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**President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).**

***Statement by the President on the occasion of the  
sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution***

1. The PRESIDENT: Before the Assembly takes up the item on our agenda, may I point out that this day, 7 November, marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution. That event of exceptional and historic importance for the development and progress of the USSR has also had a very great influence upon the course of development of international relations and upon the world in general. The ideas of the October Revolution have substantially influenced the emergence and development of new historic trends in many parts of the world and have contributed to the great changes which have occurred in international relations.

2. For the peoples of the Soviet Union, the October Revolution marked a decisive turning-point in their history, which has resulted in enormous changes and the creation of a new socio-political and economic system, characterized by political and social progress and tremendous economic development.

3. On the occasion of this anniversary, I wish to extend my warmest and most cordial greetings and congratulations to the delegations of the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR; and to the peoples of the USSR I wish to convey my best wishes for their further progress and well-being.

**AGENDA ITEM 14**

**Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency  
(continued)**

4. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, you have just spoken of the event which took place 60 years ago and

which ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind—the Great October Socialist Revolution. May I follow your example, since the creation and the development of the German Democratic Republic are closely connected with “Red October” of 1917.

5. Sixty years ago there arose a new social system which, over the years, has unceasingly been strengthened; it has shown all peoples an example of how to resolve many social and national questions; it vanquished Hitlerite fascism; and it gave my people the possibility of embarking upon a new path, the path to socialism. On behalf of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, in heartily congratulating the delegations of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR on the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, I am speaking in my capacity as the representative of a country which is irreversibly and intimately connected with the peoples of the USSR on the basis of proletarian internationalism. The experience of our Soviet friends has always helped us, and I am convinced that we are not alone in commending very highly their initiative and activity in the cause of peace and progress.

6. The motto proclaimed by Lenin, “Peace to the peoples”, is our motto, too—in fact, it is the motto of this very Organization of States.

7. On behalf of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, may I congratulate from this rostrum IAEA, its members, its Director General, Mr. Eklund, and his staff on the twentieth anniversary of that Agency. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, in his message to the twenty-first session of the General Conference of IAEA, evaluated the work of IAEA in the following terms:

“The International Atomic Energy Agency is conducting successful work to ensure peace, mutual understanding between States and the practical use of atomic energy for the benefit of peoples.... The activities of the Agency in fulfilling the purposes of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons merit particular recognition and the effective support of all States. The German Democratic Republic views that as a priceless contribution to the implementation of the highest right of all peoples—the right to life in peace and security.”

8. We would like to thank Mr. Eklund for the report he has submitted to us<sup>1</sup> and for his additional remarks

<sup>1</sup> International Atomic Energy Agency, *The Annual Report for 1976* (Austria, July 1977); transmitted to the members of the General Assembly by a note of the Secretary-General (A/32/158 and Add.1).

concerning the Agency's activities [58th meeting, paras. 3-42], and we congratulate the Director General on his re-election to that post. We are very grateful for the efforts made by him to fulfil the tasks which devolve upon that Agency.

9. We continue to consider as a task of highest priority for IAEA the activities conducted by that Agency with a view to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In this atomic century, inherent in any military conflict is the danger of its escalation to a world-wide nuclear catastrophe. Hence it is now more necessary than ever to expand political détente and to make it irreversible. This purpose was the basis of the recent Soviet initiative at this General Assembly session in proposing discussion of the question of the "deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of a nuclear war" [A/32/242] and the taking of appropriate steps in that direction. We attach particular importance to the recent Soviet proposals on the nuclear question submitted by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, in his statement marking the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a statement which has our full support. We are deeply convinced that the implementation of those proposals will substantially promote the improvement of necessary conditions for the use of nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. This would enhance the role and responsibility of IAEA, since measures to prevent the threat of a nuclear war and to curb the arms race and, in the final analysis, to achieve the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons would significantly improve the international situation and thus encourage the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Therefore, we feel that IAEA can and should make a contribution to the implementation of those proposals. We have in mind, in particular, its efforts to strengthen the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

10. In view of the increasing use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and of international co-operation in that field, the need to strengthen and broaden the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons becomes more and more important, and the chief instrument for this is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373, annex]. If the non-proliferation Treaty could finally become a comprehensive instrument, that would be in the interests of all States and peoples of the world. The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should become a generally recognized principle strengthened by the IAEA safeguards system.

11. Indeed, the more decisive an international agreement is in excluding the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the better and more effectively can nuclear energy be used for the good of all peoples. There would be more opportunities for international scientific and technical nuclear co-operation and for the promotion of the technological capabilities of developing countries.

12. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to highlight the work already accomplished by IAEA in the safeguards field. The IAEA safeguards system is of paramount importance in preventing the abuse of

nuclear materials and installations. Although we acknowledge the work already accomplished by IAEA in this field, we consider it appropriate to point out that even greater effort on the part of all States members of the Agency is needed to strengthen the IAEA safeguards system. Indeed, that system must be made more effective on both the specialized and technical levels; it must be independent and fairly applied on the territory of all non-nuclear-weapons States parties to the non-proliferation Treaty. My delegation feels bound to note that, to date, IAEA has had virtually no opportunity to conduct the necessary independent controls of States members of the European Atomic Energy Community that do not possess nuclear weapons. We hope that those States will do everything in their power to fulfil their duties under the Treaty. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would point to the need to give particular attention to such important matters as the qualifications of inspectors and the further improvement of national control systems. The German Democratic Republic emphasizes its readiness to co-operate in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We take as our basis the principle that non-nuclear weapon States that receive nuclear materials, installations and technology should state officially that they will be used for peaceful purposes alone. They should bring all nuclear activities under the IAEA safeguards system. In this way the States receiving nuclear materials would show quite clearly that they would never take advantage of nuclear installations and materials in order to produce nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. The attitude that regards the exportation of nuclear materials as solely a commercial rather than a political matter is highly dangerous; this was clearly shown by the information recently received about the nuclear aspirations of the racist régime of The Republic of South Africa. The German Democratic Republic most resolutely condemns the intentions of that régime to misuse nuclear materials by diverting those provided to it by the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to military purposes. We must not fail to emphasize the responsibility of those countries supplying nuclear materials, installations and technology to take all necessary measures to avert any misuse of these supplies.

13. The German Democratic Republic supports the efforts made by IAEA to resolve questions connected with the creation of international centres on the nuclear fuel cycle. The establishment of such centres would yield manifold advantages, economically, environmentally and from the safeguards point of view. An important task of IAEA, in our view, is to carry out studies of all aspects of peaceful nuclear explosions. The successful completion of that work would make an effective contribution to the implementation of article V of the non-proliferation Treaty.

14. My delegation also welcomes the initiative of IAEA in preparing an international convention on the physical storage of nuclear materials, installations and transport. We are in favour of the speedy conclusion of that convention.

15. The German Democratic Republic is firmly convinced that IAEA, as heretofore, remains and must remain the most appropriate international organization for the discussion of all political, scientific and technical questions related to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and for helping States in both word and deed. The excellent work

which, as the report clearly shows, has so far been done by the Agency in the field of science and technology and also in the granting of technical assistance convinces us of this. The German Democratic Republic welcomes that activity and we are prepared to give active support to it. It gave us great pleasure to welcome the representatives of many States at the session of the technical committee on the use of stable isotopes in biology which took place at the beginning of this year in Leipzig. That meeting was the first joint scientific venture by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and IAEA. The study excursions and training courses which were held in the German Democratic Republic promoted the further dissemination of the experience already acquired in our country in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

16. Of great importance for the better understanding of all problems connected with the peaceful use of nuclear energy was the International Conference on Nuclear Power and its Fuel Cycle which took place in Salzburg in May this year. We are grateful to IAEA for conducting that Conference. The work of the Conference showed clearly that nuclear fission is necessary as a source of energy and should be used, according to the IAEA rules, solely for the benefit of mankind.

