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CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*)

Speech by Mr. van der Klaauw (Netherlands)	163
Speech by Mr. Czyrek (Poland)	167
Speech by Mr. Andrei (Romania)	171
Speech by Mr. Peacock (Australia)	175

Page

President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany)

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. van der KLAUW (Netherlands): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. You have, during the past few years, given ample proof of your knowledge of United Nations matters, of your wisdom and tact, and of your organizational abilities. We look forward to working with you in the days ahead.

2. We want, too, to extend our cordial congratulations to the President of the previous session of the General Assembly and to compliment him on the most efficient and exemplary way in which he guided our work.

3. We also wish to address very special congratulations to the delegation of Zimbabwe. Likewise, we welcome most warmly to our midst the delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. We wish these sovereign and independent States a bright and peaceful future, and we declare our solidarity with them in their brave endeavours to that end.

4. The general debate in the Assembly presents us each year with a good opportunity to evaluate the events of the year behind us and to draw conclusions in respect of the future. And each year we try to formulate recommendations that appear to us most suited to the mood of the particular period. Developments in the international political situation since we met last year have been deeply disturbing, as they have tended to undermine rather than enhance the rule of law that should govern the relations not only among nations but also among individuals.

5. In our endeavours to create a better international climate and to further understanding among nations, we should never forget that nations consist of human beings and that human beings first and foremost bear the brunt of

the clashes, strife and discord among nations. Conversely, there will be no real basis for a stable peace and security as long as fundamental rights and freedoms of men, women and children are totally disregarded. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 says: "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" [*resolution 217 A (III)*].

6. The attainment of respect for the individual and his rights all over the world is and will remain one of the principal tasks of our Organization. That means tolerance, justice and the right to live together in this world.

7. The Kingdom of the Netherlands throughout the ages has tried to build a society based on tolerance. As a result, our foreign policy is very much oriented towards the protection of the individual and his rights. That outlook has also inspired our development policy, which lays particular stress on the need of the poorest members of the international community.

8. The events that have occurred since the autumn of 1979 have affected many human lives. I feel that it is essential to find adequate solutions for the needs of the many individuals affected by war, famine, disease and discrimination. In my address I should, therefore, like to focus on the effect of international controversies on the individual, and on the widespread lack of justice. I intend to discuss some of the major themes that are of concern to the community of nations and that affect the lives and destinies of millions of people.

9. My friend and colleague, Mr. Thorn, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, expressed the views of the nine countries of the European Community on some major international problems before the General Assembly [*6th meeting*]. He also dwelt on the issues I have just mentioned.

10. A clear violation of the rules of international relations and of the self-determination and sovereignty of a people is the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This action by a permanent member of the Security Council was condemned by the great majority of the members of this Assembly when it met in special session in January of this year [*resolution ES-6/2*].

11. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has been a cause of deep concern to my Government, and we have expressed this concern on more than one occasion. The Governments of the European Community have also appealed to the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops unconditionally. On these occasions it was stressed that détente is indivisible, that developments in one region have repercussions in other regions of the world. The Community, in

April¹ and June² of this year, proposed as a solution an agreement between the big Powers and the countries bordering on Afghanistan to respect that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to desist from interfering in its affairs, from stationing troops and from any form of military association with Afghanistan. Any initiative in that direction would be supported by the Community. That is still the position, and we hope that such a solution will be pursued for the sake of the Afghan people and for the sake of world peace.

12. The effect of the intervention has been a human tragedy for the Afghan people in terms of casualties and of hundreds of thousands of refugees in neighbouring countries. In view of the human suffering and of the threat to peace, the Netherlands Government reiterates its support of measures to restore Afghanistan's traditional status as an independent and non-aligned country, to enable its people to determine its own future in freedom.

13. In South-East Asia, the conflict in and around Kampuchea remains unresolved. Here again a human drama continues to unfold with complete disregard for elementary human rights and the freedom of the individual. Here again, the stability of the area and world peace and security are threatened. The Netherlands Government will continue to support the efforts to help the victims of this conflict. It is even more important to address ourselves to the causes of this conflict. The Netherlands therefore supports wholeheartedly the initiative of the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] to convene an international conference on Kampuchea [see A/35/369-S/14182, annex]. The political problem caused by Viet Nam's role in Kampuchea should be faced and solved in such a way as to allow the Kampuchean people to decide their future for themselves without outside interference, and thereby to restore peace and stability in the region.

14. We have witnessed another violation of the rule of law in international relations in the region in the taking hostage of the personnel of the American Embassy in Teheran, an action that is a threat to peace as well as a violation of human rights. The Security Council has said as much on several occasions. I listened with great attention to what United States Secretary of State Muskie had to say on this subject [4th meeting], and I cannot but agree with him that this tragic impasse should be resolved quickly. Once again, we solemnly appeal to the Islamic Republic of Iran to release the hostages and thus put an end to their suffering.

15. For my country, the recent outbreak of hostilities between Iran and Iraq is a reason for grave concern. From this rostrum I make an urgent appeal to both parties to observe the utmost restraint and to resolve their dispute by peaceful means.

16. The ending of the war in Southern Rhodesia and the emergence of the sovereign State of Zimbabwe have

removed a major source of tension in southern Africa. It is evident, however, that other sources of tension in southern Africa remain, notably the issue of *apartheid* and the question of Namibia. The developments in Zimbabwe have given hope to many throughout southern Africa. Positive changes which occur in the neighbourhood of South Africa and which satisfy aspirations for human dignity and stability cannot fail to make themselves felt in South Africa itself. They will thus promote increasingly effective pressure from within.

17. The Government of the Netherlands, conscious of the impact of economic and social development in a number of countries in southern Africa on political progress in Namibia and South Africa, has decided to set up a special aid programme for southern Africa. In this way we wish to make a contribution to the important political initiative of the nine States of southern Africa, members of the Organization of African Unity,³ aimed at achieving economic independence from South Africa and co-operation among themselves. We will avail ourselves of this General Assembly session to give an impulse towards this goal. We urge many countries to do the same, and we think that the Assembly should address itself to this issue.

18. Effective outside pressure on South Africa should be stepped up as much as possible. A policy of discrimination can never be made acceptable to those who are being discriminated against or to the international community as a whole. We make an urgent plea to the South African Government to face the inescapable truth that the *apartheid* policy will come to an end. In its own efforts to attain this goal, the Netherlands Government is in the process of sounding out friendly countries on any possible concerted efforts, including economic measures, to bring about a change in South Africa which will bring to this part of the world the dignity that mankind deserves.

19. My Government will continue to support the Secretary-General, the group of five Western States and the front-line States in their efforts to implement the settlement proposal for Namibia approved by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). Outstanding issues have been clarified and we are confident that the greatest possible impartiality in implementing that resolution can now be achieved. Therefore South Africa should, without any further delay, be prepared to start implementation of the settlement plan in co-ordination with the United Nations.

20. Concerning the Middle East, Mr. Thorn, speaking on behalf of the European Community, has already elaborated on this issue. I, too, wish to stress that a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement can only be based on the rule of law and respect for the individual. The nine countries of the European Community expressed this in their meeting at Venice [see A/35/299-S/14009], notably emphasizing two principles. These two principles—the right to existence and to security of all States in the region, including Israel, and justice for all peoples, which implies recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people—should now be put into practice.

¹ Declaration issued in Luxembourg on 28 April 1980. For the text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13925.

² Declaration issued at Venice on 13 June 1980. For the text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/14003.

³ Declaration adopted at Lusaka on 1 April 1980 by the heads of State and Government of the nine independent southern African States.

21. At this stage I do not wish to prejudge the results of the current process of consultations and deliberations. What I can say, however, is that the Netherlands adopts a positive approach to any activity which will lead to a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement.

22. I now come to the situation in Lebanon. The Netherlands Government takes a particular interest in what happens in that strife-torn country. We attach great importance to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, including the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the Lebanese Government over its entire territory. I have mentioned the territorial integrity of Lebanon since it constitutes a prerequisite for stability in the Middle East.

23. A battalion of Dutch soldiers in the service of the United Nations is involved in the peace-keeping activities of UNIFIL in southern Lebanon. We deeply regret all sorts of obstacles preventing UNIFIL from carrying out the task entrusted to it by the Security Council. From this rostrum I call upon all parties concerned to enable the UNIFIL contingent to fulfil in safety its difficult and important mandate.

24. It is true that in certain countries the human rights situation has improved, but from other corners of the world we hear of serious situations and new waves of repression. Bolivia is a case in point. The process leading to a return to democracy has been interrupted in that country and repressive measures, often of a violent nature, are being taken. That development is the more regrettable because of the growing co-operation between the countries belonging to the Andean Pact⁴ and the European Community. At this stage I want to reiterate our wish to intensify relations between the European Community and the democracies in Latin America.

25. For many years my Government has, together with others, strongly advocated a return to democracy and respect for human rights in Chile. However, we cannot consider the recent referendum on the new Constitution in Chile as a step forward. In our view, that Constitution is not likely to guarantee a speedy return to Chile's traditional democratic form of government.

