thus turning a new page in its co-operation with the international community after a long period of boycott by this community. We are confident that the peoples of Namibia, Angola, Zimbabwe and South Africa will obtain their independence and will do away with the remnants of racist and colonialist régimes which have been exploiting their homelands and their resources.

113. The dialogue which is taking place in Europe, the disappearance of the hotbed of the German con-

flict, and the process of peace in the Indian subcontinent are all positive signs of the evolution of international relations towards a better world.

114. Despite all these welcome trends, however, international peace is still threatened by many hotbeds of tension and danger, in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and the will of peoples for liberation, independence and unity. The critical situation in Viet Nam persists; the unpatriotic régime in South Viet Nam constantly violates the Paris agreements; and barriers are set in the path of the Korean people, preventing it from achieving its national unity. Moreover, one aggression after another is committed against the militant Cambodian people, which has mustered all its strength, under the leadership of the Royal Government of National Union, headed by Prince Sihanouk, to confront the agents of imperialism who are engaged in a desperate last-ditch fight.

115. Furthermore, it is impossible to speak of international *détente* and of respect for the Charter and for the right of peoples to self-determination in isolation from the events in the Middle East, a region which so many factors combine to make one of the most important in the world. The strategic position of the Middle East as a bridge between three continents, the Arab history with its civilization and culture that have been established in that area, its tremendous wealth in raw materials, its surplus of exports and the impact of all these factors on the international economic and monetary order are all realities which make it necessary to stop and reflect on the Middle East question and to approach it with the utmost care.

116. The October war of liberation demonstrated this, underscoring the sensitivity of the region in relation to international peace and security and the international economy. The danger of possible military confrontation between the two great Powers was then clear and present, and the crises to which the world economy was exposed as a result of the war that was imposed on the Arabs were acute. The Arabs, in order to defend their legitimate rights, were compelled to fight for their national existence and for the liberation of their own territories.

117. The tragedy that besets the region began after the First World War, when British colonialism undertook to facilitate Jewish emigration in accordance with a colonialist Zionist plan. The tragedy crystallized in the establishment of the racist entity of Israel, which has received backing and support from imperialist and colonialist States and from international zionism, with a view to consolidating a racist entity in the very heart of the Arab homeland, constituting a factor of continual blood-letting. This entity was created to prevent the Arabs from freeing themselves from economic and political colonialism and to obstruct their national unity. It is not difficult to grasp the nature of this entity, for it was founded on the basis of exploiting religion for racist and expansionist purposes in an era when peoples reject such reactionary forms of national structure.

118. This racist entity was admitted to the United Nations in 1949 by virtue of General Assembly resolution 273 (III) of 11 May 1949, which made the membership of Israel conditional on the implementation of the United Nations resolutions relative to territories and to the return of the refugees—especially General

Assembly resolution 194 (III), paragraph 11 in particular, a paragraph which provides for the return of the Arab refugees to their homes. The Foreign Minister of Israel undertook then, on behalf of the Zionist authorities, to respect the relevant United Nations resolutions and to abide by those conditions.

119. A simple comparison between the area under Israeli control in 1948 and the area under its control today and a quick review of the history of Israel, which shows that it has refused to adhere to any international resolution whatsoever, reveal the nature of Israel and the kind of "peace" it seeks.

120. The establishment of this entity was accompanied by the dispersion of the Palestinian people ever since 1948. The Arabs of Palestine have since been living under the worst of economic and social conditions. Israel has persistently rejected the United Nations resolutions requiring that the Palestinians be permitted to return to their homeland and to exercise their right of self-determination; Israel has intensified oppression and injustice and has repeatedly perpetrated raids on refugee camps. Israel, in its hostility to the Arabs, went so far as to wage war against Egypt in 1956; this was followed by continued territorial expansion up to the time of the June 1967 war, when Israel proceeded to occupy territories belonging to three Arab States Members of the United Nations, to disperse additional hundreds of thousands, to change the features of Arab towns, to set up scores of colonies, to incarcerate thousands of citizens, and to practise Nazi methods of tyranny and oppression. Despite all this, the Arabs have always adhered to the emblem of peace based upon justice. But a just peace is impossible to achieve unless it is based on the principles of the Charter, which require complete withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and full recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland, therein to exercise the right of self-determination.

121. The Arabs have spared no effort and have lost no opportunity to induce the members of the international Organization to take effective measures to bring pressure on Israel to honour the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations and to adhere strictly to their implementation. All such efforts have met with Israeli rejection on the ground that Israel needed "secure borders".

122. The Israelis mock people's intelligence when they use such childish pretexts. This comes from their superiority complex and the intense selfishness which mark all their thoughts and behaviour. They tell us that geographic borders are secure borders, in complete disregard of the fact that this is an age of scientific advancement, particularly in armaments, and that technology has eliminated the immunity of terrain. In any case, the international community is entitled to ask why secure borders are demanded for a few Israeli villages while they are denied to millions of the Arab indigenous population. Does not the idea of unilaterally secure borders carry with it implications of racial discrimination? The Israelis have occupied the Golan Heights, announcing that they will not withdraw, using the "secure border" pretext again in proclaiming their intentions with respect to the West Bank, Jerusalem, and Sharm El-Sheikh. Yet did this occupation prevent Syria and Egypt from defending

their rights in the October war? The Israelis well remember what the Arabs achieved during that war, and what they might have achieved but for the airlifts and shipments by sea which submerged Israel with armaments, equipment and personnel to an unprecedented extent.

123. On 22 October 1973 the Security Council adopted resolution 338 (1973) which my country accepted on 24 October 1973 by a telegram which I sent to the Secretary-General, declaring that we understood the decision to mean complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and full safeguard of the national rights of the Palestinian people. In the period which followed the cease-fire, however, we quickly came to realize that Israel was determined to persist in its aggression. Israel expressed this determination by provocative declarations that it would not withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, especially not from the Golan Heights. On the contrary, Israel considered the Golan Heights as part of Israel and by so doing tried to restore the situation to what it was before the October war, and to abort all the valuable political results which the Arabs had achieved in the *élan* with which they set themselves to defend their rights and to liberate their territories. Israel has resumed its delusion of invincibility; apparently the war held no lesson for it. The Arabs, who rejected the set-back of 1967, refuse to relinquish their achievements of the October war. They are more than ever determined to protect and defend and safeguard their national rights—not only because these are their rights, but because to safeguard and defend such rights is to defend the Charter and the freedom and dignity of man.

