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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. THORN (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): Since Luxembourg is President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community and the Political Co-operation Council for the second half of this year, I have the honour of addressing this Assembly on behalf of the nine countries of the European Community.

2. As we embark upon the work of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, I am particularly happy to convey to you, Mr. President, the very sincere congratulations of the nine member countries of the European Community on your election to the presidency at this session.

3. I take a particular personal pleasure in seeing a personality of your stature enjoying the unanimous confidence of the international community. Having had the opportunity to work with you on numerous occasions and having on each occasion appreciated both your professional and personal qualities, I am convinced that your commitment to serving the ideals which we all share is a good augury for the work of this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I should like to extend to you, together with our wishes for your success, the assurances of our loyal and sustained co-operation.

4. I should also like to convey my warmest congratulations and express my utmost admiration to the outgoing President, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, for the extraordinary expertise and mastery with which he conducted the proceedings not only of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, but also of the three special sessions that have been held this year.

5. Lastly, it would be remiss of me not to mention the merits and the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, whom we wish to encourage most warmly to persevere in his noble task, which is that of reconciling, for the greatest

benefit of us all, the often divergent interests within this Organization.

6. The admission of new Members to our Organization is always an occasion of rejoicing for us, because it brings us ever a little closer to our common goal, that of universality. Just a few weeks ago, during the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, Zimbabwe joined us here. Today we see with deep satisfaction Saint Vincent and the Grenadines taking its place among us. We are convinced that this new Member will make a notable contribution to the realization of our common ideals. On behalf of the nine member countries of the European Community, I should like to extend the hand of brotherhood to Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and to assure them of our full and whole-hearted co-operation.

7. The general debate in this Assembly is an opportunity for all delegations to define their positions in the present situation of the world as compared with the past, and also as it relates to what awaits us in the future. Sometimes, we may have a tendency to prefer clear-cut change to vague, slow-moving evolution.

8. The year that has gone by since the autumn of 1979 has certainly not been lacking in important events. Yet international relations in the world were probably not marked in a decisive way by isolated events. The basic characteristic seems to us to be the need to provide appropriate responses to new problems that arise, both in the political field and in the economic and social field. That process, although not without its difficulties, is nevertheless an inevitable one.

9. There is an increasingly widespread perception of the interdependence of States in the world, and of their vital need to increase and improve their co-operation.

10. In the face of this interdependence, which must be taken into account in the everyday reality of international relations, we can adopt one of two paths. The first, a brutal one unworthy of civilized man, consists in freeing ourselves from our own independence by making others even more dependent upon ourselves, that is, upon our goodwill. The history of the world since the Second World War has taught us that this path is a dead end and that it should no longer be seen as applicable to the future.

11. The other path is that of the search for negotiated solutions, with the aim of reconciling, in respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter, the essential and legitimate interests of all parties. Freely accepted by them, this is the path that we are attempting to follow within this Organization.