26. The Kingdom of the Netherlands, part of which is situated in the Caribbean, is understandably concerned about the recent controversies in that region and in Central America. We think that a climate of stability and co-operation is of the utmost importance if true progress and development are to be achieved.

27. The international situation has worsened rather than improved in the past year. The conflicts I have mentioned all lead to greater suffering. They also lead to greater demands on resources which could be used for development and for the improvement of the deteriorated economic situation. They certainly lead to less security and peace for mankind.

28. My Government's policy remains directed at the attainment of peace and security and the lessening of international tensions. This presupposes the creation of a climate

of trust in which the ground rules underlying the relations between nations and individuals are respected.

29. East-West relations are under stress as a result of developments in South-West and South-East Asia. They are also affected by the continued Soviet military build-up.

30. We hope that the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held at Madrid in November of this year, will contribute to the lessening of East-West tensions. The Helsinki Final Act⁵ is a code of conduct, a set of ground rules for multilateral and bilateral relations between States, as well as between States and private citizens.

31. At Madrid, a frank and business-like discussion should take place on the full implementation of the provisions of the Final Act. In such conditions, we believe it will be necessary to discuss negative developments, such as those in the human rights sphere. Only in that spirit can the aim of the Conference be fulfilled.

32. Confidence-building and other measures should be agreed upon in the interests of peace, security and stability in the world. My Government will endeavour to arrive at meaningful confidence-building measures for the whole of Europe which should go beyond mere declarations of intent. The growing tensions in the world compel us to pay special attention to effective measures aimed at disarmament and arms control and the curtailment of arms traffic.

33. Disarmament matters are discussed in various forums. However, inspiration is often lacking in those deliberations. Nuclear arms issues are taking a prominent place in those discussions. A comprehensive test-ban treaty would be desirable in itself and would provide us with an important psychological stimulus for nuclear disarmament. It would also strengthen the non-proliferation régime.

34. A growth in the number of nuclear Powers would inescapably lead to nuclear chaos. We therefore regret that the non-proliferation discussion has developed overtones of a North-South controversy, whereas it concerns the security and survival of all of us. The Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons⁶ has unfortunately failed to reach a consensus.

35. We should not close our eyes to the possible serious repercussions of that set-back. Broad political support remains the basis for a viable non-proliferation régime. A world-wide meeting of minds on that vital issue is essential. In that context, we have noted with appreciation the intention of the United States Government to move forward as speedily as possible after the presidential elections towards the ratification of the SALT II Treaty.⁷

36. The excruciating problem of nuclear armament and nuclear disarmament tends to overshadow all other prob-

⁵ Signed on 1 August 1975.

⁶ Held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980.

⁷ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

⁴ Andean Agreement for Subregional Integration, signed at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.

lems. However, let us not forget that armed conflicts in various parts of the world are being waged at this very moment with conventional weapons that maim and kill, albeit on a smaller scale. I hope the decisions to be taken by the Disarmament Commission on that problem will lead to at least the start of serious discussion within the United Nations of conventional disarmament measures.

37. Just to underline the great importance the Netherlands attaches to disarmament and arms control, I should like to mention in passing that this week has been proclaimed "Peace Week" in my country.

38. The conclusions of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly are still fresh in our minds. There will be other occasions when we can explain in detail our Government's views on the present stage of the North-South dialogue. I therefore wish to limit myself to a few remarks on the follow-up of that session.

39. It is our sincere desire that the Assembly should adopt the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade⁸ with a view to its implementation as from the beginning of next year. Let me echo the feelings of grave concern that you, Mr. President, expressed in your opening statement [*1st meeting*], that so many countries have not reached the 0.7 per cent aid target. That target should indeed, in our view, be reached in the first half of this decade.

40. My Government shares the widespread disappointment that no final agreement could be reached on a procedural framework for the new round of global negotiations. I strongly appeal to those Governments which, at the closure of the eleventh special session, were not able to join in the consensus, to make every effort to overcome the present difficulties during this session.

41. On the subject of furthering the advancement of human rights, I want to underline the importance of attaining equality between women and men. The idea of convening a World Conference at Copenhagen this summer, midway through the United Nations Decade for Women, was a good initiative [*resolution 3520 (XXX)*]. It was therefore regrettable that the work of the Conference was thwarted by extraneous political questions which had very little bearing on the subject under discussion. Unfortunately, I feel compelled to express my regrets that such events have affected other discussions in the United Nations as well.

42. The Netherlands delegation was unable to support the Programme of Action adopted at Copenhagen⁹ as such. Nevertheless, the Kingdom of the Netherlands stands ready to continue, within the United Nations and in the framework of the Decade, to work for the advancement of the position of women. Fortunately, there have been important achievements during the Decade, such as the conclusion of a Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimina-

tion Against Women [*resolution 34/180, annex*], the operation of the Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women, the World Plan of Action adopted at Mexico City in July 1975¹⁰ and the great number of positive clauses in the Programme of Action adopted at Copenhagen. These achievements have prompted my Government to continue to work for the further broadening and deepening of United Nations policy for women's equality, in particular in the field of multilateral development co-operation.

43. My country attaches great importance to the legislative process with regard to the promotion of human rights within this Organization. I would appeal to all who participate in that process to speed up the work on a declaration on the elimination of religious intolerance, on a convention on the prohibition of torture and on a declaration on the rights of individuals who are not citizens of the country in which they live. The question of this last declaration is on the Assembly's agenda under item 12 [*see A/35/363*]. It is our wish that at some time in the future the implementation of all human rights instruments will be monitored by a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, an institution we will continue to promote.

44. In his report on the work of the Organization [*A/35/1*], the Secretary-General has once again presented to us with clarity and precision a concise picture of the political and economic situation of the world of today. The picture is not bright. I wish to pay special attention to the plight of millions of people suffering from disease and starvation who are forced to leave their homesteads, and I shall quote from the Secretary-General's report where it says:

"Political and military conflicts and upheavals invariably engender human suffering which, on occasion, reaches disaster proportions. . . . Problems of refugees and displaced persons as well as demands for relief and rehabilitation on a massive scale exist in Africa and Asia. . . . Considerable strain is imposed on the fragile economies of countries that receive large numbers of refugees, and they naturally expect the international community to share the burden they carry.

"In addition, international assistance is required to deal with the ravages of drought and famine which have spread from the Sahelian countries to many other countries in Africa, leaving in their wake starvation and social disruption." [*Ibid.*, sect. VI.]

45. The international community has a responsibility to see to it that these calamities are avoided. We were encouraged by the Secretary-General's positive reaction to the initiative taken in the Economic and Social Council last summer for a review of the emergency operations of the United Nations system.

46. A number of years ago, my country made a proposal to raise the capacity of the United Nations system for coping with man-made disaster situations.¹¹ It is my Government's sincere wish that when the Secretary-General presents his review we once more seriously consider how to cope with

⁸ Subsequently adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 35/56.

⁹ See *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14 to 30 July 1980* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum), chap. I, sect. A.

¹⁰ See *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1948th meeting, para. 120.

them. The only road that can lead to success in this respect is a close, continuous and institutionalized co-operation between nations and the United Nations system, as well as within the United Nations systems itself, to provide on the shortest possible notice the assistance required for any given specific calamity.

47. The founder Members of the United Nations built a structure that, we believe, has kept its basic validity to this day. It has built-in checks and balances between the various groups of Members. Its size and composition make it an instrument for deep discussions and well-considered decisions. In the present circumstances, any proposals for drastic change may upset the present checks and balances and make the instrument at our disposal less, rather than more, effective. Of course, the present machinery should, in certain instances, be improved. The strengthening of the Organization for coping with the calamities which I just mentioned is a case in point. I would also like to see more support given to the peace-keeping activities of the Organization. We believe that more use could be made of valuable instruments that are already at our disposal. For instance, more frequent recourse to one of the main organs of the Organization, the International Court of Justice, and, even more important, abidance by its decisions would be conducive to the settlement of conflicts between nations.

48. In a world in which political and economic tensions seem to grow rather than to diminish, the demand for a more peaceful world with a chance for every citizen of every country to lead a decent life becomes more imperative. In this ever more interlocking and interdependent world, we must come to grips with the economic and social problems and provide peace and security for each and every one.

49. Mr. CZYREK (Poland):¹² Please accept our warm congratulations, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. In sharing in the assurances of appreciation of your own merits, achievements and experience that have been addressed to you from this rostrum, I should like, as representative of Poland, to underscore your personal contribution to the preparation of the process of normalization and development of relations between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. We join in the good wishes already expressed that, under your Presidency, the present session will bring about propitious and beneficial results.

50. We convey our feelings of high esteem and gratitude to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the outgoing President of the General Assembly, who used all his talents, dedication and efficiency in guiding its work.

51. As always, we follow with appreciation the tireless and dedicated activity of the Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and the efforts he makes with a view to solving complex international problems.