124. We deployed our utmost efforts following the cease-fire to secure implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). The Israeli response was more procrastination and more provocative statements. Our people is struggling for freedom. It has not tired of the struggle. It will not give way to despair. This was evident in our acceptance of the Golan war—as of any other war. That was brought to a halt by the agreement on separation of forces signed in Geneva on 31 May 1974. The text expressly stipulates that the agreement is but a step towards implementing resolution 338 (1973) and does not constitute the just and durable peace desired. Although four months have elapsed since the signing of this agreement, Israel still continues to manoeuvre, procrastinate and issue refusals.

125. Israel is escalating the tension with military preparations behind which lie new aggressive intentions, with no regard to the far-reaching harm this may do to international security and peace depending on the encouragement received from some Powers which continue to send economic aid and armaments to Israel. Israel fully disregards the harmful effects to international security and peace at a time when the situation in the Middle East has ceased to be one of mere regional dimensions and when its impact and dangers extend to all points of the globe.

126. We summon the attention of the international community once more to the fact that acquiescence in aggression and complacency in the face of its continuation in one part of the world encourage aggression in other parts. Therefore we appeal to you to

stand by our people, who are striving for peace, to support us so that we can continue towards this goal, and take measures which will impress upon Israel that it cannot with impunity persist in its hostile policy against peoples, that violation of its commitments on the basis of which it was admitted to the United Nations makes Israel unfit for membership in the international community.

127. Indeed, it has become a focal point of disturbance and terror in this sensitive region of the world. Visit yourselves, my friends, the town of Quneitra to see what Israeli hatred did just before the evacuation, following the separation agreement. See for yourselves the evidence that Israel could not contain its racism and instinct to destroy, but indulged them by razing the features of the town, demolishing every house, every shop, mosque, church, school, hospital, water reservoir and electric generator, every precious antiquity, even desecrating the sanctity of cemeteries with tractors and explosives. After such criminal operations the Israelis found the easiest course was to claim that the destruction of Quneitra occurred during the war, thus adding lies and hypocrisy to their war crimes.

128. The Government of the Syrian Arab Republic calls upon the international Organization not to neglect the situation in the Middle East, for it is explosive, and hopes that it will go to the root of the problem. The Syrian Government insists that restoration to the Palestinian people of their national rights and other rights recognized by the Charter and United Nations resolutions is indispensable for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East, that the exercise by this people of its right to self-determination requires the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) adopted on 11 December 1948, which the Assembly has yearly reaffirmed, requiring the return of the Palestinians to their homes, and that Israel be compelled to annul all the measures it has taken to deprive the Palestinian people of its national and human rights. It calls upon the Security Council to take the necessary steps to safeguard those rights.

129. Persistence in depriving the Palestinian people of its rights is contrary to the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; it is contrary to the policy of the United Nations, which is to liquidate colonialism and combat racism. The identity and individual character of the Palestinian people have been manifested through its struggle under the leadership of PLO, which most States have recognized, as they have recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people. Therefore we appeal to you to extend political, material and moral support to this struggling people, to achieve peace and justice in the Middle East.

130. Among the responsibilities of the United Nations, which inherited the question of Palestine from the League of Nations and has dealt with the Middle East crisis, is to declare without ambiguity that no just peace can be established save by the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab Territories occupied since June 1967 and by the revocation of all changes introduced by Israel in the demographic, economic and cultural structure of the occupied Territories. If Israel does not comply, the Organization should proceed forthwith to take all measures provided

for in the Charter to deprive it of its membership and force complete withdrawal from all the occupied Territories and the restoration to the Palestinian people of its national rights. Failure of the Organization to shoulder its responsibilities will jeopardize the progress achieved in international relations and allow them to revert to a state of explosive tension, for whatever occurs in the Middle East will have repercussions throughout the whole world.

131. On these premises, the Arab States and others have decided to request the inclusion of the question of Palestine as an item on the agenda of the present session [A/9742 and Add.1-4]. All States have supported this request and merit our sincerest thanks. The question of Palestine has been on the world's conscience for more than half a century. It behoves the Assembly now to examine all its aspects, so that Members can form a clear picture of what Israel is—an example of settler colonialism similar in its nature and in the way it has been achieved to that of South Africa and Rhodesia. When we insist on the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Territories, and associate with this the ensuring of the rights of the Arab Palestinian people, we base ourselves on a historical reality which neither the series of Israeli aggressions nor the policy of *fait accompli* can eliminate from existence. By refusing to comply with United Nations resolutions, by engaging in manoeuvres in order to evade the obligation of implementing Security Council resolution 338 (1973), Israel places the region in a condition hardly conducive to assuring international peace and security. Any co-operation with or assistance to Israel, militarily, economically or politically, will encourage it to persist in shunning its international obligations. All States, and particularly those which have been and are backing Israel, are called upon to fulfil their responsibility in the protection of the United Nations Charter and in the implementation of United Nations resolutions.

132. Any attempt to restore, in one form or another, the situation that prevailed prior to the October war will have a nefarious impact on peace. Hence the need for strong measures to be undertaken by the United Nations and by all peace-loving peoples, measures such as those urged in the resolutions adopted by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,⁴ convened in Algiers, calling for a political, military, economic and cultural boycott of Israel and for the discontinuance of all sea and air communications facilities extended to Israel by any country. We are entitled to expect—and the events of October have only served to emphasize this—such an international effort for the fulfilment of the Arab nation's legitimate demand of complete withdrawal and the demands for the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people. Unfortunately, we do not believe that hope will be fulfilled, unless we reach this result as soon as possible, particularly since Israel is resorting to all sorts of manoeuvres for the purpose of aborting all such efforts and evading its obligations under the United Nations resolutions and the Charter.

133. The policy of our country is that of a door open to the world in a spirit of friendship, positiveness and co-operation with all countries save those that base their philosophy and existence on racism. As a result

of that policy, our country, together with other Arab countries, is witnessing a great and fruitful evolution in political, economic and spiritual relations with most other countries of the world. Some illustrations of this can be found in the top-level meetings that have taken place and are taking place in our country and in other Arab countries; in our active participation in the most important international conferences; in the series of visits undertaken recently by President Hafez El-Assad to a number of friendly States. In all of these there is an impulse for greater international understanding and co-operation, and a strong reaffirmation of a common faith in the principles of the Charter and in the moral values and norms of justice of the international community. The results of the conferences of the non-aligned countries and of the Islamic countries in Lahore and the summit meeting of the Arab States demonstrate and confirm this fact. Thus the way is being prepared for attainment by the people of Palestine of their national rights, under the leadership of PLO.

