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*President:* Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE  
(Sri Lanka).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General Debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker, may I remind the representatives of the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting on 24 September that, in the interests of the orderly conduct of our business, and in order to preserve the dignity of the general debate and also out of consideration for the speakers who follow, delegations should kindly refrain from going up to a speaker after he has made his statement and expressing their congratulations to him. They should find a more convenient means of doing so, without disturbing the proceedings.

2. I should also like to remind all those who stand in the wings of this hall that they must remain silent when the proceedings are going on. I have noticed that there are far too many disturbances, and this is extremely discourteous to the speaker.

3. I trust that I shall not have to refer to this matter again.

4. Mr. VAN DER STOEL (Netherlands): Mr. President, it is a privilege for me, on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, to congratulate you most warmly on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Your eminent qualities, your long experience in the United Nations and the many important services which you have rendered to the Organization are well known.

5. The seventh special session of the General Assembly was a manifestation of goodwill and harmony leading to consensus through negotiations. It reaffirmed the unique potential of the United Nations for co-operation. Although the subsequent regular session of the General Assembly yielded positive results, it was overshadowed by a number of decisions which have contributed to a deterioration of the political climate in the General Assembly and also in some of the specialized agencies.

6. I feel bound to sound a serious warning on the dangers which would threaten the United Nations if countries whose support is indispensable were to be alienated from the Organization. The strong and powerful countries could possibly tend to themselves, but the weaker and less privileged nations could not. The latter are most in need of the protection and support of a strong United Nations; they would have few other possibilities if an effective world organization were to founder. It is high time that all of us made an effort to stop these dangerous tendencies towards disintegration.

7. But what are the underlying causes of these tendencies? The Secretary-General pointed to one of them in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization when he rightly underlined that the North-South relationship has virtually replaced East-West problems in the debates of the General Assembly [*see A/31/1/Add.1, sect. II*].

8. The North-South issue reflects the determination of the third world to overcome the injustices of the past and the persisting poverty and unequal distribution of wealth. This, indeed, is one of the main underlying causes of many of the tensions and controversies in the United Nations.

9. We may deplore some of the majority decisions of the thirtieth session, but condemning automatic majorities will lead us nowhere unless we are prepared to attack the basic injustices which still prevail in the world. Collective self-reliance may create temporary substitutes for global solutions, but those substitutes will necessarily remain of a limited nature.

10. The Kingdom of the Netherlands continues to consider the United Nations to be an indispensable instrument for co-operation at the global level. But progress and a constructive approach to global problems are possible only if Member States move from confrontation to dialogue and if decisions on fundamental political and economic issues are taken on the basis of a negotiated consensus. Strengthening the role of the United Nations depends on the strength and the sincerity of the political will of the Member States in understanding and respecting the interests and aspirations of others. It depends on their willingness to subordinate national ambitions and short-term interests to common interests and the common yearning for peace.

11. That requires—it must be repeated again and again—wider and easier recourse to the instruments of the Charter for the settlement of disputes, in particular the Security Council and the International Court of Justice.

12. The promotion of peace and security is a vital task of the United Nations, but developments in the past year give

little reason for optimism. Satisfaction with the absence in recent months of armed conflict between States is overshadowed by the sharp awareness of internal violence in many countries and places in the world. I am thinking of the suffering of the people in Lebanon. I am thinking also of the victims of repression in Soweto and Capetown. The persistence of many sources of conflict as a result of the failure to solve the underlying issues of injustice implies that, unless the United Nations or the parties concerned succeed in defusing the perils, the risks of armed conflict between States will increase, with all the implications for world-wide peace and security.

13. The threat of local and regional causes of conflict is intensified by the continuing and excessive increase in armaments all over the world, conventional as well as nuclear. Our world would hardly survive a war in which nuclear weapons would be used, even on a limited scale. Absence of war under this deadly shadow cannot possibly be called peace. It is imperative to intensify our efforts to stop and to turn back this vicious spiral of the arms race.

14. The world is going to face critical choices in the remaining years of the 1970s. Dissemination of nuclear technology, if uncontrolled, is fraught with danger. The risk of nuclear proliferation is increasing. The unabated arms race in conventional weapons is also a matter of deep concern. Unless vigorous action is taken now and unless we reset our priorities in the disarmament debate, it may soon be too late.

15. I wish, first of all, to make a special appeal to the United States and the Soviet Union earnestly to seek the implementation of their obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. Though I do not doubt their sincerity in striving for a successful outcome of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [*SALT*] and though I do not underestimate the complexity of the issues, I do consider the early conclusion of the second round of these Talks to be of the greatest importance. It would provide a badly needed stimulus for measures for world-wide nuclear arms control. Such measures are all the more urgently required in the light of the rapid spreading of nuclear knowledge and technology. This puts a severe strain on the fragile non-proliferation régime. The use of nuclear technology for military purposes must be prevented. The Netherlands Government has joined others in adopting a stringent policy on exports of nuclear materials, equipment and technology. But that is not enough. All countries will have to exercise restraint with regard to sensitive installations like those for enrichment and reprocessing. To ignore the risks to peace of enrichment or reprocessing installations in individual countries would be foolish. This cannot be a matter of national prestige. The efforts of the International Atomic Energy Agency towards plutonium management on a regional basis must be vigorously pursued.

16. In accordance with its responsibility under the Charter, this General Assembly should act on the vital issue of nuclear proliferation. It should appeal to the United States and the Soviet Union to bring the SALT negotiations to a speedy conclusion. It should call again for a comprehensive test-ban treaty, which is long overdue, and should give further, strong impetus to the ongoing discussions on the

control of peaceful nuclear energy and on peaceful nuclear explosions.

17. While the danger of nuclear proliferation must be uppermost in our minds, the rapidly increasing sales of conventional weaponry is equally a matter of grave concern. Of all the problems of arms control, the trade in arms seems to be one of the most difficult to discuss in view of its implications for national sovereignty and security. However, it cannot be justified that, both in the highly industrialized countries and in many developing countries, scarce resources are diverted from the promotion of prosperity to the provision of arms for destruction beyond what is legitimately needed for their security and self-defence. It will require political courage and wisdom to tackle this problem. The export of conventional arms should be subjected to the necessary restraint. Consideration should be given to the possibility of measures to regulate and control the international arms trade. This would, of course, require a joint effort of exporting and importing countries. If a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament is convened, the issue of conventional arms and the arms trade should have a priority.

18. Détente in Europe is an important policy objective of the Netherlands Government. The Final Act of Helsinki<sup>1</sup> represented a step forward in that direction. While there remain important unsettled issues in East-West relations, particularly with regard to human rights and in the military field, nevertheless we seem to be moving slowly towards co-operation. The Netherlands Government, in preparing with its partners for the meeting in Belgrade, will actively seek more progress on implementation of all the inter-related sectors in the context of our over-all policy of peace, human freedom and economic co-operation.

19. Three years ago I stressed in this Assembly<sup>2</sup> that détente must take the interests of the third world into account. Today I am more than ever convinced that in our efforts to consolidate and intensify détente and co-operation between East and West we cannot turn away from the South. East and West are both responsible for securing a more rational and more equitable economic relationship between North and South.

20. In the search for a new international economic and social order, the seventh special session marked the beginning of a new constructive dialogue between all industrialized and developing countries. While, on balance, the results so far achieved at the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*]<sup>3</sup> and the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation have been limited, the necessity for this dialogue to be continued on the basis of common interests is still there.

21. Our commitments should extend beyond words and conferences and should be geared towards effective implementation of what was previously agreed upon. The

<sup>1</sup> Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth session, Plenary Meetings*, 2252nd meeting.

<sup>3</sup> Held at Nairobi from 5 to 31 May 1976.

Netherlands Government shares the concern and frustration of developing countries recently expressed at Colombo<sup>4</sup> about the extent to which concrete results have been produced in these and in other international forums in implementing the resolutions adopted at the sixth and seventh special sessions. Of essential importance, therefore, is the mobilization of the political will of all parties. The Netherlands Government, for its part, wishes to reiterate its pledge to implement the decisions of the seventh special session and of the fourth session of UNCTAD.

22. Apart from the continuing dialogue and negotiations in Paris, the first test case will be the forthcoming UNCTAD negotiations on the integrated programme for commodities and the common fund. Other negotiations, such as those on multilateral trade, debt relief, monetary reform and the fifth replenishment of the International Development Association will equally require a political effort from all Members of this Organization. These are fundamental issues of equal opportunity and justice. Failure to act and agree may have serious political implications. The appeal from Colombo should not remain unheeded.

23. The recent world employment Conference<sup>5</sup> and Habitat<sup>6</sup> have added wider dimensions to the development problem, in recognition of the fact that social justice, income distribution and meeting the basic needs of the people are fundamental to development. The results of these and other conferences must be integrated into a new strategy for a third development decade which should be more action-oriented and more binding on both developed and developing countries than the Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. We must use the remaining years of this Decade and take the first steps for such a new undertaking. I propose that this session set in motion the preparatory work.

24. The coherence and effectiveness of the United Nations system for development are essential conditions for a new economic relationship between North and South and for the effort to eradicate poverty. The Netherlands Government is concerned about the tendencies towards disintegration and the lack of cohesion in the systems. Vigorous efforts should be made to reverse these trends with major emphasis on strengthening the Economic and Social Council, the negotiating capacity of UNCTAD and the Secretariat.

25. One of the basic purposes of the Charter and of the obligations of Member States is the promotion and encouragement of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Large groups of people, organizations and action groups not only claim their own rights but, in a spirit of humanity and solidarity, also come out in favour of the human rights of others, both within and beyond national borders. Human rights are today a matter of international concern and preoccupation.

<sup>4</sup> Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

<sup>5</sup> Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution, Social Progress and the International Division of Labour, held at Geneva from 4 to 17 June 1976.

<sup>6</sup> Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, held at Vancouver from 31 May to 11 June 1976.

26. Human rights do not function in isolation. Violations of human rights are often the symptoms of deeper causes of injustice expressed through exploitation, discrimination, repression and intimidation. There are standards below which no society may fall without offending fundamental values. I am referring to such practices as wide-scale murder and imprisonment, torture and gross and systematic oppression of racial, religious, political or ethnic groups. The Declaration on torture adopted last year by the General Assembly is very explicit on this score, for it states that:

“Exceptional circumstances such as a state of war or a threat of war, internal political instability or any other public emergency may not be invoked as a justification of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”<sup>7</sup>

27. The Netherlands Government and the Netherlands people are deeply concerned as the systematic and institutionalized practice of torture continues to be reported from various sources. The fact-finding groups of the Commission on Human Rights on southern Africa and Chile, for instance, have brought distressing information to our attention, revealing the role of security agencies which operate beyond judicial control and inflict upon human beings the most inhuman treatment and even death. Similar information from other regions and areas comes to our knowledge. I appeal to this world Organization, Member States and all national and international institutions to make energetic efforts to bring such practice of torture and other forms of inhuman and degrading treatment to an end, wherever it occurs.

28. The United Nations has made a great contribution in proclaiming human-rights standards in terms of guarantees and aspirations, in terms of political freedoms and economic and social justice, in terms of individual and collective concerns. The question is how to transform these standards into a living reality in the international and national communities, how to move from enunciation to implementation and effective protection.

29. Implementation of human rights should first and foremost have its effects at the grass-roots level, where people need adequate shelter, food, employment and also political rights, including the right to dissent and the right to freedom of religion or belief. They need their right to life, liberty and personal security. They need to be free from arbitrary arrest and detention. In sum, they are entitled, as article 28 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights puts it, to a social and international order in which their rights and freedoms can be fully realized. The full realization of civil and political rights is not possible without the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights.

30. From its inception the United Nations was envisaged as an advocate for peoples and groups suffering from discrimination. In that light, actions undertaken at the international and national levels towards the emancipation of women deserve our full support. May I stress that such

<sup>7</sup> See Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (resolution 3452 (XXX), annex), art. 3.

actions should not be limited to legal measures since equality in law is only a part of real and full equality. As a matter of priority, policies of information to change traditional attitudes, as well as measures of implementation aimed at bringing about changes in the still-existing inequalities between men and women, are called for. In developing countries particular attention should, in my view, be given to measures to secure adequate educational opportunities for women. The promotion of such policies and measures should be a prominent part of the present United Nations Decade for Women, which was proclaimed under the theme "Equality, development and peace" [see resolution 3520 (XXX)].

