

**United Nations**  
**GENERAL**  
**ASSEMBLY**

**THIRTY-SECOND SESSION**

**Official Records**



**8th**  
**PLENARY MEETING**

*Tuesday, 27 September 1977,*  
*at 10.25 a.m.*

**NEW YORK**

**CONTENTS**

	<i>Page</i>
Address by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius .....	93
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	
Speech by Mr. Hatoyama (Japan) .....	97
Speech by Mr. Gromyko (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) .....	100

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

*Address by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam,  
Prime Minister of Mauritius*

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Information and Broadcasting and Minister of Civil Aviation of Mauritius, the Right Honourable Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam.

2. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and in inviting him to address the General Assembly.

3. Sir Seewoosagur RAMGOOLAM (Mauritius): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your election as President of this thirty-second session of the General Assembly. As a representative of the non-aligned group of nations, with long years of service at the United Nations, you are eminently qualified to understand the problems which confront us today. I know that under your leadership and guidance this Assembly will make significant progress towards solving the political and economic problems which will be examined and debated over the following weeks. I wish to assure you that the Mauritius delegation will give you its full co-operation in the discharge of your duties and responsibilities.

4. I should also like to convey our deep appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, for his important and valuable contribution to the work of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

5. May I also pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for their dedication to the objectives and goals of this Organization.

6. The opening of this session of the Assembly is a particularly happy occasion for us, for we welcome here to the United Nations for the first time the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a nation whose people have struggled for

many years against the most difficult odds to achieve freedom and independence. We congratulate them on their achievement of national unification and on their entry to this family of nations.

7. My delegation would also like to welcome the Republic of Djibouti, whose admission to the United Nations represents another important step in the process of decolonization. We congratulate them on their independence.

8. We pledge our firm support and extend our full co-operation to the Governments and people of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

9. The agenda of the General Assembly for the thirty-second session is a forbidding one. There is a tremendous amount of work to be done in the coming weeks, and I should like to express the hope that we shall make real progress towards the goals we have been seeking to reach over the last few years. I think there is a renewed determination, particularly among the non-aligned countries, to seek to achieve such progress and to realize the promise which this Organization has always held out to the nations of the world.

10. I wish today to try to place the agenda of the present session in its proper perspective, and by that I mean that today we are witnessing the breakdown of the old world order inherited from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That order was a world system of inequality. It came into being by historical accident, in which the industrial revolution took place in one particular part of the world and the colonial powers of Europe expanded into and subjugated much of the rest of the world. While the power of the old system has become greater and more coherent since the end of the First World War, the whole system has also been subject to increasing stresses.

11. However, it is also clear that the privileged and the powerful are seeking to preserve what they have, to keep intact the world system which has made development almost impossible for the poor countries. That may seem natural and it may well be that the privileged and the powerful believe the present world order to be beneficial to everyone. But this Assembly knows that such a notion is an illusion. The present world system of inequality cannot continue because it condemns the mass of the world's people to lives of brutal poverty and suffering. Our agenda is what it is today because the voices of the world's peoples are beginning to be heard in this Assembly.

12. It seems particularly fitting that it should fall to a member of the non-aligned group, and an African member,

to underline the historical significance of the present session and of those sessions that will come, for my country lived the history of the typical colony.

13. Today we know what inequality, helplessness and poverty meant then. When we look at the problems confronting this Assembly we see that what is happening here is very similar to our own struggle for freedom, independence and social justice. To the extent that power and wealth are still unequally distributed in the world, the poor and the underprivileged continue to exist in a state of want and despair. Therefore, we see the work of the General Assembly as essentially part of the struggle to change that situation, to dismantle the world system of inequality and, it is to be hoped, to ensure that every nation shall attain true freedom and independence.

14. The fundamental problems of the world today are clearly economic. In the decade after the founding of the United Nations, it was hoped that by a concerted international effort the nations gathered in this Assembly would be able to eradicate poverty in the world. This proved to be impossible within the structure of the present world economy. More than 60 per cent of the world's population lives today in abject poverty. Nearly 1 billion people have been classified as destitute, and it is clear from the available evidence that the poor countries of the world are likely to become poorer in the future if the efforts to create a new international economic order should fail.

15. We must be clear about the reasons for the failure of our efforts to promote development in the poor countries. The developed countries have vast amounts of capital, very high levels of income and large numbers of trained men and women. They control access to technical knowledge. The poor countries, on the other hand, lack all these elements. But what is more important, they are dependent on the wealthy nations. The terms of trade run against the poor, who are forced increasingly into debt. They have growing deficits in their trade, and their resources are increasingly controlled by transnational corporations. The world system of trade and payments works against them, forcing periodic devaluation or the retrenchment of development programmes.

16. Thus, we continue to live in a global economy marked by most extreme inequalities. Within that system the poor countries grow increasingly dependent, and that dependence makes development difficult. In fact, the nations of the third world have relatively little control over their economic destinies.

17. At the last session, the General Assembly recommended a series of special measures and specific action in favour of the land-locked and island developing countries. We shall follow with the utmost attention the Secretary-General's progress report on the implementation of specific action in favour of developing island countries [A/32/126]. As regards the debt problems of the developing countries discussed in other bodies, it is sad to note that the results of those negotiations are so far negative. The developed countries are chary about reaching agreement on concrete measures to provide a solution of those problems. While they have endorsed the UNCTAD resolution on the

Integrated Programme for Commodities<sup>1</sup> and have welcomed the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Intergovernmental Committee for the Integrated Programme for Commodities, little progress has been made so far towards the establishment of a common fund. We can only hope that next November, at the resumption of the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities, a more constructive and willing approach will be forthcoming from the developed countries.

18. We must ensure the eradication of poverty, hunger, sickness and illiteracy. Therefore, the creation of a new economic order is the most urgent task before us, for the widening gap between the rich and the poor is one of the main sources, if not the main source, of tensions and conflicts in the world today. The peace and security of the world will therefore, to an important degree, depend upon the progress we make in moving towards that goal.

19. Though the North-South dialogue, the Conference on International Economic Co-operation and the fourth session of UNCTAD have proved negative so far, we hope that better counsels will prevail in the future.

20. It is absolutely essential that the international community should move rapidly and positively towards concrete solutions in establishing the new international economic order, and I should like on behalf of my delegation to call upon all delegations to make a special effort to achieve this goal.

21. I think that this Assembly might, in the course of its deliberations, find it useful to explore the connexions between a development strategy aimed at meeting basic needs and the problem of the creation of a new international economic order. The response of the wealthy nations to the demands for a new order have shown that one can mean many things by the term "new international economic order".

22. The conflicts in southern Africa and in the Middle East have now become pressing problems for the whole international community. We shall spend a good deal of our time in the coming weeks in seeking acceptable solutions. We must do so with an utmost sense of urgency, for in both southern Africa and the Middle East the threat to peace is a real one.

23. It is important to note, in my view, that both conflicts are signs of the break-down of the world system of which I spoke earlier. Southern Africa, for instance, has been encouraged to resist the demands for an end to colonialism and the elimination of *apartheid*. When Caetano was still in power in Portugal, he received considerable financial, diplomatic and military assistance from other Powers, and, although the liberation forces did eventually win freedom for Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, the effect was to prolong the wars of liberation and to inflict unnecessary suffering on the people.

<sup>1</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

24. The victory of the liberation forces in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau showed that the balance of forces in the world was changing. There is no longer any real possibility of preserving the economic, social and political structures left behind in the region by the colonial Powers.

25. Yet the efforts to preserve them persist. The illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia continues to fight, and South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally.

26. I want here to reaffirm the unquestionable and inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence. The illegal racist minority régime, if only for its brutal and repressive measures perpetrated against our brothers and sisters of Zimbabwe, deserves the strongest condemnation. Last year,<sup>2</sup> we expressed the hope that the talks on Zimbabwe at Geneva would succeed in establishing the conditions for early independence on the basis of majority rule. Unfortunately, little did we realize that Ian Smith incarnated the evil forces of colonialism. We are now more confident that, faced with the growing pressure of world public opinion, the illegal racist minority regime will be forced to accept the inevitable majority rule. Otherwise, we shall continue to accelerate the use of force by all possible means. The Anglo-American proposal has not received the support it expected because it lacked certain flexibility to enable us to ensure the inherent right of the people of Zimbabwe without further effusion of blood.