17. In conclusion, my delegation would like to emphasize that the German Democratic Republic is in favour of détente and disarmament. We call insistently for the strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. At the same time, we support all efforts aimed at the peaceful use of nuclear energy, without discrimination and under the strict system of IAEA safeguards, in order to ensure that no misuse of nuclear energy is possible.

18. Mr. SATTAR (Pakistan): The annual report of IAEA and the statement of the learned and wise Director General of that Agency are especially welcome this year. The authoritative and objective information they provide will, we hope, illuminate the discussion on one of the important issues under consideration at this session. The issue has arisen because of a recent tendency to see in a policy of restraints on the spread of nuclear technology a panacea for the problem of proliferation of nuclear weapons. Such a restrictive approach has inevitably provoked widespread concern, which is natural at a time of expanding demand for wide availability of nuclear energy as an indispensable prerequisite for continued economic development.

19. Not that the anxiety over possible misuse of nuclear energy is not shared. It is by no means a monopoly of a few States. The whole of mankind has long been profoundly disturbed by the peril of instant annihilation posed by nuclear weapons.

20. Equally, however, it has long been recognized that the objective of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should by no means preclude the objective of the accelerated use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The two objectives were not seen as mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the assumption was that the world community, acting together, could and should realize both these objectives simultaneously. This co-operative approach was indeed the basis on which IAEA was founded.

21. In the past couple of years, however, some States have appeared to be veering away from that co-operative international approach. Instead, national policies have been developed and reportedly advocated in exclusive groups which would resort to export restrictions on peaceful technology and to other means of coercion in order to dictate nuclear-programme choices to importing countries. Besides its objectionable unilateral and discriminatory aspects, such an approach undercuts the principles underlying IAEA and vitiates the prospects of that Agency, which no one should desire.

22. IAEA has provided a reliable and effective system of safeguards against the diversion of nuclear energy to military purposes. There has been no report of non-compliance with or infringement of any of the scores of safeguards agreements between the Agency and various States. No one has taken the view that any nuclear material under IAEA safeguards has been diverted to the manufacture of a nuclear weapon or any other nuclear explosive device.

23. One non-nuclear-weapon State tested a nuclear explosive device some years ago, and reports have been rife of the acquisition of nuclear explosive capability by Israel and South Africa. As a result, the spectre of the proliferation of nuclear weapons has risen. But this danger of proliferation does not emerge from facilities which are under IAEA safeguards. This danger arises from nuclear facilities outside the purview of IAEA. Not all non-nuclear-weapon States have placed all their nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards. As the Director General of IAEA warned in his statement here last Friday, "there are some significant exceptions" [58th meeting, para. 15].

24. A realistic and credible approach to the objective of non-proliferation would have required immediate and urgent action in respect of those "significant exceptions". Not only those unsafeguarded nuclear facilities but also the fissile material already produced and stockpiled should be brought under IAEA safeguards. The elimination of those exceptions to the safeguards régime of the Agency would be the most effective means of eliminating the danger of proliferation.

25. Regrettably, however, the effort seems to be aimed instead at hindering the spread of peaceful nuclear technology even under the most stringent IAEA safeguards.

26. It has been stated, in justification of such policies, that certain nuclear technologies are too "sensitive" to be exported to non-nuclear weapon States. It is notable that those same technologies are considered indispensable by some of the nuclear supplier States. At the last session of the General Conference of IAEA, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany stated that:

"Intensive and detailed studies had shown that a country like the Federal Republic of Germany, densely populated and lacking in raw materials, could not renounce the reprocessing and use of plutonium as fuel."

Similarly, the representative of Japan, speaking in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, underlined the fact that nuclear reprocessing was a proven technology

and could not be given up by countries which require it for their economic development. Again, the annual report of IAEA notes that the first commercial reprocessing plant has started operation in a West European country. Others are under construction.

27. Now, if certain technologies are essential for the economic development of the developed countries, can it be justly maintained that they are not necessary for the promotion of nuclear energy programmes in the developing countries? Nuclear energy is beneficial not only to industrialized countries; it is no less beneficial to those third-world countries which have a very low *per capita* consumption of energy and are at the same time deficient in conventional energy resources. There cannot be one separate set of rules for the industrialized countries and another for the developing countries. It would be even more discriminatory if a supplier country were to reserve its own right to use certain nuclear technologies but pressure developing countries not to use the same, even under IAEA safeguards. Such discrimination and inequality have been rejected by the third-world countries in the context of their endeavour to establish a new international economic order.

28. The Director General of the Agency exhorted us to remember that: "in the long run there is practically no way of stopping the spread of nuclear technology among nations" [58th meeting, para. 33]. Already, the construction of nuclear facilities in developing countries has accelerated. As the Director General told us, by the year 1985 the installed capacity in developing countries will expand to 28,000 megawatts. By the year 2000 it will certainly have multiplied many times. A credible non-proliferation policy cannot be based on the prevention of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. On the contrary, attempts to do that may damage the prospects for promoting a universal safeguards régime.

29. It is desirable that all nations should return to the co-operative international approach underlying the statute of IAEA. To this end, it would certainly be timely and useful that this Assembly should reiterate the principles of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It is in that spirit that Pakistan has joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/32/L.15.

30. We were happy to hear the Director General emphasize that the Agency has two main objectives. Of these, the prevention of the diversion of nuclear energy is the second. First, let us remember, in order of precedence in article II of the statute is the acceleration of the contribution of nuclear energy to economic progress.

31. Yet, in recent years, the promotional objective of the Agency has been relegated apparently to a secondary place, while the regulatory objective has tended to pre-empt the time and funds of the Agency. This imbalance will need to be rectified.

32. Developing countries particularly have been voicing increasing concern in the appropriate organs of IAEA over the stagnation of its programme of technical assistance. While dollar targets for voluntary contributions to technical assistance programmes have risen, the increases have often been offset by inflation and dollar devaluation.

33. Moreover, the targets are rarely achieved. A number of countries do not pay fully, or at all, their fair share of this moral obligation under the statute<sup>2</sup> which, it may be recalled, promises in article III, "due consideration" for the "special needs" of the developing countries.

34. It is significant that over 40 developing countries have not so far joined the Agency. The relative neglect of promotional activities by the Agency must partly explain their reluctance. But another reason might be the anachronistic composition of the principal executive organ of the Agency. The composition of the Board of Governors needs to be changed in order to ensure equitable representation for the developing countries.

35. It is obvious that only the competent organs of the Agency itself can make the necessary decisions to rectify the problems that we and several other speakers have mentioned. Yet it will certainly constitute no transgression of the independence of the Agency if this Assembly were to commend certain ideas for consideration by the organs of the Agency itself. It may be hoped that solutions satisfactory to all the members of the Agency will soon be found in the interest of greater international co-operation and the promotion of the objectives of the Agency.

36. IAEA is already one of the most important agencies in the United Nations system. Moreover, its importance is rapidly growing with the increased demands placed on nuclear energy to meet the world's expanding needs for power.

37. The members of the Agency, as indeed the entire world community, will look to the Agency for the support and authoritative information indispensable to intelligent decision-making in the field of nuclear energy and to ensuring that the necessary expansion in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy takes place without any avoidable increase in risks as to safety of operation, deleterious effects on the environment, or diversion to military purposes.

38. As in the organs of the Agency itself, so also in this forum, Pakistan takes pleasure in commending the Agency for maintaining its high standards, for its valuable contribution to the promotion of nuclear energy and for providing a measure of confidence that nuclear materials, equipment and facilities subject to its safeguards will be used for peaceful purposes only.