12. It is also the path which the nine countries have chosen to take within the European Community. By its very existence the Community has demonstrated that it is possible to create an ever closer union among peoples and countries that were in the past rent apart by particularly bloody wars.
13. The fact that the nine countries are soon to become ten at the beginning of next year, upon the admission of Greece, and are also waiting to welcome Spain and Portugal, illustrates our outward-looking policy, which is also reflected in our co-operation with other States and groups of States. As an example, I would recall in this connection the signing of the ACP-EEC Convention on 31 October 1979, at Lomé, between the Community and 59 States of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, and the signing of a co-operation agreement with the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] in the course of the past year.¹
14. With regard to world economic problems, the Community intends to make a contribution in keeping with its potential and its ideals. It will strive to face its own problems in the interest of the international community as a whole.
15. In the face of the slowdown in the growth rate, which is likely to be very marked in industrialized regions this year, the Community is determined to contribute to the strengthening of an open and multilateral international commercial system. We particularly hope that all the problems that may arise in its relations with its partners will find solutions that are in keeping with the content and spirit of the results of the recent multilateral commercial negotiations.
16. The European Community has embarked on a resolute course of action to reduce the dependence of its own economy with regard to oil consumption. Its action is based primarily on the search for economic growth that would be accompanied by a considerably less rapid growth in energy consumption brought about by economizing on energy. Considerable progress in this direction is already becoming apparent.
17. Putting into effect its commitment strictly to limit its reliance on world oil resources, the European Community has set a limit for its oil consumption at the end of this decade. In order to attain this goal, many activities are being undertaken to replace oil by other resources. Thus, in the field of the production of electricity, no new oil-based power stations will be constructed. Nuclear energy and coal are progressively taking the place previously occupied by oil. Within this framework, the Community attaches great importance to the development of the best safety conditions for all our populations. This abandonment of oil in the production of electricity is being accompanied by the gradual replacement of oil in industry and in domestic use.
18. Furthermore, the conversion of coal into synthetic oil and gas is being actively encouraged. Investments for the development of renewable sources such as solar and geothermal energy, as well as longer-term research on thermonuclear fusion, complete the range of the Community's internal efforts.
19. All the problems I have just mentioned transcend the mere regional scope of the Community itself. They are closely connected with the other major problem facing the world, that of the development and restructuring of international economic relations.
20. I had an opportunity to make a clear statement of the views of the Community with regard to North-South problems at the beginning of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly,² devoted to development, which has just concluded its work. I shall not dwell on this, therefore. However, I feel it necessary to recall briefly the position of the Community and its nine member States with regard to the outcome of the work of the General Assembly.
21. Although, technically speaking, the General Assembly has not succeeded in bringing about a complete agreement, there can be no denying that, politically speaking, it has reconfirmed the fact that, in the extremely difficult circumstances which at present affect the international community, the North-South dialogue is more necessary now than ever in order to ensure stability in international relations and to meet the needs of development.
22. The Community is gratified at the fact that it has been possible to work out a text acceptable to all with regard to the new international development strategy, and it considers this as a definite success. It now remains for this session of the General Assembly formally to approve this text. Thus, the orientations and approaches it contains will inevitably underlie the actions of member States and institutions of the Community within the framework of their development policy.
23. With regard to the global negotiations, I should like to make it absolutely clear here, first, that our Community is committed to global negotiations; that it is ready, as soon as possible, to pursue discussions in a positive spirit; and that it hopes that a consensus will be reached on the procedures and agenda in the course of this session of the General Assembly.
24. Having mentioned the economic crisis situation in the world, I should like to tackle a subject that is particularly dear to the Community, that of the defence of human rights. In the countries of the European Community, citizens enjoy a political system that guarantees fundamental freedoms. It is natural, therefore, that our citizens should have an interest in the lot of those who are still denied these liberties. Human rights, in our view, embrace at once and indissolubly the right to the integrity of the human person and the right to enjoy civil and political liberties, as well as economic, social and cultural rights. We are convinced that human rights are an important element in international relations. Peace and stability in the world are, indeed, better safeguarded once they are based on respect for the rights of individuals and once the necessary changes and adaptations are brought about through the expression of the will of those most directly concerned. The right to self-determination certainly is an essential factor in international life, and the countries members of the Community would wish to reaffirm their

¹ Signed at Kuala Lumpur on 7 March 1980.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 3rd meeting, paras. 50-88.

commitment to this principle. The members regret therefore the numerous violations of human rights, whether they be wrongful imprisonment, torture, actions resulting in the disappearance of persons or persecution of the very defenders of human rights.

25. I should like to lay particular stress on one of the fundamental rights of the human person, namely, the right of persons to live normally in their own country. Unfortunately, this right has often been trampled on and the need to seek refuge outside one's country has always existed, despite the efforts of the United Nations. The creation of the post of High Commissioner for Refugees illustrates this grim reality. But, in the course of the recent history of international relations, we have witnessed, unfortunately, the phenomenon of mass exodus, which affects whole groups of the population which are constrained to emigrate. We cannot justify such exoduses on the pretext that the departure of thousands of citizens is a voluntary act when we know that it is the intolerable conditions of life imposed on a minority or out-and-out repression that underlie that departure.

26. In the view of the Community, these events constitute a violation of the most fundamental human rights. Furthermore, such a policy violates the rights of neighbouring countries by imposing on them an often overwhelming burden which imperils their own balance and thus prejudices their sovereignty. The members of the Community continue actively to oppose these practices because they believe that this means of pursuing a policy should be stopped and eliminated.