27. There was much hope last year that the Namibian problem would be solved. Unfortunately the South African racist régime, by its military build-up in the area and its dilatory tactics, is deliberately obstructing the struggle for self-determination and independence. The policy of *apartheid* will inevitably lead to the destruction of the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

28. All possible support and assistance should be given to the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] to enable it to intensify the struggle against the illegal occupation of Namibia. The Assembly should reaffirm its support for the pre-conditions set by SWAPO for a negotiated agreement to end the occupation.

29. The efforts of the five members of the Security Council of the United Nations should be pursued with the good offices of the Secretary-General. That is the only way out and it is hoped that a settlement will be arrived at speedily. My delegation also believes that resolution 385 (1976) of the Security Council, which provides the framework for negotiations and the settlement of the Namibian issue, must be implemented without any further delay.

30. The Maputo Declaration and the Programme of Action<sup>3</sup> approved by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in May

should be seen as guidelines for our deliberations on these matters here. With respect to South Africa, we should like to call the attention of representatives to the important statement made in the final communiqué of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in London from 8 to 15 June and to the Declaration of the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*,<sup>4</sup> organized under the auspices of the United Nations and held in Lagos in August.

31. The Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and the co-chairmanship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, will alone provide the framework for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the area. In the meantime, Israel must stop its policy of expansion through the consolidation of the illegally occupied territories. It must show good faith by overt measures conducive to the restoration of peace in the area.

32. It is the duty of the world community to ensure that the welfare and the rights of the population of the occupied territories are safeguarded. Mauritius supports the Egyptian proposal [A/32/241] concerning the new item which has been included in our agenda [item 126] relating to the illegal measures taken by Israel, which constitute insuperable obstacles to peace.

33. At this juncture let us hope that war-torn Lebanon will also henceforth be allowed to return to a peaceful life permitting its sorely needed reconstruction and reconciliation.

34. The problem of Cyprus deserves our special attention as the present position bristles with potential dangers to peace in that particular area. The United Nations should use all possible means and measures to bring the different parties to a just and peaceful settlement.

35. Mauritius has become a sponsor of the draft world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations<sup>5</sup> because we are convinced that the use or threat of force in relations among States should be placed outside the realm of legality. Though the United Nations Charter contains provisions prohibiting the use or threat of force, we feel that there is need for a more comprehensive and effective legal instrument which would define and strengthen the general principles enshrined in the Charter. While sponsoring the draft proposed by the Soviet Union, we intend to introduce some amendments to it.

36. Concurrently, efforts should be stepped up to reach general agreement on the prohibition of those weapons that are excessively injurious and which inflict unnecessary suffering. I mean napalm and other incendiary weapons, as well as chemical and bacteriological weapons. We have to prohibit the production and stockpiling of such weapons and urge States to eliminate them from their arsenals. The arms race is a very great threat, if not the only great threat,

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 31st meeting, paras. 74-97.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

<sup>4</sup> See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 124, document A/31/243, annex.

to the survival of humanity. A positive step was made with the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water.<sup>6</sup> We cannot but urge those countries that are not yet parties to this Treaty to accede to it, as it provides the nucleus which will ultimately lead to the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Our objectives in the course of the Disarmament Decade should be the reduction of military expenditure, complete and general disarmament, and, above all, the halt of the arms race, especially in the nuclear field. Here the deep aspiration for peace of the peoples of the world is manifest in their calling for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in the Middle East, in South Asia and in Africa.

37. We in Africa have repeatedly reaffirmed our Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa,<sup>7</sup> which calls upon all States to respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear-free zone and we appealed again last year to all States not to deliver to South Africa or place at its disposal any equipment or fissionable material or technology that would enable the racist régime of South Africa to acquire nuclear-weapon capability. We would regret any such move.

38. My delegation trusts that some of these questions of disarmament will be dealt with at length in the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament to be held in May of this coming year.

39. Mauritius, as you know, has been a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean since 1972 and as such has been consistently trying to ensure that the Indian Ocean becomes, in reality, a zone of peace. We have been calling on the great Powers to refrain from increasing their military presence in the Indian Ocean, and now, after consultations with the great Powers and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean, the Committee believes that the time is ripe for a conference on the Indian Ocean with the participation of all the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.

40. This conference would complement the efforts made by the World Disarmament Conference to create zones of peace, dismantle all foreign bases and to achieve complete disarmament. The attainment of these objectives would eventually lead to the strengthening of international security. All these issues are interrelated. The human and material resources freed by disarmament could be used to promote the economic and social development and welfare of the developing countries and bring happiness to billions of poor and underprivileged peoples.

41. At its last session the Assembly adopted a resolution on non-interference in the internal affairs of States [*resolution 31/91*], which reaffirmed the right of every State to determine freely its political, social and economic system and its relations with other States and international organizations. The time has now come to seek ways and

means to give force to the terms of that resolution. Indeed, that is essential if we are to avoid, in this transitional period of history, the danger of spreading war.

42. Finally, I should like to say something about the important question of human rights. As many of you know, I have long been concerned with this question myself. And I believe it is important today to confront the issues posed by the widening discussion on human rights—a discussion which is desirable and proper but which also sometimes creates widening rings.

43. We must recognize that the denial of human rights is still widespread. This is a lamentable fact of the twentieth century, though it must be acknowledged that the world has made great progress in ensuring human rights. Repression and torture and the denial of basic rights are widespread today. In our view the solution lies in directing our concern towards our own problems. Rather than criticizing others, it would be better that we each put our house in order. Real efforts in this direction would be the best guarantee that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights would be universally respected in the future.

44. As the Assembly is aware, it is some time now since Mauritius ratified and acceded to several multilateral Treaties bearing on human rights issues, namely, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*see resolution 2106 A (XX)*]; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as the Optional Protocol on this subject [*see resolution 2200 A (XXI)*].

45. Thus, since our independence less than a decade ago we have consistently made tremendous progress in this field. It is the inherent birthright of the individual to live a decent life in freedom and dignity.

46. Our achievements illustrate our efforts in this field. Apart from freedom of movement and association, we have adopted legislation making 18 the age for the exercise of civil and political rights. Furthermore, the following basic rights have now become inherent characteristics of Mauritian society: economic and socio-cultural rights, including freedom of worship, free education, free health care and social benefits for the aged, the poor and the handicapped; the elimination of all forms of discrimination based on language, colour or creed; guaranteed equality of status for women; freedom of information through press, television and radio; and freedom of assembly in peace and order.

47. Since the General Assembly proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year [*resolution 3010 (XXVII)*] considerable progress has been made in favour of women. The period from 1976 to 1985 has been proclaimed the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. Governments are called upon to develop extensive training programmes relevant to women and to integrate women into the development process or to ratify international conventions concerning women's rights. At its last session, the Commission on the Status of Women completed a draft convention on the elimination of discrimination against women [*A/32/218, annex IV*]. Mauritius concurs with the recommendation made by the

<sup>6</sup> Signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

<sup>7</sup> Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in 1964. See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.

Economic and Social Council in its resolution 2058 (LXII) that that draft should be considered as a matter of urgency with a view to its adoption.

48. Youth has an important part to play in promoting the objectives of the United Nations, and in that spirit youth should be actively involved in programmes of national development and international co-operation. We welcome the various reports on the role of youth and the problems confronting it. We are confident that the widening of the channels of communication between the United Nations and youth organizations will lead to greater understanding and a stronger spirit of brotherhood among men.

49. The world is craving peace and prosperity. May those nations blessed with the means and the power to relieve such world pressures be imbued with such altruism that this year will witness a positive and constructive approach to the establishment of a better world for us to live in. Let them prove themselves more adaptable to this changing world, for this will stand them in good stead for whatever traumas may be on the horizon.

50. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and Internal Security and Minister of Information and Broadcasting and Minister of Civil Aviation of Mauritius for the important statement he has just made.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

51. Mr. HATOYAMA (Japan): Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of Japan I wish to congratulate you, Mr. Mojsov, on your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. I am confident that under your able leadership this session of the General Assembly will prove to be most fruitful.

52. I should also like to express my respects to Ambassador Amerasinghe, who guided the thirty-first session to a successful conclusion. I trust that he will continue to exercise his great skill as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

53. May I also pay my sincere respects to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his solid work and devotion to the Organization. I am sure that he will continue to do his utmost for the realization of the important goals of the United Nations.

54. Japan, since the end of the Second World War, has firmly adhered to the policy of conducting its international relations exclusively through peaceful means, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world and renouncing the use of force as a means of settling international disputes. It is on the basis of this fundamental policy that Japan has taken a number of initiatives in the context of international efforts for nuclear and other forms of disarmament and has itself refrained from exporting military weapons.

55. Confident that these policies directly serve the United Nations purpose of maintaining international peace and

security, my country is resolved to continue exerting all its efforts towards world peace and stability.

56. We find it encouraging from such a standpoint that hostilities have ended in Asia and that a peaceful and stable environment is emerging in which the nations in the region can concentrate on their economic and social development.

57. In South-East Asia the nations which 10 years ago formed the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] are continuing to work together for their economic and social well-being as well as the strengthening of social justice, while expressing their firm determination to settle any differences that may arise among themselves exclusively by peaceful means. They have also emphasized their joint desire to develop peaceful and mutually beneficial relations with other nations of South-East Asia.

58. In Indo-China, serious efforts are under way towards reconstruction and rehabilitation by the countries in the area. Japan was early in establishing diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and has consistently worked to establish friendly relations with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. I therefore heartily welcome the fact that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has been unanimously admitted to the United Nations at this session.

59. Prime Minister Fukuda summarized the basic policy of Japan towards South-East Asia in the speech he made when he was in Manila last month.

60. First, Japan, a nation committed to peace, rejects the role of a military Power and is resolved to contribute to the peace and prosperity of South-East Asia and of the world as a whole.

61. Secondly, Japan, as a country seeking genuine friendship with South-East Asia, will do its best to consolidate the relationship of mutual confidence and trust based on heart-to-heart understanding with these countries.

62. Thirdly, Japan, as an equal partner of the ASEAN countries, will co-operate positively with its members in their efforts at self-help and solidarity in all fields, including economic development, trade and cultural exchange, while aiming at fostering a relationship based on mutual understanding with the nations of Indo-China. Japan will thus contribute to the building of peace and prosperity throughout South-East Asia.

63. In South-West Asia, the momentum is building for the normalization and the consolidation of peaceful relations among the countries of the region, so that each country may pursue the development objectives which are best suited to its own requirements. Japan is determined to continue its co-operation with these countries for their development. At the same time Japan will seek closer collaboration with those countries in various international forums towards the solution of problems which confront the international community at large.

64. Unfortunately, a degree of tension persists on the Korean peninsula, an area in closest proximity to Japan. However, a confrontation on the Korean question is about

to be avoided at the present session of the General Assembly, as it was last year. I sincerely hope this will eventually lead to the lessening of tensions on the peninsula itself.

65. Since the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula are of deep concern to Japan, we continue to hope earnestly that a dialogue between the South and the North of Korea will be promptly resumed, and their reunification will be achieved through peaceful means. Meanwhile, I appeal to all nations to co-operate in fostering a more tranquil environment, which will facilitate such a dialogue.

66. Japan maintains its position that, if each of them so desires, it would welcome the admission to the United Nations of the South and the North of Korea in the interval before the peaceful reunification of the peninsula.

67. To sum up, Japan holds strong hopes that the momentum of current efforts towards construction and development will spread in conditions of peace and stability throughout Asia, and take hold in every country. At the same time, it is my earnest hope that the countries of Asia, in their efforts to achieve stability and development, will benefit from the understanding and co-operation of the countries outside the region, while remaining free of external interference in their own affairs.

68. I have long admired the Latin American tradition of regional co-operation, especially of resolving, in a spirit of mutual understanding, problems arising within the region. I was much impressed to see the leaders of Latin America gathering together earlier this month on the occasion of the signing of the new Panama Canal treaties. I should like to extend my congratulations that the Panama Canal issue is being resolved through peaceful negotiations.

69. It is the firm intention of Japan to expand its co-operation with the nations of Latin America so as to strengthen our friendly relations with them.

70. Without question, the Middle East problem today has a most important bearing upon the maintenance of international peace and stability. Japan wishes to render its full support to the devoted efforts of Secretary Vance of the United States to reconvene the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, and the serious endeavours that are being made by the leaders of the countries concerned to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem.

71. We very sincerely hope that the parties concerned, including Israel, the Arab States directly involved and the Palestine Liberation Organization, as representative of the Palestinians, will be able to start talks in Geneva before the year is out.

72. The basis for attaining peace in the Middle East lies in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), plus the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people under the Charter of the United Nations, particularly their right to self-determination.

73. The acquisition and occupation of territories by force cannot be allowed, and accordingly Israeli armed forces

should be withdrawn from all the territories occupied in the 1967 war. On the other hand, the political independence and territorial integrity of all the countries concerned, including Israel, should be guaranteed. It is just as necessary that the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people be recognized, respected and fulfilled in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

74. In this connexion, the Government of Japan considers most regrettable the measures which the Government of Israel has been taking with regard to settlements on the West Bank of the River Jordan. We strongly urge the Government of Israel to refrain from any measures which may alter the *status quo*, thus rendering the solution to the problem even more difficult.

75. We hope that serious efforts to accelerate the process towards a peaceful settlement will continue to be made during the current session of the General Assembly. As a member of the international community, Japan, for its part, will contribute in any way it can to the early attainment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

76. The situation in southern Africa, if it continues, is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. We have to attain in southern Africa, as promptly as possible and by peaceful means, the elimination of racial discrimination, decolonization and majority rule. We all expect the United Nations to play an effective role in that process.

77. Regarding the problem of Southern Rhodesia, Japan wishes to express its understanding of and support for the nationalist movement of Zimbabwe. We pay our respect to the efforts being made by the five front-line States. We also appreciate the initiative that is being taken jointly by the United Kingdom and the United States. Japan will continue to co-operate in international efforts to realize a peaceful solution to the problem and, for this purpose, it will observe fully the economic sanctions imposed upon Southern Rhodesia.

78. With regard to Namibia, independence should be attained in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976), with the participation of SWAPO and all the inhabitants of Namibia. Japan supports the serious efforts of the five member States of the Security Council in search of a peaceful solution to the problem, and we are prepared to play our part in United Nations efforts to resolve this problem.

79. The positions to be adopted by the Government of the Republic of South Africa will be decisive in all aspects of the problems of southern Africa. Japan urges the South African Government to be attentive to the international call for the elimination of racial discrimination and to render its full co-operation towards the earliest possible solution of these problems. In particular, the Government of the Republic of South Africa should co-operate fully with the international efforts now under way for the peaceful settlement of the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia. Should the Republic of South Africa fail to do so the consequences could be serious, given the intensified denunciation of the South African attitude.

80. Recent reports on the possible development of a nuclear capability by South Africa are a matter of grave concern to the international community as they imply a further proliferation of nuclear weapons. Such a step might also bring to nought all efforts to date to achieve a peaceful solution of the problems of southern Africa. Japan therefore urges the South African Government to desist from this dangerous path.

81. I should like to take this opportunity to express a warm welcome to the Republic of Djibouti, which has recently attained independence and become a Member of this Organization. We extend the hand of friendship to this newly born Republic, offering our co-operation towards its economic and social development.

