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*President:* Mr. Gaston THORN  
(Luxembourg).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ADJIBADÉ (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, permit me to extend to you first of all the warm congratulations of the delegation of Dahomey on your election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I should like to express to you the satisfaction felt by Dahomey at seeing you conducting our proceedings this year. Your election is a tribute to your eminence, your statesmanlike qualities and your personal merits. Your election is also a tribute to your country, Luxembourg, a small State certainly but privileged by its geographical position, and a country with which 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific States enjoy cordial relations of co-operation within the framework of the European Economic Community. My delegation is convinced that under your wise and far-sighted leadership our work is assured of success.

2. Mr. President, you succeed in office a worthy son of Africa, brother Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, to whom I should like to express the satisfaction and admiration of my delegation at the masterful way in which he conducted the proceedings of the twenty-ninth session, the coolness and perspicacity with which he tackled and solved some extremely delicate problems with which he was confronted and the important decisions he took, which will certainly find a place in the history of our Organization. The results of the seventh special session of our Assembly, which are a matter of continuing gratification to many people, would not have been achieved without the courage and the tireless efforts of our brother Bouteflika to prevail upon the Members of our Organization to transcend recrimination, antagonisms and sterile confrontation in order to work together within the context of the interdependence of nations to establish the new international economic order based on justice and equity so ardently desired by our whole community.

3. I would also like to add to the compliments paid to you, Sir, and your predecessor the sincere apprecia-

tion of the delegation of Dahomey of the effective, positive and sustained work of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the service of the noble objectives of international peace and security, which are the very foundation of our Charter. The degree of progress achieved in the negotiations, through him, between the two Cypriot communities constitutes, in the view of my delegation, compelling proof that our Secretary-General can do even better and find for the urgent problems of the day reasonable and just solutions which are acceptable to all parties, if only he is given the confidence and disinterested co-operation of all, and particularly the great Powers.

4. Dahomey warmly welcomes the delegations of the fraternal countries of Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde and Mozambique, which were admitted to membership by the General Assembly just a few days ago, and would like to assure the representatives of these three new States of its active solidarity and fraternal co-operation.

5. At a time when the work of the thirtieth session is beginning, it is striking that weapons are almost completely silent in most of the areas of tension which have always been the subject of the serious and constant concern of our Organization. We can take pride in this favourable augury, although the situation results not from the actions of the world community but from the political will and determination of the countries directly concerned and also, of course, the goodwill of the super-Powers.

6. Thus, in South-East Asia calm has been restored to the region without the United Nations having been able to contribute in any way at all. My delegation, in any case, cannot refrain from expressing its keen satisfaction at seeing today the place of Cambodia occupied by the worthy and authentic representatives of the Cambodian people. It is distressing to recall that one year ago the General Assembly, as the result of manoeuvring within its ranks, refused to heed the voice of reason used by a certain number of States, including Dahomey, when they called for the expulsion from this Hall of the envoys of the Lon Nol clique and the restoration to the representatives of the Government of National Union of Cambodia of their lawful rights in the United Nations. In so doing, our Assembly missed one of the rare opportunities to solve this delicate problem by peaceful means on the basis of the principles of respect for sovereignty and non-intervention in the internal affairs of a State. Our Assembly was once again misled by delaying tactics and slanderous and false information, as has so often happened in the history of our Organization. The well-known majority, which I have no need to describe, caused us to lose by far the best diplomatic battle, but in the field the people of Cambodia, united and exasperated by the obstinacy of a super-Power which wished to keep in place and maintain at any price the

traitor Lon Nol and his clique, succeeded in liberating its country from foreign domination by force of arms. The severe defeat inflicted by a people of the third world on the most important military power will go down in the annals of colonial and imperialist history. This is a lesson to which thought should be given by those who have eyes but cannot see, ears but cannot hear, intelligence but cannot understand the situation of other people. The victory of Cambodia eloquently demonstrates that no military power, no matter how great and mighty it may be, can succeed in stifling for ever the legitimate aspirations of a people to freedom, dignity and independence.

7. The people of Dahomey express their deepest respect before the tomb of all the valiant Cambodian fighters who gave their lives for the liberation of Cambodia from foreign domination, increasing the prestige of the colonial peoples and the peoples of the third world in general by the glory they bestowed on the people of Cambodia. To our valiant colleagues, the authentic representatives of the people of Cambodia, Dahomey pays a warm tribute and extends its good wishes in welcoming them back to our Assembly.

8. In South Viet Nam, too, we have had a striking demonstration of what a people determined to free itself from the colonial yoke and foreign domination can do. The people of Viet Nam, in revolt, added another chapter to the book started by their brothers in Cambodia when, under the leadership of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam, it inflicted a severe and painful defeat on the Thieu clique and their imperialist masters by dismantling in a few days the whole system installed artificially to maintain in power a group of men in the pay of foreigners and thrown out by the people of Viet Nam. Here again, freedom was bought at the price of the blood of brave fighters, this time of South Viet Nam. To them, the Revolutionary Government of Dahomey wishes eternal glory.

9. Thus in Cambodia and South Viet Nam, as indeed in North Viet Nam, the peoples' will triumphed over military power. Those countries now enjoy domestic peace and are slowly but surely staunching the wounds of war by adopting the course of development they have set for themselves and not the one dictated from outside.

10. If Dahomey and friendly countries have grounds for gratification at seeing among us here in our Assembly the worthy and authentic sons of Cambodia, for whom it was a question of the restoration of their lawful rights, on the other hand we have reasons for disgust in the light of the fate of the valiant people of the two Viet Nams and their respective Governments when we see that it required nothing more than the will of a single great Power to prevent the admission of the two Vietnamese Governments as full Members of our Organization. It is unjust that the veto of one super-Power sufficed to cancel out the positive vote of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Security Council. This is an inadmissible and intolerable practice in 1975, at a time when our Organization is moving gradually towards the target of universality which it has set itself. My delegation, which supported the inclusion on the agenda of the Assembly of the item on the admission of the two Viet Nams [item 22],

hopes that the almost unanimous will of our General Assembly will be given due weight by the Security Council when it comes to reconsider the matter. The Security Council must take more account of the realities of 1975, rather than the situation which, although understandable in 1945, does not make much sense today. My delegation continues to insist that it is not right that the peoples of North and South Viet Nam be kept much longer outside our Organization. This is not the time to prefer dreams to reality.

11. Therefore my delegation reaffirms what it said last year, that the Charter must be revised and, above all, the right of veto in the Security Council must be reviewed and corrected. If the present structure of the Council remains the same, then a majority of the permanent members must oppose a resolution for it to be rejected. We, the countries of the third world, see in this an important question which underlies the credibility and efficiency of our Organization, and is therefore something to which serious thought should be given.

12. Before leaving the question of South-East Asia, my delegation cannot refrain from raising the issue of Korea, which unfortunately is on the agenda of our Assembly and which we shall be considering later on. However, at the present stage we have to stress that, since the joint communiqué of 1972<sup>1</sup> whereby the two parties directly concerned undertook to begin a dialogue with a view to the peaceful settlement of the problem of peaceful and democratic reunification of the country, no progress has been made in spite of the text of the consensus adopted by the twenty-eighth session<sup>2</sup> and the resolution adopted by our Assembly last year on this item [resolution 3333 (XXIX)]. One of the major reasons for this stagnation lies in the presence of foreign military forces based on Korean territory.

13. It is fortunate that the United States Government, which maintains at considerable expense the so-called United Nations Force, has taken the decision to dissolve the United Nations Military Command. It is, however, regrettable that that dissolution has not been accompanied by evacuation. That solution can in no way facilitate contacts between the two parts of the country and open the way to serious negotiations with a view to the reunification desired by both sides.

14. The delegation of Dahomey very much hopes that the United Nations will discharge its responsibilities before it is too late. Our Organization must create the conditions necessary for transforming the armistice into lasting peace and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the two parts of Korea. To bring that about, our Assembly must call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korean soil, so that the Koreans, and they alone, can settle their problems among themselves.