31. While the primary task for the promotion and protection of human rights rests within the national societies, the international community—and notably the United Nations—has a complementary responsibility. The Netherlands has favoured through the years the strengthening of the capacity of the United Nations to deal with general human rights problems and with concrete human rights situations in cases of a serious and urgent nature. We will continue to advocate the creation of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, or similar institutions and proper fact-finding devices. One of the fundamental and inherent problems of the United Nations is that its intergovernmental structure functions in many cases as a barrier for the voices of the oppressed to be heard and to be acted upon. For this reason, I support a stronger role for the non-governmental element in the United Nations so that more weight can be given to the opinions, the appeals and the petitions of non-governmental organizations, groups of people and individual persons.

32. Finally, the General Assembly should take energetic steps for the speedy adoption of the draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief [see A/31/158].

33. I should now like to address you as President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community and as president of European political co-operation.

34. In today's world the European Community is a living political and economic reality. Our union has yet to be completed, but we are determined to unite. We naturally realize that the further unification of Europe—whose variety of culture has proved so vital and fruitful—will be a complex process, but we know that we have embarked upon a project of fundamental importance. The radical reorganization of one part of the world community of nations will have an effect—in my view, a beneficial one—on the whole of that community. The Europe we are building is one in which material welfare will rest upon social justice—a Europe which will be democratic and soon have its own freely elected parliament, a Europe which must be outward-looking to the whole world.

35. As it develops, our internal policy, based on steady growth, social justice and democracy, must also make its contribution to growth, justice and freedom elsewhere in the world, to a close and productive relationship with countries outside the Community—and, in particular, with the developing countries.

36. Structural changes in the world economy are a necessary condition for improvement of the social and economic situation of millions of people throughout the world. In view of its own economic, financial and technological strength and capabilities, the Community, which has already proved to be one of the most dynamic factors of the world economy, recognizes the need for increasingly coherent policies for development co-operation based on generally agreed objectives and policy measures. It is with this objective in mind that, for example, the Community applies and continues to improve its generalized system of preferences for developing countries.

37. During the seventh special session the countries of the European Community showed their readiness unitedly to make a positive contribution towards the building of a more just and equitable international economic order. Today on behalf of the nine members I wish to reiterate that pledge and our will to carry out the commitments that we undertook at that special session. The negotiations that took place at the fourth session of UNCTAD, and those continuing at the Paris North-South dialogue are ample proof that, while there seems enough common ground for real progress, wide divergencies of opinion remain on important issues. The members of the European Community, while following the path of conciliation and dialogue, are determined to spare no effort to implement the pledges we gave last year in New York, and recently in Nairobi, and to make a success of the Paris dialogue.

38. Let me assure you, there will be no retraction of previous promises. On the contrary, the members of the Community, recognizing the interests of the world economy as a whole, remain committed to a structural improvement of the position of the developing countries in the world economy, taking particular account of the urgent problems of those countries most in need. It is in this spirit that we will approach the forthcoming negotiations and discussions which will take place in conformity with the relevant resolutions as adopted at the fourth session of UNCTAD. Moreover, the participating countries at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation are back at the negotiating table, and it is our sincere hope that all efforts will be made for a successful conclusion of the ministerial meeting in December. For its part, the European Community is determined to contribute to a concrete outcome of the Paris Conference. In Paris we speak with one voice; our joint participation reflects the increasing involvement of the European Community and its increasing weight in the North-South relationship.

39. The Community welcomes the entry into force in April of the Convention concluded between the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group [ACP] and the European Economic Community [EEC] in Lomé on 28 February 1975. The importance of this Convention—which relies upon a certain number of new ideas—is without precedent in relations between developing and developed countries. It concerns more than half a billion human beings. Its objective is to establish and develop, in a spirit of friendship, economic relations between the Community of nine members and more than 50 developing countries. Furthermore, the importance of the Lomé Convention rests upon the fact that all its members are placed within an

"equal partnership" on a basis of complete equality between the partners. This implies a mutual responsibility. The Community, for its part, will most seriously and constructively consider the wishes of the ACP countries voiced at the first meeting of the ACP-EEC Council of Ministers at which I had the honour to represent the Community.

40. Finally, we welcome the increase in the number of participants in the Convention: Surinam, the Comoros and Seychelles have all deposited their acts of accession. Negotiations have begun with Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde and with Papua New Guinea for their accession.

41. The nine members of the Community also attach particular importance to the United Nations. They have proved this so far by endeavouring to plan an active and constructive role, both individually and collectively. During the last few years, their co-operation has manifested itself repeatedly in this Assembly in common statements and declarations of vote and by their votes being cast on the basis of a common or at least a co-ordinated position. We shall continue to use our joint influence and weight for the purpose of strengthening the United Nations as the principal instrument for international security and co-operation.

42. The situation in southern Africa remains a matter of deep concern. In Rhodesia the acceptance of the Anglo-United States proposals by Mr. Smith's cabinet represents a significant step forward. The Community expresses the hope that this will indeed prove to be a turning-point in the history of Rhodesia. If all sides show good faith, with Africans and Europeans working together, the foundations could be laid for an independent Zimbabwe which will then take its rightful place among the family of nations.

43. On 23 February of this year, the Foreign Ministers of the nine members of the Community reaffirmed in a joint declaration their basic positions with regard to southern African issues. We condemn South Africa's policy of *apartheid* and we advocate the right to self-determination and independence of the peoples of Rhodesia and Namibia. We respect the independence of all African States and their right to define their national policies in complete sovereignty and without foreign interference. Our countries support actions by the Organization of African Unity promoting African co-operation. We are ready to co-operate with the African States and reject any action by whatever State aimed at establishing a zone of influence in Africa.

44. Until fundamental changes come about, there can be no peace in southern Africa. Therefore our countries welcome the present efforts to find peaceful solutions of the problems of the area. Our nine countries remain willing to contribute to these efforts.

45. As regards Namibia, the nine members of the Community stated in their message to the Secretary-General on Namibia Day that negotiations should take place with representatives of all political groups in that Territory, including the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], in order to pave the way for Namibia's independence in the near future. The United Nations should, in our view, focus its own contribution to the

solution of the question of Namibia on the promotion of self-determination by the Namibian people in a manner both democratic and peaceful.

46. Our Governments do not intend to recognize the Transkei on the occasion of its purported independence. False solutions to the problems of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa, such as the establishment of "homelands" or "bantustans," as at present pursued by the South African Government, promote, rather than diminish, racial discrimination. The popular upheaval and resistance to *apartheid* should have convinced the South African Government that *apartheid* has no future and constitutes an insupportable violation of human dignity. South Africa is a multiracial society in which all people, irrespective of their race or colour, should have the right to live peacefully together on the basis of equality. *Apartheid* is in flagrant contradiction with this fundamental right and should be eliminated. As long as it is practised, it will be resisted by those whose basic human rights are denied. Our nine Governments are unequivocal in their firm belief that justice and freedom for all people should prevail in South Africa.

47. In the Middle East, the tragic events in Lebanon have brought untold suffering to the inhabitants of that strife-torn country. The nine countries of the European Community deplore the tragic bloodshed which has claimed and continues to claim so many victims. On a number of occasions, members of the European Community have shown their concern over the situation in Lebanon and have expressed the hope that all involved will do everything possible to bring that conflict to an end.

48. The nine members of the Community are prepared to support all meaningful efforts of conciliation and welcome those which are in progress in the inter-Arab context. They underline their continuing commitment to the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. I should like to assure President Sarkis, on his assumption of office as the new Head of State of Lebanon, of the goodwill of the members of the European Community in the fulfilment of the difficult tasks which lie ahead of him.

49. With regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the members of the European Community are convinced that negotiations based on a minimum of consensus among all the parties concerned are essential for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. In this respect they reiterate their continuing firm attachment to resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council and to the principles which are the basis of their position and which I repeat: first, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; secondly, the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967; thirdly, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of every State in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and fourthly, recognition that in the establishment of a just and lasting peace account must be taken of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

50. I should like to emphasize that a solution of the conflict in the Middle East will be possible only if the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to give effective expression to its national identity is translated into fact.

51. For their part, the countries of the European Community are prepared to assist, to the best of their ability and to the extent desired by the parties, in the achievement of a settlement, and, as soon as the settlement is approved by all parties, to help in making it a reality. In this connexion, they would be prepared, as they have stated earlier, to consider participation in international guarantees for the implementation of a peace settlement.

52. Cyprus is a problem of deep concern to our nine countries. It involves three countries associated with the European Community. That is the reason why we have spared and will spare no effort to bring the parties concerned to the conference table and to advocate restraint to all sides. We are convinced that this problem can be solved solely through negotiations. Our basic position that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus should be maintained and safeguarded remains unchanged. We welcome and support the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his representative on Cyprus to assist the parties concerned in finding a solution of the conflict.

53. The nine members of the Community are aware that peace, détente and human freedom are indivisible and inseparable, in the world and in Europe. They acted together in negotiating the Final Act of Helsinki and are striving together for the implementation of that Act. It is too early to judge the follow-up of Helsinki. I wish to state, however, on behalf of our nine countries that if we are earnest in our quest for peace and security in Europe, the Final Act must be implemented in its entirety, in all its interrelated component parts. It is in that spirit and in good faith that we approach the meeting to be convened in Belgrade next year.

54. On behalf of the nine countries of the European Community I wish now to speak about a matter of deep concern to them: international terrorism and in particular the increasing frequency of acts of violence which endanger or take innocent human lives, particularly when such acts of violence take on international dimensions and can only be tackled effectively by international action. In this respect the taking of hostages constitutes one of the most heinous crimes against human life, liberty and the security of the person as guaranteed in article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, regardless of political ends, regardless of motives, regardless of the identity or affiliation of its perpetrators. The member States of the European Community, as they have stated most recently in their declaration of 13 July 1976, regard this inhuman method of taking hostages as absolutely unacceptable and they condemn it in the strongest possible terms.

55. Without overlooking the fact that the solution of the issues underlying certain forms of international terrorism would undoubtedly contribute to the suppression of this evil, and without neglecting or impeding all the efforts being made to this effect, it nevertheless remains an illusion to assume that the problem of terrorism in its broad sense would be solved only by tackling any one underlying issue. Furthermore, there are serious indications that we are confronted with a growing danger of a world-wide network of professional criminal terrorism ready to strike at any moment against any State and its citizens. In this unsettled

world, new burning issues of conflict are bound to arise time and again, but international actions to stamp out terrorism cannot wait.

56. It must by now be clear that no country, no people, no Government can hope to be spared from acts of terrorism, kidnapping and hijacking against its own citizens and interests, unless all countries agree on taking, individually and jointly, decisive action. None will be spared unless all take action. The failure to oppose insidious violence against the innocent, the defenceless and the unprotected is deeply regretted by our nine countries. We feel it is in the interest of all Governments to take resolute action. We feel it is in the interest of all Governments to co-operate in combating all acts of international terrorism. This Assembly must live up to its responsibilities in this respect and should initiate appropriate measures.

57. In their declaration of 13 July, the members of the European Community have given ample evidence of their willingness and determination to co-operate with other countries in setting up effective world-wide measures to eradicate and prevent international terrorism, kidnappings and hijackings. We consider effective measures against the taking of hostages a matter of special urgency, and I should like in this context to draw the attention of this Assembly to the fact that my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, will submit an important and timely proposal on this issue. I invite this Assembly to give this proposal due consideration and to take positive action.

58. It is our sincere wish that this thirty-first Assembly session may produce results commensurate with the expectations cherished by all our peoples, all over the world.

59. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):<sup>8</sup> The delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany is pleased that this thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations meets under the chairmanship of a man who belongs to one of the leading nations of the group of non-aligned countries. He has acquired the highest personal respect among our nations both in his capacity as spokesman of his country at the United Nations and as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, one of the most important conferences of our time.

60. I combine my congratulations for the new President with my thanks to the outgoing President, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Mr. Thorn, who gave exemplary and balanced guidance to the work of our Assembly and whose country and personality symbolize the best traditions of a Europe that stands for peace and justice.