82. It is basic Japanese policy to enhance friendship and mutual co-operation with the African nations. Japan extends its full support to the achievement of the common goals of the African Peoples concerning the problems of southern Africa and nation-building. Japan intends, therefore, to expand human exchanges, economic and technical co-operation and all other forms of co-operation to realize the aspirations of the African peoples.

83. A special session of the General Assembly on disarmament will be convened in May next year. Sustained progress in the field of disarmament is of fundamental importance to the maintenance of international peace. Japan is therefore determined to continue its positive efforts in this field as we prepare for the success of the special session.

84. Japan considers nuclear disarmament the most crucial task in the field of disarmament. My Government, therefore, is making positive contributions, including technical proposals which would facilitate a comprehensive nuclear test-ban, which we regard as the first and most urgent step in the direction of nuclear disarmament.

85. Japan adheres strictly to the three principles of not possessing, not manufacturing and not permitting the entry into Japan of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, Japan became a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [see resolution 2373 (XXII)] so as to contribute to the prevention of nuclear war.

86. I need hardly point out that the Treaty contains a built-in inequality between the nuclear-weapon and the non-nuclear-weapon States. In order to rectify this inequality, and thereby strengthen the régime for the prevention of nuclear proliferation, renewed efforts must be made on the part of the nuclear-weapon States to achieve nuclear disarmament. At the same time I wish to emphasize that the inalienable right of the non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the Treaty in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy must be substantiated.

87. It is a matter of grave concern that recent increases in the stockpiles of conventional weapons have aggravated the danger of armed conflict in certain areas of the world. The arms race in conventional weapons and the acceleration of international transfers of these weapons merit continuous and serious examination by the international community and should be taken up, in particular, as one of the major items for discussion at the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament.

88. The promotion of the economic and social development of the developing countries is, along with the maintenance of international peace and security, a principal task confronting the United Nations today. My country fully recognizes the aspirations of the developing countries for the establishment of a new international economic order. The establishment of such a new order needs to be understood as a constantly evolving and dynamic process and it is Japan's intention to co-operate constructively in this common effort.

89. The time has come for the preparation of an international development strategy for the 1980s. At this juncture I should like to raise the following points.

90. First, policies and measures which truly contribute to the development of the developing countries and to the sound growth of the world economy as a whole should be promoted positively. In this regard I should like to emphasize the importance of agricultural development along with industrial development. Agricultural development involves complex relationships among man, land and institutions and therefore it requires a comprehensive approach.

91. Second, although it is the main concern of the world to narrow the gap in income levels between the North and the South, it is essential to take into account the diverse stages of development among the developing countries, as well as the diversity of economic and social needs in different countries. Especially careful attention must be given to the needs of the least developed countries.

92. Third, I believe it is essential for all people to be able to participate directly in the development process and to share in its benefits. This cannot be achieved without serious attention to social development, especially in those areas which meet the basic requirements of human life, in addition to those which contribute directly to raising incomes. Needless to say, it should be left to each nation to formulate its own development plans, and to determine what are the basic needs of its people, and in which fields of social development the national priority should be set.

93. Meeting the basic requirements of human life is essential to the dignity of man and respect for human rights.

94. I should now like to touch briefly on what Japan intends to do for the economic and social development of the developing countries.

95. First of all, I wish to state that Japan intends to more than double its official development assistance in five years.

96. In the field of trade, Japan will give maximum possible consideration to the needs of the developing countries in the multilateral trade negotiations, in compliance with the objectives of the Tokyo Declaration of 1973.<sup>8</sup> Japan attaches special importance to the need for the establishment of a common fund for primary commodities, and we

<sup>8</sup> Declaration of 14 September 1973 approved by the Ministerial Meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held in Tokyo.



earnestly hope a satisfactory agreement will be reached on its modalities at the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities to be resumed in November. I should also like to affirm Japan's intention to participate actively in the existing international commodity agreements and to consider positively the necessary measures leading to Japan's voluntary contribution to the buffer stock of the Fifth International Tin Agreement. Moreover, we shall continue to strive, at the United Nations and in various other forums, to find solutions to those problems on which agreement has not yet been reached in past international talks, notably the Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

97. As we approach the twenty-first century, Japan will do its utmost in the global effort to raise the "curtain of poverty".

98. The United Nations is now tackling the problems of the sea, which has been called one of mankind's last frontiers. I do believe that, in our protracted journey over the past decade, beset by hardships in our search for a new legal order of the sea, we have reached the point where we need more than ever mutual understanding and co-operation. The United Nations must overcome the formidable challenge of establishing, at the earliest possible date, a fair maritime order which will be acceptable to all countries. Japan, as a maritime nation, will continue to co-operate in the formulation of a new law of the sea.

99. Finally, I should like to touch on some aspects of the United Nations itself which are of particular interest to my Government.

100. First, there is a constant need to review the structure and functions of the United Nations in the light of developments on the international scene. During the 32 years since the establishment of the United Nations profound changes have taken place in the role each country plays in international relations. It is my earnest hope that the work now under way in the United Nations in this field, including that on Charter review, will produce constructive results reflecting these realities.

101. Second, I should like to deal with the question of the status of the group of Asian States in major United Nations forums. The number of countries in the Asian group is now as much as 37, and the total population of the countries in this group has reached 2.3 billion people, which is more than half the world's population. States members of this group, in accordance with their respective standpoints, have been making positive contributions to the various activities of the United Nations. It is the unanimous view of all States members of the group that appropriate status and opportunities should be accorded to it in various United Nations forums. I believe early action should be taken in order to remedy the under-representation of the Asian group at elections to the major United Nations bodies.

102. Third, one notes that political considerations tend to play a somewhat excessive role in the work of some of the specialized agencies. While recognizing that the discussions in those bodies reflect the political realities of the world, we must not lose sight of the original objectives of these agencies. We must all co-operate to promote the smooth and efficient functioning of the specialized agencies.

103. Fourth, it is now four years since the United Nations University was established as the centre of a global network of research efforts to tackle fundamental problems facing mankind, such as resources, the environment, population and food. Japan has made substantial contributions to the University. However, the University is urgently in need of wider support in order to perform fully the role it is expected to play. I wish to appeal to the Member States for such support.

104. The major Powers comprising the permanent membership of the Security Council have important roles to play and heavy responsibilities to discharge in the United Nations of today. It is my earnest hope that these countries will continue to put their power and wisdom to the most effective use on behalf of the common objectives of all mankind—namely, the maintenance of world peace and co-operation for development.

105. At the same time, I must emphasize that every other State Member of the United Nations bears its own share of the responsibility for world peace and development. Japan, a non-nuclear-weapon State, is committed to the ideals and activities of the United Nations and is determined to play a greater role in building international peace and attaining the other high objectives of the United Nations.

106. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union I should like to congratulate you on the occasion of your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I wish you full success in the discharge of this high and responsible task.

107. At every session of the General Assembly we take satisfaction at seeing the growing ranks of States Members of the United Nations. Their number has now almost reached 150. This is yet one more indication of the positive changes occurring in world affairs. It signifies that the peoples one after another continue to gain freedom and independence, thereby confirming the inexorable advance of the process of national liberation.

108. But what matters most is that the constant influx of new Members adds to the political weight and capabilities of the United Nations and enhances the over-all potential of the policy of peace. Indeed, the main objective of all activities of the United Nations as laid down in its Charter is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

109. Our country made its irrevocable choice long ago. The essence of Soviet foreign policy is to ensure a peaceful, creative life for our people and peace for all people on earth. For 60 years now we have been firmly and unswervingly following this line bequeathed to us by the founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

110. In this year of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution the peaceful goals and humane principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union will acquire the force of a fundamental law and as such will be enshrined in the new Constitution of the USSR.



111. The same objectives are served by concrete foreign policy actions of the Soviet Union, by the initiatives which we take in international affairs. Many of them have been enunciated from this very rostrum. In a condensed form they are set forth in the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of peoples, adopted by the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the highest political forum of the party of the Soviet country.

112. As an integral part of the world socialist system our country acts in the international arena in close unity with fraternal socialist States. We are proud that the entire world is increasingly recognizing the fact that the socialist community of States commits its growing resources and the full weight of its foreign policy on the side of fruitful co-operation among peoples, their security, and universal peace.