15. The Middle East is enjoying relative peace, in the sense that the sound of gunfire is heard less clearly, at least on a large scale. Here, again, apart from the contribution of our Organization in sending peace-keeping forces, the United Nations has really had nothing to do with the silencing of the guns, and only the good will of the super-Powers has made it possible to create a situation which gives to the international community grounds for gratification. We see here an

illustration of what we said last year, when my delegation stated that if the super-Powers could cease their rivalry, zones of conflict could disappear for ever. Of course, the different disengagement agreements, negotiated at such cost and then signed, constitute positive approaches to a final solution of the Middle East problem.

16. It is particularly fortunate that Israel has finally conceded that its peace and security lie above all in its withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories; but these provisional solutions should not make us forget the real nub of the problem—the Palestinian question. The injustice of turning the Palestinians into eternal wanderers must be finally and definitely redressed. The Palestinian people, like the Jews, must have a homeland. That aspiration was clearly expressed by our Assembly last year [resolution 3236 (XXIX)]. So, until the Palestinian problem has been thoroughly tackled, with all the necessary seriousness, with a view to a final settlement of what has come to be known as the Middle East crisis, all solutions of the papering-over type will remain futile and there will be no peace in that area. The super-Powers should be told that instead of engaging in blind antagonism their actions would be more beneficial to the international community if they were to bear in mind the Palestinian situation and attempt to work for the major interests of the peoples of the area.

17. The situation in Cyprus still gives cause for concern. It must be recognized that, under the aegis of the Secretary-General, talks between the two communities have made it possible to achieve some results, however meagre they may be. My delegation wishes vigorously to reaffirm the position it defended last year. For Dahomey, there is an independent Cypriot State and a Cypriot people and we must leave it to that people to solve its own problems as a Cypriot people and not as members of a Greek-Cypriot community or a Turkish-Cypriot community.

18. Once we concede the terms "Greek Cypriot" and "Turkish Cypriot" our Organization is thereby sanctioning division and preparing the ground for external aggression, for the intervention of neighbouring countries in the affairs of the Cypriot State. An excellent illustration of what we are saying was the occupation by the Turkish army of the richest part of the island, on the pretext of protecting a people, without our community being able to react because the super-Powers so willed it. In the view of my delegation, no acceptable and realistic solution can be found, unless our Organization calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island, whether they are there on the basis of an agreement or for purposes of aggression and occupation. We must allow the people of Cyprus, under the enlightened leadership of Archbishop Makarios, to become the master of its destiny, in unity and with territorial integrity. My delegation vigorously condemns all secessionist and separatist designs aimed at the partition of Cyprus.

19. Since the assumption of power by young officers of the Portuguese army and the elimination of the reactionary and retrogressive clique of Caetano, we have to recognize that Portugal has been able, in spite of its domestic difficulties, to keep the promises it made in our Assembly and before the whole world.

Thanks to its scrupulous respect for the time-table which was drawn up, we have been able to welcome here the delegations of Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde and Mozambique.

20. Unfortunately, in Angola the process of decolonization does not seem to be taking a normal course, not only because of the lack of agreement between the representatives of the liberation movements whose task it is to prepare for independence but also, and above all, because of the interference of some foreign Powers which are primarily attracted by the vast wealth and economic potential of the country. My delegation appeals urgently to our brothers in the Angolan liberation movements not to lose sight of their primary objective of independence and the need to unite in order to achieve it, instead of playing the game of those who are trying to weaken them by urging them to mutual annihilation. Our brothers in Angola should not forget that if Africa has been reduced to a state of chronic under-development, it is because at a certain point in its history its sons were taken away and forced to develop the industrialized countries of today. Our brothers in Angola must understand that it is not in the interest of the future nation of Angola, and still less in the interests of Africa as a whole, that its sons should engage in mutual slaughter. The Angola of tomorrow, rich and prosperous, will need all its population to promote its development.

21. Apart from what I must call the extremely regrettable situation in Angola, Africa can take pride in the success of the process of decolonization in the Territories formerly under Portuguese administration. But what about the other colonies? The case of the Comoros puzzles my delegation. We wonder how it is that France, our friend, and the champion of decolonization, did not respond in time to the frequently reiterated aspirations of the people of the Comoros to become independent. My delegation wonders how it is that, faced with legislative manoeuvres, the Government of the Comoros was obliged to proclaim the independence of the Territory unilaterally, and why we were not spared this masquerade of a *coup d'état* against the Government of President Abdalha. These are questions to which the delegation of Dahomey would like to hear answers. Dahomey sincerely hopes that the enlightened interests of the people of the Comoros will triumph over the concern to preserve vested interests whether or not they relate to a strategic military base.

22. Dahomey welcomes the independence of the Comoros, in whatever form, and urgently appeals both to the former administering Power and to the people of the Comoros themselves to safeguard their national unity and territorial integrity.

23. In southern Africa my Government has followed with concern the manoeuvres of the Vorster-Smith gang, aimed apparently at finding a common platform for the convening of the constitutional conference which is to negotiate the transfer of power to the overwhelming black majority of Rhodesia. Subsequent events have shown my Government that it was fully justified in having serious reservations about the feverish activity and the so-called good offices of Vorster. How, in fact, can we trust or give any credence to this racist chieftain who has no intention of giving an inch in his heinous and abject policy of *apartheid*?

How can we trust this Nazi who, despite the numerous resolutions of our own Organization and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,<sup>3</sup> continues illegally to occupy Namibia and to establish bantustans there in order to block for ever the independence and territorial integrity of that country? What credence can we really give to this man when he claims to be urging Smith, his flunky and associate, to go cap in hand to the representatives of the Rhodesian liberation movement to discuss with them conditions for organizing a constitutional conference? It is time for Vorster and Smith and others to understand that Africans are not fools and that the liberation movements are not to be deluded. They know that force alone can triumph over the obstinacy of the inveterate racists and the unregenerate colonialists, and that they can only free their territories by force of arms, as was the case in other parts of Africa and elsewhere. In order to spare so many human lives, Smith must prove his good faith by agreeing to the prerequisite of the representatives of the Rhodesian liberation movements who call for the freeing of all political prisoners, the holding of discussions in neutral territory and the reduction to a bare minimum of the transitional period to precede the transfer of power from the white minority to the overwhelming black majority. There can be no question, therefore, of the liberation movements undertaking discussions in unfavourable conditions, with a knife at their throats. Nor do we need to add that the administering authority can no longer continue to play the role of Pontius Pilate, and must discharge its proper responsibilities by creating the necessary conditions for sincere, useful and constructive negotiations.

24. The racist régime of *apartheid* believes that it is making an impression on international public opinion by stating that it is boycotting the thirtieth session. This was certainly a wise move. Whether or not the delegation of South Africa is represented at the session, it is true nevertheless that differences between it and the United Nations remain, and that the question of Namibia must be settled without delay. Since the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on this question, the illegality of the presence of South Africa in Namibia is not open to question. My delegation believes that the measures taken by this régime to consolidate the annexation of Namibia by South Africa, the creation of Ovambolands and other areas is a challenge to the whole international community.

25. In the face of this situation, our Assembly must take the most energetic action to prevail upon this régime, rejected by our Organization, to divest itself of a Territory that does not belong to it, a Territory which our international community is determined to administer until such time as power can be transferred to the people of Namibia themselves, the sole and authentic representative of whom is the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO].

26. There is an artificially created situation in western Africa that is indeed one of concern to the delegation of Dahomey. We wonder how Africans themselves can employ a double standard in the matter of decolonization; how they can proclaim the overwhelming necessity to decolonize under the terms of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in resolution 1514

(XV), on the one hand, while on the other hand they recommend the suspension of any application of that Declaration until the International Court of Justice has given a decision on the situation before the colonization of the Sahara under Spanish administration.