61. I am furthermore pleased to welcome the Republic of Seychelles to our midst. With the admission of this one hundred and forty-fifth Member, the United Nations has taken a further step towards universality.

62. This General Assembly of the United Nations, like the previous one, must continue to promote the idea of

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Genschler spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

co-operation between all States of the world. Co-operation means combining all our efforts in the search for peaceful solutions to the problems that make it so difficult for the peoples of this globe to live peacefully together. Let us not forget that at the end of this century the world will have twice as many people to feed and twice as many jobs to find.

63. In the year that has passed since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, it has been possible to lead the world economy out of the deepest recession since 1930, but the world is still far away from lasting, stable growth and continuing acceleration. In the past year international peace has been maintained, but the conflicts in the Middle East, in Cyprus and elsewhere continue to smoulder, and in southern Africa the task is to avoid a racial war. At the same time, new forms of illegal force, such as the seizing of hostages, have been developing into a world-wide plague. Whereas old conflicts basically remain unresolved and new ones are already pushing their way to the surface, the potential of destructive weapons in all parts of the world is growing and so is the capability of manufacturing nuclear weapons.

64. The year 1975 brought no progress towards accomplishing so urgent a task as reducing military expenditure. On the contrary, we are faced with the threat of another build-up in the arms race.

65. This year the International Covenants on Human Rights entered into force, but in many parts of the world the individual is still denied the most elementary human rights: his right to life and to personal safety, his right to equality without regard to race, his right to move freely, his right to free expression, and his basic economic and social rights.

66. In a world threatened in this way it is our duty to create durable foundations for peace and co-operation. The one needs the other: we cannot achieve peace without the will to co-operate beyond frontiers, and co-operation will remain ineffectual without peace. Thus the future of this planet really does depend on whether we achieve a break-through to that co-operation.

67. Awareness of this began to dawn following the crises of recent years, and this gives us good reason to be hopeful. It is significant that the Conference of non-aligned States in Colombo and, similarly, the Conference of the Group of 77 in Mexico<sup>9</sup> have so unequivocally supplemented the principle of national sovereignty and independence by the principle of international co-operation "as the basis of a secure world order". My Government has made this view the guideline for its action in international relations.

68. The Federal Republic of Germany will therefore continue at this session, as at previous ones, to pursue a policy aimed at safeguarding peace and securing international co-operation. The foundations and objectives of our policy remain unchanged: European union; our firmly rooted position within the Atlantic Alliance, which ensures the balance of power and is thus the prerequisite for peace

in Europe; the policy of détente towards the States of Eastern Europe, and partnership and an equitable reconciliation of interests with the third world.

69. The members of the European Community have made encouraging progress towards creating stable structures for co-operation in a spirit of solidarity. For centuries the history of Western Europe was a series of wars. Even in this century it has been the source of two world wars. Today, however, the people in the European Community see their future as a common future—so thoroughly has the situation changed within the span of a single generation. Outside Europe this may not seem an earth-shaking event, but all, I am sure, should be able to judge from it what can be achieved through goodwill in relations between peoples.

70. The members of the Community have set themselves the task of together putting into practice the great historic concept of freedom and human dignity. We adhere to the aim of European union. Yet the Community is not inward-looking. It is not a closed community whose responsibility stops at its own front door. It actively supports efforts towards peace and justice and towards a world economy that is open for trade and investment. It is the biggest trading partner in the world. And it is, in particular, a partner of the third world: as the most important source of investment capital and technology, as the most important trading partner, and as a pioneer in the creation of equal, balanced relations between industrialized and developing countries.

71. The previous speaker, the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, who spoke on behalf of the nine member States of the European Community, has been able to show how far our common aims extend in foreign policy as well.

72. The Federal Republic of Germany is a member of the North Atlantic Alliance. It understands that alliance and its role in it as a contribution to the safeguarding of peace in our region. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] is a pact for peace, and it is in line with that understanding of its role that it renders an active contribution of its own to détente. This alliance testifies to the close and manifold ties existing between Western Europe, the United States and Canada.

73. On the basis of the European Community and the Atlantic Alliance, a policy of realistic détente towards the East became possible for Western Europe. That policy starts from the following consideration: if we cannot remove the ideological division and the basic differences between political and social systems in Europe, then it is all the more urgent to resolve conflicts by negotiation or at least to mitigate them and to discover areas where co-operation between East and West is possible, to the mutual advantage of both and for the benefit of the peoples of both sides.

74. The policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany in concluding treaties with the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic, Czechoslovakia and the other members of the Warsaw Pact serves this very aim. We attach special importance to the further development of the relationship between the two German States on the basis of treaty arrangements. The policy of détente pursued by the Federal Government is a long-term policy and it consists

<sup>9</sup> Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Mexico City from 13 to 21 September 1976.

tently continues the policy initiated by Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel.

75. The nations of Europe, the United States and Canada held the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. They laid down principles for peaceful relations and agreed on a whole series of specific arrangements. Among other things, these arrangements are intended to foster economic and scientific co-operation, regulate humanitarian questions and facilitate contacts between people in East and West and the exchange of ideas and information; in the military field, they are intended to build up confidence.

76. All those arrangements must now be put into practice. The more co-operation across the ideological barrier becomes possible and the less energy is wasted in sterile confrontation, the more will the nations of Europe be able to contribute to an equitable reconciliation of interests between the industrialized countries and countries of the third world.

77. This year, too, we have resolutely pursued our treaty policy. The agreements concluded with the Polish People's Republic have removed burdens of the past and opened up hopeful prospects for relations between the two countries. The relaxation of tension in Europe brought about since 1970 would not have been possible without an improvement of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR. Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union will also in future be of particular importance for the process of détente. For this reason, great significance attaches to the visit of Mr. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Federal Republic of Germany which is planned to take place in the course of this year.

78. No nation can be more interested in co-operation across the frontiers of different systems than the German people which is compelled to live in two States. Through Germany runs the frontier which divides Europe. Our negotiations with the German Democratic Republic have also been, and will continue to be, concerned with easing conditions for the people and with further developing co-operation. To pursue a policy of détente in a divided country and for a divided country is a great and, at the same time, a difficult task; but we Germans know that there is no acceptable alternative.

79. A great deal has been made possible by negotiations between the two German States; much has been achieved in the way of practical improvements; it has been possible to alleviate human suffering; human contacts between Germans have become increasingly possible. But all objectives have not been attained—far from it. As before, the aim of our policy is to overcome the painful consequences of the division of Germany by patient negotiation.

80. The Federal Government is not resigned to the reality of a frontier where only recently shots were still fired from the other side. This must at last be stopped. The Federal Government will not tire in its efforts to achieve this too by means of its policy of détente.

81. In the heart of Germany also lies the city which, for better or worse, has been a touchstone of détente—Berlin. The Federal Government will not relax its efforts to promote the viability of West Berlin. For Berlin, the strict observance and full application of the Quadripartite Agreement of 3 September 1971 is of essential importance. The Federal Government will, as before, ensure that West Berlin continues to be included in international co-operation. The more we succeed in this the less will be the danger of the city's again becoming a source of international crises.

82. The Federal Republic of Germany, whose foreign policy has been a policy of and for peace from the very first day of its existence, will unflinchingly continue its policy of détente and thus contribute to the safeguarding of peace. It remains its political objective to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination. For us, history has not yet passed its final verdict on the division of the German nation.

83. It will be of decisive importance for the progress of détente whether the current negotiations on the second SALT agreement and on the balanced reduction of ground forces in central Europe prove successful. For nothing could constitute a greater threat to détente than another arms race.

84. The Federal Government will make special efforts in talks with the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries concerned, to get the stagnant expert discussions on mutual and balanced force reduction in Vienna going again. This was announced by Chancellor Schmidt last week.

85. Peace itself and efforts to safeguard it by means of more stable structures are jeopardized by unrelenting efforts in nearly all parts of the world to build up arms strengths. Exports of conventional weapons in particular have increased rapidly.

86. The monstrous waste of scarce resources in the industrialized countries as in the developing countries works to the detriment of the people.

87. We must not give up hope because of the disappointing results in the field of arms control and disarmament so far. In the process of détente efforts must be redoubled to halt the arms race and, both world-wide and regionally, to translate into reality effective measures of arms control and arms limitation.

88. Balanced and controlled disarmament remains one of the most urgent tasks. But it is high time words were followed by deeds. The world needs plough and workbench more urgently than rifle and missile.

89. In Europe, within the framework of the negotiations in Vienna, the Federal Government will continue to seek the establishment of an equal and hence stable relationship of power in central Europe.

90. The Federal Government welcomes the request made by the non-aligned States in Colombo calling for a special session of the General Assembly to deal with questions of

world-wide disarmament [see A/31/197, annex IV, resolution 12] and is ready to play a constructive part in it.

91. But we still live in a heavily armed world. All the more urgent, therefore, is the one principal task of international politics: to ward off dangers for peace in time, and that means resolving conflicts without war.

92. Consequently, we look with anxiety towards a region whose unresolved problems are a constant threat to world peace: the Middle East. The guidelines for a solution to the Middle East conflict were mapped out long ago. They are based on resolutions of the Security Council, complemented by a large consensus of international opinion that the national rights of the Palestinian people must also be taken into consideration. Thus, at the 1974 session of the General Assembly,<sup>10</sup> the Federal Republic of Germany stated that a peace settlement, apart from providing for the termination of the territorial occupation, should make allowance for the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish a State authority, and for Israel's right to live within secure and recognized boundaries.

93. It is not a question of keeping on repeating the principles governing a solution; it is a question of putting them into practice. The Federal Republic of Germany, together with its partners in the European Community, has a vital interest in a peaceful solution to the conflict in its neighbouring region to the south, and today it is more than ever convinced that a solution is possible.

94. Our special interest in this region also finds expression in the Euro-Arab dialogue. No one can today speak of the Middle East problem without including the tragic developments in the Lebanon. Efforts have been of no avail to stop hostilities that have taken a heavy toll of human life and are destroying a country in which the seed of violence has sprung up. We appeal to all concerned to stop the terrible bloodshed.

95. A second source of danger for international relations has developed in southern Africa. It is impossible to imagine the consequences which a racial war embracing the whole region would have. All countries in that region are aware of this. The Federal Republic of Germany has, therefore, not abandoned hope of a peaceful solution being achieved.

96. But it knows that only where no one attempts to hold up a historically necessary change can we expect peaceful developments, can we feel that peace is secure.

97. Everyone must realize, also in southern Africa, that racism and colonialism no longer have a place in this world. The sands have run out.

98. Southern Africa, too, must determine its own destiny. There is only one way to attain this: blacks and whites must develop some form of co-operation based on equality, which will prove a sound foundation also in the future;

there must be majority rule, but at the same time safeguards must be provided for the rights of the minority.

99. In Rhodesia, as we hope, the first and decisive step in this direction has now been taken. This could well be the beginning of an era of people of all races in southern Africa living peacefully together.

100. Recent developments confirm in an impressive manner the correctness of the position we have always taken: that only the renunciation of force prevents the catastrophe of a racial war which would otherwise be unavoidable. The urgently required changes in southern Africa can be brought about only by peaceful means and by negotiation. A turn of events is foreshadowed for which all concerned deserve thanks and appreciation—the Secretary of State of the United States, the British Government, and those African statesmen who are working with perseverance for a peaceful solution of this pressing problem.

101. As regards the Namibia problem, we reaffirm the demands: that the rule of South Africa should end and the earliest possible date for independence be fixed in a binding manner; that the competence of the United Nations to lead the former Mandated Territory to independence should be recognized; and that in exercising the right of self-determination under the supervision of the United Nations all political groups in the country should participate in the preparations for independence.

102. Only the speedy fulfilment of all these demands will prevent any further aggravation of the situation. The Federal Government will assist a free Namibia as far as possible in building up its economy.

103. We appeal to the Government of the Republic of South Africa to give up the policy of *apartheid* and not to oppose necessary reforms any longer. Only those who are prepared to carry out the necessary changes can preserve the heritage of the past.

104. We support the appeal of President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to the white population in southern Africa to join with the other parts of Africa in creating a new society which is not based on colour. Only then will it be possible for a new society of black and white Africans with equal rights to master together the great task of developing the continent.