134. Our people look forward to the day when the Mediterranean will be a lake over which peace reigns supreme, following on the disappearance of the hotbeds of tension in the Middle East resulting from the Zionist aggression against the Arab nation. We are saddened by the events in Cyprus, that island, so close to our shores, to which we are linked by cordial relations based on proximity, co-operation, the principles of the Charter and the policy of non-alignment. When we consider that those events are not isolated from the situation as a whole in the Middle East and Europe, we feel that we should do everything possible that can put an end to the ordeal of the Cypriot people and settle their problem on the basis of the territorial integrity and independence of their country, remove all causes of tension in the island, and ensure that Cyprus remains a member of the group of non-aligned countries. We appeal to all Member States to co-operate towards the realization of these goals.

135. Our Organization faces a new era. As was stated by the Secretary-General, it must respond to challenges and changes without sacrificing its principles. All peoples look to the Organization in the hope that it will be able to spare the world the horrors of war and to build an international community based on sound and proper political, economic and social foundations; that it may do so by eliminating injustice, upholding right, spreading international justice and securing to all peoples their full rights. It is imperative for this Organization to find solutions to the great problems facing the international economy, and it is mandatory that it work towards narrowing the gap between the developing and developed countries. The disparities resulting from that gap which made it necessary to hold the historic sixth special session of the General Assembly last spring require sincere, serious and prompt work on the part of the technologically advanced States on the basis of full and rapid implementation of General Assembly resolution 3202 (S-VI), with restoration to all States of full sovereignty over their natural resources, easier access for them to technology, and technical assistance in promoting the construction of their economies on a sure, strong and self-confident basis, and the liquida-

tion of aggression, foreign occupation and every form of foreign economic exploitation.

136. There is no doubt that indulgence in military aggression, the appropriation by great Powers of huge budgetary sums for military expenditures, the amounts of aid given or proffered to racist and expansionist régimes, and the control of third-world resources all figure prominently in the state of inflation that is overwhelming the world.

137. It is the right of the peoples of the third world that have suffered from colonialism and exploitation by imperialist companies to restore their full control over their natural resources and to utilize those resources for safeguarding their independence, sovereignty and national territory. If such utilization results in certain negative effects on other States, it is the duty of those States to cease giving their support to aggression, whether it be political, economic or military support, and to offer aid and assistance to the peoples suffering from aggression. The liquidation of aggression and its causes is one of the most important factors in eradicating the hotbeds of tension in the world, and it represents a process that will certainly have positive effects on the world economy and will serve the interests of different peoples.

138. Only by working tirelessly, with courage and profound faith in the principles of the Charter and their applicability, can we fulfil the hopes of humanity. We are optimistic, Mr. President, that this session over which you preside will be the starting-point for a new era, one highlighting the strength and efficiency of this Organization.

139. The Syrian Arab Republic, reasserting its belief in the Charter and in international law, feels strongly committed to the liberation of its occupied territories by every means available to it, and to securing the rights of the Palestinian people. In working towards these ends, we are giving expression to the aspirations and the interests of the international community in its longing for a just and lasting peace, and we are sincerely collaborating with all States and all forces working towards this. These are indeed the propitious conditions necessary for a climate of international relationships that can prosper under the auspices of the United Nations and become one of justice, love and equality in a world of peace, progress and prosperity.

140. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, your unanimous election to the office of President of the twenty-ninth session is a clear indication of the high esteem the international community has for your statesmanship and great qualities of leadership. Let me therefore join with other speakers before me in offering you my own sincere congratulations as well as the felicitations of the Tanzania delegation for the honour and confidence placed in you by the General Assembly. I should also wish to take this opportunity to extend to you and to the great people of Algeria fraternal greetings of good will and best wishes from the Government and people of Tanzania, not only because you come from Africa but also because your country's struggle for freedom has inspired many a gallant freedom fighter throughout the world.

141. It is also with great pleasure that I extend on behalf of the Tanzania delegation and myself my deep appreciation to Mr. Benites for the great services he rendered to the Organization in the exemplary manner he presided over the twenty-eighth and sixth special sessions of the General Assembly.

142. It is with a great sense of satisfaction that I join those who have preceded me in welcoming Guinea-Bissau, Grenada and Bangladesh as Members of the United Nations. To these new Members my delegation pledges its readiness to co-operate at all times in our common struggle to realize the noble objectives so eloquently enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations.

143. The independence of Guinea-Bissau came after many years of bitter fighting and among those who lost their lives is the great son of the revolution, brother Amílcar Cabral. It is terrible that he should have been assassinated on the eve of victory. But as his martyrdom propelled his people to greater victories, so will his memory for ever remain as a guiding torch in the reconstruction of Guinea-Bissau and the consolidation and protection of its hard-won independence, for which he dedicated his entire life. We equally pay homage to the memory of that great Mozambican, Mr. Eduardo Mondlane, who lost his life in similar circumstances and for a similar noble cause.

144. In welcoming the new State of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations, Tanzania, and indeed the entire international community, cannot but express its profound sense of relief that at long last the Portuguese colonial system that brought so much terror and suffering to the people in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola and other colonies under Portuguese rule on the African continent is coming to an end.

145. It is naturally gratifying that the new leadership in Portugal has accepted the right to independence of the former Portuguese colonies. In this connexion the Tanzania Government is highly encouraged by the agreement between Portugal and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [*FRELIMO*] which will provide for the establishment of a transitional Government in Mozambique leading to the independence of that country on 25 June 1975. It is the fervent hope of the Government of Tanzania that an agreement will soon be reached for the total decolonization of Angola, enabling the people of that country to realize their long-cherished and legitimate aspirations.

146. Judging from the uncertainties that followed the change of government in Portugal on 25 April this year, it can be admitted that it was not an easy decision for the new Portuguese leadership to accept the principle of decolonization. But there could be no other alternative. For the inevitable collapse of the Caetano colonial tyranny was irreversibly guaranteed by the unflinching commitment of the gallant struggle of the oppressed masses in the colonial territories.

147. Tanzania takes particular note of the declaration by Portugal that there will be no room for neo-colonialist relationships with the new emerging States. This is as it should be. There is no reason why the people of Portugal should feel any sense of loss or humiliation. On the contrary, there is every reason

to be satisfied. For the new relationship now emerging between Portugal and its former colonial territories will certainly contribute to a climate of mutual trust and better co-operation not only between Portugal and the new States, but also between Portugal and the rest of the world. At any rate, we in Africa have always stated that the struggle for freedom and human dignity on the continent has never been based on racist concepts; rather it has been a struggle against oppressive political systems, a struggle which draws its inspiration from an uncompromising commitment to the defence of the sacred dignity and worth of the human person.