27. The attempt to have our Assembly adopt a resolution contrary to the principles of the United Nations has made it an accomplice in an injustice and a plot the consequences of which cannot be foreseen. In the view of my delegation, the most important thing in the case of the Sahara under Spanish administration is the interest of the people concerned, their true aspirations, not the claims of certain neighbouring countries. It is for this reason that my delegation deems it necessary to repeal the ambiguous and treacherous resolution adopted by our General Assembly last year, and to return purely and simply to the strict application of resolution 1514 (XV). In this particular case the situation has been clear ever since the administering Power decided to decolonize the Territory. Nothing should now be allowed to halt this process. Once it is independent and sovereign, it will be for the people of the Sahara themselves to decide on their own future and whether or not they wish to be united with any neighbouring State. But before the precondition of independence no neighbouring State can say that it has a greater interest in the Sahara than the people of the Sahara themselves, or that it can make a decision for them.

28. Another matter of serious concern to my Government is the question of disarmament. Everyone talks about disarmament, but in actual fact it would appear to be merely a dialogue of the deaf, dominated, of course, by the obvious selfishness of the great Powers. Their boundless individualism makes possible the maintenance of the various areas of tension that we mentioned earlier. The great Powers proclaim from the rooftops their wish to disarm. Some of them call this wish by the misleading name of "détente". But what exactly is the disarmament they are talking about, and what is the area it involves? These questions become all the more urgent as these Powers go on manufacturing ever more sophisticated weapons which they sell at very high prices to others so that these latter can continue their mutual slaughter, so eager are they for the rapid recovery of the petrodollar, or because of the profits derived from gold, diamond and other mines. In these circumstances, the so-called Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe that was held recently is nothing but a crude farce; for it is immoral for Europe to wish to institutionalize the frontiers that emerged from the last war and to seek thereby to assure peace and security, while at the same time it is busy sowing horror and terror elsewhere by supplying the most highly developed arms to other continents. No. The Middle East, South-East Asia, even Africa, cannot be regarded as testing-grounds for new weapons designed in countries in which an effort is made to maintain peace and prosperity. The great Powers are deceiving themselves when they think it sufficient to utter the word "détente" in order to settle everything.

29. According to certain people, détente is the magic key that opens all doors, consolidates peace, facilitates decolonization, guarantees development, and I know not what else. There can be no détente

or peace if any part of this world is living in prosperity while the overwhelming majority lives in poverty. My delegation believes that peace must be enjoyed by all or it will not be enjoyed by anyone. That is why Dahomey believes that this is no longer the time for hypocrisy, and calls upon the super-Powers to ponder something that was said a few days ago at this very rostrum by our brother, the doyen of this Assembly, Mr. Baroody of Saudi Arabia: that instead of talking about détente, it would be better to talk about entente—understanding. Indeed, through understanding it would be possible to stop the production of arms, whether logistic, conventional or other. If such arms were not exported, peace and security could be ensured, not only in the countries that produce them, but also for all generations, present and future, in the entire international community. Let us hope that the great Powers, together with the small ones, will resolve to set out on this course, the only one capable of leading us to a real and stable era of disarmament.

30. Now my delegation would like to say something about the seventh special session which ended a few days ago. The results of that session are still fresh in our memories and there is no need to stress the problems of development and international co-operation which were then discussed. The Foreign Minister of my country, Comrade Michel Alladaye, indicated here the objectives which Dahomey would like to see our community achieve: among others, the regulation of the commodity and raw materials markets, the indexation of the prices of those commodities and raw materials in relation to the prices of imports from developed countries, and the reform and democratization of the international monetary system.

31. After arduous and difficult negotiations, we can today take pride in the fact that we have been able to reach agreement on the essentials; this is an important step towards the establishment of the new economic order that is the desire of the whole international community. Now we have to embark on the phase of practical implementation. Dahomey ventures to hope that the General Assembly, at its thirtieth session, will undertake this task and that other United Nations specialized agencies will do so too.

32. These are some of the items on the agenda of the thirtieth session on which my delegation felt it necessary to make some comments in the general debate. We have said that while it is true that our work has begun in an atmosphere of relative tranquillity in the traditional areas of tension, it is nevertheless true that in most cases that situation is not due to direct action on the part of our Organization, and this is very much to be regretted. The obstinacy of the super-Powers and their national pride make them prefer to settle certain matters themselves, outside the United Nations. We have said that the Great Powers, and above all the super-Powers, will have to agree to co-operate frankly and sincerely with the Secretary-General in order to strengthen the role of the United Nations.

33. We have said that we must revise and correct the right of veto within the framework of the review of the Charter, because it is wrong that in 1975 the will of a super-Power should prevail over the will of the overwhelming majority of the Security Council.

34. We have said that the solution of the Middle East crisis lies in the question of Palestine, which must be settled in a just and equitable manner.

35. We have said that the Cypriot people must become masters of their own destiny in unity and territorial integrity.

36. We have said, on the question of the Sahara under Spanish administration, that the United Nations cannot make the implementation of the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) subject to any pre-conditions.

37. We have also said that true disarmament will result from an entente and not from détente among the great Powers, and that a necessary condition for this will be that they refrain from exporting arms and other means of destruction.

38. Finally, we have said that the results achieved by the Assembly at its seventh special session augur well and give us hope that many controversies between rich and poor will see the beginning of a solution through dialogue and free co-operation in the common interest.

39. The delegation of Dahomey very much hopes that the observations we have just made here in all humility will be of inspiration to the work of the thirtieth session and will help us to make progress in and to consolidate the cause of peace, decolonization and development for all.

40. Mr. OLSZOWSKI (Poland): Mr. President, allow me, in the first place, to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the thirtieth anniversary session of the General Assembly. We are greeting you as a prominent politician, representative of a country which has been linked with ours by relations of long standing and business-like co-operation. Your election testifies to recognition of you, personally, and that of Luxembourg's constructive efforts on the international forum.

41. At the same time, we address our assurances of appreciation today to the President of the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika. We thank him for his outstanding contribution of work during the two sessions.

42. Poland is happy to welcome the new Members of the United Nations: the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. The admission of these States to membership in the United Nations is but another confirmation of the fact that the remnants of the colonial epoch are disappearing from the map of the world and our Organization is becoming ever more universal.

43. Among the newly admitted Member States we miss the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam, in spite of these two States' applications for admission. By its heroic struggle the people of Viet Nam has proved its steadfast love of freedom and independence. The two Vietnamese States have given ample evidence of their respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and they are fully qualified to become Members of the Organization. Poland firmly supports the



admission of the two Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations.

44. The international situation of today is characterized by the gradual growth of the process of détente; more and more Governments are intensifying their efforts to achieve a durable peace and international security. Not only big States, but medium-sized and small alike, are assuming an ever greater role in international life. For lasting peace, security and socio-economic progress can only be achieved in conditions of détente, peaceful coexistence and equitable and mutually beneficial international co-operation.

45. The present session revives the memory of two outstanding events of 30 years ago: the victory of the anti-Nazi coalition over fascism, and the establishment of our Organization. Those two events are historically interrelated.

46. The United Nations was created "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". It was established by a collective effort of the peoples that had united to restore and maintain international peace and security. To achieve those goals it was necessary first to conquer fascism and Hitlerite nazism, which had unleashed the Second World War and indeed trampled under foot all human rights. The teachings of that epoch-making tragedy underlie the foundations of the Charter of the United Nations. Therefore, that Charter's purposes and principles are as lasting and as constantly timely as the memory of the victims of the Second World War is sacred.

47. If one looks back on the developments of the past 30 years of the United Nations, one can say that it has proven possible to bring closer the implementation of the purposes outlined by the founding fathers of this Organization. From a period of tensions and cold war we turn to détente, which embraces ever new spheres of international relations; we turn to ever broader practical applications of the principles of peaceful coexistence. For the first time in the past 30 years, nowhere in the world is there an open armed conflict among States.