52. We are pleased to be able to welcome in our midst today the newly admitted State, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. May we also reiterate how much we rejoice at the

birth of a newly independent State in Africa, Zimbabwe. Their accession to independence and unanimous admission to the Organization mark further progress in the great historic process of decolonization, of which Poland was and continues to be a consistent proponent. We wish the new States every success in building their respective statehoods and in their socio-economic development.

53. Each year the interval between the sessions of this august forum brings new phenomena, new issues and new experiences in the life of individual nations and of the entire international community. We are meeting here, among the representatives of 154 States, in order to draw appropriate conclusions from them. These conclusions must first and foremost be consistent with the purposes which we have ourselves enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations—the maintenance of peace, the strengthening of international security and the establishment of conditions for the creative development of all nations.

54. The recent past has brought profound experiences to the people of Poland. We assess them in the context of our entire post-war development, in the perspective of the 35 years which have passed since the victory over nazism, paid for dearly with irreplaceable lives, and since the emergence of the People's Republic of Poland. During that period, through a gigantic effort of our people, we have rebuilt our country from the ravages of war, entered the road towards the all-embracing progress of our homeland, ensured full employment for all our citizens and created universal and free access to education at all levels, to culture and to health care.

55. In the complex process of our socio-economic development, we have not escaped difficulties, whether objective or subjective. We tackle and solve them with all openness and consideration, within the framework of what constitutes our nation's indisputable record of accomplishment, in accordance with our principles, our political system and the socialist rule of law, in the name of consolidating the unity of the people in the effort for the common good.

56. Our independent existence, sovereign development and lasting security are inseparably bound up with the strengthening of socialist Poland, which is linked through friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and is a strong component of the community of socialist States. Precisely such a Poland, an important factor of stabilization and peace in Europe, will continue to be fully committed to its role of co-maker of permanent security on our continent and an active contributor to efforts towards peaceful and equitable co-operation throughout the world. Such a Poland is and will remain a consistent advocate of a broad dialogue and many-sided co-operation with States having different socio-political systems, on the basis of the record so far accomplished in this field, in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

57. We come to the present session faithful to the principles and purposes on which Poland's foreign policy has invariably been based throughout the entire post-war period. They include the struggle for the peace and security of the nations of Europe and of the world, the consolidation of détente and the development of comprehensive international co-operation.

¹² Mr. Czyrek spoke in Polish. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

58. We have been witnessing lately numerous threats and tensions in international relations. Their underlying causes are varied and complex. Together with our allies, we have been pointing out for years—and, last May, we most forcefully reaffirmed this in the declaration of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty [A/35/237-S/13948, *annex II*]*—that the main threat to peace and détente lies in the arms race, encouraged as it is by cold-war circles and by military and industrial complexes, and in the attempts to revive a policy based on a position of strength.*

59. The sources of evil include, moreover, all vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonial forms of domination and interference and the practice of *apartheid* and various forms of racism and racial discrimination, which continue to breed tensions not only on a regional but also on a global scale.

60. The economic difficulties, and the energy problems in particular, which the world is now experiencing, combined with policies of protectionism, differences in the level of economic development and mounting demographic problems, are further important indicators of the present state of the world.

61. Many statesmen believe that mankind has come to a crossroads. Our Polish experience of history and the vital interests of all nations generate a desire that the world follow a road based on peaceful coexistence, strengthening of mutual understanding and just, equitable co-operation and on the implementation of the noble, humanistic purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. It cannot, however, be based on the escalation of dangerous and costly armaments, the incitement of mutual distrust and the creation of ever-new tensions.

62. We firmly believe that, despite pressures brought to bear by imperialism, the world will choose the road of peaceful development. We are fortified in this conviction by the positive experience and achievements of the years that have passed. For no sensible person can deny that the time which separates us from the most ferocious of wars, the time during which it proved possible to avert a global conflict, has brought much good to the nations of all continents. Indeed, would it have otherwise been possible to pursue the policy of active peaceful coexistence of States with different political systems and to continue détente and extensive co-operation between them? Would the social progress achieved in many States have been possible? Would the entire process of decolonization and of the economic development of many regions of the world have proved feasible?

63. The positive impact upon European relations of the process of constructive transformations between East and West, especially in the past decade, can hardly be denied. The signatories of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe can be credited with important accomplishments in peaceful co-operation.

64. Poland was one of the initiators of this process. We have been fully involved in the action to ensure its success. We know full well what a difficult task it was and how many obstacles had to be overcome on the road to détente. In this process there was and still is room for positive action by each and every State, irrespective of its socio-economic system,

size or potential. Poland, together with its allies, advances consistently towards the goal of building strong foundations of peace and security and establishing an infrastructure of all-round co-operation in Europe. We invariably favour the broadest possible dialogue with all States. Our contribution to European politics can be illustrated by the traditional relations between Poland and France, which might serve as a good example of relations between States with different political systems. Ten years ago we concluded a treaty with the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of which we have developed the process of normalization of our mutual relations. Basing ourselves upon the historic Final Act of Helsinki, we have further developed the dialogue and co-operation with its signatories—all European States, the United States and Canada. We shall follow this course consistently.

65. Our concern for the fate of European détente and world peace and security has been reflected, in the present difficult period, in a number of initiatives and specific actions. Along with our allies, we have elaborated many constructive proposals with a view to easing and eliminating tensions in Europe and the world at large. At a time when the policy of détente was being threatened, we were among those who were doing their utmost to preserve contacts and dialogue in relations between East and West.

66. This year marks the tenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. It provides a good opportunity to reflect on what we have attained and on what still remains to be done to give effect to its provisions. We can say with a full sense of responsibility: there is no such thing as a situation on which it is too complicated to take up or resume a dialogue, to seek constructive solutions, as long as all the parties are ready to demonstrate the indispensable political will, stemming from an understanding of the vital significance of the most important matters, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security and respect for the sovereign rights of nations.

67. In the struggle for peace, all rational, constructive initiatives count. We note with genuine satisfaction that, in response to tensions and threats, broadly representative social forces which come out in support of protecting and continuing détente and halting the arms race are becoming more active. This is, in fact, becoming a preoccupation of many people of great wisdom and goodwill. We highly value the words of Pope John Paul II on the supreme question of peace for mankind.

68. We consider the consolidation of détente and the prevention of a new escalation of the arms race to be most urgent at present. These two component questions are closely inter-linked and mutually conditional. What is more, their successful resolution will determine the political situation throughout the world.

69. The state of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States remains of paramount importance. These relations, it is obvious, exert a decisive impact on the international atmosphere and on matters of the peace and security of nations in a global context.

70. A year ago, from this rostrum,¹³ the Polish delegation—like, indeed, many other delegations—expressed optimism and hope, which we all shared at the time, in connexion with the signing of the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, SALT II. We trust that the Treaty, which serves not only the vital interests of the two Powers but the cause of world peace and security as well, will be ratified at the earliest possible time.

71. In December 1979, the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] took a decision concerning deployment in Western Europe of new types of nuclear missile weapons. The decision, without any doubt, has become a factor hindering the process of détente, and not on a European scale alone. Dealing as it does a blow at the principle of equal security of the parties, it aims—which is particularly dangerous—at the lowering of the threshold for the use of nuclear weapons. It carries a threat of inconceivable consequences for the nations of Europe and for world peace.

72. Poland, therefore, supports the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union to their full extent and declares itself in favour of negotiations on nuclear missile weapons in Europe. We welcome the announcement of a prompt commencement of such negotiations and hope for their success.

73. Seven years have passed since the initiation of the Vienna Talks on the Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. Poland is unceasingly interested in a prompt and meaningful breakthrough in these talks, so that they produce appropriate agreements. The latest proposals presented by States parties to the Warsaw Treaty constitute another significant step towards bringing the respective positions closer together.

74. Considering the realities of the situation now obtaining on the European continent, we believe there is urgent need to elaborate a satisfactory negotiating formula concerning military détente and disarmament. This, in our opinion, could be made possible by taking up and developing the idea of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, which has been advanced by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. Such a conference should agree upon confidence-building measures and subsequently lead to a reduction of military confrontation and a limitation of military activities in that important part of the world which has the greatest accumulation of dangerous weapons.

75. In reiterating early this year the proposal to convene the conference, Poland offered to act as host to it in its capital. This would be an honour for our country, and Warsaw, we believe, would be a worthy and proper place to hold such an important international meeting.

76. Poland will seek a decision during the Madrid meeting which will make it possible to convene such a conference in the shortest possible time. Its deliberations would make a valuable contribution to the consolidation of a broad and positive process, combining political and military détente into one inseparable whole.

77. Disarmament issues, which are closely linked with the security of nations and with the conditions for their socio-economic development, have been and continue to be the focus of attention of the States of the world. This was confirmed by the debates and results of the tenth special session of the General Assembly in 1978. I should like to express the conviction that the impulse which that session gave to disarmament negotiations will result shortly in the finalization of new disarmament agreements, including those concerning the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests, the prohibition of chemical and radiological weapons and the prohibition of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction. Poland will continue to act with all determination in this direction.