27. Not content now with condemning this state of affairs, the members of the Community have exerted considerable efforts to come to the assistance of these uprooted populations. This assistance has been given both on an individual basis and out of the budgetary resources of the European Community. The Community hopes that as many Governments as possible will make their own contribution to this effort, which can, of course, at best only be a palliative. It is incumbent above all on the Governments responsible for these human tragedies to put an end to them.

28. The members of the Community remain committed to détente, which they consider as global and indivisible. The events in Afghanistan, as well as the repeated violations of human rights by certain countries, have inevitably had a negative effect on the situation of détente and, therefore, on the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe,¹ which the Community continues to consider extremely important.

29. The Madrid meeting,⁴ a new stage in this process after that at Belgrade in 1977-1978,⁵ is going to begin its work within six weeks in an international climate which, unfortunately, will be far from propitious. This fact will not discourage the members of the Community from doing everything in their power to contribute to its success, which will, in their view, depend on the following two conditions: all signatory

States must be ready to participate in a frank and profound discussion of the respect accorded the principles of the Final Act⁶ and the implementation of its provisions; these same States must also demonstrate genuine political will to take part in the examination of proposals designed to improve concretely and substantially the application of the provisions of all the elements of the Final Act.

30. In the view of the Community, the tasks of nuclear disarmament as well as those of conventional disarmament must continue to figure among the highest priorities of our Organization. In this regard, the consensus which has emerged with regard to the results of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, in 1978, has constituted a positive factor. The Final Document adopted on that occasion [*resolution S-10/2*] must continue to guide us in our work.

31. The deliberations of the Disarmament Commission are of undeniable interest from this standpoint. The recommendations adopted by this Commission will certainly provide a useful contribution to our work.

32. The members of the Community are gratified, furthermore, at the agreement that was worked out at Geneva during the spring session of the Committee on Disarmament on the creation of four working groups. We think that the work of those groups should enable the Committee to make progress in negotiations, in particular in regard to the important and difficult question of banning the manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons.

33. Furthermore, the Community wishes to welcome the conclusion of the work of the group of governmental experts whose task it was to assist the Secretary-General in the study of all aspects of regional disarmament, the results of which will be submitted to the General Assembly at this session.

34. The spring of 1981 will mark the beginning of the process of preparations for the second special session that our Assembly has decided to devote to disarmament. Here, on behalf of our Community, I should like to stress that we will spare no effort in seeing to it that this session makes a positive contribution to peace and security, which is something that all members expect of it.

35. The African continent during the past year has been the scene of some remarkable events. The international community fortunately has been able to note that certain African countries have made real progress towards democracy. Furthermore, recent history demonstrates that Africa is confronting with growing confidence the complexity of the problems that that continent has to face. The members of the Community note this evolution with satisfaction, because they are convinced that the best way of ensuring peace in Africa lies in the action of the African countries themselves, and in particular in their co-operation in the Organization of African Unity. Therefore, the members of the Community are convinced that only a debate free of outside interference can bring about lasting stability in Africa.

36. In the same spirit, the European Community welcomes the willingness manifested by the African countries to

¹ Held at Helsinki in 1975.

⁴ Second Review Session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

⁵ First Review Session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

⁶ Signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

set up systems of continental or regional co-operation and integration. The most recent initiative in this context was that recently decided upon by nine African countries at Lusaka.⁷

37. The settlement of the Zimbabwe crisis constitutes a particularly positive element. Thanks to the joint and tenacious action on the part of all those concerned, it was possible to bring about a peaceful solution. The members of the Community once again convey their congratulations to that country on its admission into our Organization, an admission that was awaited with impatience for some years. They are convinced that the process embarked upon in Zimbabwe shows that it is not Utopian to conceive of a multiracial State in southern Africa based on the equality of all its citizens. We express the hope that this solution will serve as an example, in particular with regard to the establishment of the independence of Namibia and the abolition of *apartheid* in South Africa.

38. Despite these encouraging developments, it is appropriate to note that, unfortunately, the search for a greater measure of political stability has given rise to clashes and, indeed, acts of actual warfare often involving the exodus of large masses of the population. In sub-Saharan Africa, vast regions have, furthermore, once again fallen victim to drought. These combined phenomena exacerbate even further the tragedy of the refugees in Africa.