48. While the arms race has not yet been arrested and the danger of a nuclear war has not been averted, while numerous acute and difficult problems continue to exist and the vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism must still be eliminated, while détente has not yet reached all the regions, we may say with satisfaction that in the past 30 years we have gone a long way, from war to peace, from cold war to peaceful co-operation.

49. International developments pose a question before all States as well as before this Organization: what should be the further nature of the processes of détente, what content should they be given and what should be done to accelerate them and make them irreversible?

50. In order to achieve those goals it is necessary fully to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence, to supplement political détente by military détente and to limit the arms race; it is necessary to build mutual confidence and expand all-round international co-operation. The United Nations must assume an important role in tackling that great task.

51. May I be allowed in this connexion to dwell upon some conclusions which flow from the recent but already historic Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe? Indeed, the decisions reached at that Conference are bringing to an end once and for all the post-war period on the European continent and represent a strong foundation for peaceful, friendly and mutually advantageous co-operation among the participating States. The Conference has had an important bearing not only on Europe but also on the entire international situation. Recognizing as we do the close interdependence between peace and security in Europe and peace and security in the world at large, we remain convinced that the greatest contribution Europe can make to the peaceful development of the world is to turn that continent into a region of peace and peaceful co-operation.

52. In easing tensions in Europe along the line between the two most powerful military and political groupings we thereby contribute to the consolidation of peace and security all over the world; we thus release the energies and resources of European nations for the benefit of their more effective participation in the solution of global problems.

53. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference expresses the full support of European States for the United Nations. The decalogue of principles governing relations between the participating States represents both a reaffirmation and a development of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as of those solemnly proclaimed in the General Assembly's Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*] and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. The principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, signifying renunciation once and for all of all territorial claims which in the past gave rise to tensions, conflicts and wars, are of fundamental importance for the peaceful future of Europe.

54. The broad programme in the field of economic relations based on equal rights, as outlined by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, is part and parcel of European security. Indeed, it should consolidate the material infrastructure of peace. The decisions of the Conference regarding cultural exchanges and other contacts create conditions for strengthening confidence and understanding among nations. The implementation of those decisions should serve to promote noble humanistic values, with due respect for the traditions, customs and laws of every nation.

55. In the spirit of that Conference, and while it was taking place, an agreement was reached between the Governments of the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the basis for normalization of their mutual relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970. The agreement has created foundations for further expanding relations between the two States and is a contribution to strengthening détente in Europe.

56. The decisions contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference represent a great common victory of all the participants in the Conference, of all the

forces favouring peaceful coexistence. We believe also that they bring closer the prospect of establishing an all-European system of collective security.

57. Poland declared in Helsinki, and now from this world rostrum resolutely reaffirms, its will to participate actively in carrying out the decisions of the Conference and to implement them for the good of our own and other peoples.

58. We are convinced that the United Nations can become a forum for the universalization of these positive European experiences and their extension to other parts of the world.

59. Because of the growing spiral of armaments, an urgent task in the present phase of international relations is the intensification of efforts to limit the arms race and embark upon disarmament measures. The present situation, on the one hand, imposes the necessity of seeking substantial progress in the field of disarmament and, on the other, offers possibilities for such progress. The United Nations, as a most important forum for multilateral negotiations, has a special role to play in working out effective measures to contain the arms race and bring progress in the field of disarmament.

60. Negotiations and agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States, including the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, are making an important contribution to the cause of international security and disarmament.

61. The special responsibility of the big Powers for peace and international security in no way diminishes the obligation of the entire international community to promote progress in the sphere of disarmament. Every State, notwithstanding its military and economic potential, can and should make its own contribution to the process of negotiations and constructive disarmament measures. The most suitable forum for discussion of these matters, with the participation of all States, ought to be the World Disarmament Conference.

62. Likewise we attach great importance to the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. They should now enter a more effective phase.

63. The States of the socialist community have consistently presented in the United Nations a programme of specific undertakings towards disarmament. They include reduction of military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and the utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries; the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; the complete elimination of chemical weapons.

64. We welcome the submission by the USSR and the United States of America, at the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, of draft conventions on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques.

65. The Soviet initiative, which we support, concerning the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests meets the stipulations contained *inter alia* in numerous

United Nations resolutions and in the recent decisions of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at Lima.

66. We also led our full support to the new important initiative on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass annihilation, and of new systems of such weapons, submitted in this forum by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Andrei Gromyko [2357th meeting].

67. One of the indispensable conditions for reducing and eliminating the risk of a nuclear war is the full effectiveness and universality of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex]. We trust that the course and results of the Review Conference of the Parties to that Treaty will contribute to the implementation of those objectives. Similarly, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in different regions of the world would also serve to strengthen the non-proliferation system.

68. While stressing the positive factors of the world situation, we do not lose sight of the fact that serious tensions still exist in different parts of the world.

69. In Chile, the Fascist terror continues its criminal work of destruction of the democratic forces of its people.

70. In the Middle East, although the sound of guns has died down, we do not believe that, short of comprehensive solutions as provided for in the well-known Security Council resolutions, or outside the Geneva Peace Conference, it will be possible to settle the problems of that region. The Arab people of Palestine is still deprived of its own statehood.

71. With regard to Cyprus, General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) remains unimplemented.

72. In South Africa, the racist régime pursues its policy of *apartheid*, recognized by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. It continues its illegal occupation of Namibia.

73. In Southern Rhodesia, as in the past, the indigenous population remains subjugated to the yoke of racism.

74. All these are flagrant examples of infringements on the indivisibility of peace and peaceful coexistence, self-determination of peoples and social progress.

75. The need to fortify our efforts towards the consolidation of a peaceful future for the world makes it imperative also to draw more attention to questions of security in Asia, the greatest continent of the world. A suitable solution for problems arising there could be found, we submit, in the implementation of the Soviet proposal concerning the establishment of a system of collective security on that continent.

76. Poland believes also that adoption at the present session of a General Assembly resolution on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice in Korea into a durable peace and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea would represent a contribution to the solution of the question of Korea and to the further easing of tensions in Asia.

77. Peace, international security, détente and disarmament are the indispensable prerequisites for the

development of all States, for all-round co-operation among them and for the creation of a new, just, international economic order.

78. Through its active bilateral and multilateral relations Poland is developing international economic co-operation and trade both with States of the socialist community, with which we are closely linked in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, as well as with States with different economic, social and political systems, be they developing or developed. The Government of the Polish People's Republic will also further expand its participation in the work of the economic organizations of the United Nations system.

79. We believe that the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] are of paramount importance in building up international economic relations based on new and equitable principles. The recently concluded seventh special session of the General Assembly has likewise been an important forum for debate and constructive decisions.

80. The reconstruction of international economic relations has become a necessity since the existing mechanisms of international economic co-operation meet neither the interests of the developing countries nor those of the socialist States, and thus no longer conform to the needs of the majority of States Members of this Organization. The new principles and instruments embodied in the decisions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties, as well as in the decisions of the seventh special session, should serve the interests of the entire international community; they should provide for the dynamic, economic development of all countries, in particular the developing countries; they should regulate equitable economic co-operation among all States on a non-discriminatory basis and for the mutual benefit of all the parties concerned.

81. We rest assured that economic development and the elimination of imbalances throughout the world will intensify broad economic co-operation, thereby becoming an important element of consolidation of détente and peace.

82. Poland owes its independent existence and position in the world to the socialist system. Socialism has generated a dynamic rise in Poland's socio-economic growth. Friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and with other States of the socialist community have become the corner-stone of our security and have made it possible successfully to solve problems of development in accordance with the principles of fraternal assistance and mutual advantage. New prospects for our development and for the growth of the well-being of the broad masses will be mapped out by the forthcoming seventh Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

83. We also consider the consolidation of peace and security, the irreversible establishment of détente and its extension to new spheres of international life to be a condition for the successful implementation of our own plans to promote the socio-economic develop-

ment and further improvement of the standards of living of our own people.