39. Mr. MOHAJER (Iran): Today marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the delegation of the Soviet Union on this occasion and wish every prosperity and happiness to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

40. The year 1977 marks the twentieth anniversary of the founding of IAEA. My delegation wishes to extend its congratulations to the members, the Director General and the secretariat of IAEA on this occasion. We should like also to congratulate the Director General on his re-election. The Director General of the Agency can rightly take pride in the impressive record of his past achievements. His high

<sup>2</sup> See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 276 (No. 3988), p. 4.



professional qualities, his invaluable experience and, above all, his dedication to the goals of IAEA make him an excellent choice for the leadership of that great organization. We wish him every success in the fulfilment of his complex and increasing responsibilities.

41. The programmes and responsibilities of IAEA, far-reaching and multidimensional from the beginning, have assumed greater importance during the past several years. With the expansion of power-generation programmes throughout the world, new dimensions have been added to the normal activities of the Agency that are perceived and fashioned to be responsive to new challenges in the international arena. By now it has become clear that the world as a whole faces a serious energy problem. This is a problem which transcends boundaries and involves the producers of conventional energy as much as it does its consumers. Even to sustain a Spartan growth, there is a need for new discoveries over and above conventional sources. Thus there is an imperative necessity for IAEA to play an expanding role in promoting adequate planning for nuclear energy through advice, training and the exchange of information. Iran, along with an increasing number of other countries, after a careful assessment of the available options, has opted for large-scale nuclear programmes to satisfy its energy needs. The choice has not been an easy one and will not be so for a large number of other developing countries which have to face the problem. Hence the significance of the role of IAEA in providing leadership in this and other areas of its special competence. With the unprecedented drive for the utilization of nuclear energy, the importance of yet other aspects of the Agency's activities can hardly be over-emphasized. The development of safety and environmental protection standards, the enhancement of international security through the effective exercise of safeguards responsibilities and the development of standards for the physical security of nuclear material are all sensitive issues of a high political and economic order which fall within the purview of the responsibilities of IAEA.

42. In the consideration of the question of nuclear energy as an essential requirement for economic development, both in the developed and the developing countries, a number of issues have caught the imagination of responsible authorities as well as the concerned public. Salient among them are the questions of the nuclear fuel cycle, the transfer of nuclear technology and the role of IAEA.

43. It is felt by many countries that the fuel cycle is the most important component of the nuclear energy loop: that the development of appropriate national fuel undertakings and easy access to a closed fuel cycle constitute a fundamental requirement for the sound development of nuclear energy. As representatives are aware, at the first international Conference on the Transfer of Nuclear Technology, to which the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran acted as host and which was held in Persepolis from 10 to 14 April 1977, the nuclear fuel cycle was a major topic of discussion among the more than 500 participants from 41 nations present at the Conference. At that Conference, which was jointly sponsored by the American Nuclear Society, the European Nuclear Society and the Japanese Atomic Energy Society, the senior members of the supplier and recipient nations came together for the first time as

individuals and expressed their personal views openly. The Conference also benefited from the experience of IAEA, which was ably represented by the Director General of the Agency, Mr. Eklund. Various views accented the complexity of the issues associated with the nuclear fuel cycle and pointed to the need for more in-depth analysis in this field. The major International Conference on Nuclear Power and its Fuel Cycle, held in Salzburg in May 1977, was indeed an important step in that direction. We are highly appreciative of the role played by IAEA in that Conference, which covered almost all aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle, from uranium mining to the reprocessing of irradiated fuel, problems which are of great topical interest to developing and industrial countries.

44. In speaking of nuclear power and the fuel cycle, I should like also to touch upon one major aspect of the question, namely, the availability of resources at reasonable prices to meet growing world demand. As evidenced in the present report of the Agency, IAEA has been dealing, over a number of years, with the problem of uranium supply and demand. On the basis of information provided by the Agency, unless there is a great expansion of prospecting and development resulting in major new discoveries, there will be formidable problems ahead in meeting the demand for uranium. The world-wide interest in discovering and developing new resources of uranium with the assistance of IAEA reflects global consciousness of this fact.

45. We appreciate the ongoing activities of IAEA and we hope that it will be able to expand its role in the coming years. The present number of IAEA projects, as listed in its report, are indeed impressive. However, to help in meeting future challenges—in particular those facing the developing countries—there is a serious need for a further strengthening of the Agency's technical assistance capabilities, especially in the area of the training of skilled personnel who could operate the burgeoning nuclear industries in various parts of the world.

46. The implementation of energy programmes requires numerous technologies and services which have to be provided through international co-operation. This process, we have repeatedly emphasized, should be undertaken without endangering the mandate of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to which we have adhered since its inception. Unfortunately, some advanced nations display a peculiar attitude towards technology, an attitude that is characterized by an air of having near absolute sovereignty over technology, even when this involves great deprivation for others. Ironically enough, these nations have an entirely different attitude towards the transfer elsewhere of natural resources that are being depleted. Even worse, a large body of public opinion has been led to believe in only one aspect of the question: the so-called association of nuclear technology with its destructive potential. Thus the flow of nuclear technology and services has been hindered by a certain confusion on the part of some supplier nations and by the unilateral conditions laid down by them. The parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons are as much affected by such policies as are the non-signatories. It bears repeating that the concern of my country for non-proliferation, as evidenced in our official statements and as supported by our actions here at the United Nations, goes

beyond mere respect for it; we, along with the majority of States represented in this hall, consider ourselves conscientious objectors to nuclear-weapon proliferation. My delegation believes that the objectives of the non-proliferation Treaty cannot be served by erecting obstacles on the road to the much-needed flow of necessary nuclear technology and services. IAEA has an important role to play in this critical situation. It could entertain the possibility of providing the complementary guidelines and mechanisms which might be necessary reasonably to strengthen its safeguards system: at the same time it should explore an imaginative but realistic course of action, which could facilitate and ensure an unhindered and reliable flow of required technologies and services.

47. We believe that there is a serious need for collective efforts. However, these efforts should be consistent not only with the ideals of non-proliferation but also with that of the statute of IAEA. While we recognize the right of every nation to search on the basis of its special interests for an isolated solution, we are confident that only through collective dialogue and action can the world effectively deal with the nuclear energy challenge.

48. It is precisely this perspective that encourages us to feel that the Agency, as the sole universal forum for nuclear energy, should assume a greater mandate. We believe any attempt to replace IAEA by bilateral or multilateral agreements would involve a real danger to the singular effectiveness of the Agency. Any attempt to encroach upon the integrity of the Agency should be resisted by all its members. Iran supports a stronger and more dynamic organization, which could be instrumental both in the enlightened extension and in the wise and reasonable control of nuclear energy. We have great hopes for its future. We are sure IAEA, while pursuing its diversified objectives, will grow further to become the most effective international mechanism for solving the problems associated with the promotion, application and control of nuclear energy.

49. I should like to close my remarks with an expression of sincere appreciation for all the support that the Agency has given Iran in the implementation of its nuclear energy programmes. I wish also to assure the Director General of the Agency of our further co-operation with his organization.

50. Mr. KÖMIVES (Hungary): My Government is highly appreciative of the 20 years of activity of IAEA, which has contributed to strengthening international security and to expanding international co-operation in an extremely important area.

51. I wish to take this opportunity to extend my delegation's warm congratulations to Mr. Sigvard Eklund on his re-election as Director General of IAEA for another term of four years. May I also express my thanks and recognition to the staff of the Agency for their successful work accomplished under his guidance. May I assure him that he can always count upon the co-operation of the Hungarian Government in the performance of his responsible activity.