39. With regard to Namibia, the members of the Community continue to be concerned at the slow rate of the search for a peaceful solution that should lead to the independence of that country, in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976). Taking note of the recent South African response⁸ to the letter from the Secretary-General,⁹ they regret very much indeed the delay in the application of the United Nations plan, adopted under Security Council resolution 435 (1978), a delay for which South Africa cannot deny that it has a certain responsibility. In the view of the Community, it is essential to sustain the efforts of the Secretary-General and of the contact group of the five Western Powers and the front-line States so that the plan worked out within our Organization may be applied. The members of the Community stress the unacceptable nature of an internal settlement that would not guarantee lasting peace in the region. Furthermore, they wish to remind the Assembly that they do not recognize the body known as the "Council of Ministers" set up at the beginning of July, which has no legal basis and is incompatible with the United Nations settlement plan.

40. The policy of *apartheid* pursued in South Africa is a matter of profound concern to our Community. The members of the Community vigorously condemn that system based upon institutionalized racism and regret that it should be maintained in an authoritarian way in spite of clear-cut disapproval and opposition. They regret that the internal debate, which they followed with interest, has not

made it possible so far to bring about real progress towards creating a more just society. The members stress that the persistence of that situation will entail a growth of tension, thus jeopardizing the chances of an equitable and lasting solution.

41. In their statement of 28 July 1980, the members of the Community publicly expressed their satisfaction at the encouraging nature of the initial results of the implementation by European companies of the code of conduct adopted by the States of the European Community in September 1977. They have no doubt that progress can still be made in defining and applying that instrument within the framework of the struggle against racial discrimination. The members recall their commitment as a European Community to the promotion of positive and peaceful development in South Africa that would put an end to the policy of *apartheid* in that country.

42. The democratization process requires courage and determination on the part of the countries of Latin America also. The members of the Community attach value to that process and also to the elimination of violence from political life. In that regard, it is to be regretted that there has been an absence of significant progress in many cases and also that obstacles have been placed on the road to democracy when the establishment of democracy seemed assured.

43. In the face of those events, the Community welcomes the path chosen by Peru and also the encouraging attempts at regrouping on a regional basis. The assistance of Europe, itself committed to a similar process, will not be lacking, in particular for the democratic States members of the Andean Pact.¹⁰ Europe is aware of its traditional ties with Latin America and we are therefore keenly interested in seeking ways and means of strengthening our economic and political relations with it.

44. In Asia the situation continues to deteriorate seriously. While only last year that region was the scene of just one major hotbed of tension, that is to say the Indo-Chinese peninsula, we now have to add a second, Afghanistan. Underlying the two conflicts, we find the flagrant violation of the principles contained in our Charter, which is the basis of our Organization, that is the right of peoples to self-determination and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of another State. Those rules of international life have been and continue to be violated unacceptably by States which take advantage of their military superiority in order to establish their spheres of influence, even at the risk of jeopardizing peace and stability. Such a policy stems from concepts which the community of nations had believed obsolete. Unfortunately, the lessons of history do not seem to have always been understood by everyone.

45. At the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly following an initiative by the ASEAN countries, a resolution was adopted by a very large majority condemning the invasion of Kampuchea and calling for the withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces from that country [resolution 34/22]. That resolution was not complied with in any way, and if the food situation of the Khmer people inside the

⁷ Declaration toward economic liberation, adopted at Lusaka on 1 April 1980 by the Heads of State and Government of the nine independent southern African States.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14185.

⁹ *Ibid.*, document S/14184.

¹⁰ Andean Agreement for Subregional Integration, signed at Bogotá, on 26 May 1969.

country or on the frontier with Thailand has slightly improved over the last few months, the political situation, as we know, has not changed.

46. The members of the Community recall their determination to see a continuation of international assistance by sea, air and land. They encourage the Secretary-General to persevere in his contacts with international aid organizations in order to ensure that food is provided to the peoples that have so shamefully been uprooted and left to starve. The Community is convinced that only a political solution can bring about stability in the region and they appeal to all parties to the conflict to make possible a solution along the lines of General Assembly resolution 34/22. In that regard, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops occupying Cambodian territory is an indispensable condition. In the view of the Community such a solution should be based upon the existence of an independent and neutral Cambodia, with a genuinely representative Government that would have friendly relations with all countries in the region.