84. Today, the community of socialist States remains the driving force behind the positive transformations in the world. Its constructive policies have an important impact upon the normalization of world relations and the consolidation of international peace and security.

85. In the social field also there are many issues calling for action. I shall confine myself to two of them.

86. The first issue is the situation of women in the world. The recent World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City in June and July, has listed a number of obstacles hampering the implementation of the rights and legitimate aspirations of women and has defined problems whose solution is still pending. We support the decisions of the Conference and declare ourselves in favour of their constructive implementation, seeing in it an important element of social progress.

87. The second issue is the question of education for peace. It is in the interest of mankind and its future that the lofty ideals of the Charter of the United Nations be impressed upon the young generations. May I recall in this context the appeal addressed last year, from this very rostrum, by the spokesman of the people of Poland, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek:

“Let us do everything possible to make the remaining quarter of this century, a century which has seen untold suffering brought upon mankind, an era of peaceful construction and of peace-oriented education.”<sup>4</sup>

88. The 30-year record of accomplishment of the United Nations comprises the over-all effort of Member States to consolidate international peace and security and to expand all-round, mutually beneficial co-operation among nations. The same purpose is also well served by the dynamic activity of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim.

89. It is our sincere hope that in conditions of détente, the United Nations will prove able in the years to come to move further and more effectively towards the full implementation of the purposes and principles of its Charter. Poland, which has always been active in defending the letter and spirit of the Charter, also wishes on this occasion to reiterate emphatically that the road to making the work of this Organization more effective does not lie in the revision of the Charter; it lies in a strict respect for its principles and provisions in the practice of international relations, and through a fuller utilization of the constructive possibilities offered by the Charter. The Charter of the United Nations has successfully stood the test of life and has served in the solution of problems posed by the diversified and complex world of our times.

90. I wish to assure this Assembly that, as always, the Polish People's Republic will continue to persevere in seeking greater effectiveness for the United Nations, the expansion of all-round international co-operation, acceleration of socio-economic development, détente, international security and peace throughout the world.



91. Mr. VAN ELSLANDE (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, Europe and in particular the member States of the European Economic Community feel deeply honoured by your election to the presidency of the General Assembly of the United Nations at a time when our Organization is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary. The deep friendship between our peoples and our States, which you mentioned yesterday; my gratitude to you for the sensitive manner in which you paid a tribute to the memory of the great statesman Mr. Spaak, who was our first President; the high esteem in which I hold you; our constantly shared concerns—are all reasons for the warmth of Belgium's congratulations and justify our confident certainty that you will make a decisive contribution to the success of our Assembly.

92. May I, first, congratulate the Secretary-General on his report on the work of the Organization [A/10001]. As usual, it is an excellent one, and in the introduction [A/10001/Add.1], without trying to please one side or the other, he clearly points to the weaknesses of international action.

93. The Declaration of the European Council made on 17 July 1975, by the heads of State and Government of the European Community, amply indicates Europe's interest in the role and future of the United Nations. After repeating their confidence in the United Nations, the nine Powers expressed their determination to pull together to help the Community to carry out its full responsibilities in an effort to foster conciliation and dialogue.

94. To make such joint action possible the nine Powers are determined that the Charter and the rules of procedure now in force should be respected in order to ensure the rule of law.

95. The Charter, frequently termed the constitution or the basic instrument of our Organization, is the sole source of that law. It is that Charter, the purposes and principles defined in it and the machinery provided by it for their fulfilment that are endorsed by sovereign States when they join the United Nations. It is not by adopting measures which would do violence to the spirit and letter of the Charter that we can possibly hope to strengthen the role of the United Nations, nor *a fortiori* to modify its basic instrument. Indeed, it is within the framework of the Charter and in compliance with its principles that the United Nations has been able to play that major political role which is so readily acknowledged, and it is in that way that it has been able both to maintain and even to strengthen its universal character.

96. Does that imply that the Charter is perfect or that it should remain unchanged? We should realize the fact that over the 30 years which have passed since the United Nations was created, the world has seen much turmoil and has been the witness of many momentous changes. Is it not then logical to think in terms of a review in the Charter, and we appreciate the fact that some would like to move in that direction? We are convinced, however, that such an operation should be carried out in accordance with the procedures provided for in the Charter itself. Belgium agrees that amendments to the Charter which are indispensable for improving the performance of our Organization should be made, but at the same time we

urge that careful thought be given to the nature of such an exercise and to its possible consequences. We believe that in such an important area it would be a mistake to yield to impulse because the results might very well fall far short of expectations.

97. Amendment of the Charter is by no means the only way of resolving some of the difficulties with which the United Nations must deal. There are a good many others which should be studied as a matter of priority, in particular those which were brought out in the report of the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System.<sup>5</sup>

98. The whole world aspires to peace. Since it ensures security, non-recourse to violence is undoubtedly an important element in the building of peace, but it cannot alone build peace: peace can be ensured only if there is positive co-operation among States in all fields, and in particular in economic co-operation, which is a factor in social justice among peoples. However, once positive co-operation among States exists, individuals must be assured of respect for their human rights. To our way of thinking, that transcends the rights of States and the problem of their relations.

99. Here, may I take up the following three major issues already mentioned: peace and security, international economic co-operation and respect for human rights.

100. The stability to which Belgium is particularly devoted involves security on the entire European continent. My country firmly believes that security cannot be attained by turning inward; it implies active commitments and a movement towards ever deeper and increasing solidarity.

101. Belgium, with its security guaranteed by commitments which it has endorsed makes its contribution to the development of détente on the European continent. The Final Act of 1 August which marked the conclusion in Helsinki of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was an important stage in this process. Now it is for us to see to it that our deeds match our intentions. However, genuine détente is conceivable only if an improvement in political relations goes hand in hand with a concrete improvement in military security, and that means that satisfactory results must be achieved in the negotiations on the reduction of forces in central Europe.

102. Military expenditure on a world-wide scale—more than \$200 billion according to some estimates—consumes more funds than education and public health together. The proportion is reversed in my country where the defence budget, as a matter of fact, is less than half the budget for education. But what is particularly ominous in the world is the development of the nuclear potential, which today is capable of destroying 25 times the population of the world. Thus world public opinion is growing increasingly impatient about what must be done as regards disarmament and the control of weapons. In no other sphere have negotiations taken so long in getting under way, or proved so difficult when they have been begun.

103. There is little likelihood that 1975 will prove any less discouraging. The problems of nuclear armaments are more timely now than ever before,

for doubts are beginning to be felt regarding the effectiveness of the non-proliferation Treaty.

104. All States which, rightly, have refused to equip themselves with military nuclear capacity are entitled to call on all the nuclear-weapon Powers to discharge their special responsibility and to take concrete action to put an end to the arms race. If they do not do that, the present fragile equilibrium cannot be maintained. In the same context, and with the same objective, the two super-Powers might well point the way in their Strategic Arms Limitation Talks by fixing their strategic weapon ceilings lower than those envisaged in Vladivostok.

105. While we appreciate the obstacles that exist regarding the fundamentally divergent positions of the nuclear States on nuclear disarmament, Belgium remains firmly in favour of the total cessation of nuclear tests for military purposes. No effort should be spared towards that end, but the results must be credible: there must be provisions of a binding nature and there must be control of the type accepted in the nuclear test ban Treaty.<sup>6</sup>

106. The undoubted importance of nuclear disarmament should not make us lose sight of the many and much more diversified dangers of the accumulation of conventional weapons throughout the world. Because of the political and technical complexity of these issues, regional negotiation is undoubtedly the form of negotiation which stands the greatest chance of leading to progress. Certain aspects of control of conventional weapons, in particular trade in weapons, could, however, be better dealt with at world level.