52. IAEA, which looks back upon a past of 20 years, plays an extremely important role in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and in preventing its application for non-peaceful purposes. The Hungarian delegation is of the opinion that IAEA has basically lived up to this complex double function, and regards it as being one of the most effective international organizations. This has been greatly facilitated by the active contribution of member States to the Agency's activity, and by the appropriate balance of representation and interests prevailing in the Agency's governing bodies, which has rendered its work effective.

53. The International Conference held by the Agency at Salzburg last May proved to be a useful forum to assess the problems involved and the results achieved in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. As regards the future, there is an almost general consensus of opinion that nuclear energy is of enormous significance and that the wider application of nuclear techniques may carry invaluable implications for all countries, particularly developing countries.

54. International co-operation and the technical assistance provided by the Agency are indispensable for those countries which have limited resources available for costly research and applications of nuclear techniques. The work accomplished by the Agency in this field is evidence of its ability to tackle this task with success and at a high level of competence. In this connexion I should add that technical assistance and safeguards should go hand in hand.

55. We attach outstanding importance to the activity of the Agency with regard to safeguards. The safeguards for the peaceful applications of nuclear techniques constitute an extremely serious task, but also provide security for States that applications are coupled with adequate control. As the Hungarian delegation has stated at this forum on various occasions, my Government deems it important and necessary that the Agency's system of safeguards should be further strengthened. The relevance of this is further accentuated by recent developments that give rise to concern. I have in mind certain agreements which include individualized safeguards systems, bypassing the non-proliferation Treaty.

56. The Hungarian delegation attaches great importance and lends its full support to the proposals made by President Brezhnev last week. These proposals are conducive to the elimination of nuclear weapons and to the utilization of nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes.

57. The Hungarian delegation highly appreciates the pattern of co-operation which has emerged and is developing between the Agency and other international specialized organizations. I should like to single out as an example the programme under way between the Agency and FAO. As is also stated in paragraph 92 of the annual report of the Agency:

"Amongst the main developments in 1976 was a significant advance at a meeting at WHO Headquarters on the international acceptance of irradiated food for human consumption. Not only were clearances recommended for several foodstuffs, but these clearances are being submitted for incorporation in the Codex Alimentarius."

This would, in the opinion of my delegation, give new impetus to the use of irradiation as a technology for protecting and preserving food.

58. May I voice my hope and conviction that IAEA, following its traditions of the past and making optimum use of its intellectual and financial resources, will continue working intensively in the years ahead to ensure the effective implementation of the non-proliferation Treaty and the varied applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

59. My delegation has studied with great interest the annual report of IAEA for 1976, which clearly reflects the Agency's successful activity.

60. In conclusion, I should like to extend the heartfelt congratulations of the Hungarian delegation to the delegations of the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR, on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

61. Mr. TIKHONOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR views favourably the activities of IAEA over the past year in the implementation of the principal aim of its statute, that is, to "seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world".

62. Especially noteworthy is the activity of the Agency in the area of the practical implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. As its report points out in paragraphs 8 and 9:

"Nearly all major industrial countries have thus ratified the Treaty or indicated that they would act as if they were Parties to it.

"Outside the scope of the Treaty, Agency safeguards are also extensively applied."

63. However, the problem of preventing the further proliferation of nuclear weapons remains current as before. The Agency itself recognizes in its report that in a number of States that do not possess nuclear weapons there is a vast array of weaponry that is not covered by the safeguards system. Because there are no such safeguards, we cannot exclude the possibility of the nuclear installations and materials being used for purposes incompatible with the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

64. In particular, we share the concern of the African countries with regard to the work under way in The Republic of South Africa to manufacture nuclear weapons and to prepare for their testing, a subject on which the Soviet Union issued a warning to the entire world three months ago.

65. It is high time that all those involved understand that the spread of nuclear weapons from country to country does not increase the security of any one of them and can in no way promote the maintenance of the relative balance that has developed so far. It will only increase the danger of a flare up into a nuclear conflict, even though accidentally.

Therefore, we must exert further efforts for an effective, universal solution of this problem. For its part, IAEA is called upon to make its contribution to this cause within the framework of its competence.

66. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, in his report of 2 November 1977 said at the solemn meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic devoted to the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: "Atomic energy must be used only for peaceful purposes. This is our appeal to the Governments and peoples of the world." In this connexion, IAEA is called upon to play a crucial role.

67. The Byelorussian SSR, a founding member of IAEA, participates actively in this work and advocates that the Agency's activity should contribute to the development of co-operation in the area of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and thereby to the strengthening of international peace and security. In the Byelorussian SSR, active and successful work is being conducted in the area of nuclear energy as well as in the area of the use of atomic energy in industry, agriculture, medicine and scientific research. Over several successive years, our Republic has been making voluntary contributions to the IAEA general fund, which is used to grant assistance to the developing countries.

68. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will support draft resolution A/32/L.13, submitted by the delegations of Czechoslovakia, the Federal Republic of Germany and Malaysia.

69. In conclusion, may I, on behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, express our gratitude for the warm words of congratulation addressed by you, Mr. President, and by the delegations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, Iran and the Hungarian People's Republic on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the most important event of the twentieth century, which has fundamentally changed the development of all mankind.

70. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): Mr. President, the Finnish delegation joins in the congratulations that you were good enough to extend on behalf of this Assembly to the delegation of the USSR on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

71. I should like to take this opportunity to extend the thanks of my delegation to Mr. Eklund for his presentation of the report of IAEA for 1976. I should like also to express the appreciation of the Finnish Government to him and to his staff for the report and for the work they have done in promoting peaceful applications of nuclear energy while ensuring that these applications are not used in such a way as to further any military purpose.

72. My delegation is particularly gratified by the response IAEA has given in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 31/189 D, adopted last year on the initiative of the Finnish delegation.

73. Today, 20 years after its establishment, the Agency's objectives as stated in its statute are perhaps more relevant to the aspirations of the international community than ever before. There is an increasing trend towards accelerating and enlarging the contribution of the peaceful uses of atomic energy to world economy and development. There is an increasing awareness that such use must not further any military purpose, and, more particularly, must not be allowed to lead to the proliferation of nuclear weapons or of equivalent nuclear explosives, with the concomitant dangers to international peace and security. My delegation wishes to commend the work of IAEA in furtherance of its objectives in the course of the past 20 years. The performance of the Agency can only make us confident that its role can be further strengthened and that it will remain an indispensable tool for the international community in the field of nuclear energy.

74. The important role of the Agency in the field of nuclear energy is well reflected in draft resolution A/32/L.13, and my delegation will be pleased to vote for it in its present form.

75. Since 1961, the Agency has been fortunate enough to profit from the skilled and inspiring guidance of its Director General, Mr. Eklund, whose experience and foresight have been an essential contribution to the performance of IAEA. This is why my delegation is gratified by the appointment of Mr. Eklund as Director General for yet another term, and we wish him all success in his exacting task.

76. Mr. HARRY (Australia): It is, as usual, a great pleasure to be able to address this Assembly on the item under which IAEA submits its annual report to the General Assembly. The report attests to the further development of the Agency's activities since its inception two decades ago. This is of course the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Agency and its Director General has, in his statement to the Assembly at the previous meeting, provided us with the useful brief history of the development of the Agency's activities. The growth and importance of these activities naturally parallel the growth of the importance of nuclear energy and the attendant problems associated with it.

77. In its message of congratulation on the Agency's twentieth anniversary, my Government pledged itself anew to assist IAEA in its vital work relating to the solution of the world's energy needs, the elimination of the risks of nuclear proliferation and the provision of technical assistance to the developing States Members of the Organization. The Agency's report and the Director General's statement provide a very good picture of the focus of the Agency's activities over the past year and the important tasks before it.