113. But is it not true that the work for a stronger peace is no less pressing today than it was yesterday? Indeed, it has proved possible in recent years to make headway in this direction. In various parts of the planet people have felt tangibly that it is easier to breathe, that the threat of war is receding. The process of détente is becoming pivotal to the development of international relations. But it is clear that in the current situation with its pluses and minuses intricately intertwined this process is not yet immune from delays or even reverses.

114. One cannot fail to notice that there are still forces at work in the world which do not find détente to their liking. And to say this is perhaps to put it too mildly if one takes into account how fiercely they are attacking the policy of détente.

115. Faced with a clear prospect of improvement of the international climate, certain groups are intensifying their attempts to launch an offensive to push the world back to the times of the "cold war". Those groups have a stake in an unrestrained arms race, the preservation of old centres of tensions and the creation of new ones, and the perpetuation of the remnants of colonialism and racism.

116. As a matter of fact we are confronted with the following alternative: either the world will follow the road of renouncing the use of force, the road of disarmament and equal, mutually beneficial co-operation, or it may plunge even more deeply into the arms race and find itself on the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. That is why our country is laying such stress on the need to continue and consolidate détente.

117. One hears it said at times: "You know, détente is an abstract thing, nobody really knows what it is all about." Such an argument is spurious and far-fetched. But if it is really necessary to clarify the meaning which the USSR gives to the concept of a relaxation of tensions, this has been done most authoritatively by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid I. Brezhnev. He said in his speech in the city of Tula last January:

"Détente means, first of all the overcoming of the 'cold war' and transition to normal, stable relations among

States; détente means willingness to resolve differences and disputes not by force, not by threats or sabre-rattling, but by peaceful means, at the conference table. Détente means a certain trust and ability to take into consideration each other's legitimate interests."

118. Is there really anything recondite in this definition or indeed anything that could provoke objections from those who truly aspire to peace? No, there is nothing of that kind nor can there possibly be. All this is exactly what each country should be guided by in its policy when facing the countless variety of problems posed by international life. We note with satisfaction that an increasing number of responsible statesmen are coming to the conclusion that in a nuclear age there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence.

119. The experience of recent years has shown that when States are inspired by peaceful strivings, in actual deeds and not just in words, they do find a common language in settling on actions that lead to a stronger peace. Moreover, not only do they find it, they also work quite successfully—jointly or along parallel courses—to attain this goal.

120. Indeed, the very improvement of the international climate in recent years has become possible because this was the common cause for a sizable number of countries and for political and social forces which in their world outlook and ideology often stand quite far apart but are none the less willing to co-operate for the benefit of peace.

121. The policy of détente cannot be allowed to mark time, still less to take a downward turn. It must be constantly nourished with new initiatives and brought within the reach of an ever greater number of States; in short, we must ensure what one may call the materialization of détente.

122. The United Nations has a weighty role in this respect also. All States Members of the United Nations, no matter how diverse their positions and views, are called upon to step up their efforts to deepen and strengthen détente.

123. In the conditions now shaping up in the international arena, we consider it extremely important that the United Nations and all its Member States solemnly declare their commitment to détente and use all their authority to back it up. This directly follows from the obligation to live together in peace with one another which the States Members of the United Nations assumed under the Charter.

124. If the States Members of the United Nations jointly express their political will and determination to advance the cause of détente, this will contribute to overcoming the obstacles which arise in the path of this process and to the over-all improvement of the political climate in the world. In so doing the General Assembly could determine, in terms of the present-day situation, the top priority areas in which States could exert peaceful efforts and the line of conduct which they should follow in relations with each other.

125. What, specifically, do we have in mind?

126. It is necessary, above all, scrupulously to protect the assets of détente that have already been accumulated and to

prevent them from being squandered. And these assets accumulated in recent years are quite impressive. It is necessary to assist actively in the implementation of multilateral treaties and agreements which serve the interests of strengthening international security and developing peaceful relations, as well as of United Nations decisions aimed at reaching these goals. And a good many such decisions have indeed been adopted.

127. Another appropriate channel for directing efforts to the benefit of peace and peaceful relations among States is, of course, that of taking resolute steps to contain the arms race and to turn the course of events towards disarmament. What words can be found to make those responsible for the policies of their States realize the imperative need to act seriously in this area?

128. In the post-war period the arms race has been spiralling upwards continuously, but we were not the ones to cause this. This race was forced on the world by others. However, at every stage the Soviet Union proposed, backing its proposals up with concrete deeds, that an end be put to the dangerous competition and that funds be diverted to the noble endeavour of improving conditions of life for the peoples of the world. And that is still our position.

129. The Soviet proposals in the field of disarmament are well known. At the last session of the General Assembly we submitted them again in a summarized form in the memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of ending the arms race and on disarmament.<sup>9</sup> It emphasizes our willingness to search for new measures in the field of disarmament as well as to advance towards general and complete disarmament.

130. We do not in the least underestimate the significance of some constraints placed on the arms race in a number of areas in recent years. The Soviet Union has made its contribution, together with other countries, in the preparation and implementation of a whole series of relevant international treaties and agreements. These either curtail the build-up of certain types of weapons or ban the arms race in certain environments. The latest example of this is the signing of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques [*see resolution 31/72*]. In our view, all States without exception should accede to it if they want to support by deeds their words about peace.

131. None the less, in realistic terms very little has been done so far. Actually, physical disarmament and the elimination of the material means of warfare have not even been started yet. The armies of States have not been reduced by a single aircraft or a single tank as called for in United Nations resolutions. How many good and excellent concrete proposals failed to materialize because of overt or covert sabotage by those who would not even hear of disarmament? Will they ever give thought to where they are pushing the world by incessantly whipping up war production and the arms race?

132. If one listens to the pronouncements of certain statesmen, one might even get the impression that they

appear to be in favour of putting an end to this. But what, I ask, is the actual state of affairs?

133. A closer look at what are sometimes proposed as "comprehensive" disarmament recipes would reveal that the objectives pursued are diametrically opposed to those of reaching agreements. It would seem that the intent here is roughly as follows: what about making a proposal known in advance to be unacceptable to our counterpart? He then will reject it, thereby giving us a convenient excuse, first, to blame him for that and, secondly, by invoking his rejection, to take steps to build up armaments which, in the absence of such camouflage, would appear quite unseemly.

134. Can one really on the one hand propose various "drastic reductions" while on the other hand authorizing the development of new and, bluntly speaking, merciless, terrifying types of weapons such as the neutron bomb? No wonder the world literally shuddered when it learned of the secret programmes to manufacture that weapon. How can one qualify this inhuman weapon as "humane"? After all, it is intended to be used directly against human beings and is in the same category as such cruel and barbaric means of warfare as bacteriological or chemical weapons. In our view, the United Nations must resolutely demand that the plans for the production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, including the neutron bomb, should be discontinued.

135. It becomes increasingly evident with each passing day that the achievement of concrete results in the field of disarmament requires the mobilization of the efforts of all States of the world. The United Nations has a special responsibility in this regard. It must be acknowledged that the United Nations does not stand aloof as regards the disarmament problem. It has adopted a whole number of meaningful resolutions on that score. They are said to be recommendations, but if such recommendations express the will of the peoples for disarmament, it is then the duty of all Governments to be guided by them in their practical action.

136. A special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament is to be convened next year. We shall not merely have to conduct there a wide exchange of views on fundamental approaches to the disarmament problem at the present stage but we shall also have jointly to identify the main areas where States should concentrate their priority efforts in the field of disarmament. The Soviet Union would like that session to be business-like and to help with practical preparations for a successful convening in the immediate future of a World Disarmament Conference.

137. Next, efforts in favour of détente presuppose such actions by States as would contribute to an early peaceful settlement of situations of conflict and to the preclusion of new situations of that kind from arising.