47. In Afghanistan, nine months after the Soviet invasion, resistance continues. Fierce fighting is going on between under-equipped patriots and a foreign army equipped with highly sophisticated material. In spite of the disproportion of forces, it does not seem likely that there will be an early end to the conflict. Last January, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling for the cessation of the invasion of Afghanistan [*resolution ES-6/2*]. In order to permit the re-establishment of a situation in accordance with that resolution, which has not yet been complied with, the Community, it will be remembered, put forward the concept of a neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan outside the competition among the great Powers. To that end, the great Powers and the neighbouring States should undertake to respect the sovereignty and integrity of Afghanistan, to abstain from interference in its internal affairs and to refrain from establishing any form of presence or military association with it.

48. Further efforts to promote a solution to the conflict have been undertaken by the Islamic Conference, particularly following the creation by it of a special commission to explore the possibilities of bringing about a political settlement with all the parties concerned. The members of the Community express once again the hope that it will be possible to avoid the indefinite continuation of this particularly cruel war through a solution in keeping with the resolution by our Assembly providing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the free exercise by the Afghan people of their right to determine their own future.

49. The members of the Community have frequently repeated that they fully respect the independence of Iran and the right of the Iranian people to determine their own future. I repeat that before this Assembly: the members of the Community are definitely motivated by the sincere desire to achieve good relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran, which has embarked upon a new phase in its history. I regret, however, to have to add that, unfortunately, the major obstacle to such relations is still constituted by the problem of the hostages.

50. On behalf of the Community, it is my duty to say before this Assembly, one of the major goals of which is to promote peace and to create the necessary conditions for the maintenance of justice and respect for the obligations engendered by treaties and other sources of international law, how much the Community is concerned by the continued detention of the American hostages in Iran. The Iranian authorities persist, unfortunately, in ignoring the unambiguous appeal issued by the Security Council in its resolution 461 (1979) and the judgement of 24 May 1980 handed down by the International Court of Justice.¹¹ In the face of the continued detention of the hostages, the countries members of the Community, like other countries, have felt prompted to reflect in concrete measures their profound disapproval of this flagrant violation of international law.

51. At a time when the Islamic Republic of Iran has established democratic institutions and the new Government has taken office, the European Community and, I believe, the whole international community hope that this question will be resolved, that the hostages will be freed and that Iran will respect all obligations of international law, particularly those ensuring the protection of foreigners residing in that country.

52. Is there any need for me to state that the immunity of diplomatic personnel is the very basis of secure and normal relations among the peoples of the world community? Furthermore, the general respect for human rights in that country too remains a subject of concern in Europe. Unfortunately, the recent acts of war between Iran and Iraq can only serve to aggravate tension dangerously and make the normalization of the situation even more difficult.

53. Since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the situation in the Middle East has deteriorated dangerously. In the last few months, problems relating to that situation have been dealt with by the Security Council eight times and have been the subject of an emergency special session of the General Assembly. The steady increase in tension and the hardening of positions on all sides make it all the more necessary and urgent to find a global solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict. The time has come therefore to abandon the language of violence and replace it by that of dialogue, a dialogue among all the parties concerned on the conditions and modalities for the restoration of peace.

54. A year ago, the Irish Foreign Minister, speaking on behalf of the Community,¹² noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in the improvement of relations between Egypt and Israel following the signing of the Camp David agreements.¹³ So far those agreements—and we recognize their great merit with regard to Egyptian-Israeli relations, particularly in that they have made it possible for the bulk of Sinai to be evacuated in compliance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967)—have nevertheless not yielded the desired results, particularly with regard to the promotion of

¹¹ *United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1980*, p. 3.

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 8th meeting, paras. 1-72.

¹³ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

a just, lasting and global peace settlement involving all the parties concerned, which is, after all, our ultimate objective.