78. In the present complex situation, it is important to initiate realistic steps with a view to reducing the danger of war. That is the idea behind the proposals submitted the other day by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Andrei Gromyko [6th meeting]. They include most timely postulates concerning non-expansion of existing military-political groupings and renunciation, as from 1 January 1981, of the expansion of armed forces and conventional armaments. Other important proposals made by the Soviet Union cover negotiations with a view to granting appropriate guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States as well as the prompt conclusion of an international treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. In our opinion, giving effect to these proposals would considerably reduce the direct threats facing mankind today. They contain an initiative which, when taken up, would give a new, broader dimension to the struggle for a more secure world for us and for the generations to come.

79. We believe that, in view of the special significance of disarmament in the nuclear field, the strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons retains its lasting importance. In this context, it is worth stressing the validity of the idea of nuclear-free zones in Europe also, and zones of peace in different regions of the world, for instance, in the region of the Indian Ocean, as well as the validity of the idea of strengthening security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States.

80. At the recently concluded Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, we paid special attention to measures aimed at the strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation, which would also be compatible with the interests of peaceful utilization of nuclear energy.

81. The concern for the future of the world and for the fate of nations makes it imperative to break out of the vicious circle of tensions and conflicts by seeking just and enduring solutions to acute political problems in different regions of the world. In reducing and extinguishing hotbeds of tension and conflict, we recognize an important component of the struggle for the strengthening of international security. To the best of our ability, we have taken and are still taking part in the efforts aimed at their solution pursued both within and outside the United Nations.

82. We fully reaffirm our position concerning a comprehensive and just settlement of the situation in the Middle

¹³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session: Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, paras. 149-204.

East, in which the key issue is the question of ensuring independent statehood for the Arab people of Palestine, in accordance with the postulates of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], a settlement that would bring lasting security to all States of the region.

83. It is imperative to ensure peaceful development, good-neighbourly relations and co-operation for all nations of South-East Asia. A good basis to achieve this has been provided by the proposals of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and of a number of other States. The acceptance of political realities, including the recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its Government and the termination of hegemonistic pressures against the States of Indo-China, constitute an important condition for a process of stabilization and co-operation in the region.

84. Realism, honesty, the right to progressive transformations and security—these are the guiding elements of our approach to the complex problems of South-West Asia, including the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We support the initiatives of the Government of Afghanistan towards solving the existing issues through mutual recognition, in the spirit of good-neighbourliness and co-operation.

85. On the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], we could not stress more emphatically the need for immediate and final eradication of the remnants of colonialism in southern Africa and of its particularly abhorrent form, *apartheid*. The elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and of all forms of neo-colonial dependence is also an essential prerequisite for ensuring world peace, justice and the security of nations.

86. Poland is in full solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America fighting for their national and social liberation, the consolidation of their statehoods and their socio-economic development. We feel close to the main themes and objectives formulated by them, *inter alia*, in the resolutions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.¹⁴ We highly appreciate the constructive role played by the non-aligned movement in international relations.

87. We view with understanding and sympathy the economic claims of the developing countries emanating from their long-term legitimate interests and objectives. At the recently concluded eleventh special session of the General Assembly, we presented Poland's position regarding these matters.¹⁵ To the best of our ability, we shall act jointly in developing a new, just world economic order. Our position of principle has been repeatedly placed on record on various occasions, also in the course of formulating the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.

88. We realize the significance of and support the concept of global negotiations on economic co-operation for devel-

opment. We believe that these negotiations, conducted within the United Nations system, should aim at taking specific action, promoting development of international economic co-operation.

89. Poland is vitally interested in the expansion of comprehensive co-operation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We are linked to many of them by intensive and mutually advantageous trade exchanges and industrial co-operation, as well as collaboration in the sphere of investments, science, technology, culture and training of personnel. We shall consistently strive to expand this co-operation in the spirit of the idea of partnership for development.

90. I have outlined in general terms Poland's position with respect to the key issues of the international situation as it obtains at present. I realize that I may have left out many important and crucial issues. They will be dealt with, though, by members of my delegation in other statements during the Assembly's current session.

91. The awareness that we have to live and act in a world full of complex problems and tensions should stimulate us to even more active endeavours. In the interest of world peace and in the interest of progress and mankind's development, the entire international community should concentrate on activities covering these fundamental objectives: we should strive, by way of concrete action, not only to maintain, but greatly to intensify the international dialogue on the basic issues of international security and co-operation; we should bring about, through a co-operative effort, the consolidation of the process of political détente and its extension into the military field; we should make a genuine break through in the efforts to halt the arms race and proceed to real disarmament; we should demonstrate the maximum political goodwill and wisdom in action aimed at reducing tensions and strengthening peace and security in different regions of the world; last but not least, we should strive energetically to overcome the obstacles on the road towards the establishment of a new international economic order based upon the principles of justice and equality and enhancing the solution of difficult and complex problems of socio-economic development.

92. Poland appreciates the important role which the United Nations can and should play in the strengthening of peace and security, in the development of friendly relations between nations and in the expansion of international co-operation. What counts is the fullest possible utilization of the possibilities offered by the constitution of the Organization, the Charter of the United Nations, in initiating actions of both global and complementary regional dimensions, for peace is an indispensable prerequisite for the successful solution of other pressing international problems, in particular for accelerating socio-economic development.

93. In the course of the 35 years of existence of the Organization, the world has time and again lived through difficult moments. Thanks to joint efforts, we have managed so far to weather the crises. The United Nations has taken an active part in these efforts, becoming ever stronger and richer with new experience. Today, the Organization is faced with particularly important tasks. In declaring my country's readiness to co-operate, I wish to stress that Poland has followed,

¹⁴ See document A/34/542.

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings and Annexes*, 9th meeting.

is following and will continue to follow a policy of respect for and realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As a European State, it will at the same time strive for a full and integrated implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It is in this spirit that the Polish delegation intends to play a constructive part in the current session of the General Assembly and will do all it can to contribute to its successful work and fruitful results.

94. Mr. ANDREI (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): It is a great pleasure for me to convey to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I avail myself of this opportunity to stress the satisfaction of the Romanian Government at the development achieved during the last few years in relations between Romania and the country which you represent, the Federal Republic of Germany.

95. This session of the General Assembly is carrying out its work in the context of a particularly complex international situation. The Romanian Government considers that the threats to international peace and security and to the independence and free development of peoples, more than ever in the past, call for the United Nations and for all States, irrespective of their size, to take action in a spirit of high responsibility to settle, on just and equitable bases and in the interest of all peoples, the problems today confronting mankind.

96. The peoples of the world expect this session of the world forum to open new prospects for the prevention of growing international tension, for the resumption and continuation of the policy of détente, independence, peace and co-operation; for the complete elimination from international relations of the policy of force and threat of force; for the settlement, exclusively by peaceful means, of all disputes among States; for the cessation of the arms race and the urgent adoption of practical measures of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament; for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order; for the democratization of international life in its entirety; and for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and its contribution to the consolidation of peace and co-operation among nations.

97. Since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, particularly in the first part of this year, international life has been fraught with tension which has seriously endangered the policy of détente, peace and national independence. This situation, which is the result of the intensification of a policy of division and consolidation of zones of influence and spheres of domination, the sharpening of contradictions between States and groups of States, the acceleration of the arms race, and the deepening of the gap between the rich and poor countries. This situation has been aggravated by the deepening of the economic crisis and by the energy crisis, particularly as it affects oil, and by the delay in the settlement of situations of tensions and conflict, including existing hotbeds of war, because of the emergence of new confrontations.

98. At present, as a result of the peoples' struggle and the vigorous reaction of world public opinion and the progres-

sive forces on all continents, we are witnessing some alleviation of tension. However, given the fact that the problems that have led to the aggravation of the international situation have not yet been settled, particularly great dangers continue to threaten the independence and freedom of peoples and the peace and security of all mankind.

99. Developments in world affairs have convincingly shown that international peace and co-operation depend essentially on respect for the right of each people to decide its own destiny, strict and consistent observance of the principles of independence, sovereignty, and equality of rights, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage in relations among all States. Everyday life constantly offers fresh proof that the observance of those principles is the cornerstone of international peace and security and that the main cause of tension, conflict and upheavals around the world can in the main be traced to violations of those principles. Those situations are the result of the manifestations of the anachronistic imperialist policy of force and *diktat*, and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples.

100. As was recently pointed out by President Nicolae Ceausescu:

"Romania has declared and declares itself firmly against the policy of tension and force. Our country strives for the settlement of matters in dispute by political negotiations only, on the basis of observance of each people's independence and of non-interference in internal affairs. We are convinced that the peoples, the progressive anti-imperialist forces, have the capacity to prevent the worsening of the international situation, to ensure the resumption of the policy of détente, peace and respect for national independence and to bring about conditions in which all peoples can focus their energies on economic and social development."