148. I wish to note with particular appreciation the important statement made by the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Mr. Mario Soares, in this Assembly at this session [2239th meeting]. That statement was a clear reaffirmation of the policies of the new Portugal in favour of decolonization. It is important that nothing be done to frustrate this commitment. For any nation or group of nations which endeavours in any manner to reverse the present trends in the colonies will stand for ever condemned in the eyes of the African peoples, and indeed of the entire world community, as a betrayer of the cause of freedom in Africa. I take this opportunity to wish the present Government of Portugal most sincerely every success in its efforts to eradicate the smouldering remnant forces of fascism, which have for over half a century oppressed the people of Portugal and for over 500 years caused untold human suffering on the African continent.

149. The progress towards freedom achieved in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau stands in sharp contrast to the tragedy of Namibia, Rhodesia and the non-white population in South Africa. In recent months developments in Namibia have burst upon the outside world as a harsh reminder of the nature of South African colonial rule. For in Namibia the African people have resolutely rejected continuing to live under terror and have taken up arms under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] to defend their dignity. Neither South Africa nor the apologists of *apartheid* can deny that, in spite of the overwhelming might of the South African armed police State, bitter fighting has been going on in Namibia against South African colonialism. Because of this struggle and its successes, the colonial authorities in Namibia have embarked on savage and brutal torture. Hundreds of thousands of people are being arrested, imprisoned, and sometimes shot on the spot. The brutal floggings of women, children and men in Namibia must shock every man and woman of conscience. The unfortunate faithful allies of South Africa—and we saw some of them yesterday—ought to hang their heads in shame, or else they must be completely devoid of compassion and human feelings.

150. The situation in the British colony of Rhodesia is no less tragic than that obtaining in Namibia and South Africa. Nearly 10 years after the racist minority settlers rebelled against the United Kingdom there seems to be no hope of an end to this problem. And as the years go by the settlers in Rhodesia, actively assisted in all fields by the South African racist régime, intensify their oppression of the black majority in that colony. The people of Zimbabwe, however, have taken up arms to fight to regain their freedom

and human dignity. And they are doing so in spite of the great odds against them. That they have scored great victories is no longer a matter of doubt, for the panic and the fear now haunting the settlers in Rhodesia are a clear indication of the great victories of the freedom struggle. It is incumbent upon every Member of the United Nations to ensure that no action is taken by its nationals or its institutions to frustrate the struggle for freedom in Rhodesia. It is in this respect that my Government, and indeed the entire African continent, have become distressed and angered by the behaviour of many countries, and the companies operating under their jurisdiction, in breaking the economic sanctions against Rhodesia. These violations by companies and certain States Members of the United Nations, in particular the United States, constitute open support of the evil oppressors of the people of Zimbabwe.

151. It must be pointed out again that the problem of Rhodesia is legally a matter within the competence of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Since the rebellion in 1965 the United Kingdom has conducted numerous negotiations with the rebels to try to end the rebellion. The African majority have always regarded these negotiations with deep suspicion because for the most part they have been based on the assumption that the rebellion can be legalized by giving independence to the colony on the basis of a constitution which will leave the African majority at the mercy of the settlers. That is why the United Nations has insisted and must continue to insist that there should be no independence until majority rule has been achieved. The African people have rejected all other alternatives, as has been evident since the fate of the 1971 proposals for a settlement⁵ and the Pearce Commission. The African people in Zimbabwe will never participate in attempts to find solutions which in essence amount to asking them to legalize their state of subjugation. Therefore, any agreement that is not based on majority rule can only be regarded by the African people as a criminal betrayal. The responsibility of the United Kingdom in this matter is therefore heavy. The United Kingdom must not commit a double betrayal. More specifically, there can be no meaningful negotiations without the full participation of the legitimate leaders of the African people in Zimbabwe, and in particular Joshua Nkomo and the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole. It should be pointed out that, in a joint communiqué issued in 1973 in Ottawa at the last meeting of Commonwealth Heads of State and Government, the Government of the United Kingdom gave an undertaking to work to secure the release of those two leaders. The Government of Tanzania is anxiously waiting for Her Majesty's Government to fulfil that undertaking.

152. In South Africa, the oppression and humiliation to which the African people have been subjected for decades become more intense. The millions of the non-white population in that country have suffered too long, and their agony must constitute an acute moral challenge of immense proportion to every member of this international community. For here is a situation in which millions of innocent victims remain perpetually condemned to a state of abject misery. They cry and weep, and their bitter tears are an indictment of the conspiracy of silence and neglect by those who have been largely responsible

for encouraging South Africa in its unrelenting rule of terror. We in Tanzania have protested and will continue to protest against this criminal conspiracy.

153. My Government has viewed with distress, and has unequivocally condemned, all attempts to have any relations with South Africa. We have, for example, called for the total isolation of South Africa from all sporting events. That is why Tanzania condemned the recent tour of South Africa and Rhodesia by the rugby team from the United Kingdom. My Government has equally vehemently condemned the military collaboration that exists between some Western countries, especially France, and South Africa. The recent joint naval manoeuvres by the United Kingdom and South Africa are also a case in point.

154. We call on the Security Council to examine, as a matter of urgency, the question of imposing economic sanctions against South Africa and of reinforcing the arms embargo against that country. At the same time, a vigorous and more co-ordinated campaign should now be mounted by the United Nations and its specialized agencies to dissuade foreign companies from investing in the South African economy. Arguments that economic investments in South Africa by foreign companies bring anything other than increased misery to the majority of the African people are wholly fallacious. Such argumentation is definitely meant as a campaign to mislead the world. The fact is that, as the economy of South Africa has expanded, so has the misery of the non-white population in that country.

155. To make matters worse, the development of South Africa by foreign companies has enabled that country to embark on the manufacture of deadly weapons to be used not only for internal repression but also for external aggression. My Government has been seriously concerned at persistent reports that certain Western countries have now started to purchase South African arms. An example of this type of armament is the Crotale or Cactus air defence missile system made in South Africa with the help of a French electronics firm. It is the earnest hope of the people and Government of Tanzania that those countries will find it possible to desist from such purchases, for to do so simply amounts to a criminal collaboration with South Africa in its efforts to increase and refine its oppressive armaments industry.