55. For years now, the members of the Community have persistently recalled at this rostrum and elsewhere that such a settlement must be based essentially on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), applied in all their parts and to all the parties concerned, as well as on the basis of the principles which they have stipulated on various occasions. Disturbed at the development of the situation in the region and aware of the particular role imposed upon them by the traditional ties and common interests which link Europe with that part of the world, the Heads of State and Government of the Community published at Venice, on 13 June last, a declaration bringing their position up to date and stating their intention fully to fulfil the particular role incumbent upon them and to work more specifically for peace [see A/35/299-S/14009]. As is stated in our Venice declaration, the time has come to promote the recognition and implementation of the two principles acknowledged by the entire international community, namely, the right to existence and security of all States in the region, including Israel, and justice for all peoples, which entails recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

56. From that twofold requirement flow logically all the consequences, including the right of all countries in the region to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed frontiers. The guarantees of a peace settlement must be provided by our Organization on the decision of the Security Council and, if necessary, on the basis of other mutually agreed upon procedures. The members of the Community declare their readiness to participate within the context of a global settlement in a system of concrete and binding international guarantees, in the area itself.

57. Furthermore, the Palestinian problem, which is not a mere refugee problem, must finally find a just solution. The Palestinian people, which is conscious of its existence as such, must be enabled, by an appropriate process defined within the global framework of the peace settlement, to exercise fully its right to self-determination.

58. The solution of the Middle East problem consists in reconciling and bringing about the coexistence of two essential realities: the State of Israel and the Palestinian people. Consequently, recognition of Israel's right to exist and implementation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination will be the very basis of negotiations which should lead to a global peace settlement.

59. Israel must therefore put an end to the territorial occupation that it has maintained since 1967. In this regard, the Israeli settlements represent a serious obstacle to the peace process. The members of the Community consider that those settlements and the demographic modifications and, I would even say, changes in property ownership in the occupied Arab territories are illegal under international law. Similarly, in view of the particular importance of the question of Jerusalem for all the parties to the conflict, the Community will accept no unilateral initiative aimed at changing the status of that city and stresses that any agreement on the subject must guarantee freedom of access to all Holy Places.

60. Finally, anxious to put an end to violence, the Community considers that only the renunciation of the use or threat of use of force by all the parties can create a climate of confidence in the region and constitute a fundamental element in a global settlement of the Middle East conflict. Such a settlement presupposes, of course, the adherence and assistance of all the parties concerned. The principles to which I have just referred are incumbent upon all the parties concerned, without exception, including the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which should be associated in the negotiations.

61. That is the position of the countries of the European Community, and it is on that basis that they will strive to contribute actively to the search for a peace settlement in the Middle East.

62. According to the Venice declaration, the nine Governments of the European Community have decided to make the necessary contacts with all the parties concerned. Those contacts should be aimed at securing information on the position of the various parties vis-à-vis the principles laid down in the declaration of 13 June and, in the light of the results of those consultations, determining the form which a European initiative should take.

63. The contact mission on which I have just embarked in accordance with that declaration has taken me to the following countries: Tunisia, where I met the authorities of that country and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, Israel, Lebanon, where I was in touch with the Lebanese Government, Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Council of the PLO, and representatives of the different communities—Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Furthermore, I have also had talks with the Palestinian side, with the Cardinal Secretary of State of the Vatican and with the United States Secretary of State. At the end of this month—in a few days' time, that is—I hope to meet some local Palestinian representatives in the occupied territories.

64. I should like to thank all those who have received me—the governmental authorities and the representatives of the various organizations and communities—for their courteous and even warm welcome, the interest which, without exception, they have shown in the European mission and their appreciation of the role that Europe is playing in that part of the world.

65. There is no need for me to say that the principles enumerated in the Venice declaration, which underlie the contact mission, are only partially and unequally accepted throughout the world. But the members of the Community are confident that the sincerity of their intentions and their determination to contribute to a solution of the conflict will be recognized and appreciated by all those concerned.

66. The conclusions of the European contact mission can only be drawn when it comes to an end. However, it is possible now to make a certain number of comments.

67. First, I have noted the concern, even the distress, of those with whom I have spoken at developments over recent months. This has led most of the leaders whom I have met to

insist on urgent and decisive action in favour of peace. In Israel, the need for security is clearly more than a strictly military concept and is in keeping with an aspiration which is profoundly resented by the Arabs in the immediate vicinity and continues to be denied. However, that need for security is not exclusively an Israeli concern; it is something which is very much felt throughout the region, in particular by the Arab countries which are neighbours of Israel and among the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

68. Secondly, I have noted that all the Arab countries and the Palestinians unanimously consider Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people to be two fundamental principles. This requirement, I feel, is part of a deeply felt demand for justice. That is why the creation of settlements and the recent law passed by the Israeli parliament declaring Jerusalem the capital of Israel are particularly resented by the Arabs. Each of the parties directly concerned categorically rejects an imposed solution prepared without its participation. That, of course, applies particularly to Israel and the Palestinians.