101. In this spirit, the Socialist Republic of Romania and President Ceausescu carry out wide-ranging intensive activities on the international scene. Proceeding from the right and duty of each country, irrespective of its size, strength or social and economic system, to take part in the settlement of problems of concern to the international community as a whole, the President of Romania has maintained and maintains direct dialogue with a great number of heads of State or Government, and with political leaders in socialist, developing and developed countries. Romania's international activity has constantly been designed to foster the peaceful approach to problems confronting mankind and the achievement of solutions through negotiations in accordance with the interests of the freedom and independence of peoples, peace, security and co-operation among nations.

102. Romania is developing relations of friendship, solidarity and co-operation with all socialist States, strengthening the multisided co-operation with developing and non-aligned countries, extending its relations with all countries of the world, and taking an active part in the world exchange of values. Romania's international relations are part of the universal process of free and independent affirmation of nations, a contribution to the promotion of the policy of peace, détente, understanding and equal co-operation among all countries of the world.

103. The Romanian Government considers that the United Nations and all peoples in the world should firmly condemn any manifestation of the policy of force and of threat of force in international relations. History has shown that whatever was built on force, *diktat* and pressure of any kind finally crumbled under the vigorous blows of the just struggle of the peoples. Recourse to force and war in relations between States has never led to a settlement of the problem, but rather has brought about huge human and material losses, poisoned international relations, made the quest for solutions more difficult and generated a grave threat to peace in the respective areas and in the world as a whole. The way of force and military might is the main threat to peace and the freedom of peoples, and represents a dangerous anachronism of the contemporary world which must be completely eliminated from international life.

104. Serious and difficult as the problems between States may be, nothing can justify the avoidance or abandonment of political means of settlement; nothing can justify recourse to force or the threat of force. Reality is a forceful factual witness that, when the path of negotiations has been chosen, appropriate solutions have been found to the most thorny problems, or at least a diminution of tension has been achieved.

105. In this context, I should like to stress that last year, in requesting the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the item entitled the "Settlement by peaceful means of disputes between States",¹⁶ Romania proceeded from the need to make use of the possibilities provided by the United Nations and its Charter to act more effectively to prevent and settle conflicts between States on just and durable bases. The extensive debate on this item revealed wide adherence by States to this basic principle of the Charter, and a consensus on the importance of preparing a declaration of the General Assembly on the peaceful settlement of disputes between States was reached [*resolution 34/102*]. We consider that such a declaration, as a first step towards the adoption of a world treaty embodying firm commitments in this field, would have a positive impact on world political life and would help to enhance international legality.

106. The setting up of a permanent commission of the General Assembly for good offices and conciliation, which would function in close connexion with the Security Council in order better to fulfil the responsibilities of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, would be a substantial contribution to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the peaceful settlement, and particularly in the prevention, of disputes between States.

107. As a representative of a European country, I should like to refer to the new prospects opened up by the Helsinki Conference and the Final Act adopted five years ago. Unfortunately, subsequent developments in Europe have not lived up to the expectations of peoples; in the past five years the arms race has continued and intensified, the accumulation of weapons of increasingly destructive capacity has continued without interruption, and foreign troops and military

bases are still stationed on the territories of many States on the continent. Two opposing military blocs are facing each other in Europe, which is indeed the main arena from which a new devastating world war could break out.

108. Romania, like other European States, has a vital interest in putting an end to the deployment on the continent of new medium-range nuclear missiles. For this reason, we strongly support the opening of negotiations on this issue. We consider that the proposals put forward in this respect by the Soviet Union are good, and on that basis negotiations for the cessation of the deployment of new missiles could start. The Romanian Government also supports the earliest possible ratification of the SALT II Treaty.

109. Attaching great importance to the careful preparation and smooth functioning of the Madrid meeting, we are endeavouring to ensure that that meeting will give a new and strong impetus to the policy of détente and to the implementation in full of the documents signed at Helsinki, reaffirm the principles contained in the Final Act, agree on the convening of a European conference on the strengthening of trust and disarmament, adopt measures aimed at expanding co-operation in various fields such as energy, transport, the environment and industrial co-operation, as well as in the fields of cultural and artistic exchanges, and at the same time reach an agreement to ensure the continuity of meetings dealing with European security.

110. Romania is striving for the development of bilateral and multilateral co-operation among the Balkan States and for the transformation of the Balkans into a region of peace, good-neighbourliness and confidence, into a zone free of nuclear weapons, as an integral part of the efforts devoted to détente and European security.

111. Allow me to express from this rostrum the deep concern of the Romanian Government and people at the dangerous situation caused by the continuation and intensification of the arms race, which has acquired huge dimensions and leads to greater and greater waste of financial, material and human resources and to a further increase of insecurity and the danger of war. In the circumstances, where so many grave problems still remain to be settled in order to ensure the economic and social progress of each country, the burden of armaments on all peoples has become unbearable. Such a situation cannot last any longer.

112. In the present international situation, the cessation of the increase in military expenditures and the adoption of firm measures to reduce military budgets, armaments and armed forces represent a task of the utmost urgency and importance. This would save each year resources amounting to dozens and dozens of billions of dollars which could be used for the economic and social development of each nation, particularly for achieving more rapid progress in the developing countries.

113. Romania, acting in accordance with its concerns and its stand on this matter, recently decided—for the third time—to reduce its military expenditures for 1980 by 16 per cent and to devote the funds thus saved to the implementation of the programme designed to raise the living standards of the people.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Thirty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 122, document A/34/143.

114. The interests of peace and the progress of all peoples require that the military balance and the guaranteeing of the security of individual States be achieved not through the escalation of the arms race, the increase of the military expenditures and the accumulation of arms but, on the contrary, by reduction of military budgets, armed forces and armaments, by disarmament measures. It is necessary, more than ever, for the United Nations, for all the States of the world, to act with the utmost resolution to bring about a genuine process of disarmament and, first of all, nuclear disarmament. Everything must be done, before it is too late, to halt the arms race, to defend the fundamental rights of peoples to peace and disarmament.

115. The Romanian Government considers that the concluding of international agreements on the freezing and reduction of military expenditures would be an important step in that direction and therefore it has presented practical proposals to that end. Of great importance would be the achievement of international agreements under which States, particularly those heavily armed, would commit themselves, until new agreements on the freezing and reduction of military budgets had been concluded, to show self-restraint with regard to increases of military expenditures.

116. We regard as positive the fact that the Disarmament Commission at its last session began a more thorough examination of the problem of military budgets. Romania will at this session present a draft resolution. It is our hope that at the next stage the United Nations will embark upon the identification and drafting of principles which would govern the activities of States in the matter of the freezing and reduction of military budgets.

117. In the view of Romania, among the disarmament measures absolute priority must be given to the matter of nuclear disarmament. We are, obviously, aware that disarmament is a complex, long-term process. Therefore we believe that it would be particularly important to adopt partial measures, such as the abolition of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of all troops and armaments within national borders and the dissolution of military blocs. Such measures would strengthen confidence among States and would open the way to general and complete disarmament.

118. In the opinion of the Romanian Government, the tenth special session, the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, established a more democratic organizational framework for the consideration and solution of these problems. Certain positive results achieved in the work of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva confirm this assessment. It is essential now to use this framework, and, first of all, the Committee on Disarmament, for the negotiation and adoption of practical measures of disarmament.

119. Taking into account developments in weaponry, which are increasingly dangerous to world peace, it is necessary to do everything to ensure that the preparation for the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the work done at that session will produce a radical improvement in the endeavours of the entire international community to achieve disarmament.

120. The conclusion, without the expected results, of the recent eleventh special session of the General Assembly on the new international economic order places before the international community, with even more acuity and urgency, one of the gravest problems of the contemporary world—namely, the perpetuation of the condition of under-development in which most of mankind live and the division of the world into rich and poor countries.

121. The existing and deepening gaps between the rich and poor countries are not unavoidable. The situation is perpetuated by the present structure and machinery of the world economy and by the maintenance of inequitable relations and a system of international economic relations in which the rich become increasingly richer and the poor increasingly poorer.

122. It is an undeniable fact that the developed countries have accumulated the riches they have today not only through their own efforts, but also through the exploitation over centuries of dozens and dozens of other peoples. Another fact, which cannot help but cause anxiety, is that the rich countries are not only opposed to radical changes that need to be made in the existing machinery for international co-operation, but they resort, on a large scale, to new and insidious forms of exploitation of the weaker countries and obstruct the access of those countries to the achievements of contemporary progress.

123. The persistence and deepening of the phenomenon of under-development, the grave implications of the economic, energy and raw materials crises and of the monetary and financial crises, have very adverse effects on the economies of all countries and especially on those of the developing countries. Those factors undermine their programmes of national development, aggravate distrust and contradictions, conflict and tension, and represent a direct threat to international peace and security.

124. The liquidation of under-development certainly implies above all the efforts of the developing countries themselves and broadening of co-operation among them, together with radical changes in current international economic relations and machinery which should ensure the development of relations based on equity and equality. The active participation of the rich countries in this process and the substantial support that those countries should give the developing countries are not questions of charity, but of justice and international morality, an imperative demand of progress in a world of increasing interdependency, an essential prerequisite of international economic and political stability.