105. The efforts made by the community of nations to control the use of force must now also include the new illegal forms of force which in recent years have come to be a problem assuming more and more menacing proportions.

106. The most widespread of these new forms of violence, and one of the most murderous, is the taking of hostages. The growing number of acts involving the taking of hostages has spotlighted the extent of the threat. None of the 500 million passengers travelling on airliners every year can be sure not to be among the next victims.

107. Acts involving the taking of hostages are not the problem of just one State or another or of any group of States; they are a problem concerning us all. The United Nations bears a special responsibility. The Secretary-

<sup>10</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2239th meeting.

General in his annual report on the work of the Organization rightly pointed that out [see A/31/1/Add.1, sect. VI].

108. What is at stake is the protection of human beings, the sovereignty of States, the safety of international traffic and an international order free from violence. The taking of hostages is a particularly cruel act of violence which indiscriminately claims or threatens the lives of helpless people, of women and children. For this reason, the Geneva Convention of 1949 prohibits this act as a means of warfare.

109. It is an act offending the dignity, safety and fundamental rights of the individual person, that is, basic values the protection of which is proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex].

110. Those taking hostages attempt to blackmail sovereign States and to confront them with the unbearable choice of either yielding to their demands or risking the lives of the hostages taken. Acts involving the taking of hostages are a threat to international relations. The efforts made by all States to settle international conflicts peacefully and also the endeavours of this world Organization to make peace more secure are placed in jeopardy by criminal acts of violence committed by a few.

111. International conferences and diplomatic exchanges are thus threatened. In exploiting the particular vulnerability of aeroplanes, the taking of hostages above all imperils international air traffic.

112. Our peoples expect the United Nations to exhaust all possibilities of checking this method of using brute force. We must face up to this danger which affects us all and initiate an objective discussion on possible steps. After the bitter experiences of recent months, the Governments of all countries should unite in condemning the act of taking hostages as a particularly abhorrent crime and in introducing world-wide measures against it.

113. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany deems it necessary that the United Nations should draft a convention banning the taking of hostages internationally and making sure that the perpetrators are either extradited or brought before a court in the country in which they have been seized. We are convinced that it should be possible soon to arrive at such a convention within the framework of the United Nations. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will therefore request that an item on international action against the taking of hostages be included in the agenda of this General Assembly as an important and urgent matter.

114. General acceptance of and respect for human rights is an inalienable element of any order of peace and world-wide co-operation.

115. This is one of the noblest aims of the United Nations. The concept of human rights has played a decisive role in the emergence of the United Nations. The year 1976 is a historic year for human rights and for the United Nations. It is the year in which the international covenants on

human rights—the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights—have entered into force. Both Covenants guide our action. The Federal Republic of Germany orients its policy towards the developing countries in keeping with demands embodied in the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

116. We advocate in the strongest possible terms respect for basic human rights not only in Germany but all over the world. Our policy serves the individual human being; only the realization of his rights and his dignity lends ultimate meaning and purpose to all our efforts to ensure political and economic co-operation. And this includes the right of all men to live under conditions which are really consistent with human dignity.

117. The year 1976, with its important events in the field of human rights, now confronts us with the task of translating into reality the principles of law which we have worked out. In this new phase too the United Nations must remain the champion of human rights. An institution should therefore be established which should ensure comprehensive and world-wide protection of human rights. What we need is an independent, international authority making objective judgements in order to ensure that human rights are safeguarded in all parts of the world. Such an authority would not be directed against anybody; it would be there for somebody, namely, the individual human being and his rights.

118. The phase of codifying human rights was long and difficult; it lasted 30 years. The implementing phase will perhaps be even more difficult, but this should not lead us to believe that we can take that much time again.

119. Much patient negotiating will be necessary. Our aim must be to guarantee the application of human rights throughout the world by means of an institution which would prevent the question of human rights from being abused for political purposes.

120. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is aware that this is a difficult task. But it is convinced that the aim of establishing an international court for human rights can be attained. Its belief is strengthened by its experience with the protective system of the European Convention on Human Rights,<sup>11</sup> which has proved its value for more than two decades and which will not lose anything of its importance should the United Nations establish an institution along its lines.

121. I have already pointed out that it is also the application of human rights that makes it incumbent on us to reduce the economic gap between the rich and poor countries. The difference in prosperity between North and South is a threat to peace and stability throughout the world. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany notes with great satisfaction that the will for co-operation which is the prerequisite to any effective action in this field has grown in all parts of the world and is today actually unchallenged.

<sup>11</sup> Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed at Rome on 4 November 1950.

122. The seventh special session of the General Assembly last year, the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris, the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi and also the Conference of the non-aligned States in Colombo have confirmed this principle.

123. It is a positive sign that such complicated problems as those of raw materials and energy and the reorganization of the law of the sea are negotiated at international conferences. But now it is essential to achieve rapid and concrete results. Solemn declarations of intent are not enough to feed the people in the poorest countries. A hard year lies behind us. In 1975, the year of the nadir of recession, the national products of the free-market industrialized countries fell and, although the developing countries' national products continued to rise, their growth rate declined and, in many developing countries, dropped below the growth rate of the population.

124. The gap between industrialized and developing countries decreased for the first time, but it decreased because the world as a whole became poorer. The world all of a sudden became aware of the magnitude of the threat. We had to realize that development as such can be accelerated only within an international economy which, as a whole, is expanding. It was this experience that increased the awareness of the need for co-operation and made 1975 the year of a common departure.

125. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany realizes without any illusions that up to now we have come only a short way together, but even along this short distance we certainly have scored results.

126. First, in 1975 there was a sharp rise in the flow of capital into the developing countries. The countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development increased their official and private capital transfers to the unprecedented amount of \$39 billion, which is an increase of 40 per cent. This means that for the first time ever the target of the capital transfer amounting to 1 per cent of gross national product was reached. The Federal Republic of Germany exceeded that target by having attained 1.18 per cent. At the same time, there was an increase in the capital influx from the States of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC].

127. Secondly, progress was made in the efforts to stabilize the developing countries' export earnings. The International Monetary Fund considerably widened the possibilities of taking up compensatory credits in the event of a decline in export earnings. The European Community in the Lomé Convention set up the world's first stabilizing system for commodity exports from developing countries.

128. Third, progress was also made in the opening of markets to third-world exports. The multilateral trade negotiations in Geneva have made this objective a focal subject for talks. This year, too, the European Community plans to increase essentially the possibilities for tariff-free imports of industrial goods from developing countries. In 1975 the Federal Republic of Germany increased its imports of manufactures from developing countries by one quarter—and that in a year of heavy recession.

129. Fourth, and finally, to promote the development of agriculture in the third world it was decided to set up a fund which will make available considerable funds to increase agricultural production.

130. To speed up the development of the third world is the common task of all countries. It requires that the developing countries themselves concentrate their strength and efforts on the development goal. It also requires that they assist one another. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany therefore appreciates it that the Colombo Conference strongly emphasized the idea of collective self-help.

131. Already now the oil-producing countries substantially contribute to the transfer of resources to developing countries in want of capital. At the latest conference of OPEC they also showed their readiness to share in the responsibility for the world economy as a whole.

132. But the largest external contribution to development undoubtedly has to come from the industrialized countries. In the past, the free-market industrialized countries have already been a motor of third-world development. The power of that motor must grow even stronger. The integration of the countries with a centrally-controlled economy into the world economic system—an integration which has begun in recent years—now opens up the possibility that those countries, too, will finally become a motor of development. That possibility should, however, be pursued. Trade between free-market industrialized countries and centrally-planned industrialized countries has almost quadrupled during the past four years. It is necessary now to increase trade between centrally-planned industrialized countries and developing countries with similar speed.

133. The potential is enormous. Whereas free-market industrialized countries absorb three quarters of the developing countries' exports, the share of the centrally-planned industrialized countries in these exports is no more than 4 per cent.

134. When we look ahead, the question is, What can we and what must we do together now in order to promote the equitable reconciliation of interests between industrialized and developing countries?

135. First, in the four commissions of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation—on energy, commodities, finance and development—we must quickly find concrete solutions to the problems defined in the initial phase of the Conference.

136. Second, at the meetings and conferences on commodity problems decided on by the fourth session of UNCTAD we must achieve rapid and appropriate results.

137. Third, we would like to see all industrialized countries, whatever their economic system, make greater efforts with regard to the transfer of capital and technology to developing countries. The developing countries, for their part, should create the prerequisites for these efforts to be successful.

138. Fourth, we regard the intensified industrialization of the developing countries as an urgent requirement. We therefore participate in all efforts contributing to that goal and are prepared to open our markets still further. We are aware of the adjustment problems entailed for our own economy and shall be prepared for this.

139. Fifth, the solution of the problem of indebtedness becomes an ever-more pressing requirement. Like other countries, the Federal Republic of Germany gives the solution of that problem priority attention. In the spirit which has imbued the Federal Republic of Germany in rendering its financial assistance and in continuing to render such assistance, it will, together with other donor countries, use its full energies to help solve the problem of indebtedness. We do this because we have full confidence in the future of the developing countries and their peoples.

140. The success of our endeavours to build a co-operative world will be decisively influenced by the outcome of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We have declared the sea the common heritage of mankind. It is now essential to translate this principle into reality, and that means establishing a legal system governing the seas which will take into account the interests of all States in a well-balanced manner. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will actively participate in the work on these problems because it is convinced that the problems of the developing countries are the problems of the industrialized countries as well. That is a new piece of knowledge which all of our citizens do not yet find it easy to accept. In our countries many people still have to learn that their own destiny is connected with that of all others.

141. In all industrialized countries a great deal of information and education is still necessary to make it understood that the North-South dialogue is concerned not with the giving and taking of alms, but with our common future.

142. The Secretary-General in the introduction to his report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization correctly defined the role of the United Nations when he characterized our time as a period of transition in which we must overcome the antagonism between the principle of national sovereignty and the regulatory principles governing an interdependent world. Only co-operation can help us steer this development in such a way that it will benefit mankind as a whole.

143. In this co-operation a central role falls to the United Nations as the only world-embracing organization, a role which no one else and nothing else can play. According to the mandate of the Charter, our Organization is to be the centre in which the nations of the world will harmonize their actions to attain the common objectives of peace and progress. Let us at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly fulfil this mandate which the Charter gives us. Let us continue to work on the great task of building a world to conform to the vision of our Charter: a world of peace, a world of economic and social progress, and a world in which the freedom and dignity of man are a reality.

144. My country is today more convinced than ever that in creating the United Nations mankind endowed itself with a great opportunity. We understand only too well the

impatience of many who are waiting for their most elementary rights to come true. Nor do we underrate the difficulties which the United Nations is having in trying to close the big gap between demands and reality. We do not close our eyes to the obstacles besetting the road to an equitable and peaceful world-wide order. Only the spirit of co-operation on a basis of partnership can help us to go forward. Let us therefore use the opportunity we have.

145. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): On behalf of the Soviet delegation I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the important post of President of the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. I wish you all success in the performance of this honourable and responsible task.

146. The United Nations operates uninterruptedly all year round and, like international politics, it knows no interludes. But the annual sessions of such a forum as the General Assembly are of special significance. They provide an opportunity—now to almost 150 States—to scan the political panorama of the world in all its diversity, to identify the main problems that await solution and, most important, to provide by joint efforts, new momentum to international co-operation.

147. The very emergence of the United Nations as an international organization on the crest of the great victory over the forces of fascism and aggression was an expression of the will of the peoples of the world to prevent another war. In the name of those who perished and those who survived, its founding States declared their determination “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”.

148. Now, as then, the peoples of the world have every right to demand of their political leaders, Governments and parliaments that efforts to strengthen peace be intensified and not slackened.

149. We are very far from underestimating the United Nations. After all, the Soviet Union is one of its founders. The United Nations has given useful and significant support to the peoples of the world in their struggle for liberation from colonial oppression. It has also made a weighty contribution to getting negotiations under way and preparing agreements which have curbed the arms race in certain areas. In certain cases it has been helpful in extinguishing conflicts. All these things are true.

150. Nevertheless, if the role of the United Nations is viewed in terms of the problems which still remain on the political agenda of the world there are at least two questions which arise.