69. I should like to inform this Assembly of a personal reaction. The sight of so much human suffering and so much effort wasted on war, and thus lost to the cause of peace, should encourage us to work even harder for a solution of the conflict.

70. The indications which I was able to garner in the course of my mission confirm the line which the members of the Community hitherto have been following. It has seemed more than ever true that only a global settlement can bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This means that all parties concerned must be associated in the negotiation but also, as everyone must concede, that the problem of Israel and that of the Palestinian people are indissolubly linked.

71. There is no point in trying to solve those two problems independently of each other. That is why the members of the Community believe it to be necessary for Israel clearly to manifest its intention to put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967. The conditions in which this evacuation would be brought about and the guarantees with which it would be accompanied should be the subject of negotiation. In the meantime, Israel should refrain from creating any *faits accomplis* by installing further settlements which could only serve to erect new obstacles to the search for an agreement.

72. At the same time, the Arab countries and the Palestinians must explicitly recognize Israel's right to exist. Within the framework of a peace settlement, the Palestine people should be placed in a position to take an unhindered decision, through the exercise of its right to self-determination, as to its future national identity.

73. I shall conclude by stressing the keen concern of the European countries in the face of the situation prevailing in Lebanon, particularly in southern Lebanon. As the members of the Community stressed in their declaration on Lebanon, issued at Venice on 13 June 1980,¹⁴ they wish to

reaffirm their total and unswerving solidarity with this friendly country, the balance of which remains dangerously threatened by confrontations in the region, and wish to repeat their urgent appeal to all countries and parties concerned to put an end to any act which may jeopardize the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the authority of its Government. The Community will support any action and any initiative likely to return peace, security and stability to Lebanon, which is an essential factor for balance in the region.

74. It has emerged from the contacts which I have had with the Lebanese authorities and with the other parties that the problem of Lebanon is directly connected with the problem of the Middle East, taken over all, and particularly the Palestinian problem. The international community cannot, however, refrain from reacting right now, regardless of the over-all Israeli conflict, to the prejudice which has been done to the very existence of the Lebanese State in its internationally recognized frontiers.

75. Following the recent events in southern Lebanon, the members of the Community thought it necessary to state publicly their profound concern and to issue a warning against any endeavour which might be prejudicial to Lebanon's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity and which would entail the gravest consequences for that country and the entire region.

76. These events have hindered the role of UNIFIL, to which four countries of the Community have been making an appreciable contribution. In their Luxembourg declaration on 22 April 1980,¹⁵ the Community stressed the need for all parties concerned to make it possible for UNIFIL to perform fully the tasks which have been entrusted to it, including the carrying out of monitoring work right up to the international frontier. These events also have contributed to an aggravation of the situation in the region and are contrary to the efforts undertaken, by the European Community in particular, to restore peace in the Middle East.

77. The Community wishes to call on all parties to demonstrate the greatest restraint and to refrain from any action or any position which is liable to negate the chances of a return to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

78. These efforts, in conclusion, are going on and will continue. The contacts which I have had so far have been very positive and provide us with some very useful indications. We are studying them most attentively in the desire to take some effective action for peace. The objective today is for the countries members of the European Community, on the basis of these reflections, to work out orientations and concrete proposals which will mark the role of Europe in the search for the implementation of a peace settlement in the Middle East.

79. In the meantime, we appeal to all parties concerned to refrain in the months to come from any acts or statements which may serve to inflame a situation which is already very disturbing and which may serve to destroy the minimum of confidence and tranquillity which we the members of the United Nations need so much in the search for peace.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/14002.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, document S/13907.

80. Another problem which affects the Community is the Cyprus conflict. It was therefore with great satisfaction that we learned that the intercommunal talks resumed, at Nicosia, in the presence of the representative of the Secretary-General. The Community wishes to express the hope that the conversations will lead to a just and lasting settlement in keeping with the needs and aspirations of the parties. I have personally had an opportunity to express to the highest leaders of the two communities Europe's desire finally to see these negotiations making substantial progress. We should like to thank Mr. Waldheim for his efforts to this end. We also believe that, pending a final settlement of the dispute, it is indispensable for calm to be maintained in the island.