78. During the general debate in this Assembly [*11th meeting*] the Foreign Minister of Australia set out the twin concerns of the Australian Government to work actively in international forums to support multilateral measures to improve the international non-proliferation régime as well as its role in meeting the challenge before the international community to make a smooth transition from economies largely based on oil as the major source of energy to economies increasingly more dependent on nuclear energy

sources. The Australian delegation set out a few days ago in another place a further elaboration of my Government's policy on these issues.

79. In August the Australian Prime Minister announced Australia's decision to proceed with the development of our uranium resources, estimated at some 20 per cent of the Western world's known reserves of low-cost uranium. The Australian Government was conscious of the special responsibility which accompanied possession of these large uranium reserves and the part that Australia could play in maximizing international incentives to prevent nuclear-weapons proliferation by agreeing to supply uranium under stringent conditions to countries which were prepared not to produce or possess nuclear weapons.

80. The decision to develop and export uranium was taken only after a long and exhaustive inquiry and a policy review which was only concluded this year. During this inquiry the Australian Government entered into consultations with major consumers and suppliers and IAEA about the safeguards which should be applied to the future export of Australian uranium. That policy had four elements: first, reaffirmation of our support for the non-proliferation Treaty, which remains the most important international non-proliferation instrument and the one on which any effective safeguards policy must be based; secondly, supplementary bilateral agreements between Australia and uranium-importing countries to ensure the application of Treaty safeguards to Australian-supplied material under all circumstances; thirdly, the acceptance of the central role of IAEA in the implementation of safeguards; and, fourthly, a commitment by Australia to participate fully in international efforts to strengthen safeguards and the non-proliferation régime, having regard to current developments in the nuclear industry.

81. The Australian Government thus fully recognizes that the role of IAEA in administering safeguards is of fundamental importance not only for the implementation of Australia's own policy but also for preserving the effectiveness of the international non-proliferation régime. The demands upon IAEA will increase as the international community places greater reliance upon nuclear power. The Australian Government has therefore undertaken a continuing examination as to whether specific areas exist in which Australia may assist IAEA in the application of effective safeguards. This concern does not, in our view, detract from the major role of the Agency in the provision of technical assistance for the further development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. My delegation to the recent session of the General Conference of the Agency announced its intention of meeting voluntarily in full its assessed contribution both to the general fund and to the special appeal.

82. At that General Conference my delegation also had the pleasure of announcing its decision to accede, as a donor country, to the Agency's Asian regional co-operative agreement. Through the agreement Australia will provide assistance to particular projects in developing countries which are parties to the agreement. Australia hopes that its accession will encourage other developed countries in the region to become members and that developed countries elsewhere will lend their financial support.



83. Miss CAMPBELL (Canada): IAEA has, according to article II of its statute, two equally important objectives. These are "to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world" while, at the same time, ensuring so far as it is able that the peaceful use of nuclear energy does not contribute to the proliferation of a nuclear explosive capability. In pursuit of these two objectives IAEA has over the years developed internationally-agreed inspection and verification procedures and has transferred to its members nuclear know-how, experience and technical assistance. Canada has strongly supported the Agency's efforts in this regard, and we will continue to do so.

84. As an integral part of its support for IAEA Canada has always placed considerable emphasis on the technical assistance activities of the Agency. We are pleased to note in the Agency's report for 1976 that once again resources available to the Agency in that regard have increased. In support of the Agency's work in that area the Canadian Government contributed in 1976 its full share to the Agency's voluntary fund and has done so again in 1977.

85. We are also gratified to note the continued growth in the Agency's safeguards activities which is indicated in the annual report. Canada will continue to support strongly these activities in the belief that the evolution of a universally-accepted system of strict nuclear safeguards administered by IAEA is the best guarantee of nuclear safety.

86. Having specifically identified these two areas of the work programme of IAEA, we should like also to express our support for the Agency's efforts to develop safety and environmental protection standards and to promote the application of nuclear science to other fields of human endeavour. Canada has actively participated in those activities in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

87. We should like also to take this opportunity to refer to the recently launched International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation. The objective of this programme is to carry out over the next two years an unbiased comprehensive assessment of the nuclear fuel cycle and its proliferation risks on a broad international basis, so that all Governments will have available to them the fullest possible data for their use in determining national policies in the field of nuclear energy. Canada believes IAEA has a central role to play in this evaluation and welcomes indications that the IAEA will indeed be an active participant in the Evaluation.

88. Finally, we wish to express our hope that IAEA, under the vigorous leadership of its Director General, will continue to be an effective international mechanism of value to the entire world community. The Agency's ability to achieve consensus agreements—frequently under difficult conditions—in the complex field of nuclear energy has been admirable and we hope that the spirit of international co-operation which has characterized the work of IAEA in the past will continue in the future.

89. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Argentine delegation is pleased to extend its most sincere congratulations to the Director General of IAEA, Mr. Sigvard Eklund, for the unanimous

support he has received to continue fulfilling his delicate tasks. His re-election constitutes clear proof of the confidence that the international community reserves only to its most distinguished personalities when, as in this case, they devote their talents to the permanent service of general interests.

90. Mr. Eklund is at present in my country on the invitation of the Argentine Government. His trip will enable him to appreciate in their fullest detail our nuclear plan, the progress we have achieved and the problems we face in an area of the greatest importance for our economic development.

91. A few days ago the Argentine Government decided, at the highest level, to consider as a high-priority national interest the development, production, use and control of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. That resolve is consistent with the efforts we have been making during the last few decades in this area. The results of that work have also been channeled towards international co-operation, and thus in 1976 my country contributed to the technical assistance programmes of the Agency with a number of experts that placed Argentina fourth in the world in that regard.

92. Just as we have provided assistance to other developing countries, so we also have received the valuable co-operation of IAEA in the implementation of our own projects. This already lengthy experience reaffirms our conviction that the Agency, fully in keeping with its statute, should attach the greatest importance to its technical assistance activities.

93. It is not idle now to reiterate that view which, we know, is shared by many developing countries, if we bear in mind what is shown in the excellent annual report for 1976 and the budget figures of the Agency for 1978: a clear trend to decrease the percentage of resources allocated to technical assistance in order to increase other activities, which results in an imbalance which is a matter of concern for my Government.

94. We should also like to express our concern at the existence within IAEA of some ideas that distort its very *raison d'être*.

95. On the one hand, there is such a broad interpretation of the sphere of application of safeguards that it could eventually subject the countries which import technology to an unnecessary, irritating and onerous control. On the other hand, the Agency would accept voluntary contributions for technical assistance, subject to the condition that they be used exclusively by States parties to an international treaty whose doctrine is not shared by many States members of the Agency.

96. Should the application of those ideas persist, we would be weakening the bases for international co-operation in the area of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and the possible consequences are sufficiently negative for us to draw the attention of nations to that problem now.

97. For those reasons and others which I do not wish to dwell on at this stage of the debate, Argentina joined in

sponsoring draft resolution A/32/L.15, along with other countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which was introduced last Friday [58th meeting] by the delegation of Nigeria with its characteristic talent.

98. We have decided to join in sponsoring this draft resolution because we are convinced that the Assembly must have an opportunity now to take a stand on an issue which from year to year grows in importance and increasingly affects international relations as a whole. Our support for this initiative in no way implies opposition to the general lines of the draft resolution also introduced on Friday by the delegation of Malaysia [*ibid.*]. We believe that there is no contradiction between the two documents and we are going to cast a positive vote on the latter one too.

99. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on agenda item 14. As indicated at our last meeting, the voting on the draft resolutions and on the amendment submitted under this item [A/32/L.14] will take place at a subsequent meeting.<sup>3</sup>

## AGENDA ITEM 28

### Question of Cyprus: Report of the Secretary-General

100. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): May I, first of all, associate myself whole-heartedly with the congratulations extended to the delegations of the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

101. As we begin consideration of the question of Cyprus, the Turkish delegation feels compelled once again to underline the importance of the procedural aspect of the debate. What the General Assembly will discuss is a specific question, and this Assembly is familiar with the root-causes of the long-standing Cyprus conflict, its development since 1963 and all the factors surrounding the issue.