151. First, is the United Nations potential always fully exploited whenever tension grows or blood is shed in any given part of the world? No. The United Nations does not always measure up to the situation. This was true in the case of Indo-China. It is still true in the Middle East. It is true in Cyprus, and it is true in southern Africa.

152. As a result, people's faith in the effectiveness of the United Nations and its ability to give the necessary support to the victims of aggression is undermined.

153. When anyone succumbs to the temptation to use force to seize the lands of others or tramples upon the right of peoples to free development, then there arises the question of what has become of his signature on the Charter of the United Nations. No matter how you put it, one thing is clear: such a policy is alien to the interests of peace and to the noble goals in the name of which the new international Organization was brought into being. And this is precisely why all too often the Security Council finds itself paralysed, while many United Nations resolutions remain mere ink and paper.

154. The second question is this. Has the United Nations really addressed itself to the task of solving the most burning issue facing mankind today—the elimination of the threat of another world war? Unfortunately this question cannot be answered affirmatively either.

155. Whenever the General Assembly meets, it discusses at its sessions some hundred items and adopts even more resolutions. At times the resolutions are so eloquent, and their verbal fabric so splendid, that they could be hung around this hall as slogans.

156. But resolutions are resolutions, and at the same time there is the gigantic machinery of arms production, or, in other words, of material preparation for war, continuing to gather momentum. Figuratively speaking, the globe, or at any rate a sizable part of it, is criss-crossed with assembly lines continuously churning out ever deadlier weapons—land-based, airborne, underwater weapons and whatever others you care to name.

157. And many political figures who have linked their careers with the arms race and who are building their policies on that basis are clamouring for the development of ever newer weapons of destruction and annihilation. Not satisfied with wingless missiles, they want winged missiles. The B-type bomber no longer suits them. They must have the B-1, or, better still, a C-type.

158. It is indeed a fact that today the world spends 60 times more money to teach a soldier the ABCs of annihilation than to teach a child the science of creation. And, if one goes through the records of some parliaments, it would appear there is no greater evil than a reduction of military spending. As a result, record-breaking military budgets are being adopted. Those who work at the factory bench and in the fields or who are engaged in scientific and cultural activities are increasingly deprived of funds that could be used for improving nutrition, public health, education, housing and social security.

159. Science and technology have made tremendous strides forward. Opportunities for raising the material and cultural standards of the people have increased immeasurably. But a huge proportion of the material and intellectual resources of the world are being devoured by the arms race. According to United Nations data, the world today spends on armaments about \$300 billion a year, or more than a million dollars every two minutes. In the three hours of this very plenary meeting we are attending, another \$90 million worth of means of destruction will have been added to the total.

160. And what are we to say about the arguments—which have been elevated almost to the rank of theories—of those who preach, with criminal neglect of human life and the achievements of civilization, that it is better to build man's future on radio-active ashes?

161. We shall not now go into an analysis of the causes of the arms race or their social nature, although of course we could certainly find a few things to say about this too. Now, here in this hall, where States with different social systems are represented, we should focus our attention on what concerns us all equally: the prevention of war and the consolidation of peace.

162. The Soviet Union rejects the grim conclusion that putting an end to the arms race is beyond human ability. No one can prove that people must either constantly be at war or be preparing for mutual annihilation.

163. For almost six decades now our country has been guided in its policies by ideas of a different kind, those of peace and friendship among nations. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, said, "An end to wars, peace among nations, an end to plundering and violence—that is our ideal . . .".

164. The Soviet Union acts in the international arena in close unity and co-operation with its allies and friends, the fraternal socialist States. We are proud that the impact of the socialist countries on the course of world affairs is becoming ever more profound, and we are proud because that impact is used not only in the interests of those States but also for purposes of strengthening universal peace.

165. Any objective observer can realize that the members of the Warsaw Pact, the countries of the socialist community, bring to international politics a feeling of respect for the independence and sovereignty of all nations and put forward concrete peace-loving initiatives and proposals and serve as a reliable bulwark for peoples fighting for national liberation and social progress.

166. The Leninist ideas of peace found new, vivid expression in the decisions of the highest forum of our Party, the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held last spring. Its programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, set out in the report delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is imbued with a sense of profound optimism and an unshakable belief in the possibility of making peace on earth enduring.

167. As one of the major objectives of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, the Twenty-fifth Congress set the task of seeking to contain the arms race, and then to reverse the trend and begin disarmament. We have put forward numerous specific proposals. Some of them are long-term proposals; others, with goodwill on the part of our partners too, could be implemented in the near future.

168. Now, what specifically do we have in mind?

169. The first step would be the curbing of a further build-up of weapons of mass destruction, to be followed by

their complete prohibition and elimination. The conscience of mankind demands that ultimately nuclear weapons be eliminated altogether.

170. The Soviet Union has been, and remains, in favour of the removal of nuclear weapons from the arsenals of States, and of using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes. We believe that the nuclear Powers—and all other States could join them—should come to the negotiating table to examine comprehensively the problem of nuclear disarmament and to chart together ways leading to its solution. The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in such negotiations at any time.

171. Independently of these negotiations, nuclear-weapons testing should be stopped everywhere and by all. This would put an end to the qualitative improvement of those weapons. That is the purpose of the proposal to conclude a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons testing approved by the General Assembly at its last session [*resolution 3466 (XXX)*]. The start of negotiations on this question is being unjustifiably delayed. The problem here is not the absence of objective conditions—they have long existed—but the unwillingness of some nuclear Powers to begin negotiations.

172. The question of underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes cannot be allowed to become a stumbling-block: the USSR and the United States have, after all, succeeded in agreeing on this matter, and have recently signed a relevant Treaty.<sup>12</sup> We hope that this Treaty will soon be ratified by the United States. On our part, there will be no delay.

173. The problem of verification has been artificially inflated for quite some time now. Advanced techniques for identifying seismic phenomena have eliminated this point of disagreement as well. If, nevertheless, there are some who still harbour doubts on this score, we are confident that a mutually acceptable approach can be found that would remove such doubts.

174. In short, no room has been left for any plausible excuses which would prevent the completion of the task of prohibiting all nuclear weapons tests.

175. It is a matter of growing concern that channels for the proliferation of nuclear weapons have not yet been fully blocked. One can only imagine how much greater the risk of nuclear war would become if new States, particularly those in conflict with each other, became involved in the process of developing and stockpiling nuclear weapons.

176. It is well known that at present international commercial exchanges of nuclear materials are increasing. In some cases, however, it is not sufficiently certain that the possession of fissionable materials could not be used for dangerous purposes or that the means of developing nuclear weapons would not fall into the hands of irresponsible persons, adventurers, or simply madmen. This is not a question of trade, but of politics and security.

<sup>12</sup> Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes, signed at Washington and Moscow on 28 May 1976 (see document A/31/125).

177. Surely it follows that the world must be safely protected from all such risks. The way to achieve this is to strengthen the régime on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We should redouble our efforts to make the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] truly universal and to secure the accession to it of all States, without exception.

178. The Soviet Union proposes that all chemical means of warfare be completely prohibited and destroyed, as has been done in respect of bacteriological weapons. If all States are not prepared to take such a step, then, to begin with, agreement should be reached on banning and eliminating the most dangerous and lethal types of chemical weapons.

179. It is not only the means of mass destruction already accumulated that pose a threat: potentially, weapons based on qualitatively new operating principles, in terms of methods of use, targets or effects, could become just as formidable. Today such weapons may exist only as blue-prints, mock-ups or ideas, but experience shows that their appearance may not be too far away.

180. At the last session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Union proposed the conclusion of an international agreement which would preclude the development and production of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction.<sup>13</sup> Some have asked how you can prohibit something that does not yet exist. However, since the very beginning of the discussion of this matter in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, it has become evident that there is here a subject for serious discussion. It is vastly more difficult to agree on the elimination of those types of weapons which have already been supplied to armies. The Soviet Union believes that everything possible must be done to prevent the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

181. Conventional types of weapons are not normally included among weapons of mass annihilation. But modern tanks, aircraft, cannon and even small arms have been perfected to such a degree that they have actually become instruments capable of wiping out great masses of people.

182. Since the Second World War, the Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed that conventional types of arms and the strength of armed forces also be reduced. We believe it imperative to discuss these questions as well.

183. As it always has, the Soviet Union favours the dismantling of all foreign military bases on alien territories. The existence of such bases is one of the main causes of the complications and tensions in the world. This problem is no less urgent today than it was yesterday.

184. To open up ever new avenues towards the solution of the disarmament problem, efforts are required along many lines. In some cases, the desired result is brought closer by singling out as a subject for negotiation certain types of weapon—say, strategic nuclear missiles. In other cases, the

<sup>13</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2357th meeting.

consideration of some particular aspect of the curbing of the arms race in the context of a certain region of the globe is more promising. The Soviet Union is in favour of using either of these approaches, or of combining them when circumstances permit. That also determines the attitude of our country towards regional measures of military détente, including the possibility of creating zones of peace or nuclear-free zones.

185. We consider it reasonable that a number of Asian and African States desire to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. In this connexion, the essential point is that there should be no foreign military bases in the area which constitute the main element of a permanent military presence. As for the Soviet Union, it has never had and does not have any intention of building military bases in the Indian Ocean.

186. In solving the problem of foreign military bases along these lines, the Soviet Union is prepared, together with other Powers, to seek ways of reducing on a reciprocal basis the military activities of non-coastal States in the Indian Ocean and the regions directly adjacent thereto. Our country has shown its readiness to contribute to the realization of the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, but of course, this should not create any obstacles to freedom of navigation or scientific research in that Ocean. If due account is taken of our approach by the States concerned, the Soviet Union will be able to participate in consultations on matters relating to preparations for convening an international conference on the Indian Ocean.

187. Among the various methods of securing the curtailment of the arms race there is another one which, as it were, combines the various possibilities, and that is the reduction of military budgets.

188. Three years ago, the General Assembly approved our proposal that the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council be reduced by 10 per cent while a part of the money thus saved could be used to provide assistance to developing countries [*resolution 3254 (XXIX)*]. Because of the position taken by some States, the practical solution of this problem has been blocked. Wishing to break the deadlock in this matter, we are prepared to look for mutually acceptable specific figures with which the reduction could be started. As a first step, a figure either greater or smaller than 10 per cent could be agreed upon as soon as for 1977, next year. But it is necessary to begin negotiations on this question.

189. The opponents of reductions of military budgets are resorting to every possible means to frustrate any agreement about this. They are endeavouring to prove that inflated military budgets are necessary in the interests of peace, higher employment in industry and the reinforcement of negotiating positions, primarily in negotiations with the Soviet Union. All these arguments are illusory. Those who use them are well aware that they are turning the truth and standing it on its head. But, of course, they do not want to tell the truth. Those who base their policy not on deceiving people but on revealing to them the true causes of such an international phenomenon as an uncontrolled arms race cannot reconcile themselves to that, and

they even feel it necessary to say so from this lofty rostrum of the United Nations.

190. So far, the pace of the arms race has far outstripped the efforts of States to arrest it, and this gap is growing. It is time, and everything possible must be done not only to narrow this gap and even to eliminate it totally, but also to ensure that disarmament negotiations outstrip the arms race in terms of effectiveness, thereby facilitating its termination. The Soviet Union continues to believe that if the elimination of one type of weapon cannot be immediately agreed upon then, to begin with, its production should be substantially limited. But in any case, the important thing is to make a start.

191. No one today will deny that the arms race has assumed unprecedented dimensions. This makes it imperative for all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, great and small, developed and developing, to combine their efforts to arrest it.

192. That is why the Soviet Union has proposed, and continues to propose, that the problem of disarmament be considered in its entirety at the broadest and most authoritative forum—a world disarmament conference. An overwhelming majority of the States of the world have declared themselves in favour of convening such a conference. But the implementation of this proposal continues to meet with the objections of some big Powers.

193. In this regard it has been suggested that it would be appropriate to hold a special session of the General Assembly to discuss disarmament questions. Well, this, too, is a suitable forum if it is viewed as an intermediate stage in the preparations for a world conference. But it must really be a special kind of session, not a routine one. We see its task as that of paving the way for a world conference and finally ensuring a real break-through in solving disarmament problems. Its work must reflect the grave responsibility of all States of the world, especially the great Powers.