107. It is impossible to mention the problems of peace without referring to existing conflicts.

108. The agreement just entered into by the Egyptian and Israeli Governments should improve prospects for a settlement of the problem of the Middle East. The agreement reached, from the purely formal viewpoint, is, to be sure, a mere agreement on military disengagement. We believe, however, that thanks to the desire for peace and the wisdom of the Egyptian and Israeli authorities, this agreement has a special political dimension and may well constitute a decisive step towards peace. Of course, peace will not truly exist until a global settlement is reached, but we agree with Mr. Kissinger, the Secretary of State of the United States, whose action made such a major contribution to the agreement, that peace must be built methodically and by successive stages. To be successful, the process must continue uninterrupted. Therefore further progress must be made this time between Israel and Syria; concrete efforts must be made to satisfy the legitimate national aspirations of the Palestinian people so that they too may be able to live in peace with all the States in the area.

109. I do not wish to leave the problem of the Middle East without also mentioning the present tragic events in Lebanon, a country with which we have ties of friendship. The territorial integrity and independence of that State are essential elements in the equilibrium in the Middle East. May we express the hope that, without any foreign interference, peace may be restored to it very soon?

110. Belgium is disappointed that the remarkable efforts of the Secretary-General have not made it

possible for the dialogue between the Greek and Turkish communities on the island to move toward a settlement of the Cypriot problem. Further efforts must be made as soon as possible and the United Nations role is to encourage the parties to reach an agreement. It is then essential that no unilateral action which might lead to a deterioration in this situation be taken.

111. Our Assembly will be holding a debate on this subject. If it is to be constructive, it must be objective, and if it is to be objective it seems to me to be essential that the procedural rules which we adopted last year must once again be followed this year, and then the delegations of the two communities must be heard in the Special Political Committee before the debate in the General Assembly.

112. The views of Belgium on the problems of southern Africa are clear and have remained unchanged.

113. The recent declaration of the nine Powers on 26 August is a faithful, unequivocal and comprehensive reflection of our position on Namibia. *Apartheid* remains a policy which cannot be justified.

114. In Rhodesia and in South Africa over the past few months we have noticed that the positions of Pretoria and Salisbury have become more flexible; but they have become flexible to such an insignificant degree that we have not changed our position, for we are convinced that solutions can be agreed upon only when those authorities make an effort going far beyond the efforts which they have made heretofore.

115. On this occasion I would like to welcome, as the Foreign Minister of Italy did speaking as the acting president of the European Community [2357th meeting], the three new countries of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. The world Organization will find that their contribution is an appreciable one.

116. To my words of welcome to the three new Member States, I should like to add an expression of my regret that we do not have among us a number of Asian States, first and foremost of which are the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam. Universality is a principle which can brook no exceptions, and every State which meets the standards of Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter is entitled to join our Organization if such is its desire.

117. That is why my delegation voted in favour of resolution 3366 (XXX) of 19 September, calling upon the Security Council to reconsider the applications for membership of those two new States.

118. In thus stating our position, we must confess that, at the same time, we are deeply disturbed that the Republic of Korea has also introduced a similar request. Two States exist at the present time on the Korean peninsula. That is a fact, and the principle of unification, which some say is a prerequisite before membership can be considered, is particularly unconvincing because it is invoked in one case but not in others.

119. The disputes between the two legitimate Governments are a subject of great concern to us. My Government therefore hopes that further efforts will be made to rally the majority of the Members of this Organization in support of a resolution respecting the

sovereignty of both States and maintaining peace machinery.

120. More than ever the unity of Europe remains the corner-stone of the policies of my country. Our objectives are the creation of an economic union and a strengthening of political union. But we will succeed in bringing that about only if our policies are based on the democratic values which are the foundation of the European Community.

121. The nine Governments of the Community have constantly worked together to build Europe, but that co-operation also extends to foreign policy problems. Hence the European countries have been concerning themselves very much with the political developments in Portugal. Europe is the cradle of democratic values and wishes to remain a rallying point for these values. The Portuguese people, represented in democratic and pluralist institutions, would be welcomed in the Europe to which they belong.

122. This common political action among members of the European Community is a development which also finds expression within the United Nations. The nine Powers will establish common positions on issues discussed in our Organization, and they will state those positions increasingly through a single spokesman.

123. That unity has been just as effective in relations between the Community and the developing countries. In the Lomé Convention signed on 28 February 1975, the Community wished to rethink its relations with 46 developing countries of Africa, the Pacific, and the Caribbean islands. In particular, by creating a fund to stabilize export earnings, and by bringing about a new form of industrial co-operation, the Convention of Lomé has broken new ground.

124. We also welcome the results of the seventh special session of the General Assembly, which came to an end last week. There the member States of the Community negotiated as a single entity. Confronted with problems of equal difficulty and scale, our delegations demonstrated by their spirit of dialogue and restraint that it was possible to agree on realistic conclusions adopted unanimously. For the first time, the conclusions adopted were based on mutual confidence going beyond the texts themselves.

125. Regardless of the difficulties encountered, it is that spirit of understanding which made it possible for us to succeed finally in overcoming them. Now that those long and difficult negotiations have ended, that spirit must continue to govern us as we deal with the various problems before the international community. We must now begin on a positive and realistic course of action. My country accepts the implications of that and we will make a full contribution to the various dialogues which will continue, in particular, at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris and at the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

126. May I now turn to the last question, the question of human rights.

127. Last year, from this same rostrum, I stressed the fact that Belgium had always considered the United Nations, ever since it was created, as the best

guarantor of human rights; and that we had always expected that the United Nations would see to it that the law in this area was respected.

128. It must be admitted that human rights are still being violated in various areas of the world. Is there anything more regrettable in this connexion than the fact that some would hide behind the intangible barrier of sovereignty? In this respect, may I point to the forward-looking attitude of the countries of Western Europe which have established a European Court of Human Rights, where the principle of the sovereignty of States cannot be invoked.

129. Belgium was one of the first countries to give its nationals the right to have access to an international court in the case of individual rights being violated. I would express the hope that that attitude will be the one taken by the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. In view of the fact that the 35 member States of that Conference agreed to subscribe to the principles contained in the jointly prepared text the dialogue between them on its implementation cannot in future be considered as interference in their internal affairs.

130. I am pleased that in that area the United Nations has not been inactive. Far from it. Our Organization last year made an outstanding effort to deal with the serious problem of torture. The Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders continued the task and its report [see A/10260] will help the General Assembly at this thirtieth session to further the work. The Belgian Government is very pleased at that, since the reappearance of reports of the practice of torture, both physical and moral in several areas of the world, make the efforts of this Organization more urgently necessary than ever before.

131. We cannot praise too highly the tireless efforts of the High Commissioner for Refugees. In the performance of his duties, he may rest assured that he will enjoy the complete support of Belgium.

132. Belgium has always welcomed and will continue to welcome political refugees to our land. Ever since the end of the war, our country has taken in about 70,000 refugees. They have come in successive waves from different continents, as a result of outbreaks of ideological, racial or religious intolerance. Often they have come from countries thousands of miles away, where the climate and the culture are quite different from those in our country; sometimes they did not know of our existence until they arrived. In our country they have enjoyed the advantages provided under the Convention on the Status of Refugees, signed at Geneva on 28 July 1951, which gives them the right to stay permanently and to obtain a priority work permit. At the same time, they enjoy the same social advantages as Belgian nationals. Furthermore, Belgian legislation allows them to apply for naturalization after they have been domiciled in our country for three years.

133. Faithful to its mission in this regard, over the past 12 months my Government has continued to take in political refugees. Furthermore, this year we have actively participated in the work of the Group of Experts on the Draft Convention on Territorial

Asylum created by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session.

134. My country is prepared to support every effort to give the High Commissioner expanded powers which would in particular make it possible for him to take action for the protection of refugees.