156. The Government of Tanzania is now convinced that the time has come for the United Nations to reconsider seriously its relationship with South Africa because of the racist policies of that country. South Africa and its supporters have often claimed that the outside world has been unfair in its condemnation of the *apartheid* régime. But what is the truth? There is no place in the world, except in South Africa, where racism forms the basis of the philosophy of the State and is entrenched in the constitution of the country. Secondly, in South Africa we have the equivalent of a State church, the Dutch Reformed Church, whose faith includes as one of its fundamental doctrines the teaching of racial hatred. Because of this situation, the African people in South Africa cannot go to the State for redress as they could do if racial discrimination did not form part of the constitution of that country. South Africa has deliberately refused

to heed the call by the international community to change its racist policies.

157. Those reasons alone sufficiently disqualify *apartheid* South Africa from being a Member of our Organization. For the principles of freedom, racial equality and human dignity enshrined in our Charter cannot and should not be allowed to coexist with the obnoxious policies of the perpetual humiliation and degradation of humanity so notoriously embodied in the doctrine of *apartheid*. But there are other factors equally powerful which make the continued presence of the *apartheid* delegation in our Organization both an anachronism and a serious liability to the United Nations. South Africa has chosen the path of consistent violation of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. It has shown nothing but utter and absolute contempt and disregard of this Organization.

158. The record of such violations is well known to all and needs no further elaboration. What, then, is the basis of *apartheid* South Africa's continued presence in our Organization? What sort of values are the racist authorities attaching to the principles of the Organization? Is it not obvious that, by allowing the Vorster representatives to continue ridiculing our Organization, we are only strengthening those forces wishing to erode the credibility, effectiveness and the prestige of the Organization? We submit that every single day that *apartheid* South Africa continues to enjoy the rights and privileges of a Member of this Organization, while completely ignoring and violating the corresponding obligations of membership, makes a mockery of the United Nations.

159. For those obvious reasons, Tanzania considers the continued participation in our Organization of the racists from Pretoria as a serious anomaly needing immediate rectification by the expulsion of *apartheid* South Africa from this Organization. We strongly believe that by such action the United Nations will be reaffirming the noble objectives and ideals of the Charter. There will be those who will ask us what cause will be served by that act. To them we say, What cause has been served, since the United Nations started, by South Africa's being a Member of this Organization for all those years?

160. There is no doubt that the developments in the Portuguese colonies have ushered in a new era of hope in southern Africa. The struggle for freedom and human dignity in that area has acquired new momentum. Is it not time for the racist régime in Zimbabwe to see the writing on the wall? Is it not time for the South African colonialists to pay heed to the demands of the international community and immediately to end their illegal occupation of Namibia? Those are not idle questions. Either the South African racist and the Smith régimes draw the necessary conclusions and thus avoid further bloodshed or they continue to behave like ostriches and in the process prolong a confrontation in which they will inevitably be the losers.

161. The economic and social conditions of the majority of the world's population have never been as grim and desperate as they are at the present moment. While a minority of the world's population seems to be faring better in material welfare and continues to enjoy incredible wealth furnished by

unprecedented industrial development, the rest of mankind remains without the basic needs for survival. Admittedly, there are economic and social problems in those countries commonly referred to as the developed countries. But there is absolutely nothing comparable in the developed countries to the mass poverty and the utter destitution in the rest of the world.

162. For decades, many developing countries have tried hard—I repeat, have tried hard—to escape from their appalling economic and social condition. There can be no question that they have tried very hard. They are still trying and they will continue to do so as long as it is humanly possible. The records of their efforts, whether at the international or the national level, speak for themselves.

163. The international institutions, especially those working under the auspices of the United Nations, which have sprung up during the last decade or so bear testimony to the efforts by developing countries to try to obtain solutions to their economic ills. The setting up of UNDP, UNIDO and UNCTAD and the creation of development funds such as the United Nations Capital Development Fund are good cases in point. At the national level, our Governments and peoples have been trying desperately by various ways and means to break the chains of backwardness afflicting our nations; but, in spite of all these efforts, the economic and social conditions of developing countries have worsened.

164. The fundamental cause of the present lack of development on the part of the developing countries can be found in the unjust relationship that governs the economic and technical co-operation between the minority rich and the majority poor of the world. The developing countries have been toiling to produce more but they have been deprived of the full worth of their products. With few exceptions, the sweat and labour of our people are utterly disproportionate to the price imposed on what they produce. Compounding this problem is the problem of currency instability and galloping inflation which are causing great havoc and extreme hardship, especially to many small developing countries. Tanzania believes that the time has come to reject the assumption that all some countries have to do is to act as pawns in the intricate game of international monetary and fiscal policies which are determined by a select group of countries. We completely reject as unacceptable to our people that they should endure misery and deprivation on account of currency upheavals, which in some cases are deliberately set in motion by greedy speculators, ruthless tycoons and capitalists whose major concern is simply to amass a fortune for the sake of a fortune.

165. This brings me to the problem which is one of the central issues in the present discussion of the current world economic situation. I refer to the question of oil. There can be no doubt that the power to set fair prices of raw materials produced in a country is part of the logical consequence of the acceptance of the principle of sovereignty of the producing country over the raw material in question. But, I repeat, for a developing country like Tanzania to recognize and accept this principle and to express concern at the soaring prices of oil are not incompatible. To

many of the developing countries the current high oil prices amount to near economic strangulation.

166. Tanzania appreciates some of the limited steps taken to try to alleviate this problem. We feel, however, that oil-producing countries have to consider very seriously how to co-operate much more effectively with many of the non-oil-producing countries to avoid grave economic instability and unnecessary hardship to millions of people throughout the third world. I may add that we hope the oil-producing countries will realize this as an item that could very well spell division in the third world.

167. Having said that, we in Tanzania must emphatically reject any tendency to distort the real economic issues facing the world by resorting to implicit threats or covert blackmail. Any solution to the present world economic crisis in which many developing countries are the greatest victims must be predicated on a system based on just, fair and equitable arrangements that should guarantee to all nations a fair return for the labour and the product of their people. A pre-condition to the achievement of this objective is the necessity on the part of all countries to stand ready and to be willing to adopt measures which will bring justice and equity to all international economic relations. But first there must be the political desire to be fair. Without this, our hope for a new international economic order will be a hopeless illusion.