102. There is also no mystery as to who the parties to the conflict are. All relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions recognize the two communities—the Turkish community and the Greek community—as the principal negotiating parties in the Cyprus dispute. And yet in this Assembly only one of the parties is represented. The reason for this is simple: the Greek Cypriot community had, by the use of force, achieved a monopoly of power in Cyprus in 1963 and, since then, the fiction has been maintained that a delegation comprised exclusively of Greek Cypriots represents Cyprus as a whole. Such fictions are not uncommon, but the reality of the situation nevertheless does not change.

103. We all know that when the representatives of the delegation called “the delegation of Cyprus” speak they speak only on behalf of the Greek Cypriot community and, as a matter of fact, take positions which are diametrically opposed to the views of the Turkish community.

104. At the beginning of the session [5th meeting] my delegation suggested that the item on Cyprus be allocated

to the First Committee or to the Special Political Committee with a view to ensuring the participation of the Turkish community in the discussions at least at the Committee level. Such a procedure, while falling short of achieving equality between the two communities, would, to a certain extent, have redressed the discriminatory treatment suffered by the Turkish community at previous sessions.

105. Unfortunately, the General Committee did not follow the suggestion of our delegation and maintained the procedure applied at previous sessions, which provides only for a perfunctory hearing of the representatives of the Turkish community in the Special Political Committee, and not in the plenary meetings of the Assembly, where the real debate takes place.

106. This arrangement has, furthermore, the drawback of magnifying the unequal treatment accorded to the Turkish community by enabling the Greek Cypriots to double their voice and speak in yet another capacity, that of the Greek community, in addition to that of the Greek Cypriot delegation.

107. The fact that the recommendation of the General Committee regarding the allocation of the Cyprus question was adopted by only 69 votes, with 52 countries either casting negative votes or abstaining [5th meeting, para. 81], shows that their misgivings about this procedural arrangement are widespread.

108. Why should we hear in the Special Political Committee another representative of the Greek Cypriots who, this time, will speak on behalf of the Greek community? Is this saturation with the Greek case going to enhance the usefulness of the debate? Do not we need here in this very Assembly and in the negotiations a different voice from Cyprus—the voice of one of the parties to the conflict—to arrive at balanced judgements?

109. As my Foreign Minister stated in his intervention on 3 October,

“There exists a fundamental contradiction between the resolutions of the General Assembly, which call on the two communities to continue the negotiations, and a procedure which prevents the participation of one of the parties to the dispute in those very deliberations. It can very well be said that this attitude is without precedent.” [17th meeting, para. 179.]

110. We believe strongly that, even at this stage, we can find a way of correcting the injustice done to the Turkish community. As I have repeatedly stated, there is no reason why the rights that have been justly accorded in plenary meetings to national liberation movements and organizations should be denied to a representative of the Turkish community. Like those movements and organizations, the Turkish community also is a political entity, its objective being the safeguarding of its legitimate rights in an independent and sovereign Cyprus. Procedurally and conceptually, there can be no valid objection to the participation of a representative of the Turkish community in the debate in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly.

<sup>3</sup> See 97th meeting, paras. 20-110.

111. I formally propose, therefore, the adoption of a decision enabling a representative of the Turkish community to address the Assembly. If it is the view of the President that such a decision requires, *a priori*, a decision on the reconsideration of the procedural arrangement adopted at the beginning of the session, I should like to propose such a reconsideration under rule 81 of the rules of procedure. I would ask you, Mr. President, to put my proposal to a recorded vote.

112. The PRESIDENT: As members will recall, the General Assembly at its 5th plenary meeting, held on 23 September 1977, decided that, when considering the present item, it would invite the Special Political Committee to meet for the purpose of affording representatives of the Cypriot communities an opportunity to take the floor in the Committee in order to express their views, and that it would then resume its consideration of the item, taking into account the report of the Special Political Committee.

113. In his statement the representative of Turkey has just proposed that a representative of the Turkish Cypriot community be heard in the plenary meetings of the Assembly. That would certainly involve a reconsideration of the General Assembly decision taken at a previous meeting during this session, and, under rule 81 of the rules of procedure:

"When a proposal has been adopted or rejected, it may not be reconsidered at the same session unless the General Assembly, by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting, so decides. Permission to speak on a motion to reconsider shall be accorded only to two speakers opposing the motion, after which it shall be immediately put to the vote."

114. Because the proposal of the representative of Turkey comes under rule 81, relating to reconsideration of a decision of the General Assembly, I shall now, before putting that proposal to the vote, call on only two representatives opposing the motion. I call first on the representative of Cyprus.

115. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): The representative of Turkey has raised an issue on which the General Assembly has already taken a decision, and he has proposed the reconsideration of that decision under rule 81 of the rules of procedure. I should first like to put the facts clearly before the General Assembly.

116. On the recommendation of the General Committee the Assembly decided, on 23 September, after a recorded vote requested by Turkey, that the question of Cyprus, agenda item 28, was to be considered by the Assembly directly in plenary meetings and that representatives of the Cypriot communities should be afforded the opportunity to take the floor in the Special Political Committee in order to express their views. The Committee would then report to the Assembly in plenary meeting, which would resume its consideration of the item, taking into account the report of the Special Political Committee.

117. In this respect, I wish to stress that the procedure to which I have referred was first adopted at the twenty-ninth

session of the General Assembly, with the full concurrence of all the parties concerned, including Turkey, and has been followed at the thirtieth and thirty-first sessions of the General Assembly.

118. My delegation strongly opposes the Turkish motion. Indeed, we oppose any change in the decision of the General Assembly and we do so for a number of reasons.

119. Our first reason is that the question of Cyprus was allocated to the plenary meetings by a decision of this Assembly taken as recently as 23 September on the recommendation of the General Committee. What has intervened between 23 September and today to justify reconsideration? According to the Turkish representative, nothing.

120. The second reason is that all items concerning serious situations, especially when they endanger international peace and security, are allocated to the plenary meetings and the Cyprus question falls within this category. As observed by the Secretary-General in his recent report on the work of the Organization:

"The situations in southern Africa, the Middle East and Cyprus are serious in themselves and also have very special implications for international peace and security."  
[See A/32/1, sect. III.]

In this respect I would remind representatives that all three situations have been allocated to the plenary meetings.

121. The third reason is that the problem of Cyprus was allocated to the plenary meetings at all three previous sessions of the Assembly, in 1974, 1975 and 1976, in view of its seriousness since it involves armed aggression by one State Member of the United Nations against another. Such aggression is continuing and, in addition, the aggressor, namely Turkey, is contemptuously disregarding the resolutions of this Assembly in which, among other things, it called upon Turkey to withdraw its troops from Cyprus and to cease any interference in its affairs. This it has not done and, as a result, the situation in Cyprus has been further aggravated. The Turkish motion therefore seems to be odd, to say the least.

122. The fourth reason is that the existing procedure, as I have already stated, was adopted in 1974 with the concurrence of all the parties concerned, including Turkey, and affords ample opportunity to the Cypriot communities to express their views in the Special Political Committee.

123. The fifth reason is that by this motion the representative of Turkey is trying to create a situation in which communities belonging to one Member State would be participating in debates as separate entities, arguing for or against the Government of that State. If such a situation were to be created—allowing communities or tribes, ethnic or religious groups, breakaway or dissident groups to participate in such debates—a very dangerous precedent would be created and would open a Pandora's box. The States Members of the Organization are equal and sovereign and they are represented by their legitimate Governments, and only representatives of those Governments can partici-

pate in the debates, whether in plenary meetings of the Assembly or in committees. Looking around this hall I can see hardly any country which could escape the perilous repercussions if the existing rule were to be violated. Turkey itself would have to allow at least one more representative to participate in debates in the Assembly, the representative of the 8-million-strong Kurdish nation.