194. Such, fundamentally, is our approach to the problem of stopping the arms race and of disarmament. Such is the essence of the Soviet Union's memorandum on these questions which we are submitting for consideration at this session and circulating as an official document of the United Nations [*A/31/232*].

195. Some of the provisions of the memorandum have already been proposed earlier by us, and others have been put forward for the first time. I should like to express the confidence that this important document will be viewed by States Members of the United Nations as reflecting the sincere efforts of the Soviet Union, of our people, to help banish the threat of a world war of annihilation.

196. Neither in the years preceding the Second World War nor in the first few post-war decades did there exist the objective conditions for making progress towards ending the arms race and towards disarmament such as those that exist today. It will be recalled that it has recently proved possible to achieve international understandings which impose certain limits on the arms race in some areas. As far as one can judge, an important agreement on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental

modification techniques seems to be within reach. A number of questions relating to disarmament are now being discussed among States.

197. Pride of place belongs, for obvious reasons, to the continuing talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on strategic arms limitation. The importance of these talks far transcends the interests of just our two countries. We are ready actively to continue our efforts to translate the well-known Vladivostok understanding into the text of an agreement.

198. There can hardly be anyone who would doubt that the fullest guarantees of peace will be provided by general and complete disarmament. Ever since Lenin's days, Soviet foreign policy has been aimed at achieving that ultimate goal.

199. But along with efforts to solve that historic task, it is possible and necessary to seek by other means, too, a reduction of the risk of the outbreak of war. Now, what is of decisive importance today? Above all, a firm agreement between States not to use force in international relations.

200. It could be argued that the principle of the renunciation of the use or threat of force is already embodied in the United Nations Charter. This is true. But it is also true that many States are seeking ways of putting this principle into practice. It is no accident that it was considered necessary to lay special emphasis on it in recent bilateral and multilateral international treaties and agreements.

201. The principle of the non-use of force has been developed in detail in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The need to abide strictly by this principle has on more than one occasion been stressed by non-aligned States, and particularly at their highest forums.

202. There is another important consideration. When the Charter of the United Nations was being signed, nuclear weapons were virtually non-existent. Their emergence—and especially their growth into a huge complex of various kinds and types of weapon—is a qualitatively new factor. It radically changes our concepts of the consequences of armed conflict. Therefore, it was not without reason that the General Assembly of the United Nations in its special resolution adopted in 1972 linked renunciation of the use of force with the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*]. Thus, the question of how States should deal with each other without seriously endangering the security of the peoples of the world has not become a whit less urgent.

203. There are certainly enough unresolved problems in today's world. They were bequeathed to us by the Second World War and the period of the "cold war", and they continue to arise now and again in the course of the current development of international relations.

204. These knots of differences among States should be untied and outstanding problems should be resolved at the conference table, by peaceful means. The principle of renunciation of the use of force must become an iron law of international affairs. That is the purpose of the proposal

made from the rostrum of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the concluding of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

205. We note with satisfaction that that proposal has met with a broad response and has aroused the interest of many States. At the same time, we are asked what the Soviet Union has in mind in terms of the specific contents of such a treaty.

206. The answer to this question is to be found in the draft world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations which the Soviet Union is submitting to the General Assembly [*A/31/243*].

207. The essence of the proposed treaty lies in the idea that in their relations with each other, as well as in their international relations in general, all parties to it will strictly abide by the undertaking to refrain from the use or threat of force either against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

208. They will accordingly refrain from the use of armed forces involving the employment of any types of weapon, including nuclear weapons, on land, at sea, in the air and in outer space and will not threaten to use such forces.

209. They will have to reaffirm the undertaking to settle disputes among themselves solely by peaceful means in such a way as not to endanger international peace and security.

210. There is, of course, a fundamental difference between the launching of hostilities for the purposes of aggression and the legitimate right to repel aggression or eliminate its consequences. Can the Arabs, for instance, resign themselves to the loss of their lands? And do the colonial peoples have no right to fight for their independence till final victory? They do indeed have an inalienable right to that.

211. The substance of the matter is the prevention of aggression. In this case there will be no further need to use force to repel it. The source of the evil is aggression and not the desire to restore justice; that is the cause and not its effect. Underlying our draft treaty—and I want to lay special emphasis on this—is the definition of aggression worked out by the United Nations, and everyone voted in favour of that document [*resolution 3314 (XXIX)*].

212. The treaty takes fully into account the system of bilateral and multilateral relations of States that has developed in the world. One of its articles provides that nothing in the treaty affects the rights and obligations of States under the United Nations Charter and treaties and agreements concluded by them earlier.

213. It is envisaged that the treaty would be open for signature by any State of the world at any time. This means that, first, it would be of a general, universal nature. Secondly, for the signatory States the treaty would enter into force upon ratification. Consequently, there would be no need to wait for the accession to the treaty of a specific number of countries.

214. According to our draft, the Secretary-General of the United Nations would be the depository of the treaty. The United Nations as a whole would be called upon to lend all its moral and political prestige in support of the treaty.

215. The conclusion of the treaty we are proposing would be a major step bringing the world closer to the time when it will prove possible to eliminate entirely the threat of war and aggression. Supplementing and reinforcing the provisions concerning the non-use of force contained in various international instruments, the treaty would offer new and more reliable guarantees of security to all countries, big and small, and strengthen their confidence that their peaceful life would not be disrupted.

216. The treaty would undoubtedly also expedite the implementation of effective disarmament measures. The draft clearly provides that the parties will make all the necessary efforts to that end.

217. Whose rights and interests would be infringed by such a treaty? Who would fail to benefit from it? Every State that really wants peace and international co-operation would stand to gain from it. The conclusion of such a treaty would be of benefit to peace throughout the world.

218. The Soviet Union hopes that the General Assembly will thoroughly consider the proposal to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations and declare itself in favour of it.

219. These are the new and concrete initiatives designed to stop the arms race and exclude the use of force in relations among States which have been proposed by the Soviet Union in this important forum. We are convinced that the fundamental strengthening of the bulwark of universal peace depends to a decisive degree on progress precisely in those two directions. The political climate in the world and the processes of relaxation of international tension prevailing in it are conducive to an undertaking of the implementation of these initiatives in a practical and serious manner.

220. The relaxation of tension and the attitude of States towards it are now in the searchlight of world politics. This alone shows that détente is not a myth or a catchword. Underlying it is a real change-over from confrontation and brinkmanship to peaceful and mutually beneficial co-operation among States and the investing of such co-operation with ever greater material content.

221. Not a single State, not a single Government—if, of course, it really wishes to remain in touch with reality—should hesitate in choosing its policy: either to promote the further reduction of tension and the elimination of the remnants of the cold war or to kindle conflict and friction. Every Government, every statesman should consider it an honour to be in the mainstream of the forces working for the further reduction of tension in the world.

222. Statesmen who are directly responsible for the foreign policy of their countries should be imbued with the awareness that the course towards solving international problems, including the most urgent and complicated ones, through negotiations—and negotiations alone—equally

serves the interests of all peoples and all States. And if that is so, then is it permissible to favour détente today and oppose it tomorrow? Is it permissible, while talking about one's desire to improve relations among States, particularly among the major Powers, at the same time in actual fact to follow in the wake of those who in major politics see no further than the buttons on their military tunics? To invoke in this regard some kind of considerations of domestic policy means to regard détente as the mere small change of political dealings, and not as a firm and noble guideline for ensuring peace.

223. Some attempts have also been made to interpret détente as if it almost amounted to sanctioning interference in the domestic affairs of other States. How else can one describe the false solicitude of certain people for the rights of citizens in other countries? In actual fact these people are extolling those renegades who believe that the laws of their own country were not written for them to obey. Those who display such touching solicitude for them should open their eyes and take a good look at themselves and around them and see how matters stand in their own house in so far as real, not imaginary, human rights violations are concerned.

224. We believe that the foreign policy of States in matters relating to peace should be determined and pursued consistently and in good faith. We welcome statements precisely in favour of such a policy from the rostrum of this world Organization. As for the Soviet Union, its position has been determined with utmost clarity by the decisions of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Expressing the will of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the entire Soviet people, Leonid Brezhnev has stated that our country would

“...do everything possible to deepen international détente and to embody it in concrete forms of mutually beneficial co-operation between States.”

That is our firm foreign policy line, one which the Soviet Union will steadfastly follow.

225. Experience has shown that if States, no matter how different, take account of reality and exert their will for the same goal—the strengthening of peace—the results are impressive. Europe is a compelling example of that. The year that has passed since the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe shows that the development of the situation there is, on the whole, marked by a realization of the understanding approved at Helsinki.

226. There are, however, some who are not averse to grumbling. There are various things in the Final Act of the all-European Conference which are not to their liking. We also could point out quite a number of provisions which do not go as far as we would like. But what has been accepted by all the participants and solemnly sealed by the signatures of the leaders of States should be implemented—and implemented fully. That naturally applies also to the clauses relating to the inadmissibility of outside interference in the domestic affairs of States. That is how the Soviet Union acts and intends to act.

227. Of course, this is not only a question of the Helsinki decisions. All the treaties and agreements concluded in

recent years in the interests of a peaceful future for Europe should be scrupulously observed by all parties. I should like to emphasize particularly that attempts to undercut the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, which has been serving the cause of improving the situation in the centre of the European continent for five years now, run counter to these interests.

228. In the light of the results of the all-European Conference new possibilities have opened up for expanding relations between States in Europe in the political, economic, scientific and technological fields, as well as in the sphere of culture, contacts, information and education. The Soviet Union has put forward concrete proposals for organizing multilateral co-operation in such important fields as energy production, transport and protection of the environment.

229. The task of supplementing political détente with military détente is now coming to the fore in European affairs. What does that mean primarily? It means a successful conclusion of the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, where the concentration of armed forces and armaments is higher than in any other part of the world.

230. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries taking part in the negotiations are seeking to make the discussions constructive. We have given figures with regard to the total strength of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries stationed in the zone of reductions, including land forces. It is now our partners' turn to respond. If no attempts are made to obtain unilateral military advantages, the negotiations in Vienna will also succeed.

231. It is well known how important for the international situation is the state of Soviet-American relations. As a result of the agreements and understandings reached between the USSR and the United States of America in previous years, the necessary conditions have been created for continuing to build those relations on a constructive foundation.

232. So far as concerns the Soviet Union, it is not guided in its policy by temporary considerations of the moment. The true interests of both countries and the interests of peace are served by only one course of action—that of acting in conformity, with a course jointly formulated in recent years, with the spirit and letter of the agreements that have been concluded. The Soviet Union expects that the United States will proceed precisely in that way. That will primarily determine further developments.

233. Relations between the Soviet Union and France are developing in a favourable direction. This is something which has been reflected in the signing of many agreements, including the Declaration on the further development of friendship and co-operation, signed last October.<sup>14</sup> The recent Soviet-French agreement to prevent the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons<sup>15</sup> is along the same

lines. In so far as concerns the Soviet Union, we will consistently follow the line we have taken in our relations with France.

234. A great deal of what has been achieved in relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany and, above all, the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty between the two States on 12 August 1970, has marked the end of a whole phase in the post-war history of Europe. A fundamentally important page was turned in the right direction. The Soviet Union believes that further development and deepening of co-operation with the Federal Republic of Germany—in the expectation, naturally, that the policy of that country will be determined by the interests of peace, including the interests of peaceful development and good-neighbourliness in Europe—is desirable.

235. The relations between the Soviet Union and practically all States which are known as "Western"—Great Britain or Denmark, Italy or Belgium, Canada or Sweden—are increasingly assuming the character of normal, mutually advantageous co-operation.

236. The successes of the policy of détente by no means signify that it no longer has any opponents. Ill-assorted forces often presenting a common front against it are easily found in Europe and elsewhere—in fact, they reveal themselves every day.

*Mr. Fischer (German Democratic Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

237. The fruits of the policy of détente must be accessible to all peoples. It is well known, however, that the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus are still threatened. Tensions in the Middle East have not abated.

238. There can be no doubt that, so long as the occupation by Israel of Arab lands continues, so long as the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine are trampled upon, the Middle East will continue time and again to be in a state of fever.