135. In response to efforts by the United Nations to protect the handicapped, my delegation this year will submit to the Assembly a draft declaration on the rights of handicapped persons.

136. The Belgian Government welcomes efforts made this year by our Organization to promote the status of women within the framework of International Women's Year. The Belgian Government has taken important action in Belgium within the context of the International Year and in line with this world-wide movement, nor has it spared any efforts within the United Nations. Both in the Consultative Committee for the Conference of the International Women's Year and at the Conference itself, Belgian representatives actively participated in the preparation of the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year. If it is put into effect, as it should be, it will lead to considerable progress in the essential and legitimate cause of equality for women.

137. In spite of all these positive developments, we must recognize the fact that the United Nations does not seem to be properly equipped to ensure the protection of human rights.

138. It is thus with great pleasure that the Belgian delegation welcomes the inclusion in the agenda of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms" [item 73]. We hope that the debate on the subject will be constructive and will come up with ways in which our Organization might fulfil its mission in this vital area.

139. My Government has always considered the co-operation of the United Nations with non-governmental organizations to be essential to the success of that mission. Here I should like to pay a tribute to the non-governmental organizations for their constructive and disinterested action in the area of the protection and defence of human rights. May I say here that my Government attaches considerable importance to what is being done by the non-governmental organizations, and we would vigorously oppose any attempt to reduce their jurisdiction in this regard.

140. Automatic and widespread recourse to the system of United Nations commissions of inquiry seems to my Government to be highly desirable.

141. On this subject, the Commission on Human Rights, which I should like to commend, decided to send a fact-finding Working Group on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile.

142. The Belgian Government very much regrets that the Chilean Government, after at first agreeing to accept the group and allow it to carry out its mission, at the last minute postponed that authorization. My Government expresses the hope that the Chilean

authorities will change what we feel was a highly regrettable decision as soon as possible.

143. However, Chile is not the only country where human rights have come under attack. I have noted, furthermore, that the decision to send a fact-finding working group to Chile was not adopted until a year and a half after the beginning of the events to which the charges relate, and that only after difficult negotiations.

144. Such a procedure is very cumbersome, lengthy and dangerous because it is not automatic.

145. Could we not take advantage of the opportunity provided by the debate on the agenda item I mentioned to see to it that the system of commissions of inquiry is more generally used? We should be able to make referral to such commissions automatic, to establish rules for their composition and to consider a general declaration, in which all States would express their readiness at any time to receive visits from such commissions.

146. These commissions should be sent out in accordance with procedures based on objective criteria.

147. Until all States accept that declaration, we could meanwhile facilitate its application by drawing up a list of all those of us who would be prepared to endorse the declaration forthwith.

148. That is, to be sure, an ambitious plan, but one which my delegation is prepared to discuss and to endorse immediately.

149. I wish to conclude my speech on this note: any proposal to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations in the defence of human rights will be endorsed by Belgium.

150. Mr. KHALATBARI (Iran): Mr. President, this session of the Assembly opens amidst signs of a new vitality, in an atmosphere of rising expectations. It is thus fitting that a personality of your wisdom and experience should preside over its deliberations. On behalf of my Government, I congratulate you on your assumption of this high office and look to your guidance.

151. To your predecessor, Foreign Minister Bouflicka of Algeria, my delegation wishes to pay a particular tribute for the distinguished way in which he presided over the twenty-ninth and the seventh special sessions of the General Assembly. His vigorous leadership was instrumental in enabling the Organization to arrive at some of the most significant decisions it has ever made.

152. The Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, has always been held in high esteem by my Government, and we once again offer him our support and co-operation.

153. Allow me also to take this opportunity to welcome warmly to our midst the Republics of Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe, whose admission to the United Nations has brought us closer to full universality.

154. We are meeting here during this thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations at a time of revolutionary change in human affairs. The last three decades have witnessed some of the most far-reaching changes on the international scene. The most outstanding feature

of this transformation is the new resurgence we are witnessing of the third world which is striving to break the old pattern of unequal relationships, a pattern which was founded on the faulty precept of the permanent growth of the rich nations at the expense of the poor and is reflected in the growing gap between the developed and developing countries.

155. It is that break with the old scheme of things that has produced the signs of unrest within the United Nations as it marks the thirtieth anniversary of its birth. The United Nations has come under attack because it reflects the aspirations of a large majority of the deprived nations which demand a fair share of world prosperity, defy the one-sided rules forged in a bygone age and reject inequality, racism and colonialism.

156. But if the United Nations echoes those aspirations it equally provides the forum for dialogue and the resolution of problems. That was evidenced in the recently concluded seventh special session of the General Assembly. The test of statesmanship is thus not to turn away from the United Nations because the Organization reflects the realities of the world situation, but rather to come to grips with the root-causes of the present state of affairs.

157. The United Nations has never lacked critics, and one cannot deny that some of the criticism is justified and has been made in good faith.

158. As we look back at the record of the past three decades we find that, as with any other human enterprise, there are positive and negative points on the balance-sheet. Yet given the constraints under which the Organization has worked, it has registered a commendable list of achievements in such areas as peace-keeping, decolonization and economic development, as well as in the social and humanitarian fields.

159. At the time of this anniversary let us, as Members of the United Nations, pledge ourselves to act in a manner that will rekindle the hope that mankind placed in this Organization 30 years ago.

160. The events of the past year have brought to the fore new developments and highlighted changes in many aspects of current problems. In Indo-China, war has at long last come to an end and a tragic chapter of history has finally been closed; the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has been held in Helsinki; and a major step has been taken towards the achievement of a final settlement in the Middle East.

161. There have been other events of great significance in the course of the past year, but I should like to confine my remarks to the areas of more direct interest to my country.

162. For many years, relations between Iran and Iraq were strained. I am happy to inform the Assembly that our differences have been finally and definitely resolved.

163. At the summit Conference of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] at Algiers on 6 March 1975, during a meeting between my august Sovereign and the Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq, a decision was reached on the definite demarcation of the land and river

frontiers and the re-establishment of good-neighbourly relations. An era of co-operation has thus started in which all peoples, no longer burdened by the legacy of the past, can explore new horizons in many areas of mutual interest. This development could also allow our neighbours, the littoral States of the Persian Gulf, to enhance their co-operation for the maintenance of security and peace within that important waterway.

164. I should like on this occasion to place on record the sincere gratitude and appreciation of my Government to all Governments and personalities that strove to bring about a peaceful solution between Iran and Iraq. It is especially an honour and a pleasant duty for me to mention the President of Algeria, Houari Boumediene, to whose tireless efforts that accomplishment owes a great deal. I should like also to express our appreciation to Algeria's Foreign Minister, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, and his skilful collaborators, whose presence and co-operation during various stages of the negotiations were of immense value.

165. In the Middle East the danger of a new conflagration has not yet been removed. Much as we welcome the recent peace initiatives, we cannot fail to note that a real solution is still lacking at the scene of the conflict. At the heart of the problem lies the refusal of Israel to return the lands it has occupied by force and to recognize for the people of Palestine those same rights that it regards as sacrosanct for its own people.

166. In spite of that, we believe that efforts to prepare the ground for a durable solution must be encouraged.

167. Bearing that in mind, we praise the efforts made this year by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kissinger, to bring about a new agreement on military disengagement in Sinai. We are pleased that in spite of earlier setbacks those efforts finally had positive results and a new disengagement of forces proved possible of achievement. Throughout that long, arduous and often frustrating process, President El-Sadat of Egypt demonstrated high qualities of statesmanship. Among his many commendable decisions we count with great satisfaction the reopening of the Suez Canal and the resettlement of some 600,000 of the dispersed inhabitants of that area.

168. We praise equally the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. We greatly value the importance of the role being played by the United Nations forces and we have ourselves, on an urgent request from the Secretary-General, contributed a contingency unit to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. We firmly believe that the presence of those forces in the Sinai and Golan regions will encourage the movement towards a final peace settlement. That presence should not, however, allow stagnation to persist.