124. I regret that the Turkish ambassador had the audacity to compare the Turkish Cypriot minority in Cyprus with the Palestine Liberation Organization, an observer, and the liberation movements. We consider this Turkish attitude to be an offence against the Palestine Liberation Organization and the liberation movements, undermining their position in the United Nations. The Palestine Liberation Organization is representing a nation without a homeland and is, in fact, fighting a struggle very similar to that which my country is fighting against Turkey: a struggle against aggression and occupation, a struggle against the expulsion of the indigenous population from their homes and lands, a struggle against alien settler colonizers and changes in the demographic character of our respective countries, a struggle against the violation of human rights. The liberation movements represent the soul and heart of the peoples of the countries fighting for freedom and dignity, and are recognized as such. Those movements are indeed fighting against the same evils as Cyprus is fighting against. They are fighting for majority rule in Zimbabwe; we are fighting for the same democratic principle in Cyprus. They are fighting against the unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith; we are fighting the purported establishment by Ankara of the so-called Federated State of Cyprus. They are fighting against the creation of bogus States in South Africa; we are fighting against the creation of a bogus State in Cyprus. They are fighting for the withdrawal of the South African forces from Namibia; we are fighting for the withdrawal of Turkish forces from Cyprus. They are fighting against racial discrimination and the violation of human rights by the South African and Ian Smith régimes; we are fighting against racial discrimination and the violation of human rights by Turkey and its army of occupation.

125. The proposal by the representative of Turkey is just another effort to obtain some semblance of recognition for the purported setting up of the Federated Turkish State of Cyprus. That so-called State has been recognized by none; in fact, it has been rejected by all and notably by the Security Council in its resolution 367 (1975). By its proposal Turkey is attempting to undermine the Republic of Cyprus and its legitimate Government, which alone is entitled to be represented in the United Nations. The forums of the Organization are reserved for the Cyprus Government and neither the Greek Cypriot Community nor the Turkish Cypriot community is entitled to participate in a debate here or in any committee. These communities are only entitled to express their views in the Special Political Committee, as decided by the Assembly on 23 September.

126. I therefore appeal to all those delegations which genuinely respect and support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and also to those delegations which do not wish the Palestine Liberation Organization and the liberation movements to be undermined, to oppose also, as I do, the Turkish proposal and not merely to

abstain in the vote but to cast a negative vote on it. The Turkish motion, if accepted, would have far-reaching and dangerous implications for the whole edifice of the United Nations and for Member States individually.

127. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia on a point of order.

128. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I am constrained to ask to be allowed to speak on a point of order because peace transcends the rules of procedure. Having been seized of this question of Cyprus before Cyprus even became independent, I find that the two communities, by reason of the fossilized attitude of each, are getting nowhere and are pawns in the hands of politicians—with all due respect to the fact that politicians are the servants of their people and communities.

129. I want to make an appeal in two parts to both my friends from Cyprus: to my good friend the Foreign Minister of Cyprus as such, and also to my friend from Turkey, Ambassador Türkmen. The appeal is based on the fact that the same people who sit here on this question usually also sit in the Special Political Committee. This hall with glaring lights does not give any importance to the substance of the case. I believe the United Nations was wrong in the past in giving importance, as it thought, to an item by referring it to the plenary meetings of the Assembly, as if the substance of the subject would be altered or affected in any way. Such importance was bogus. The importance of any question is in its substance. That is the first point.

130. The other point to which I should like to draw the attention of my good friend the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, Mr. Christophides, and Mr. Türkmen of Turkey, is that if they antagonize each other here by not having a give-and-take exchange, positions will harden in the Special Political Committee and nothing will be worked out to the benefit of both communities. Are we here to be fundamentalistic, to go by the letter of the rules of procedure, or are we here to produce a long overdue solution to the question of Cyprus? I should like to be frank about this question.

131. I now address my words to my good friend, the Foreign Minister of Cyprus. Both Turkey and Greece are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], and the NATO members have seen to it that they will not exacerbate the question further. Therefore, my good friend the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, bear with me and analyse this question a little in the light of what I have said. NATO is trying to prevail on both Greece and Turkey to do their best not to make things worse. And who suffers? The Cypriots, whether they are of so-called Greek origin or of Turkish origin. Therefore, if both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities, try to protract the consideration of this question, they will be engaging in an exercise in futility because nothing will come out of this question except votes, a two-thirds majority.

132. My appeal, therefore, is based on experience: let us bring both parties together. There was that fellow, the so-called Sampson, who wanted to have *enosis* [union] with Greece, although the independence of Cyprus was



predicated on no partition and no *enosis*. I was one of those who negotiated that arrangement, not by choice but because I was asked to arbitrate even before Cyprus became an independent State. "He who creates evil is more responsible, more tyrannical"—that is from the Holy Koran. Did the Turkish community start this matter or was it this fellow Sampson? We do not know in whose pay he was and we are not interested now in delving into the substance. Therefore, my appeal is to both sides: decide not to broach this subject here. But I am sure they will say: "No, we have the votes". Mr. Christophides will say, "We have the votes". We do not want to go by the votes. We want to go by results. If Mr. Christophides insists, what will prevent the Turkish community from making its point here by proxy? That shows that there are always ways and means. The representative of the Turkish community will give the speech or statement he wants to make to a Member State here, and the representative of that State will read it. The substance will be read. But this will make things worse, because I am still afraid that both sides are going to engage in vituperation and incriminations and to call one another aggressors, and we shall get nowhere.

133. Therefore, I appeal to that young intellectual genius of the United Nations, none other than my Cuban colleague, not to make things worse and take sides. Let us all, including myself, listen to the voice of reason and let us not be impervious to what commonsense dictates in such matters.

134. In summing up, I would say the following. I appeal to the Foreign Minister, Mr. Christophides, to see to it that the statement he or his deputy, or whoever, makes will not exacerbate the situation. If the statement does not, I can assure him that the representative of the Turkish Community will speak with the old courtesy that was known throughout the Ottoman empire—and I happened to be an Ottoman subject—*à la turque, avec courtoisie*—with courtesy.

135. If that is not done, what will happen? Unfortunately, the major Powers will continue to play chess on the chess-board of that island of Cyprus. And let us remember how Cyprus came to be under the British. In 1878, after the Congress of Berlin, there was a war between tsarist Russia and Bulgaria—actually, Bulgaria was under Turkish rule. Our British friends Salisbury and Gladstone, those masters of nineteenth century diplomacy, saw to it that part of Bulgaria would be free, but would remain under the influence of Russia, and the other part would remain under Turkish rule. Then Cyprus came into being. It was an Ottoman island. Our British friends, as a sort of commission, exercised their sovereignty over Cyprus. Of course, they said they wanted to maintain the route to India—that old story about the Suez Canal, and so forth. I shall not go into the nineteenth-century tactics and manipulations, but things have not changed.

136. What is to prevent these Powers—I shall not name them; we all know who they are—from exploiting both the Turkish community and the Greek community in Cyprus for their own ends? Are we, in spite of that, to settle things here by votes on procedural matters? If that is how the Assembly wishes to proceed, then I reserve my right to ensure that the statement of the Turkish community is read

out from this rostrum. Things will not be changed by one iota, but I shall do that if the Assembly decides to proceed by means of votes in this case, rather than on the basis of commonsense.