239. It is now common knowledge that thousands of people have been killed or crippled in Lebanon in recent months. The tragic events which have occurred in that country are the direct result of imperialist aggression against the Arabs. The events in Lebanon are a direct consequence of the lack of an over-all settlement in the Middle East. The blow is being aimed primarily against the patriots of Lebanon and the valiant Arab people of Palestine, whose just struggle cannot but evoke our admiration.

240. The Soviet Union believes that the crisis in Lebanon must be settled in a peaceful, democratic way by the Lebanese themselves, without any outside interference, on the basis of the preservation of the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon.

241. The protracted nature of the tension in the Middle East gives us no grounds for concluding that the situation there is hopeless. A good basis for establishing peace in that area has been worked out through the efforts of many

<sup>14</sup> Declaration on the Development of Friendship and Co-operation between France and the Soviet Union, signed at Moscow on 17 October 1975.

<sup>15</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976*, document S/12161.

States, including the Soviet Union. What it boils down to is: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the satisfaction of the legitimate national demands of the Arab people of Palestine, including their inalienable right to create their own State; and the furnishing of international security guarantees for all States in the Middle East, including Israel.

242. Is there anything here that could fail to be to anyone's liking, provided that there is a real intention to live in peace with one's neighbours?

243. Unfortunately, the international machinery for producing the necessary agreements on the Middle East—the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East—is still inactive. The Soviet Union is in favour of a resumption of its work, and the sooner the better, for a consideration by it of all the major issues involved in a Middle East settlement—I repeat, all the major issues involved in such a settlement.

244. It is becoming ever more urgent to spread détente to Asia. Conditions are ripening there for the consolidation of peace through the joint efforts of the Asian States. This is demonstrated by a fact of vast historical significance—the end of the war in Indo-China and the formation of a new major peace-loving State, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Soviet Union is confident that the voice of an independent, united Viet Nam will soon be heard from this rostrum too. We insist that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam be admitted to the United Nations without delay.

245. Friendly co-operation between the Soviet Union and India is an important stabilizing factor in the Asian continent. Mutual understanding and confidence between the two States were vividly manifested once again during the recent visit to the Soviet Union of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India.

246. Along with the trend towards an improvement of the situation in Asia, there are other facts. In that part of the world, too, circles are active which are by no means loath to create tension by stepping up military preparations, particularly in the area bordering on the southern frontiers of the Soviet Union. History knows how such efforts have ended and this should not be forgotten.

247. The question of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea should be finally resolved. We support the proposals of the Korean Democratic People's Republic for the peaceful reunification of Korea without outside interference. As we know, last year's session of the General Assembly adopted a resolution in this regard [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*] on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice in Korea into a lasting peace and for expediting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. That resolution should be put into effect.

248. The Soviet Union continues, as it has done in the past, to attach great importance to its relations with the People's Republic of China. The normalization of those relations would undoubtedly have a positive effect on the situation in Asia, and, indeed, have even wider international repercussions. Our position in this respect as regards the People's Republic of China has been made quite clear by

the decisions of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that position is fully valid today.

249. The situation in the south of Africa is a subject requiring the most serious attention. The rulers of the Republic of South Africa and of Southern Rhodesia and all those who support and arm them are now demonstrating and would have us believe that they have resigned themselves to the inevitability of the process of national liberation and that they are trying to adapt themselves to it.

250. But in actual fact everything possible is still being done to repress the just struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and of the indigenous people of the Republic of South Africa for their legitimate rights and for an end to the hateful policy of racism. Every possible method is being resorted to, from direct suppression and violence to attempts to divert the national liberation movement from genuine independence and freedom through political gimmickry and financial hand-outs.

251. What is being sought from these people before the eyes of the whole world? A renunciation of their inalienable right to free and independent development, a development along the path of social progress. But we are confident that the inexorable course of events and the facts of life itself with its political realities will put everything in its proper perspective. Peoples have learned and have learned well to distinguish between truth and falsehood.

252. Today, as always, the Soviet Union stands firmly by the side of the fighting peoples of southern Africa. We are in favour of the unconditional ending of the policy of *apartheid* and racism in South Africa, of the immediate withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia, of the unreserved transfer of all power to the people of Zimbabwe. No one will ever see the Soviet Union failing to oppose attempts to prolong colonial and racist oppression under whatever guise.

253. It is worth recalling, particularly in this hall, that on 14 December 1960 thunderous applause greeted the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. Its adoption signified that historically the hour had struck for the complete elimination of colonial domination in the world.

254. We have all witnessed the failure of the attempt to stifle with the help of arms the young independent State of the People's Republic of Angola. If there are still Governments which would impede the exercise of its legitimate right to participate in the work of the United Nations, they stand to gain nothing by that action; they only stand to lose. Angola will without any doubt take its lawful and proper place in this hall.

255. We should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Republic of Seychelles on its admission to the United Nations and to wish the people of that country success in the building of a new life.

256. Thousands of miles separate the Soviet Union from Latin America, but our people have feelings of friendship

towards its peoples and wish to have good relations with Latin American countries. So much greater, then, are our bitterness and indignation at the unabated violations of human rights and liberties in several parts of that continent, primarily in Chile, where these rights and freedoms are being flagrantly and criminally trampled under foot. Together with all progressive mankind we demand freedom for Luis Corvalán, arrested three years ago, and for other Chilean democrats.

257. Recently, problems of the restructuring of international economic relations have been assuming increasing importance in world affairs. We support the just demands of the developing countries to do away with discrimination and artificial barriers in international trade, to eliminate all instances of inequality, the imposition of will and exploitation in international economic relations. On behalf of the Soviet Union, the Soviet delegation intends to make a special statement on these matters at this session of the General Assembly.

258. Among topical issues of international affairs a prominent place now belongs to questions relating to the co-operation of States in the uses of the world's oceans. A search for ways of establishing such co-operation is, as we know, under way at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the latest round of which came to an end just a few days ago. The Soviet Union believes that the issues facing that Conference should be resolved by its participants on a mutually acceptable basis. No one should try to impose on the Conference any arbitrary or one-sided decisions which have nothing in common with the interests of justice and the fruitful co-operation of States in such an important field as the use of the world's oceans.

259. The present international situation is far from being monochrome. Along with the positive changes which have occurred in the world, which have been characteristic of recent times, certain phenomena of a different kind have been noted, namely, opposition to détente. This requires the vigilance and active efforts of all those who cherish the cause of peace. And yet the over-all political background of the world today gives grounds for looking to the future with optimism.

260. The States of the socialist community have thrown their prestige, their material and foreign policy resources onto the scales of the policy of defending peace. The newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have resolutely favoured the strengthening of international security. This has also been demonstrated by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo.

261. A sound tendency is emerging in the policy of a number of capitalist States and gathering momentum, although not without snags. The essence of this trend is the recognition in practice of the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. Certain public circles, movements and political parties which consistently advocate peace among nations and social progress are being listened to more and more.

262. We are convinced that, in the light of present-day dynamics of the correlation of forces in the world, with

détente making ever more confident headway, the United Nations should exploit all its possibilities as a reliable instrument for maintaining and strengthening peace. But it will be able to fully evince this quality only when all its Member States are firmly abiding by its Charter and observing it.

263. The Soviet Union unswervingly strives to ensure that the questions discussed at sessions of the General Assembly are resolved in such a way as to be of benefit to the peace, co-operation, freedom and independence of the peoples of the world. And at this session too we are determined to co-operate constructively with all those who support these great humane goals which meet the aspirations of all peoples.

264. Mr. MINIĆ (Yugoslavia):<sup>16</sup> Mr. President, I am very pleased indeed to have this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Amerasinghe on his election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am confident that as an eminent representative of friendly and non-aligned Sri Lanka, he will, with his vast experience and dedication to the United Nations, greatly contribute to the successful work of this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

265. I welcome the admission of the Republic of Seychelles to the United Nations, which constitutes a further step towards the realization of the principle of universality.

266. The present session is being held in a crucial period characterized by an irreversible process of democratization of international relations. No nation is any longer willing to let others take decisions bearing on its fate, nor to reconcile itself to anyone's monopoly of decision-making concerning major issues affecting the international community. The peoples of the world are no longer satisfied with merely identifying and defining problems, but demand their substantive solution as well.

267. We can be successful only if we firmly orient ourselves towards taking decisions and formulating guidelines that will be in keeping with these demands.

268. The United Nations has obtained significant results in consolidating peace and security in the world; it has achieved decisive successes in eradicating the system of colonialism and it has made great strides forward in creating conditions for the development of co-operation among peoples and States based on a footing of equality and in the solving of other pressing international problems. The Organization has almost reached universality, even though Viet Nam and Angola, notwithstanding the widest support, continue to be unjustly prevented from admission to membership in the United Nations. This session of the General Assembly should declare itself emphatically in favour of the admission to the United Nations of these two countries, whose peoples have by their heroic struggle for freedom and independence deserved well of mankind and made an invaluable contribution to the principles towards the realization of which the United Nations is striving. Today the United Nations is engaged in an historical

<sup>16</sup> Mr. Minić spoke in Serbo-Croatian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

mission of changing the existing inequitable international relations and building new international political relationships and the new international economic order.

269. The United Nations is still faced with the very strong resistance of forces striving to preserve inequitable relations by all means. Attempts at bypassing or ignoring the world Organization continue to be made, while the right of veto is abused with a view to blocking even actions that enjoy the broadest support of the international community. We also witness attempts to discredit in various ways the United Nations in the eyes of one's own public opinion or to extend to it only declaratory or verbal support.

270. The basic question today is in what way to ensure the translation into practice of the decisions of the United Nations, since nothing is so damaging to the role of the United Nations as disrespect for, or the flouting of, the decisions adopted by our Organization.

271. The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo stressed the importance of the role of the United Nations and strongly emphasized the demand to initiate without delay direct and concrete actions and measures aimed at resolving the pressing and most important problems facing mankind by relying first and foremost on the United Nations.

272. The salient feature of the period following last year's session is an ever sharper discrepancy between profound changes in the world and the obsolete system of international relations.

273. Significant steps forward have been made in the sense of relaxation of international tensions; nevertheless, peace and security are not yet within the reach of all peoples. Of particular concern is the fact that, in spite of numerous negotiations on disarmament, the arms race not only is being accelerated, but is also being extended to other regions of the world, engulfing an ever larger number of countries. In the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemony and all other forms of foreign domination and against the use of force and coercion, great historic victories and successes have been achieved, but even today many countries and peoples are forced to defend, at the cost of great sacrifices, their right to self-determination, independence and freedom. Many countries are still subjected to continued actions of pressure, outside interference in their internal affairs, the undermining and breaking up of their political and national unity and territorial integrity—all this for the purpose of imposing new forms of dependence, patterns of internal development, changes in foreign policy orientation and a slowing down of the economic and political emancipation of countries. In the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on crises and hotbeds of conflict, we have adopted principles for their solution. However, these resolutions are not being implemented, while many crises are being exacerbated and new ones created.

274. The international community as a whole has recognized that the existing international economic relations are untenable and that the situation of developing countries is becoming ever more difficult. Nevertheless, there is no substantive progress in the direction of changing these

relations or creating conditions for the more rapid development and prosperity of developing countries. On the basis of the decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the action for the establishment of the new international economic order, along with the increased solidarity of developing countries and their readiness to achieve progress through negotiations, has continued to make progress, as evidenced by the Conferences in Manila, Nairobi and Colombo. This action, however, has not met with adequate readiness on the part of some of the most developed countries to proceed to the undertaking of concrete measures. Instead, attempts are being made to solve problems of universal interest at meetings of a narrower circle of countries with a view to preserving inherited privileges.

275. The Colombo Conference adopted decisions of far-reaching importance, decisions which provide a strong incentive and a basis for the United Nations to proceed resolutely along the road leading to the establishment of new, equitable international relations [see A/31/197]. The Conference has strengthened non-alignment as an independent global factor of international relations, firmly resolved to continue the struggle for changing the world through equitable co-operation with all international factors willing to engage in such action. Critical remarks about so-called "aligned non-alignment" or expectations that non-aligned should become an appendage of someone else's policy are absurd and pointless. The non-aligned movement has never been uncommitted or neutral on questions of peace, the liberation of peoples, the defence of the independence, security and unhampered development of every country, resistance to the policy of blocs and division into spheres of influence, and opposition to every form of aggression and domination. As President Tito stated in Colombo:

"Non-alignment has, indeed, become a world policy today because it proceeds from the integral interests of the world and because it strives for universal solutions, under conditions when ideological and many other divisions are still a reality."