138. Acting in conformity with the decisions of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our country continues actively to press for the elimination of the remaining hotbeds of war. Of course, the most dangerous of those is the one in the Middle East. Why is there no durable peace in that region? Simply

<sup>9</sup> See document A/31/232.

because the principal causes of the conflict have not been removed. Israeli troops have not been withdrawn from the Arab lands seized in 1967. The right of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and the creation of a State of its own, has still not been guaranteed. All of that means that the independent existence and security of all the peoples and States of that region have not been ensured.

139. Serious apprehensions are aroused by the words and deeds of the leaders of Israel. They are well known. A great deal of combustible material has been accumulated in the Middle East, and in the event of another outbreak of hostilities no one would be able to predict its outcome.

140. For its part the Soviet Union will go on doing all in its power to bring about such settlement in the Middle East as would establish a lasting peace there without infringing the legitimate rights and interests of any people or any State of the region.

141. From this high rostrum our country declares once again that we have been and remain advocates of the just cause of the Arabs whose lands have been unlawfully taken away and are still retained by force of arms. Those lands must be returned unconditionally to the Arab peoples.

142. But if there is any need to reiterate once again that Israel has a right to exist as an independent and sovereign State in the Middle East, then on behalf of the Soviet leadership, on behalf of the Soviet Union, I say again that we have always adhered and will continue to adhere to precisely that line. So why should Israel not take advantage of the opportunity that presents itself and agree to a genuinely just settlement in the Middle East? That would, after all, be in its own national interests also.

143. The Soviet Union is in favour of an early reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation on an equal footing of all parties concerned, including representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. There appears to exist now a broad understanding of the need to reconvene the Geneva Conference at the end of this year, but there are some who oppose it, and Israel is the main opponent. It appears that the Israeli statesmen will not bring themselves to climb one step higher, will not bring themselves closer to common sense and to the abandonment of their plans for expansion at the expense of other countries and peoples. The Soviet Union, as Co-Chairman of the Conference, intends to do its utmost to have it convened and make it work successfully, and it expects the other Co-Chairman—the United States of America—also to follow that line.

144. For more than a year now tensions have also persisted in Cyprus. No one will convince us that it is impossible to solve this problem without impairing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It is clear that there a most intricate knot has been tied, but given goodwill it can be untied by peaceful means. The Soviet Union is prepared to facilitate this, and our relevant proposals remain valid.

145. For many years now the question of withdrawing foreign troops from Korea has been on the agenda. Is it

really essential that the United Nations should admit its impotence in this respect? We think otherwise. There are quite a few possibilities for solving this question so as to prevent a potential conflict from erupting in that part of the world.

146. There is one more point to be emphasized. In conditions of détente, and in its interests, all countries are required to abide by the fundamental principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in other major international instruments. This means, in the first place, pursuing a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and settling differences and disputes by peaceful means without resorting to the threat or use of force. Experience shows that it is necessary for every country to take into account the legitimate interests of other States and to measure its actions in the international arena against the requirements of détente.

147. Naturally, all these are basic requirements. Yet, how very often do we see that even such generally recognized norms governing relations between States are violated, and frequently in the most flagrant manner.

148. A great deal has long been said about those many complications and frictions in the current international situation that are due to the fact that there are still no signs of lessening military confrontation between States or groups of States. This problem is particularly acute in Europe. But on other continents, too, there are some who simply will not abandon the policy of maintaining the old blocs and forming new aggressive blocs, a policy typical of the time of the "cold war". Attempts are made to impart a "defensive" character to certain non-military associations of States as well. And what of the persistent intention to establish more and more military bases?

149. Attempts to strengthen and expand military blocs run directly counter to the spirit of détente. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have recently made a proposal that at least no action should be taken that could result in enlarging the existing closed groupings and political-military alliances, or creating new ones. However, the attitude of the Western countries to this initiative of the socialist States was, to put it mildly, cool. It would appear that its realization would run counter to their designs.

150. Let us take the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. These talks have now been going on for four years, and throughout all those years our Western partners in the talks have stubbornly sought to ensure for themselves unilateral military advantages and to encroach upon the security interests of the socialist countries. Therefore, these talks have so far produced no practical results. We urge that we should proceed to a real search for an understanding rather than just talk about the desire for an agreement.

151. The relaxation of tensions creates still more favourable conditions for completing, within the shortest possible time, the liberation of all colonial countries and peoples, for eliminating the racist regimes and for eradicating *apartheid*, the vestiges of national oppression and discrimination of all kinds. On the other hand, there is no doubt

that the solution of these pending problems will give fresh momentum to the process of détente and add a new geographical dimension to it.

152. Today, colonialism is on the brink of total collapse. Conditions are improving for the further development of the struggle of peoples for their national liberation. A vivid example of this is the glorious victory of the peoples of Indo-China over imperialist aggression. That victory has opened up favourable prospects for the establishment of peace in South-East Asia and on the entire Asian continent.

153. It is with special feeling that we welcome the entry into the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Justice has been restored: the united socialist State of Viet Nam has taken its rightful place in this Organization. A large State, which has consistently taken a peaceful stand, has joined the United Nations. We whole-heartedly congratulate our Vietnamese friends.

154. We also welcome the admission of a new African State, the Republic of Djibouti.

155. When a conflict breaks out in a particular part of the world, more often than not there is, lurking in the background, either a desire to cling to colonial privileges or there are actions of a neo-colonialist nature. Let us look at what is happening in southern Africa. It is now the biggest colonialist and racist enclave in the world. An enormous majority of the population in the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia are deprived of the most elementary human rights. This would seem to be a boundless field of activity where those who clamour for "human rights" could best apply their efforts. But for some reason or other, they shut their eyes to the intolerable plight of millions of people. What is more, they actually connive at the shameful acts of these racist regimes; they support them and cover up their crimes.

156. Speaking of Africa, some are pointing their finger at Moscow. "This is where", they allege, "the tension on the continent originates". But what is our policy in Africa? We seek no privileges there for ourselves, nor do we covet concessions or bases, nor do we impose on African countries our world outlook. Our aims in Africa are independence, freedom and peace for its peoples.

157. We do not conceal the fact that in Africa, as elsewhere, our sympathies lie with the States that have embarked on a progressive path of development, a path of social and economic transformations for the benefit of the masses. We openly declare our complete solidarity with the peoples fighting for the liquidation of the remaining strongholds of colonialism and racism. The Soviet Union will do its utmost to ensure that the desire to establish peaceful, good-neighbourly relations with one another prevails among African States as well as all other States that have gained independence, and that the sources of discord and conflict stoked up between them by imperialism and reaction be eliminated. In this connection, in Africa just as in Europe it is highly important not only to proclaim the principle of the territorial integrity of States and the inviolability of their borders but also to respect it in practice. And this applies to all parts of the world, to all continents. The violation of this principle results in armed

conflicts, torrents of blood and countless sacrifices for the peoples involved in those conflicts.

158. The sooner we do away with this anachronism of our age—colonialism, racism and *apartheid*—the cleaner will be the air in Africa and the world at large, and the greater will be the range of action for the policy of détente. This is what was called for by the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by the United Nations 17 years ago [*resolution 1514 (XV)*].

159. This is also called for in the specific decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council condemning South African and Rhodesian racists. Those decisions must be strictly implemented by all—and I emphasize this—by all States.

160. It will not be an exaggeration to say that there is another major world problem, and if it is not solved it is difficult to expect détente to be irreversible. What I have in mind is the development of equal, mutually beneficial economic relations between all States—in short, the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

161. I should like to stress immediately that one cannot apply to this problem a mere "geographical" yardstick. After all, it is not along meridians or parallels that the boundaries of poverty and wealth run today. What matters here is how, by whom and for what purposes the natural resources of each country are being used. What is involved here is a wide range of economic, social and political factors.

162. The Soviet Union has for a long time been making a major contribution to the building of the national economies of developing countries. Representatives of many States in this hall know this, not merely by hearsay. And we fail to understand the allegations made here and there in the West—especially after the so-called "North-South dialogue" reached an impasse—to the effect that the USSR should, as they say, "lend a hand" in providing assistance to the developing countries. A strange way of putting things indeed!