125. Experience has clearly shown that the problems of under-development, of the normal functioning and stability of the world economy, cannot be solved through superficial measures, but rather call for far-reaching changes, both in the economic structures and the international flows and machinery and in the transfer of technology and the granting of technical assistance, and at the same time, in the mobilization, for development, of all material, financial and human resources. We should like to stress, in this respect also, Romania's proposal, made together with other States, that the savings effected through a 10 to 15 per cent reduc-

tion in military budgets be reallocated for the social and economic development of each country, and particularly of the developing countries. That is why it is so urgent, in this area as well, to proceed from words to deeds, to effective measures of real significance in the field of disarmament.

126. Romania, together with the other States members of the Group of 77, submitted at the eleventh special session¹⁷ considerations and proposals stressing the urgent need to embark purposefully on the negotiation of practical measures, in accordance with the requirements of the new international economic order.

127. The Romanian Government considers that the basic objective of the present session remains the launching in 1981 of comprehensive negotiations and the concentration of efforts on reaching integrated and world-wide solutions within the framework of the United Nations and, with the participation of all Member States. These solutions should provide answers to the urgent problems and, at the same time, respond to the long-term interests of the progress of the developing countries and of a healthy and stable expansion of the world economy as a whole. In order to prevent grave implications both for the developing and the developed countries, and for international economic and political life, it is imperative to carry through rapid and resolute actions to deal with the problems of energy, external debt, access to financial markets, reform of the international monetary system and the campaign against protectionism, in order to establish a new international division of labour and new economic relations.

128. It is necessary to understand that stability and lasting peace in the world, the independent affirmation of peoples, require the elimination of the serious anomaly of underdevelopment which keeps the majority of the world's population in a state of poverty, hunger and backwardness.

129. Romania, like other States, is deeply concerned by the maintenance and worsening of tension and conflict and by the emergence of hotbeds of war and armed confrontations in different parts of the world, since they endanger international peace and security.

130. We should like to reaffirm Romania's unshakeable view that all States should direct and intensify their efforts, and do their utmost to bring about, as quickly as possible, settlement of disputes between States by political means only, through negotiations, completely avoiding armed confrontation and the use of force.

131. In this spirit, Romania has constantly declared itself, and does so again, in favour of a political settlement of the problems of the Middle East and of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in that part of the world. That would require Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, settlement of the question of the Palestinian people on the basis of their right to self-determination, the establishment of a national independent State, and a guarantee of the independence and territorial integrity of all States in the area. We consider it

necessary that, after wide consultations, an initiative be taken leading to the creation of a new framework, a new basis for negotiations, in the form of a conference under the auspices, and with the active participation of, the United Nations. Such a conference should provide for the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO, as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the USSR and the United States, as well as other States that can make a positive contribution to the efforts directed towards a peaceful comprehensive settlement of the Middle East situation.

132. Romania stands for a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, leading to the cessation of all external assistance to the anti-governmental forces and, at the same time, to the withdrawal of Soviet military units from that country. It stands for respect of the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan, for the respect of the right of the Afghan people freely to decide their own development, in accordance with their own national will and interests. We want to see direct negotiations started between the Afghan Government and the Governments of neighbouring States, which should lead to the settlement of the problems, to the normalization of the situation in the area and to the development of good neighbourly relations among all States in that region of the world.

133. We are also in favour of a political solution to the question of Cyprus by negotiations between the two communities, which should ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, co-operation and the peaceful coexistence of the two Cypriot communities.

134. We wish to reaffirm, on this occasion too, our full solidarity with the just struggle of the Korean people to fulfil their national ideal—the independent, peaceful and democratic reunification of the country by the Koreans themselves—on the basis of the constructive proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of the provisions of resolution 3390 (XXX) adopted by the General Assembly on 18 November 1975.

135. One imperative of our times is the complete eradication of the vestiges of colonialism, of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. We welcomed with satisfaction the proclamation of the new State of Zimbabwe and its admission into the great family of the United Nations and, under the new conditions, we wish to develop further the relations of friendship and solidarity already established between the Romanian people and the Zimbabwean people during the long struggle of the latter against colonial domination and to achieve independence. We give our full support to the struggle of the Namibian people, led by the South West Africa People's Organization, for the earliest possible achievement of its full national independence.

136. We support and feel full solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa in the struggle they are waging to put an end to the policy of *apartheid* and all racial discrimination, and to stop the acts of aggression being committed by the South African régime against neighbouring independent countries. We consider that the United Nations and all the States Members of the Organization should do their utmost to put

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings and Annexes, agenda item 7, document A/S-11/25, para. 16.

an end to manifestations of colonialism and to any policy of oppression of a people by another people and to bring about the complete liquidation of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies throughout our planet.

137. For some time problems connected with the free and full development of the human personality have held the attention of the international community.

138. The Romanian delegation believes that debates on human rights should place a particular emphasis on the fundamental right of people and nations to life, peace and a free and independent existence, which are supreme values to which all nations aspire and on whose fulfilment depend respect for and the exercise of all the other fundamental human rights and freedoms.

139. The Romanian delegation will support the further consideration by the General Assembly of the universal implementation of the right to education, since it is deeply convinced that the development of education and the training of national personnel, particularly in the developing countries, are primary requirements for ensuring the broad development of the human personality and for the over-all progress of society.

140. With regard to the decision of the General Assembly on the designation of 1985 as International Youth Year, with the theme of participation, development and peace, [resolution 34/151] we believe that it is necessary to make thorough preparations for this in order to encourage the intensification of United Nations activities for and concern with youth, which is an important social force for progress, democracy and peace.

141. The solution of the complex problems of our times requires the participation on a basis of equality of all States, irrespective of size or social system, and especially that of the small and medium-sized countries, the developing countries and the non-aligned countries, which constitute the great majority of our world.

142. It is necessary that the United Nations and other international organizations should play an increasingly active role in the democratic and equitable solution of the problems confronting mankind by promoting a policy of peace and détente and of respect for the national independence of all peoples. Romania is in favour of intensifying the efforts of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization to identify new ways and practical measures to enable the United Nations to discharge its great responsibility for the defence of international peace and security and the development of co-operation among all States.

143. The Romanian delegation is participating in this session of the General Assembly in the conviction that, given the present international circumstances, the United Nations should involve itself more directly in the prevention and elimination of crises and conflicts and in the promotion of effective action capable of furthering understanding and peaceful co-operation among all countries.

144. I wish to express from this rostrum, on behalf of the Romanian Government, Romania's determination closely

to co-operate with other States and peoples in the peaceful settlement, in the interest of all nations, of the great problems confronting mankind today, in ensuring the fulfilment of the aspirations of peoples to live in full freedom and independence, peace and security, and in the establishment of a better and more just world.

145. Mr. PEACOCK (Australia): Mr. President, on behalf of the Australian delegation, I should like to add my very warm congratulations to those already expressed on your election as President of the General Assembly. I have no doubt that you will serve the Assembly with distinction and I offer you the fullest co-operation of my delegation.

146. I wish also to express my Government's recognition of the continuing contribution made to the United Nations by Ambassador Salim, who brought to the office of President great diplomatic skill and wise counsel.

147. Since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines have joined the United Nations. I should like to extend a very warm welcome to these fellow members of the Commonwealth, with whom we look forward to working closely in the common tasks that lie ahead.

148. I do not believe that there is anyone here—indeed I do not believe that there is an informed person anywhere—who would contest the fact that the international situation has deteriorated seriously since we met here a year ago. While there are differences as to causes, motivations and responsibilities, the sense that we have entered a new and dangerous period is almost universal. So far, this period lacks a label, lacks a name. That, I believe, is no accident. We can be sure that it is not due to any lack of effort on the part of journalists, academics and speech writers. What stands out as we contemplate the current scene is its great complexity, and complexity resists labels.

149. The absence of a label, the fact that we are confronting a crisis without a name, is indicative of a deeper problem: the absence of any agreed conceptual map of the historical territory into which we are advancing. The problem is not that there is no map, but rather that there are many different ones. Some have pulled down from the shelf, either reluctantly or enthusiastically, the old cold-war map of the 1950s. Some cling with diminishing hope to the détente map of the 1970s. Third world spokesmen are understandably reluctant to surrender the North-South map they have drawn in recent decades.

150. The reality is that none of these maps is adequate, but that all are relevant. For we are confronting a multidimensional crisis in which what have hitherto been semi-autonomous issues or areas of international politics are being drawn closely together and superimposed on each other. We have spoken much of interdependence in this forum over the last decade. It has now become increasingly evident that interdependence applies not only to countries but to issues and to realms of activity.

151. I believe that perhaps the most serious danger we face at present is that, confronted with what is simultaneously unfamiliar, turbulent and dangerous, a sense of unmanage-

ability may come to prevail. This in turn could lead to the embracing of simplistic solutions, in a despairing search for order and certainty, or to a fatalistic resignation. Either course would be disastrous. We are going to need to maintain as never before a sense of historical perspective and of political proportion.