168. The cease-fire in the Middle East of last October brought a sense of temporary relief and a hopeful expectation that at long last a way could be found to end years of bloodshed and confrontation which have inflicted untold sufferings on millions of inhabitants in that troubled area. The uneasy peace that now exists in the Middle East and the deceptive air of tranquillity along the Suez Canal must not, however, lull all parties to the dispute and the entire international community into relaxing their efforts to find a just, durable and permanent peace in the Middle East. Indeed, the reports about war manoeuvres and military preparedness now regularly coming from the area clearly demonstrate the urgent need to find a quick solution to this problem.

169. But my Government believes and is convinced that no peace can come to the area unless it is based on certain fundamental principles. These include acceptance by Israel of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of Arab lands by force and the need to find a just, fair and lasting solution to the Palestinian problem. To ignore these two elements will be to run away from reality, and any arrangements made without proper cognizance of these principles will produce just another shaky peace. In this connexion, a number of countries, including my own, Tanzania, have requested the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of an item entitled the "Question of Palestine".

170. The gravest error that this Organization has made is to ignore the Palestinian people, as if they did not exist. Since 1948 we have discussed the question of the Middle East in a manner which ignored the original cause. It is our belief that it will be almost impossible, if not futile, to solve the Middle East problem without first settling the Palestinian problem. Unless the existence of the Palestinian people

is recognized and their fundamental rights assured by this Organization, all the debates in the halls of the United Nations will be an exercise in futility. It is the hope of the Tanzanian delegation that the inclusion of this item will afford the General Assembly a greater opportunity to address itself to this question with a view to redressing the injustice done to the Palestinian people and, indeed, with a view to ending the Middle East crisis.

171. It is a matter of deep concern to my delegation that, while the great Powers issue declarations about *détente*, fierce rivalry in various forms continues for hegemony in many areas of the world. Thus in areas such as the Indian Ocean, which has been solemnly declared by the General Assembly as a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], steps continue to be taken for the establishment of military bases with weapons of mass destruction.

172. Furthermore, the much publicized spirit of *détente* has meant very little to millions who have to endure the consequences of wars of aggression and are perpetually subjected to imperialist intervention. In Viet Nam, even though a peace agreement was signed two years ago, the United States and the puppet Thieu régime continue to frustrate effective progress towards an end of the fighting which has brought so much suffering to the people of Viet Nam. In Cambodia, where the people have rejected the corrupt Lon Nol clique, the United States has committed itself to ensuring the permanent survival of that decadent régime. In Korea the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the total reunification of that country have been frustrated by the Park régime and foreign intervention.

173. All this confirms our fears that *détente* may after all be used as a camouflage for continuing aggression, intimidation, sabotage, the subversion of foreign Governments and even the callous assassination of leaders whose only crime is their desire to defend the freedom and independence of their countries.

174. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, preparations for which have taken a number of years, is in itself a recognition of the necessity of changing the existing international maritime law in order to avoid the chaos which that law admittedly tends to promote. But change of law alone cannot guarantee peace, let alone justice. The emerging law must be equitable as well as precise. The so-called freedom of the sea must give way to precise rules of law which are designed to protect the interests of all nations, developed and developing, and to promote international co-operation for the benefit of all mankind in the exploitation and utilization of the resources and other benefits of ocean space.

175. Although we have noted the seriousness with which all States are approaching the matter, we wish to express our regret that antiquated attitudes favouring the chaos-oriented traditional maritime law continue to guide the policies of some States, in total disregard of the interests of the vast majority of States and peoples, and in spite of the dangers to international peace which those attitudes are promoting.

176. In this connexion, it is not enough to make repeated statements, in the name of negotiations, about a give-and-take spirit, as if all sides had some-

thing to give, when in fact it is only the few privileged nations that must pay a great debt to the rest of the world; for the transaction of the law of the sea is not between equally privileged States: it is largely a transaction between the "haves" and the "ambitious-to-continue-to-have", on one side, and the "have-nots", on the other. If peace rests on justice, as it should, and if all the parties share the goal of justice in their work, it cannot but be accepted that the bulk of responsibility for the success of the Conference lies with those who are enjoying privileged positions at the present moment. It is on them, rather than on the others, that the success of the Conference depends. It is they who have the choice between justice and injustice concerning the sea, and between peace and international conflicts. It is a question of good faith and political courage. The absence of these factors will inevitably spell a failure to achieve a meaningful convention. Their acceptance is therefore a prerequisite for the success of the Conference and of a convention that will do justice to all mankind.

177. I cannot conclude my statement without referring to the recent tragic events in Cyprus. We do not see the need at this stage for apportioning blame. My delegation certainly joins those who have earnestly called for an end to the present sad and intolerable situation in Cyprus. Common sense demands that humanity and compassion prevail, and that the parties responsible for the suffering of the Cypriot people should immediately address themselves not only to the burning refugee question but to the more intractable problem of finding a permanent solution to the Cyprus issue. It is the view of the Tanzania delegation that any solution to this problem must entail the withdrawal, as a matter of urgency, of all foreign troops and the restoration of the full independence of that country. We believe that as an independent and sovereign nation the people of Cyprus will be able to find the way to solve their own problems in complete freedom.

178. The problems of colonialism and racism in southern Africa, the problems of the dispossessed people of Palestine, and the divided peoples of Korea and Viet Nam are all challenges that can easily break their geographic confines and engulf humanity in a hatred of unimaginable proportions. Thus if we are deaf to, or we evade, redressing the injustices visited upon the millions of people of those areas, the inevitable bloodshed and suffering will erode the very fabric of our civilization. If we fail to evolve just and equitable solutions to the grave economic situation facing the world, we shall be responsible for an economic disorder that will undoubtedly doom not only our present generation, but future generations as well. Our great and grave responsibility is firmly to ensure that human progress based on justice is achieved.

179. Mr. LUKE (Sierra Leone): My first very pleasant duty is to convey to you all the personal greetings and salutations of Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone. To see you, Mr. President, a dear and distinguished colleague and friend, seated as you are, guiding our deliberations, leaves me completely reassured that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will conclude its work with speed and satisfaction. Your unanimous election is not only adequate testimony to your capabilities

but also an acknowledgement of the role Algeria is playing in world affairs today.

180. We also wish to thank most sincerely your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Benites of Ecuador, for the manner in which he presided over the twenty-eighth regular and the sixth special sessions of our Assembly.