163. We shall continue to give all possible assistance to the countries which have embarked on the road of independent development. But is it not clear to everyone that developing States will hardly be able to stand squarely on their feet if they remain hobbled by hundreds and thousands of tethers of neo-colonialist exploitation?

164. We resolutely support their demands that all manifestations of inequality, *diktat* and discrimination in international economic relations be eliminated. This was reiterated in the statement of the Soviet Government submitted to the last session of the General Assembly on restructuring international economic relations.<sup>10</sup>

165. Now, a few more words about another aspect of the development of friendly relations between States. What we have in mind is cultivating the feelings of friendship and

<sup>10</sup> See document A/C.2/31/2.

trust among all peoples, increasing mutual exchanges in cultural and other humanitarian fields. We have in mind also the need to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, as determined, *inter alia*, by the International Covenants on Human Rights. This has always been our approach to these questions and it has been clearly reflected in the draft of the new Constitution of the USSR.

166. But let no one have any doubts about something else: any attempts at preaching to us, at reading us sermons or, still worse, at interfering in our internal affairs under contrived pretexts, have encountered and will always encounter a most resolute rebuff. We are ready to say this once again from this high rostrum: it is high time to realize that by acting in a spirit of psychological warfare the most that one could hope for would be to poison the international atmosphere and to sour relations between States. We should like to think that all this will be taken seriously.

167. An exceptionally important area where the policy of détente is being implemented in practice is the sphere of bilateral relations between States. For us, this is not an abstract proposal. It is confirmed by our consistent policy of ensuring peaceful coexistence among States belonging to different social systems.

168. For about 10 years now Soviet-French relations have been developing steadily without a hitch. The joint documents signed as a result of the recent visit of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev to France convincingly demonstrate that joint actions of the two countries are making a major contribution to the cause of the relaxation of tensions and the development of co-operation in Europe and elsewhere.

169. Our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany have now been brought into a normal path, which is a major accomplishment in itself if we recall how strained they were in the not-too-distant past. We intend to go on expanding and deepening our ties with the Federal Republic of Germany in various fields. It is clear, however, that everything does not depend on us. There are quarters in the Federal Republic of Germany that are still exploiting some issues in a manner which is far from conducive to the favourable development of relations between our two countries.

170. We are satisfied with the way in which our relations are shaping up with Finland, Italy, Austria, Britain and other Western European States, even though all possibilities have not yet been exhausted. Relations with those countries as well as with the other participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe have now been put on a solid foundation—namely, in the principles and understandings embodied in the Final Act. The Soviet Union strictly adheres to all the provisions of that outstanding international document. We expect the same of all the other States whose highest representatives affixed their signatures to the Final Act of the Conference.

171. The meeting of representatives of the States that participated in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is due to open in Belgrade in a few days' time. We do not overestimate the significance of that

meeting, nor do we underestimate it. For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to do everything so that that meeting may proceed constructively and become yet another milestone on the road embarked upon at Helsinki.

172. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America merit special consideration. It is difficult to conceive of further progress in the policy of détente unless there is at least a minimum of trust and mutual understanding between them. The experience of the late 1960s and the first half of the 1970s indicates that when both countries are guided by principles of equality, mutual interest in the fate of peace and non-interference in internal affairs it becomes possible not only to reach a number of major agreements and arrangements but also to establish useful co-operation in many areas.

173. Unfortunately, it must be noted that recently Soviet-American relations have experienced a certain stagnation if not a downright slump. To a somewhat lesser extent that has affected the practical aspects of bilateral ties. However, more complications have emerged now than before regarding issues of broad international concern. We, the Soviet Union, stand for the improvement of relations with the United States, for Soviet-American co-operation in the interests of our peoples, in the interests of peace. But we say just as clearly that the efforts of one side alone are not sufficient for that. In response to relevant remarks by President Carter about the desire of the United States to develop relations with the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev said that if there was an intention to translate those words into the language of practical deeds we would willingly seek mutually acceptable solutions.

174. The Soviet Union invariably pursues a policy of good-neighbourly relations with Japan. Soviet-Japanese co-operation is developing successfully in a number of areas. In some other areas that is not the case. In our opinion the cause lies in the unhealthy sentiments regarding the Soviet Union that are still strong in some Japanese circles. Besides, those feelings are being whipped up by outside forces. We are convinced that the situation can and must change for the better in the interests of the peoples of our two countries and of peace in Asia.

175. For many years now Soviet-Indian relations have served as an important stabilizing factor on the vast continent of Asia. They provide a good example of friendly co-operation based upon the principles of peaceful coexistence and enshrined in the relevant treaty. It is our firm intention to continue promoting the development, intensification and enrichment of our ties with India.

176. A few words now about our relations with a large neighbouring country, China. Our position in this respect was defined by the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From the rostrum of the Congress L. I. Brezhnev stated:

"As regards China, as well as other countries, we adhere firmly to the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and the non-use of force. In short, we are prepared to normalize relations with China in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence."

And that position of ours remains fully valid.

177. Every State, be it in Europe or in Asia, in Africa or in Latin America, if it is guided by the interests of peace and co-operation, can rest assured that it will find a reliable partner in the USSR. In this regard we have an open mind.

178. For the Soviet Union—and we are confident this is true of others—the struggle for the deepening of détente is at the same time the struggle for the complete elimination of the risk of nuclear conflict. Widening the scope of détente means at the same time pushing back the risk of mankind's finding itself under the crushing steam-roller of a nuclear war. These are in fact two most important aspects of securing a genuinely solid and genuinely lasting peace on earth. It was precisely the atmosphere of détente that made it possible to undertake some major actions with a view to reducing the nuclear threat.

179. In this connexion one might single out the 1973 Soviet-American Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War. Mention could also be made of the Soviet-French agreement to prevent the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.<sup>11</sup> The interests of peace require that similar agreements be concluded between all the other nuclear Powers as well.

180. However, there is still a lot more to be done than has been done. We call upon the United Nations and its Member States to continue and intensify their efforts so as to reduce step by step the likelihood of the aforementioned threat in order subsequently to remove it from the lives of human beings.

181. Of course the most radical and effective means of preventing nuclear war would be the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union has favoured this course ever since that very moment when the world saw the first ominous silhouettes of nuclear explosions. Now, as before, we repeat our readiness to sit down at any time, together with all the other nuclear Powers, at the negotiating table to examine the problem of nuclear disarmament in its entirety and jointly to work out concrete ways for its practical solution.

182. But while there are no such negotiations—through no fault of our own—one cannot sit twiddling one's thumbs. Any steps would do in this respect provided they bring us closer, even by an inch or two, even gradually but steadily, to a complete removal of the threat of nuclear conflict.

183. The United Nations has played a certain role in creating a favourable political climate as regards the problem of averting a nuclear war. It suffices to recall the resolution adopted five years ago on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*]. And yet we should like to see a more active United Nations in this matter, which is of the greatest concern to mankind.

184. How might that look in practice?

185. Using the full weight of its prestige the United Nations could, on behalf of all its Member States, solemnly call upon all States to act in such a way as to prevent the emergence of situations which could cause a dangerous strain in relations between them and to avoid armed conflicts.

186. This applies particularly to nuclear-weapon States. What is required of them is continuous restraint in their mutual relations and a readiness to negotiate and settle their differences by peaceful means. In short, they should do all they can to prevent the emergence of conflicts and situations which give rise to international tensions. After all, they are often but a step away from armed conflicts, and can one always guarantee that such a step will not be taken?

187. This is closely connected with strict observance of the principle of renunciation of the use or threat of force in international relations involving both nuclear weapons and conventional armaments. This principle has already been enshrined in a series of recent bilateral and multilateral agreements, including the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The non-aligned movement actively advocates the establishment of this principle in relations between States.