276. The non-aligned countries will continue to engage in constructive co-operation wherever this is possible, and we hope that other international factors too will respond to such co-operation based on equality.

277. My country has always pledged itself, even during the most difficult days of the cold war and block confrontation, to genuine relaxation of international tensions. As early as the Belgrade Conference in 1961,<sup>17</sup> the non-aligned countries came out resolutely in favour of a relaxation of international tensions and negotiations between the great Powers. However, we must observe that we are actually still in the initial phase of such a process, which has remained limited both geographically and in substance, because contrary tendencies towards rivalry and the exacerbation of existing crises and the provoking of new ones continue to gain strength in many regions of the world.

278. The relaxation of tensions has neither embraced all areas of international relations nor led to the solution of

<sup>17</sup> First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961.

key international issues. To be for or against a relaxation of tensions: that presents no dilemma to us. What we are concerned with is what the term actually stands for. If détente is to be understood as a synonym for relations among the great Powers and blocs or as an easing of tensions in restricted areas only, then it becomes understandable why non-aligned countries cannot accept it as a basis of peaceful coexistence or of lasting peace for all countries and peoples. Only a universal relaxation of international tensions—with the participation of all countries on the basis of equality in coping with problems of general interest and in the spirit of the principles of active and peaceful coexistence, rather than bloc rivalries, arms race and struggle for spheres of influence—can bring about a radical change in the international situation and the elimination of aggression or the use of force and every form of foreign domination from international life.

279. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is one of the most important achievements in the relaxation of international tensions however, its decisions are being implemented slowly and are meeting with obvious difficulties.

280. Next year Yugoslavia will act as host for the first follow-up meeting of the representatives of the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held in Helsinki. We believe that the first follow-up meeting will afford a favourable occasion not only for reviewing the extent to which the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference has been implemented, but also for exerting efforts for its comprehensive application and for encouraging further promotion of intra-European co-operation. In that respect, special attention should be paid to the necessity of making a positive contribution to the settlement of problems in regions in the immediate proximity of Europe, in particular in the Mediterranean, as well as to the solving of problems of development, decolonization, disarmament and other issues of interest to the whole world.

281. Progress in the relaxation of tensions will depend on when and how the Middle East crisis will be dealt with, when colonialism in southern Africa and in other remaining colonial enclaves will be terminated, how quickly we shall advance towards a peaceful reunification of Korea, when progress towards the solution of the Cyprus crisis will at last be made, when the Indian Ocean will be transformed into a zone of peace, when and how outstanding problems in the region of Latin America will be solved and how other problems will be handled—that is, problems whose solution is sought by the peoples fighting against all forms of dependence and subjugation, for independence, unimpeded development and equality. Whether any advance will be made with regard to the question of halting the arms race and resolving disarmament problems, whether an end will be put to pressures and interference in the internal affairs of individual countries, whether the urgent solution of international economic problems will be approached in a fully responsible manner through the building up of the new international economic order—all this is of crucial importance to the easing of international tensions.

282. The Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries, recently held in Colombo, adapted clear positions on all those matters. My country participated actively in the adoption

of those decisions and will strive for their implementation, since non-alignment constitutes its national foreign policy, which it has been pursuing consistently.

283. The Middle East crisis has been further aggravated primarily because of the developments in Lebanon, which are being exploited by Israel to prolong its occupation of Arab territories and to delay the solution of the crisis, at the core of which is the Palestinian problem. The responsibility for such a state of affairs rests both with Israel and with those forces which make it possible for Israel to behave in such a manner.

284. The General Assembly has on several occasions reasserted the principles constituting the basis for a lasting and just settlement of the crisis and has, in particular, supported the realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people and the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative, in all phases of settlement. We feel that the resolution of the non-aligned and other countries of last January<sup>18</sup>—which obtained wide support in the Security Council but was regrettably vetoed—constitutes the most acceptable platform for further actions in seeking a way out of the crisis. At the current session of the General Assembly a further step should be taken towards an early solution of the Middle East crisis. It is high time for the Palestinian people, whose fate has become a matter of conscience for mankind, to achieve its rights as other peoples have done and to establish a State of its own. No lasting solution of the Middle East crisis is possible, nor can the independence and security of all peoples and States of the region be ensured, unless those rights are achieved.

285. The successes of the liberation movements of Namibia and Zimbabwe, the growing wave of demonstrations, resistance and the struggle of the African majority in South Africa itself, and ever widening international pressure demonstrate that the day is not distant when these last strongholds of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* will be eliminated. At the same time the South African colonialists and racists, relying on foreign military and economic assistance, do not hesitate to resort to the most ruthless terror against the African population and are attempting in various ways, such as “bantustanization”, to prevent the liberation of these countries, to break up their unity and to deceive world public opinion. We consider that the United Nations should denounce all such attempts most resolutely and should do everything in its power to compel South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations as soon as possible.

286. A complete and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia, which should finally attain its independence, should be carried out without delay. The United Nations, which has the obligation to take care of the interests of Namibia until it attains independence, should lend maximum assistance to the people of Namibia in its struggle for independence.

287. In Zimbabwe power must be transferred to the African majority. The United Nations should take concrete

<sup>18</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1976*, document S/11940.

measures and, in particular, extend effective support to liberation movements in southern Africa in order to help them to accelerate the process of the attainment of the objectives of their just struggle. We hope that even those Western countries which are still providing extensive support to the racist régime in South Africa will finally come to realize that their true interests cannot be opposed to the yearnings of the whole of independent and free Africa, which is bent on eradicating colonialism and racism from African soil.

288. My country is also deeply interested in the solution of the Cyprus crisis as early as possible and feels that it is high time for measures to be taken for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX). My country fully supports the continuation on an equal footing of negotiations between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities under the auspices of the United Nations as well as the preservation of the territorial integrity and independence of non-aligned Cyprus.

289. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Helsinki and the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo devoted due attention to the problem of the Mediterranean in the context of strengthening peace and co-operation in that region and in the world. As a Mediterranean country, Yugoslavia is vitally interested in seeing started the implementation of the documents on the Mediterranean adopted by those important conferences. We feel that the moment has come for the United Nations too to give consideration to the question of transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation, since today the Mediterranean is an area of grave international tension and of great, acute and potential dangers to peace in the world, a region where the process of détente is not yet felt.

290. The situation in Korea constitutes a dangerous focus of tension. The United Nations should act more resolutely towards securing the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, the dismantling of foreign military bases, the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the replacement of the Korean Military Armistice Agreement by a lasting peace treaty and towards enabling the people of North and South Korea to effect a peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the joint North-South communique of 4 July 1972.<sup>19</sup>

291. The efforts exerted by the United Nations and the results so far achieved in the field of disarmament are so modest that we cannot be satisfied with them. Yugoslavia, like the other non-aligned countries, has for years been drawing attention to the ever more serious and dramatic situation created as a result of the failure to solve essential problems of disarmament. Durable peace cannot be safeguarded on the basis of a balance of power and of blocs as central factors of security. Moreover, the influence of the world Organization in this sphere of the settlement of the disarmament problem has been diminished, while this question is being gradually withdrawn from the competence of the United Nations. Even the initiative for convening a

world disarmament conference has met with almost insurmountable difficulties in spite of the broad support it commands.

292. In such a situation the non-aligned countries at the Fifth Conference in Colombo launched an initiative for convening not later than 1978 a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament [see A/31/197, annex I, para. 139], convinced that it would thereby be possible to provide fresh impulses and to open up new prospects for a genuine solution of priority disarmament problems, such as the banning of the use, production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, the reduction and halting of the race in conventional armaments, the withdrawal of foreign troops and the elimination of foreign military bases from foreign territories as well as the undertaking of other measures designed to contribute to the reinforcement of peace and security in the world. We are profoundly convinced that a thoroughly prepared special session devoted to disarmament would contribute to the broadest involvement of the international community and of all States in this field. Hence we feel that during the present session a decision should be adopted on the convening of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1978 so that preparatory work may commence as soon as possible.

293. It is quite certain that there is general agreement today on the need for a complete restructuring of the entire system of international economic relations regardless of the differences of position and the difficulties encountered in this sphere.

294. The international community has embarked irreversibly on the road of the establishment of the new international economic order, which represents an important gain in the ineluctable process of the democratization of international relations on the basis of equality and respect for the interests of all countries. Our principal task at present is to proceed, on the bases we have jointly laid down, to the adoption of such measures and actions as will enable us to make further progress in implementing the decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions.

295. I should like to emphasize that constructive negotiations are one thing while attempts at using them as a pretext for perpetuating existing relations are another. The developing countries cannot accept further delays in finding adequate solutions to the individual problems facing them. If it becomes evident that the negotiations do not serve their purpose, the developing countries will be compelled to re-examine their positions regarding the ways and means of solving international economic problems.

296. The establishment of the new international economic order to which the Colombo Conference devoted exceptional attention is of the highest political importance and should be dealt with as a top-priority question at the present session of the General Assembly. A clear distinction must be made between the objectives to be reached through negotiations and the instruments and mechanisms through which these objectives should be attained. Developing countries, for example, are prepared to discuss no longer the need to protect their purchasing power on the basis of

<sup>19</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

their raw-material exports, but only how and in what way this should be achieved. This session of the General Assembly should reach political decisions on these and other objectives and thereby contribute to the overcoming of difficulties in all current negotiations, particularly those within UNCTAD and at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

297. It is very important to ensure the implementation of the consensus reached at the fourth session of UNCTAD regarding the fulfilment of the integrated programme for the settlement of raw materials problems, as well as regarding the external debts of developing countries.

298. The continuation of negotiations at the Paris Conference is a sign of a growing sense of responsibility on the part of its participants for the fate of these negotiations. However, the success of the Conference will depend on the political will to arrive at agreed solutions.

299. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] was formulated in essentially different conditions. Therefore, preparations should already be started for elaborating the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade, with a view to having it entirely geared towards support for the establishment of the new international economic order.

300. For further accelerated development it is indispensable that the developing countries should rely increasingly, and above all, upon their own individual and collective forces. With this purpose in mind, these countries are taking important initiatives for the development of mutual economic co-operation.

301. We attribute great importance to the safeguarding of human rights and fundamental freedoms, which are a component of the struggle for the elimination of all forms of dependence, exploitation and foreign domination. Human rights cannot be exercised in conditions of the use of force, the persistence of colonialism and neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, as is best illustrated by the situation in southern Africa, in Chile, in the occupied Arab territories and elsewhere.

302. The protection of individual human rights is inseparable from that of the rights of peoples to self-deter-

mination, freedom, independence and sovereign economic and social development, since an individual may exercise his rights only as a member of a broader community. This applies also to the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, national, religious or linguistic minorities whose members, according to article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*]:

"... shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language".

In view of the frequent occurrence of non-respect for the rights of minorities, which cannot but affect relations among States and peoples, it is our opinion that the United Nations should devote due attention to this problem also, and undertake a detailed formulation of the obligations of States with the aim of adopting an international instrument for the protection of the rights, and promotion of the status, of minorities. The United Nations would thus make an important new contribution to the consolidation of peaceful coexistence, co-operation and rapprochement among States and peoples.

303. The entry into force of the International Covenants on Human Rights constitutes a success for the international community and provides the basis and framework for a more comprehensive treatment and a more effective implementation of human rights. However, all States should accede to these Covenants so as to ensure their universal application.

304. The numerous and complex tasks facing this session of the General Assembly show how great and difficult our obligations are. However, we can be fully confident of the capability of our Organization to stand up to them since, in this respect, it enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of mankind. We can only feel encouraged by the fact that countries and peoples wishing to take a direct part in, and to make their concrete contribution to, the progressive development of the international community have become exceptionally active. Without underestimating all the difficulties, we must not allow the existing opportunities to be wasted and the trust we enjoy betrayed

*The meeting rose at 1.55 p.m.*