181. Congratulations must also go to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. In the past year, as indeed in previous years, he has been indefatigable in his quest for peace notably in the Middle East, Cyprus and Indo-China. He has travelled far and wide in the due execution of his multitudinous duties—journeys which have taken him to drought-stricken areas, and to many countries throughout the world. We in Sierra Leone will long remember his very successful visit to our country earlier this year. Sierra Leone wishes Mr. Waldheim and his colleagues ever-increasing success.

182. Today sees three new Members of this world body: the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The history of the struggles, sufferings and tribulations which preceded the emergence into nationhood of these nations is sufficient indication that they will contribute in a positive way towards achieving the great ideals of the United Nations. Sierra Leone is proud to have contributed in its own modest way towards Guinea-Bissau's assumption of its rightful place among the community of nations. To all the new Members we extend our warm welcome. We also look forward to greeting Mozambique as a Member State next year.

183. Victory has crowned the dynamic struggles of the freedom fighters of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola and the Cape Verde Islands. Guinea-Bissau is now an independent State recognized by the entire international community as a full Member of the United Nations. Agreement for the granting of independence to Mozambique has been reached. We can look forward to the prospect of independence talks on Angola. Portugal itself has been liberated from 50 years of Fascist dictatorship, thus making the total liberation of all former Portuguese colonial Territories a possibility.

184. Whilst we welcome all these positive trends and support the progressive elements in Portugal, which alone are responsible for the warm welcome accorded Portugal in this Assembly this year, and rejoice at the prospect of genuine co-operation between former antagonists, we cannot but note that there are substantial racist elements in that country, still bent on pursuing outdated reactionary colonialist policies of plunder and exploitation for as long as possible—especially in Angola. We appeal to them to see that by such contumacy they are bequeathing to their children nothing but suffering, bitterness, hatred, even loss of life, which are all entirely avoidable today.

185. The events in Portugal, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola clearly indicate that South Africa's policy of *apartheid* and minority oppression is doomed to failure. Yet that Fascist racist minority régime continues its odious policy. And for the first time, in a gesture insulting to the integrity of this august body and to the intelligence of representatives, it has

included non-whites in its delegation. None but Mr. Vorster and his merry men are deluded by such subterfuge. In former years when Portuguese delegations employed the same trick, did this hide from this Assembly the nature of similar noxious policies then being pursued by that country? It is significant that it is on the occasion that the South African delegation is for the first time so composed that the United Nations has at long last reached the right decision and rejected the credentials of the alleged representatives of South Africa, representatives who with unrestrained ferocity continue the systematic eradication of all enlightened opposition to their heinous policy.

186. Given the history of the situation, it is obvious that no positive voluntary response from the South Africans is forthcoming. Our only hope therefore is to repeat our appeal to the rest of humanity to redouble its efforts to eradicate this stain of *apartheid* and racial discrimination from the face of the African continent.

187. Those States enjoying special economic and cultural relations with the South African régime have thereby a responsibility they have clearly not yet shouldered. We appeal for a total boycott of South Africa, because we are convinced that, in a world in which nations have become so increasingly interdependent, political, economic and cultural isolation is bound to make a corrective impression on even the most intransigent régimes.

188. The Government of Sierra Leone on its part pledges unfailing support for action by the Organization of African Unity, by the liberation movements in South Africa and by governmental and non-governmental organizations, and for the entire programme of work of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, particularly the programme for intensification and co-ordination of United Nations action against *apartheid* established by resolution 3151 D (XXVIII), which my Government sponsored at the twenty-eighth session together with 42 other Governments.

189. It is unfortunate that Ian Smith and his illegal racist régime seem impervious to reason. We appeal to them to follow Portugal's example and alter their collision course before it is too late. It is no disgrace to discard outmoded policies. "Only God and fools don't change." The peoples of Zimbabwe will unquestionably be freed—but at what cost and with what legacy?

190. We urge Ian Smith and his racist oligarchy to release and hold immediate discussions with the real African leaders such as Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole with a view to arriving at an acceptable independence agreement with the British Government.

191. Increased racist legislation and practices will not help. Nor will the widespread detentions, the creation of "protected areas", the shutting down of schools or the introduction of a system of passes. These in fact will exacerbate the situation further, making it even more unlikely that a peaceful solution of this problem can be arrived at.

192. The failure of the United Kingdom Government to shoulder its responsibilities in Southern Rhodesia—one of the least creditable chapters in British history—deeply saddens and embarrasses Britain's many African friends. Given this shirking of its re-

sponsibility by the British Government, it is thus only by the determined action of all members of this community, both individually and collectively, that we can hope to achieve any meaningful results by means other than conflict and bloodshed. Unhappily, the sanctions on which this Organization has decided are being imposed either partially, half-heartedly or not at all by those whose compliance is likely to make the greatest impact on the Rhodesian economy.

193. Our viewpoint is that unless there is a change of heart in this direction the only other possibility—a solution by force of arms—with all its attendant horrors and inevitable high cost in terms of human life, will be the personal responsibility of each and every one of us who failed to support faithfully this Organization's call for sanctions.

194. Not only do we recommend and continue to urge a strict adherence to the sanctions on which this Organization has decided but we will work for a widening of sanctions in both scope and intensity to include, in particular, travel, communications, sports and all other economic, political, social and cultural activities, because again, as with South Africa, we feel that the effects of isolation—military, economic, diplomatic and cultural—can only be salutary.

195. The situation in Namibia gives as much if not more cause for concern. Here we have an unrepresentative gang of desperadoes from a neighbouring territory, having no right to govern even their own territory, illegally occupying and terrorizing this neighbouring land for whose administration the United Nations itself is responsible. Our view is that the Namibian issue is a direct test of the efficacy of the United Nations. No Member State therefore can treat it with indifference without betraying the principles that give this Organization its meaning. It is the sacred obligation of every Member of this Organization to co-operate fully in the search for a just solution of this problem.

196. Sierra Leone believes in non-interference in the internal affairs of others because it is perfectly conscious of the dangerous consequences of any contrary policy. The tragic events in Cyprus which caused untold suffering, loss of human life and property were precipitated by just such interference. We therefore not only condemned the coup which purported to oust the elected Government of Cyprus but continue to recognize the legitimate Government of that island headed by Archbishop Makarios—that distinguished head of State whose address this afternoon we eagerly await. It is our hope that the further talks between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus will solve the many problems complicated by recent actions and lay the foundations for a lasting peace on the island.

197. The Middle East continues to be a sensitive region. The recent peace momentum appears to have decelerated. The principle that Sierra Leone cannot support the acquisition of any territory by any country through force remains our guide-line here. We further believe that lasting peace will return only by compliance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), by the removal of legitimate Palestinian grievances, and by the recognition of the right of the State of Israel to exist.