152. Thirty-five years ago, the peoples of the United Nations expressed their determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. To a remarkable extent we succeeded—to the extent, that is, that in a period of intense and bitter great-Power rivalry, a rivalry which in terms of all historical precedents should have resulted in armed conflict, a third world war was averted. In a period of pessimism, that is worth remembering and weighing in the balance.

153. That having been said, however, it must be recognized that the fact that we have avoided conflagration on a global scale is no consolation to the ravaged peoples of Indo-China, Afghanistan, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East or other lands. The ideals and objectives of the Organization have been brutally assaulted by the actions of certain of its Members. Now, no less than in 1945, the international community is faced with the tragic plight of millions of people—killed, maimed or rendered homeless and hungry by the scourge of war. Where we should be devoting a major part of our collective energy to meeting the developmental needs of the poorer countries and communities of this world, we find that energy divided and diminished by inter-State and inter-group ambitions and rivalries which do nothing for mankind other than to add to its burden of misery and deprivation, a burden borne mostly by the poorest and most disadvantaged.

154. The first Articles of the Charter affirm that all Members shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

155. What, however, is, for example, the situation in Indo-China, a region of particular concern to Australia? There is growing great-Power rivalry; 200,000 occupation troops remain in Kampuchea; and there is the consequent lack of any opportunity for the Kampuchean people to choose their own Government. In addition, there are threats to the security of Thailand, made manifest by the incursion of Vietnamese troops into Thailand earlier this year. Those are the causes of regional political instability and tension. They are also the causes of human suffering on a scale which is affecting the life of the whole region.

156. Australian policy in this situation is based on the resolution adopted last year [*resolution 34/22*], in which the Assembly called for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and for an act of self-determination by the Khmer people. Our support for those principles remains as strong as ever. A peaceful and secure South-East Asia cannot be achieved until a political settlement has been reached in Kampuchea which is acceptable to all parties concerned and which gives full opportunity to the Kampuchean people to determine their own style of government and way of life. We accept that Viet Nam has legitimate interests to safeguard in regard to Kampuchea. What we cannot accept is

that Viet Nam and its allies should be able to go on refusing to discuss seriously the fundamental questions of the occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces and the legitimacy of the régime in Phnom Penh. Acceptable resolution of those issues is essential to the eventual achievement of a sovereign and independent Kampuchean nation as part of a secure environment for all South-East Asian countries.

157. Australia has participated actively in the international efforts to alleviate the suffering of the Kampuchean people, both within Kampuchea itself and in refugee camps in Thailand. Australian contributions, both governmental and private, to international humanitarian relief programmes to date exceed \$A 24 million. Those international efforts have been necessary not only to meet the desperate and immediate needs of the Kampuchean people but to provide the basis for their eventual self-sufficiency. The achievements of the programme sponsored by the United Nations have been significant. Both common humanity and the peace and stability of the region demand that the effort be sustained until a lasting solution is found.

158. Indo-China is not the only point of danger. The activities of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and elsewhere have inevitably impaired the international climate of trust necessary for the negotiation of effective arms-control measures. That is particularly true with respect to the preparations for the Conference, to be held in Sri Lanka, on the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. We must consider the proximity of Afghanistan to the Indian Ocean, as well as the general climate of apprehension and uneasiness among the littoral and hinterland States of the region which Soviet activity has brought about. The massive military build-up and deployment in the region of the Indian Ocean has cast an ominous shadow over efforts to bring about peace in that region and consequently over preparations for a conference aimed at the creation of a zone of peace.

159. It is difficult to envisage how we could expect a conference to produce a declaration on a zone of peace when one of the hinterland States of the region is forcibly occupied by one of the Powers which would attend the conference. It is, however, precisely during periods of international tension that we must redouble our collective efforts to work out effective arms control measures.

160. With that in mind, Australia is working actively with the other members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean to work out arrangements for the eventual holding of a conference which would make a positive contribution to the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

161. Across the Indian Ocean from Australia, the problems of southern Africa continue to preoccupy the United Nations and the international community. The peaceful accession of Zimbabwe to independence and membership in the United Nations contrasts starkly with the continuing bleak situation in Namibia and South Africa. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Australia has been closely involved in United Nations attempts to resolve the problems posed by South Africa's illegal administration of the Territory. The Australian Government supports fully

the process of negotiation currently under way aimed at bringing Namibia to independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It is a matter for regret, however, that two years have elapsed since passage of that resolution. A number of basic issues still remain to be resolved. Further delay can only fuel the frustration of the inhabitants of Namibia and of the members of the international community who are committed to a peaceful resolution of that problem.

162. Just as my Government deplores the failure of the South African authorities so far to make possible the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, so do we deplore the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government. We have heard the qualified promises from South African leaders that they will consider reforms. With that in mind, Australia calls on South Africa to adopt substantial and early measures to dismantle the repressive *apartheid* system and to redress the injustices which so many of its citizens suffer. The longer those processes are postponed, the more difficult it will become to bridge the deep divisions which characterize South African society, and the more likely it is that the political violence which has become an increasingly common feature of life in South Africa will escalate to the detriment of all the peoples there.

163. One area of tension in which there has been some positive movement is that of Cyprus. Australia welcomes the resumption on 9 August of the intercommunal talks on Cyprus sponsored by the United Nations and sincerely hopes that the new round of negotiations will lead steadily towards a comprehensive solution.

164. In this context, I recall that at the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government, held at Lusaka in August 1979, it was decided to ask the Commonwealth Secretary-General to convene the Commonwealth Committee on Cyprus at the ministerial level whenever appropriate. While we believe that the intercommunal talks offer the best avenue for an enduring settlement in Cyprus, depending on the progress made at those talks, there may well be a need for the Commonwealth aspect to be further explored.

165. Moving across the Mediterranean we find, regretfully, that the situation in the Middle East continues to deteriorate. Indeed, since I last spoke to the Assembly conditions there have clearly come to pose a grave threat to international peace.

166. The Australian Government will support any well-founded steps which bring hope of a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. Any solution must clearly incorporate the principles embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), together with recognition of the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people.

167. The Australian Government welcomes the contribution that the process begun at Camp David has made towards such a peace. Implementation of the bilateral aspects of that process has been one of the few positive developments in that troubled region, but, unfortunately, in other areas progress has been minimal. Neither the fundamental principles of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) nor recognition of the need to ensure a just future for the Palestinian people have been advanced.

168. The Australian Government has been concerned about the inflammatory statements and actions of parties on both sides of the dispute which unhappily have exacerbated the already tense situation in the region. The unilateral declaration by the Israeli parliament that Jerusalem was the undivided capital of Israel has hindered the prospects for a lasting settlement. On the other hand, publicly stated rejections of Israel's right to exist undermine efforts to promote the development of an atmosphere in which genuine negotiations could take place.

169. Given the growing and understandable sense of frustration over this lack of progress, it is most necessary that ways of moving forward again to meaningful negotiations be actively explored. The Australian Government has noted the declaration on the Middle East by the European Community heads of Government following their meeting at Venice in June of this year, and it hopes that the consultations flowing from this declaration will contribute, along with the Camp David process, to the search for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

170. I could not conclude my comments on the Middle East without expressing my Government's apprehension about the threat to global peace posed by some aspects of the present situation in Iran. Iran has an important role to play in promoting stability in the Middle East region. But it is clear that this role cannot be realized while the Iranian authorities continue to flout international convention and international law by holding diplomatic hostages. The Australian Government renews the call it has made many times in the long months since the United States diplomats were seized for the quick and safe release of all the hostages being held by the Iranian Government.

171. I began my statement by referring to the deteriorating international situation. The events of the last few days remind us most forcibly of the dangers we face. The fighting which has erupted between Iraq and Iran is a further cause for very grave concern. That fighting continues to escalate. It has created a situation fraught with danger. It could have serious and unpredictable consequences for a highly sensitive region of the world. The problems between Iran and Iraq are, of course, complex and of long standing. Settlement will not be helped if outside parties seek to meddle in the dispute for their own advantage. Already there is serious concern that the conflict could tempt others into dangerous diplomatic and even military ventures.

172. Australia joins others in urging Iran and Iraq to terminate their conflict. We welcome the initiative of the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council in appealing for restraint and urging that Iraq and Iran negotiate a solution to their differences. Unless there is a prompt response to these appeals, we believe the Security Council should meet as a matter of urgency to consider the crisis.

173. Among the distressing consequences of these and other conflicts is the appalling increase in the number of refugees around the world. In the past year, we have witnessed the continuing tragedy of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children being forced to flee their homes in fear of their lives and liberty and to seek sanctuary else-

where. While substantial efforts have been made to find solutions to the problems of refugees, their numbers in almost every area of the world have continued to grow. Africa is faced with mass movements of people fleeing persecution, war and famine. Nearly 1 million people have fled from Afghanistan into Pakistan. There has been a massive influx of Kampucheans into Thailand and a continuing, steady stream of so-called boat people.

174. The problem is rendered the more tragic by the fact that today the largest numbers of refugees are concentrated in the developing regions of the world, those with least resources available to cope with such a burden. Africa has suffered particularly badly in this respect, with over 2 million refugees and displaced persons in the Horn of Africa alone. In South-East Asia, the burden of the Indo-Chinese refugee crisis has fallen particularly heavily on the countries of ASEAN, imposing great financial, social and political costs.