137. We should always be on the side of the weak. The Turkish community in Cyprus numbers only 18 to 20 per cent of the entire population of the island. If Turkey had not come to its rescue, what would have happened? I do not mean that the Greeks as a people are brutal, but violence can occur in any country after a civil war waged for the benefit of external Powers. There would doubtless have been massacres of members of the Turkish community in Cyprus and one Government after another in Turkey would have toppled because Turkey had not come to the rescue of the Turkish Cypriots. Half of the Turkish minority could have been erased. And the same kind of thing could have happened to the Greek Cypriots, if they had been in the minority and the Turkish Cypriots in the majority.

138. Heed the commonsense of Baroody here. If you do not, God help you. I shall take up the issue from its roots. I have already given you a sample of what I know about Cyprus, and I shall go even more deeply into the question if I have to. I shall put those Powers that are pulling the strings on the spot. We are all supposed to be committed to peace. We cannot go on taking decisions merely by votes on procedure when our purpose of achieving peace should transcend everything.

139. The PRESIDENT: At the very beginning of his statement on a point of order, the representative of Saudi Arabia himself recognized that his statement transcended the rules of procedure. He made an appeal to the representatives of Cyprus and Turkey, and I am sure they will take into account everything he said.

140. However, the Assembly is now seized of the motion to reconsider its decision, under rule 81 of the rules of procedure. In accordance with that rule, I shall now call on only one additional speaker to oppose the motion—that is, the representative of Cuba.

141. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation regrets that once again it must express opposition to the motion submitted by the delegation of Turkey. We are in fact faced with the same situation that we have faced at previous Assembly sessions.

142. I should like to make it clear that we have nothing against hearing the views of the representatives of the Turkish Cypriots. As in the past, they will have an opportunity to speak in the Special Political Committee. My delegation will listen to their views there and will study those views with the greatest care. We have for several years now been following that practice in regard to the question of Cyprus; there has been a consensus in the Assembly that the practice is the correct one.

143. My delegation is opposed for two fundamental reasons to the motion submitted today. In the first place, from the standpoint of the orderly procedure of our work, it seems to us that if we were to adopt this motion under rule 81 of the rules of procedure, we would be opening up a

procedural debate that could take up more or less all of the time we have allocated to the discussion of the substance of the question of Cyprus. Rule 81 clearly requires that there should be a two-thirds majority in favour of the reconsideration of a proposal already adopted by the Assembly to reopen discussion of it. Hence, the only result of the adoption of the Turkish motion would be that the Assembly would become involved in a new debate about whether or not we should hear the Turkish Cypriot representative. I think it is obvious that at this stage of the Assembly's work, which has already been affected by these discussions, we should be introducing a rather serious complication if the Turkish motion were adopted.

144. But we also have a reason of substance for not agreeing that the Turkish Cypriot representative should speak in plenary meetings. We believe that the General Assembly is very flexible and generous and that that representative can therefore express his views fully, as he has done in the past, in the Committee. But we think that there must be at least a modicum of respect for certain basic issues.

145. My delegation could not accept any concept that would entail disregard for the condition of the Republic of Cyprus, a Member of this Organization, as a sovereign State. We could not agree to any attempt, through a procedural device, to dismember that State and its personality vis-à-vis this Assembly and to present it to us as a combination of communities, as though it were not a Member of this Organization fully entitled to the benefits and privileges provided by the Charter. This is all the more true since the Republic of Cyprus is a Member State which has at no time defaulted on its duties as a Member of the Organization. Quite the contrary, it is a Member that for a number of years has been facing a difficult situation as a victim of foreign occupation and aggression.

146. The least we can do is to begin the debate on this important issue seriously and objectively, without prejudging anyone's position, and giving each member of this Assembly the respect that it deserves.

147. For these two reasons, my delegation opposes the motion advanced and we trust that, as you yourself suggested a few minutes ago, Mr. President, we shall apply rule 81 of the rules of procedure, which lays down that the Assembly shall immediately proceed to vote on the motion submitted.

148. The PRESIDENT: We have heard two speakers opposing the motion to reconsider the decision of the General Assembly. In accordance with rule 81 of the rules of procedure, I shall now put to the vote the motion to reconsider. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Turkey.

*Against:* Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica,

Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Abstaining:* Bahrain, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Chile, Gabon, Gambia, Israel, Kuwait, Lesotho, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Singapore, Sudan, Surinam, Thailand, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire.

*The motion was rejected by 79 votes to 11, with 30 abstentions.<sup>4</sup>*

149. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United States, who has asked to speak in explanation of his vote.

150. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): The United States delegation abstained in the vote on the motion to reconsider the Cyprus item since we regard the previous General Assembly action on this question as sufficient. The Assembly voted against further consideration of this item on 23 September when it accepted the recommendation of the General Committee.

151. Last year we voted in favour of reconsideration of this issue because of our liberal policy in support of any Member State's privilege to have discussed any item it believes to be of importance. We continue to maintain this position.

152. This year our vote has been determined by our view that there has been ample discussion of the issue in this body. I might note that the United States has consistently taken the position that only representatives of Member States should be entitled to speak in the plenary meetings of the Assembly.

153. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to suggest that the General Assembly invite the Special Political Committee to meet a little later this afternoon in order to hear the views of the representatives of the Cypriot communities. The General Assembly will then resume its consideration of this item tomorrow morning. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to the suggestion which I have just made?

*It was so decided.*

<sup>4</sup> The delegations of Angola, Bhutan, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Guatemala and Sao Tome and Principe subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been against the motion.

154. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Assembly that previously the meetings of the Special Political Committee devoted to the question of Cyprus were provided with verbatim records. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes the same procedure to be followed for the meeting which the Special Political Committee will hold this afternoon on the question of Cyprus?

*It was so decided.*

155. The PRESIDENT: I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed tomorrow, Tuesday, 8 November at 12 noon. I take it that the General Assembly agrees to this proposal?

*It was so decided.*

***Statement by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution***

156. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): On this solemn day for the Soviet Union, allow me, on behalf of the delegations of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR, to express our profound gratitude to you, Comrade President, and to all those who have offered us greetings and congratulated our country. We are profoundly touched by these manifestations of friendship and solidarity. We are happy that, at the solemn meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic which took place in Moscow, 123 delegates from 104 countries of the world were present.

157. There is no need to dwell in detail on the enormous influence that the Great October Socialist Revolution has had on the course of history. It is well known to you all that it not only responded to local Russian problems, but it opened the way to a resolution of the problems which emerged during the social development of all mankind and thus created a civilization of a new type.

158. To the Soviet people, the first people to make a socialist revolution victorious, this event is full of special

significance. As has already been noted, our country, in a short period of history, was transformed into a country with a highly developed economy and culture, social equality and justice. Now we can say with satisfaction that heretofore there have never been such favourable possibilities for solving those problems because of which, in the final analysis, the revolution took place: to increase the well-being of the masses, to develop socialist democracy and to achieve the comprehensive fulfilment of the individual.

159. I should like to note in particular that the October Revolution took place under the banner of "peace to the peoples", and over the last 60 years we have not changed, nor are we changing anything in that slogan. Now, the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States have been firmly established in international affairs as the only realistic and sensible ones, and the transformation from confrontation during the period of the "cold war" to international détente has become a fact. The Soviet Union's aspiration is that the process of détente will become irreversible, that it will be extended to all regions of the world and that political détente will be supplemented by military détente, and the Soviet Union's initiatives within this Organization are directed to that end. As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, stated on 2 November:

"If the main task is accomplished successfully—that task being the prevention of another world war and the ensuring of a stable peace—then new prospects will open up for the inhabitants of the earth. The prerequisites will be there for resolving many other vitally important problems that face mankind as a whole at this time"

160. In conclusion, I should like once more to thank all those who extended congratulations to our country on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution. I should like to assure members that any constructive proposal, any initiative designed to consolidate peace and international co-operation, will always receive the full understanding of the Soviet delegation.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*