188. The United Nations would accomplish a great deal by calling on all States to start negotiations to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. The draft of such a treaty has been circulated among all Members of the United Nations.<sup>12</sup> The replies received by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the questionnaire relating to their attitude to the idea of its conclusion point to a growing interest in our proposal. We are in favour of translating this idea into reality as early as possible.

189. The joint initiative of the socialist countries advanced last November also had to do with the prevention of nuclear war. This is a proposal addressed to the countries that participated in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to conclude a treaty whereby each would engage not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against the others. This would be of tremendous significance not only for Europe but for the world at large. We express the hope that the States to which this initiative is addressed will adopt a serious attitude. No one should dismiss a proposal which is dictated by life itself. We shall continue to work persistently to translate into practical terms the idea of concluding such a treaty.

190. I shall mention yet another area where in our view it is possible to arrive at an agreement that would reduce the threat of war. Nuclear countries could start negotiations with a view to working out arrangements concerning the withdrawal of ships carrying nuclear weapons from certain areas of the world's oceans.

191. Other steps are also possible to curb the arms race. On a broader plane this would meet with the desire of non-nuclear States to establish zones of peace completely

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976*, document S/12161.

<sup>12</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 124, document A/31/243, annex.



free from nuclear weapons. They could include both individual countries or groups of States and vast geographical regions or even entire continents.

192. In this connexion, we reaffirm our sympathetic attitude to the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The main prerequisite for this is the dismantling of the foreign military bases that exist there and the prevention of the establishment of new ones. It is precisely from this position that the Soviet Union approaches this idea. And it is from the same angle that we are holding consultations with the United States on certain problems relating to the Indian Ocean.

193. An extremely important question which attracts the closest attention throughout the world is the limitation of strategic arms. The need to contain the threat of nuclear war, to achieve progress in other areas of the struggle to end the arms race and for disarmament, the strengthening of international security and the further development of the process of détente call for the speediest solution of this pressing issue. And the United Nations has every right to expect from the countries participating in the talks on the limitation of strategic arms more intensive efforts for their speedy and effective completion and also to call on those States to come to a common agreement on the renunciation of the development of even more destructive systems of such weapons.

194. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, its stand is well known. The USSR has invariably sought to achieve an agreement on the limitation of strategic arms and has done and is doing everything in its power to that end. We are prepared to go even further and to proceed to negotiations on the reduction of existing stockpiled arsenals of strategic weapons.

195. What is the state of affairs in this respect?

196. It is an open secret today that the USSR and the United States were able some time ago to agree to a considerable extent on a new Soviet-American agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms on the basis of the well-known Vladivostok agreements. Yet subsequently much of what was agreed upon has been called into question—not by us.

197. What is the reason for this? The reason is clear. What is involved here above all is the decision of the United States to begin deploying a new type of strategic weapon, the so-called cruise missiles. Thus yet another channel has been opened for the strategic arms race and of course it would be naive to think that the other side would be a passive onlooker.

198. So what will happen in the long run? Certainly not the strengthening of security—this is openly admitted even in the United States—and certainly not a reduction in military expenditures. The result will be greater rivalry, more billions which could be used far more sensibly thrown into the bottomless pit of the arms race, and consequently greater dangers for peace.

199. Even now it is not easy to reach an agreement in the field of limiting strategic arms, but the situation would

become a more complicated if we had to deal with weapons whose limitation hardly lends itself or does not lend itself at all to verification by the other side. And this could spell extreme danger in the military and political fields. In this really what the USSR and the United States should strive for?

200. No, it certainly is not. It may be said with confidence that a positive conclusion of the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic arms is extremely important for the peoples of our two countries, for the peoples of the entire world. As a result of recent meetings in Washington some progress has been achieved in bringing closer together the positions of the two sides, and this is all to the good. However, there still remain issues to be agreed upon. It is important now to ensure the prompt successful completion of the talks. I repeat that we are doing everything possible to that end in the firm belief that a mutually acceptable agreement at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks is quite feasible, of course on the basis of strict observance of the principle of the equality and equal security of the sides. We cannot back-track from this unchallengeable position.

201. While speaking of nuclear missiles, we should not forget that there may emerge new and terrifying means of the annihilation of people. Is it not true that the threat of war will increase many fold if ever more new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction are developed? Two years have elapsed since the Soviet Union proposed the conclusion of an international agreement which would ban their emergence.<sup>13</sup> Negotiations are under way and this of course is a positive factor, but progress has been rather slow.

202. In the meantime, ever more sophisticated means of killing people go into production from laboratories and experimental facilities. It is the duty of the United Nations to call upon all States to put a dependable road-block in the way of the emergence of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

203. Today the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is most acute. It is a fact that many States have not yet become parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and some of those countries are near-nuclear States or have already attained the capability of manufacturing such weapons. Is it really necessary, for example, to speak of the grave consequences for the security of the peoples of Africa and for universal peace which might result from actions of the Republic of South Africa taken in order to get hold of nuclear weapons? We believe that urgent and effective efforts on the part of all Member States of the United Nations are required to prevent the development of such weapons in the Republic of South Africa. We must not wait for the potential threat inherent in the spread of nuclear weapons all over the world to become a reality.

204. The Soviet Union is a convinced advocate of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Our country is already co-operating in this field with many States and we are prepared to expand that co-operation. However, we are

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 126, document A/10448, para. 4.



categorically opposed to a state of affairs in which the peaceful uses of the atom would become a channel for the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and yet this is a real danger which is growing. What is required here is co-ordination of the efforts of many States and an elaborate international system of safeguards and controls. We intend to co-operate constructively in this area.

205. The prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests would be a major step towards lessening the threat of a nuclear war and deepening détente. As is well known, the Soviet Union has proposed that a treaty be concluded to this effect. Moreover, to meet the wishes of some countries we have expressed our willingness to take part in the search for a generally acceptable agreement on the question of verification. Today we are taking yet one more step forward: under an arrangement with the United States and the United Kingdom we have consented to suspend underground nuclear-weapon tests for a certain period of time even before the other nuclear Powers accede to the future treaty.

206. It is also important that the countries which have not yet acceded to the treaties on the nuclear weapon test ban in three environments, on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and on the non-emplacement of nuclear weapons on the sea-bed and in outer space [*see resolution 2660 (XXV)*] become parties to them and, pending their accession, strictly observe the provisions of those treaties.

207. Such are the ideas regarding the key international problems—making détente stable and preventing nuclear war—which the Soviet Union deems it necessary to set forth at the current stage of the development of the international situation from the high rostrum of the United Nations.

208. Guided by these considerations, the Government of the USSR proposes the inclusion in the agenda of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly, as an important and urgent question, an item entitled “Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war”.

209. At the same time, the Soviet Union is submitting for consideration by the General Assembly two draft documents: a draft declaration on the deepening and consolidation of international détente [*A/32/242, annex I*] and a

draft resolution on the prevention of the danger of nuclear war [*ibid., annex II*].

210. We should like to express the hope that the Assembly at this session will give thorough consideration to those documents and address a corresponding appeal to all States of the world. In the current situation in the international arena this would no doubt facilitate greater and broader efforts in favour of the security of peoples.

211. Increasingly broad opportunities to work for the benefit of peace are opening up before the United Nations in conditions of détente. The key to the success of this noble mission is the strict adherence of all the Members of this body to the United Nations Charter. The Charter contains all that is essential for preserving and strengthening peace on earth.

212. Our country will work tirelessly for the benefit of peace, hand in hand with fraternal socialist States, together with all our allies and friends, and with the realistically minded forces which put the ensuring of peace and the prevention of the risks of war above transitory considerations. Our country will constantly labour for peace.

213. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, recently said:

“The Soviet Union will always be an active participant in any negotiations or any international action aimed at developing peaceful co-operation and strengthening the security of the peoples.

“It is our belief—it is our firm belief—that realism in politics and the will for détente and progress will ultimately prevail and that mankind will be able to step into the twenty-first century in conditions of peace, secure as never before. And we shall do all in our power to make this a reality.”

214. I trust that this appeal of the Soviet State will evoke a grateful response from those who cherish peace.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*