175. Solutions to the refugee problem can be found only with the co-operation and involvement of the world community, and it is encouraging to see the increasing attention which refugee questions are receiving in international forums. In the coming months the world will have to focus greater attention on Africa, which now has more refugees than any other part of the world. It is in recognition of this crisis that Australia has fully supported recent initiatives for the calling of a pledging conference on African refugees.

176. Australia supports the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in his efforts to alleviate the distress and to promote the resettlement of dispossessed peoples around the world. We are proud of our own role as a country of resettlement for refugees. Since the Second World War, some 400,000 refugees and displaced persons have found new homes in Australia. In addition to resettling refugees, we have been active in providing financial aid. We have contributed more than \$30 million in relief assistance for refugees and displaced persons in the past two years alone.

177. However, we all know that the provision of humanitarian assistance is not of itself sufficient to deal with refugee problems. Long-term solutions will be found only if the underlying political causes of refugee situations are addressed. It is the duty of the world community to persuade those Governments concerned to accept their responsibilities towards their citizens and to change the policies which have led to massive refugee outflows.

178. I turn to economic issues, for the eleventh special session on development is still fresh in all our minds. At that time, I addressed in detail the major economic questions confronting the international community,¹⁸ and I do not intend to retrace the ground that was covered there. A word is in order, however, with regard to the final outcome of the special session. Its failure to achieve agreement on the conditions for launching the global round was certainly disappointing. The urgency and the severity of the problems of the current international economic situation require a fresh approach to the task of international economic negotiation.

This is why, when adequate preparations have been completed, we must have a global round.

179. The failure of the special session to reach agreement on procedures for global negotiations can be of satisfaction to no one. At this session of the General Assembly we must all reassess how best we might seek to go about the global round. Substantive differences remain and must be addressed. The way in which we approach these differences should, however, reflect flexibility on all sides. If this spirit is shared by all, success will be assured.

180. Failure to launch the global round should not obscure the fact that the special session was productive of some valuable results. We now have an International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. It is a matter for satisfaction that the world community was able to agree upon a framework within which we might all approach the development needs of our time. We believe that the text agreed on in the special session should now be adopted and its implementation not be delayed.

181. A special tribute should be paid to the important contribution of the Brandt Commission to international thinking about development issues. The Commission was the result of a unique initiative and its members are to be commended for their efforts to identify areas in which the North-South dialogue might be constructively pursued and for the stress laid on interdependence and the commonality of interest of North and South. Australia sees the report of the Commission¹⁹ as both significant and timely and is interested in doing what it can to give effect to the general approach taken in the report.

182. I turn now to nuclear and arms control and disarmament issues. The difficulties which confront the world in assuring itself of adequate energy sources highlight the importance of nuclear energy. We have seen an encouraging level of international debate on peaceful nuclear questions over the past year, such as the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation, which should encourage the development over time of closer international comity on the arrangements and conditions governing nuclear trade and co-operation and sensitive stages of the nuclear fuel cycle. This trend was also observed at the recent Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons where, despite the lack of agreement on a consensus final document, there was substantial agreement on most issues relating to the application of international safeguards and the arrangements covering the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

183. The further development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes on a stable and secure basis depends, of course, on continuing efforts and constraints against the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries. The relationship between the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and arms control and disarmament is integral to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], a Treaty which represents a political barrier to

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 6th meeting.

¹⁹ *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

nuclear-weapon proliferation, both horizontally to new States and vertically to existing nuclear arsenals. It was significant that at the Second Review Conference, while the Treaty was subjected to rigorous examination, there was no questioning of its principal objectives. The absence of a final consensus statement reflected concern over the pace and direction of nuclear disarmament efforts rather than any fundamental conflict of interest. But a note of warning has been sounded that there must be balanced implementation of all the Treaty's major provisions if its effectiveness is to be maintained in the longer term.

184. It is incumbent on the international community to make continuing efforts to encourage adherence to the Treaty and to offer incentives for doing so as well as disabilities for non-membership.

185. That is not to deny the necessity of further measures of nuclear arms control by the nuclear-weapons States. Australia has given strong support to the SALT process, which resulted in the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, and trusts that it will be continued. We have also been an active proponent of the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban agreement as a further restraint on the existing nuclear arsenals and a further major obstacle to the spread of nuclear weapons. The finalization of such a treaty is urgent, for the involvement of the international community through the Committee on Disarmament—to complement the efforts of the negotiating Powers—is essential if the treaty is to attract widespread support. Without that support its impact would be seriously limited.

186. Events earlier this year have had an undesirably adverse effect on the degree of mutual trust and confidence necessary in bilateral and multilateral arms control negotiations. It is my country's hope that an atmosphere more conducive to negotiations can be restored.

187. It is encouraging that the Committee on Disarmament has this year got down to serious business and has succeeded in separating polemical debate from the practical consideration of substantive issues. The Committee has been able in working groups to concentrate on the negotiating tasks for which it has a mandate.

188. I now turn to decolonization and the South Pacific. As others before me have noted, 1980 is the twentieth anniversary of two landmark resolutions on decolonization adopted by this Assembly, resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). With one lamentable exception, all African States which were once colonies have achieved their independence, and we have seen considerable progress in the Caribbean and in the Pacific.

189. The most recent country to achieve its independence is the former condominium of the New Hebrides, the new State of Vanuatu. Australia has made known in committees of this Assembly its views on the achievement of independence by the State of Vanuatu. It is sufficient for me to say here that Australia welcomes the advent of the new State and looks forward to its becoming the newest Member of this Organization, should it decide to join the ranks. The events which followed Vanuatu's achievement of independence, specifically on Tanna and Santo islands, have drawn

attention to the fact that the exercise of the right of self-determination in the South Pacific had previously been remarkably smooth and peaceful. It is Australia's hope that this predominant feature will continue to characterize the region as further transitions occur.

190. There is one subject on the international agenda which has progressed most positively. I refer to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The resumed ninth session, which recently concluded at Geneva, has achieved significant results, reflected in the fact that the Conference now has the text of a draft convention before it. Australia was particularly pleased with the progress made. It is our hope that the package which has been negotiated will hold together and that a convention can be opened for signature in 1981. We shall be making every effort to help to achieve that goal.

191. The Charter reaffirms our faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in equal rights of all men and women. Unhappily, it is all too easy to enumerate situations arising since the original signature of the Charter in 1945 and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 in which the sanctity of human life and the protection of human rights have been disregarded. The features of the current international scene that I have referred to earlier make it clear that there are formidable obstacles to progress. Human beings in many parts of the world continue to suffer the denial of their fundamental rights through political oppression, racism and foreign domination, as well as through poverty or lack of effective access to the organs of State which determine their lives.

192. From an historical perspective, however, much has been done to bring hope to the dispossessed and deprived peoples of the world. Expectations have changed. Our definitions of deprivation have become more pragmatic, and today when we take account of the rights of individuals we include the rights of women, the disabled and the elderly. And we are beginning to talk of the right to development as a human right.

193. So long as we live in a world of sovereign States, there will always be some tension between the legitimate interests of the States and the rights of individuals. But while accepting that, we should always scrutinize very carefully any attempted justification of the dilution of rights in terms of reasons of State. It should be made absolutely clear that the onus of proof lies with the Government in question. The flagrant violations of human rights, for whatever reason, are a proper concern of the international community, and cessation of the conditions of such violations can rightfully be demanded of responsible Governments. Australia is firmly committed to international action to ensure the protection of human rights, and we shall continue to attach the highest priority to the full realization of that fundamental goal as pursued both specifically in United Nations human rights programmes and more broadly in the activities of the Organization as a whole.

194. I began my statement with some observations about the seriousness of the multiple crisis which the world is now facing and by recalling some of the ideas which are basic to

the Charter. There are some who will assume that, if we are moving into an era of great turbulence and danger, the Organization must automatically become more important than ever. There are others who will assume the exact opposite, that as tensions increase and conflicts sharpen the United Nations will inevitably be shouldered aside and become of diminished relevance.

195. Both, in my view, are mistaken. Nothing is automatic, nothing is inevitable. The role which the United Nations will play in this critical period is not predetermined. It will depend on the will and capacity which we, its Members, bring to bear to make it effective and to make it relevant.

196. We should recognize the limitations of what the United Nations can do. But, having recognized them, we

should ensure that the United Nations is used to these very limits. The United Nations cannot abolish power politics, it cannot end the conflicts and rivalries among some sovereign States. But it can bring pressure to bear to maintain dialogue and communications between conflicting parties, and it can contribute thereby to the process of peaceful settlement of international disputes. The United Nations is also best placed to articulate and organize the humanitarian impulses within the international community and to express the aspirations of mankind to peace and international co-operation. It can likewise bring moral censure to bear on those who ignore and isolate these impulses and aspirations. We have a duty to see that it does all these things, does them with conviction and does them with telling effect.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.