198. In our view the tenuous semi-peace in Viet Nam will within the next 12 months be crucially tested and it is still our view that the Korean people themselves should be allowed to work together for the reunification of their homeland.

199. With regard to Cambodia, Sierra Leone supports the Government of Prince Sihanouk and recognizes his Government in exile as the legitimate Government of Cambodia, and we look forward to an early restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations, rights that were usurped after the *coup d'état* by foreign troops in March 1970.

200. Last year from this rostrum [2133rd meeting] it fell to me to enunciate our concept of one of the duties incumbent on each and every Member State, namely, to work towards a truly harmonized community of nations. It was suggested that it is high time we stopped talking interminably about the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" and did something about it. The reduction of this gap, it was suggested, not only is worthy of the attention of the galaxy of talent available to this Organization but should be one of our association's priority action programmes. We therefore proposed, as important and urgent, item 47 entitled "Reduction of the increasing gap between the developed and the developing countries" and had that item included in the agenda of the present session.

201. Since then the oil-producing countries took certain practical steps within this context. And if the phraseology—economic co-operation and not confrontation—was not born then, it was at least revitalized. Since then President Boumediène's initiative, culminating in the sixth special session, enabled all of us to agree that the establishment of a new international economic order was necessary.

202. The need to eradicate these disparities and establish this new economic order is not rooted in charity or philanthropy, otherwise throwing a few provisions into the abyss of hunger would suffice. There can be no peace where the few, by the exploitation of the many, utilize and waste the resources which the many need barely to survive, let alone have a decent standard of living. Fully to appreciate that this need is firmly rooted in respect for human dignity and welfare is indispensable to the safety of each and every one of us. Yet we are not all doing however much or however little we can to eradicate these disparities. To fail to do this, to miss establishing this new economic order as a matter of the utmost priority, is to jeopardize the future of mankind.

203. We must never forget that today wars, however local, have a global significance, and economic confrontation has profound international repercussions. We live in a tiny, ever-shrinking and organically cohesive world, wherein no-one's destiny is isolated. A world where starvation is only avoided by economic confrontation is not a healthy one; when desperation generates terrorism, who is safe?

204. And still we fail to appreciate the urgency. We really ought not to be surprised to find in President Ford's words that: "Today, the economy of the world is under unprecedented stress." [2234th meeting,

para. 22.] It will remain so unless and until we tackle these problems resolutely.

205. It is for these reasons that Sierra Leone supports the Programme of Action decided upon at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, subscribes to the principles of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, joins in any world-wide effort to increase food production, negotiate, establish and maintain an international system of food reserves, and looks forward to the forthcoming World Food Conference in Rome, an important initiative in the right direction.

206. We advocate and support regional, continental and other international groupings calculated to improve the socio-economic conditions of the developing countries, and join in any serious effort to support the economic self-reliance of these countries.

207. We are deeply concerned to avoid the path whereby no significant development of the third world is likely without confrontation. This is why at the outset of an era when the resources of the sea will play an ever-increasing part in feeding the world's population and in providing the necessary mineral and geological wealth, we are watching with the keenest of interest the developments at the Conferences on the Law of the Sea, the last of which was held in Caracas. We look forward to the emergence of an agreement encompassing a global strategy preserving the vast resources of the seas for the equitable use of all mankind.

208. If I have dwelt at some length on the economic aspects of the problems facing the international community as a whole, but more particularly the developing countries, it is because I am of the opinion that it would be one of the major tragedies of the world if we did not, on the economic stage, avoid the fatal and costly mistakes our forebears—and we ourselves—made in the political arena. We can proceed to making the world's resources available to all mankind by the road of co-operation, if we are seriously prepared to take that path today; if not, we shall proceed tomorrow—not even the day after—to the same goal by the much thornier and more wasteful road of confrontation, terrorism and chaos.

209. Of direct relevance to the social and economic well-being of each individual is the question of disarmament. While we welcome the process of *détente* and acknowledge that there are signs of continuing mutual accommodation, not only between the super-Powers but in the international community generally, it is still totally intolerable that the world spends hundreds of billions of dollars every year in the arms race. Stockpiles that could destroy humanity are being amassed by an ever-increasing number of nations, but particularly by the two super-Powers. Imagine what transformation could be wrought by the application of even a fraction of those sums to the development of agriculture, the improvement of the environment, the growth of food and the fight against disease.

210. The vision of our destiny we must conjure up is that of a world geared to the availability of the fruits of the earth, to each and every individual. And the instrument for translating this vision into reality as speedily as possible is a reformed United Nations Organization.

211. I reaffirm Sierra Leone's faith in the United Nations. Its past contribution to the peace and security of the world has been inestimable. Its future role in evolving a true community of nations, in harmonizing the interests of all, in utilizing the world's limited resources for the benefit of all, and in settling disputes by peaceful means is unique.

212. On behalf of my country, I speak up for the most important form of co-operation, embracing all mankind, namely the United Nations. Sierra Leone again pledges to do all in its power to assist this Organization in achieving its full potential. To do this, we are convinced that the situation where one nation can by the exercise, arbitrary or otherwise, of a veto frustrate the wishes, and often the collective wisdom, of the rest of the entire international community is unacceptable. It is also our position that now is an appropriate time for a review of the entire question of the permanent membership of the Security Council.

213. We shall, within and without this forum, search, along with any and all other peace-loving nations dedicated to the betterment of the lot of all mankind—especially the underfed, the underprivileged and the oppressed—we shall with those nations search for the solutions to our many problems, always conscious that we live in an increasingly interdependent world. But indeed in order to realize our vision we believe that it is necessary also to change even the nature of the Organization itself, and that the kind of world organization we need is one growing rapidly and steadily from a platform for propagandist slogans to an embryonic world parliament with all necessary

ancillary legal and physical powers. To this end we again pledge that we stand ready and willing to surrender as much or as little of our national sovereignty, dearly prized as this is, to such a world body as is necessary to give the latter reality and meaning.

214. These are the views of my Government that I have been privileged to present. We restate that one of the fundamental tenets of Sierra Leone's foreign policy has always been support of this Organization. We will continue to give that support in accordance with the principles enunciated above.

215. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to express my sympathy to the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone and to request him to convey my sentiments to the Government and the people of his country.

The meeting rose at 2.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

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

³ Adopted as resolution 3093 (XXVIII).

⁴ See document A/9330 and Corr.1.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1974*, document S/10405.