169. My Government continues to believe that the key to the solution of the Middle East problem lies in the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), together with other relevant United Nations resolutions which call for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied in the 1967 war, including Jerusalem, the exercise of their legitimate rights by the Palestinian people and security and recognition for all States in that area.



170. The concerns that underlay our proposal to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East remain a source of undiminished preoccupation. Last year I had occasion to explain to the Assembly the motives that had prompted my august Sovereign to renew his proposal for the establishment of such a zone in our region. I need not therefore cover the same ground again. Yet two basic propositions bear repeating.

171. First, the diffusion of nuclear technology, encouraged by the fear of energy shortage, has sharply increased the likelihood of the proliferation of nuclear arms and hence the necessity for devising new means for curbing the spread of such weapons.

172. Secondly, in the turbulent political atmosphere of our region the introduction of nuclear weapons not only cannot be discounted, but would represent the most dangerous aspect of nuclear-weapon proliferation. It would gravely complicate prospects for peace and security in the region.

173. It is for these reasons that we once again draw attention to the necessity for serious international action. We are most pleased that, as an outcome of the request by Iran and Egypt, a resolution was adopted last year with near unanimity which included the positive votes of all the permanent members of the Security Council [*resolution 3474 (XXX)*].

174. While the entry of nuclear weapons into conflict areas represents the more virulent facet of nuclear proliferation, other aspects of the problem should not escape our attention. The basic truth that must not be forgotten is that the problem of proliferation, in essence, is a ramification of the existence of nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the great Powers.

175. While some of those Powers display a remarkable interest in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons, there is no matching willingness on their part to check what, in the parlance of arms control, has come to be known as vertical proliferation.

176. No doubt we see merit in the agreements concluded in the context of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks as a means of promoting détente and bringing further stabilizing effects to bear on the strategic relations of the USSR and the United States. We find, nevertheless, that the exorbitant ceiling placed on the number of strategic delivery vehicles and the excessively high threshold agreed upon for nuclear weapon tests codify, rather than curb, the nuclear arms race.

177. My country, which was selected last year to serve in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and is an active participant in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, will continue to work actively towards the attainment of the vital objective of general and complete disarmament.

178. But, while this objective has not been attained and in the absence of alternative means for guaranteeing the security of States, countries find no other recourse than to devote attention to the requirements of their own security.

179. With respect to the Indian Ocean, my country has consistently stressed the necessity for keeping this area free from great-Power rivalry and competitive

arms build-up. The safety of the trade routes and maritime passages is of vital importance to all the countries of the region. It was with this paramount concern in mind that we joined in the efforts of other littoral States of the Indian Ocean to establish a zone of peace in the region.

180. Co-operation among the countries of the region themselves to promote the security and prosperity of the region would greatly enhance the chances of achieving the objective of a peace zone by eliminating the rationale for the presence of outside Powers, a presence which historically was based on the need to ensure safe and secure passage for trade. It is the prospect of such an outcome that enables us to look encouragingly at the proposed conference of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.

181. Among the important events of this year in the framework of the United Nations I should like to mention the World Conference of the International Women's Year. The two major documents adopted by the Conference—the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year and the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975—represent a landmark in the history of the liberation of women, setting out principles and offering Governments clear guidelines as to the measures needed fully to integrate women into society.

182. Another great international event which took place this year was the holding of the seventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to development and international co-operation. There is hardly any need to emphasize the importance of the resolution which was unanimously adopted at the end of the session on 16 September. This document came a year after the adoption of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] as well as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. The specific measures which are aimed at achieving the over-all objective of the new international economic order, though modest, represent in principle a first step towards eliminating the disparity between the developed and the developing countries and increasing the capacity of the latter to pursue their development individually and collectively.

183. While welcoming the resolution and hoping that the constructive exchange of views which took place will be conducive to the opening of a new era in international relations, one may be allowed to express doubts that some of the industrial countries will ever act on their promises at the United Nations. Doubts are especially justified since, immediately after the session, voices were raised against the third-world countries by some representatives from the industrial world who had pledged themselves to the cause of development.

184. In this respect it is surprising that since the closure of the special session some factions from the industrial world have continued to attempt to place the blame for the current economic crisis on OPEC and have gone so far as to threaten to act jointly with their allies to break the grip of the oil-producing nations on energy prices.

185. In this respect, the truth has been repeatedly explained by OPEC members. On our part, in the past two years, we have on a number of occasions presented figures demonstrating that an artificially low oil price had been maintained for almost a quarter of a century before 1974. During that period of time, our countries had been plagued more and more by the spiralling inflation in the industrialized countries.

186. Yet the oil polemic has become more stubbornly partisan in recent months. Our critics seem to have forgotten—or overlooked—the fact that the adjustment in oil prices was in response to this high rate of inflation and that such adjustment contributed only insignificantly—not more than 2 per cent—to the rising prices, while the cost of the goods imported by oil-producing countries from the industrialized world rose by an average of 35 per cent.

187. Our critics are complaining about the so-called "unilateral" fixing of the prices by a "cartel". Shall we remind them that all major manufactured products in the advanced countries are priced through unilateral decisions. Even with regard to food, upon which the survival of man depends, the agricultural policies of the major exporting countries have very often consisted in maintaining high prices through limited production with a view to avoiding, as they say, undesirable surpluses which might depress the market. They object to the exercise of our sovereign rights over our natural resources, even though in the past they spared no effort to justify the unilateral price-fixing of their major oil companies and refused to call it a cartel action. They preach that no country or group of countries should have exclusive power in the areas basic to the welfare of others, even though they themselves took unilateral decisions in recent years that shook the very foundations of the world monetary system, at the expense of many other nations. They do not miss any opportunity to lament over the plight of the poorest countries. Yet at the height of their prosperity, based mainly on cheap energy, they constantly avoided contributing significant and adequate assistance to the poor. A few days ago, at the seventh special session, they even declined to undertake to try to bring their official development aid up to the very modest target of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product by 1980.

188. In contrast, in 1974 alone the oil-producing countries granted over 2 per cent of their gross national product to the non-oil-producing countries. In the case of Iran, our foreign aid, bilateral and multilateral, was close to 6 per cent during the same period.

189. Moreover, on the initiative of my Sovereign, the representative of Iran in the current ministerial meeting of OPEC at Vienna is proposing the creation of a special fund to help the least-developed nations, irrespective of the willingness of the industrial countries to accept a matching share in this undertaking.

190. The truth of the matter is that adjustment in oil prices was in response to the high rate of inflation in the industrialized countries, and to the prices of manufactured goods, many of which went up by more than 300 per cent in recent years. Moreover, economic realities dictate that oil prices should be in line with the cost of producing alternate sources of energy. Under the circumstances, and taking into account the continuing rise in the inflation rate which is eroding the purchasing-power of the oil-producing countries, a readjustment of petroleum prices has become an economic necessity.

191. Let us not confuse the issues. The real question is not the price of oil, which is used only to hide the fundamental problem. The question is whether or not the industrial nations are ready to co-operate with others in shaping a new and just international economic order which would benefit the developed and developing nations alike.

192. The OPEC members have shown their goodwill by freezing oil prices until September 1975, and have expressed time and again their willingness for co-operation through dialogue with consumers. They went to Paris last April with that aim in mind. And now they have agreed to return to the same conference table. It is now up to the industrial nations to show their goodwill.

193. The unanimous adoption of a set of measures in favour of developing countries by the seventh special session is the first step towards a new era in international economic relations. But our expectations will have to be put to the test at the Paris discussions on energy and other raw materials.

194. Let us hope that, unnecessary polemics apart, the industrialized countries will come to the realities of our present world and accept interdependence as a two-way road linking all nations, rich and poor.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 24, item 41.*

<sup>3</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2264th meeting, para. 31.*

<sup>5</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.7.

<sup>6</sup> *Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer space, and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963. See United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.*