81. Permit me now to deal with certain questions concerning the functioning of our Organization.

82. The countries members of the Community are of the view that the representativeness of our Organization is a primary question. The authors of the Charter constantly are at pains to take into account at the same time the principle of the universality of our Organization, the needs for equitable geographic distribution and the maintenance of a balance among its organs. The members of the Community are profoundly convinced that we should be particularly cautious and careful before doing anything to affect these balances, and it is in the interest of all Members of the United Nations to weigh most carefully the advantages liable to follow from an institutional reform against the disadvantages which it might entail. They think that it will be essential in the future to avoid anything which may do damage to the foundations of our Organization. Furthermore, an independent and effective Secretariat, in accordance with Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter, is indispensable. It is necessary, therefore, to give considerable thought to ways of bringing about a genuine and lasting consensus before effecting any changes in the Secretariat, particularly those which may touch upon its effectiveness.

83. In the face of the economic difficulties engendered by the world crisis, the problem of allocating funds to the United Nations is one faced by all Member States. The members of the Community think that the United Nations should react positively to this climate of austerity by avoiding duplication and identifying activities which have now become outmoded with a view to eliminating them as far as possible. A real increase in the budget might not even be necessary. It goes without saying that strict respect for the financial rules of our Organization should be assured.

84. Peace-keeping operations constitute a particularly important task of the United Nations. The members of the Community declare themselves ready to support efforts of the United Nations in this field and to participate in these measures to the extent that they are able. They appeal to all the parties concerned to see to it that they permit effective functioning of these operations according to the directives laid down in our resolutions. In this regard, it is appropriate to mention once again the difficult position of UNIFIL to which four States members of the European Community provide selfless contributions.

85. I have just set forth at some length the common positions of the nine members of the European Community on

major world problems. I do not wish to add to this any national considerations, essentially because Luxembourg is fully within the European Community and fully supports its activities. I feel it important, however, to state two personal points of view.

86. A month ago, I carried out a contact mission in the Middle East, in the course of which I collected a mass of information and impressions about the Israeli-Arab conflict. I did so as emissary of the European Community and I spoke as such. I now wish to express a pressing appeal for reason and to call on all the parties concerned to demonstrate a spirit of conciliation. Time is not in favour of anyone. Those who believe that the consolidation of illegitimate territorial gains will ensure their security are seriously mistaken. Also mistaken are those who believe that preconditions or refusal to discuss with the adversary may be an advantage to them. Either of these ways will inevitably lead to confrontation, in which we shall all be the losers. I address a pressing appeal to all to contribute to this climate of confidence which alone will make it possible to emerge from the circle of violence and make progress towards a solution based not only on justice and law but also on mutual understanding. All those outside parties too would be mistaken if they believed that any possible advantage could be derived from deliberately maintaining tension. They run the risk of ending up like the sorcerer's apprentice.

87. Fundamentally, the security of all parties depends much less on a square kilometre more or less or the conquest of any strategic positions than the acceptance by all of the crucial fact that in the future the two communities will be living together in peace and confidence in this part of the world which is so important in history.

88. I should like also to say a few words on the eleventh special session of our Assembly, devoted to development, which was just concluded a week ago. I will not bow to my initial inclination, which would be somewhat bitter in the face of the scanty results achieved, nor will I make any comments of disillusionment as to the attitude of certain countries which did not believe that they were able to keep in line with the general trend of opinion. It is up to each Government to take its own responsibilities and in all independence to judge the positions which it wants to adopt.

89. As Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, I should like to say how sorry I am that the Community has been unable fully to assume the generous and dynamic role which it had usually played. I must say that I am disappointed.

90. The important thing, however—and I turn towards the future—is what happens at the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly as a result of the eleventh special session. It seems to me essential for the future of humanity that concrete steps be taken with a view to narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor on the world level. The opportunities, however slender, offered by the eleventh special session must be fully seized and exploited by all, primarily by the affluent countries, whether they be industrialized countries, whatever their economic system, or those States members of the Group of 77 which, because of their natural wealth, rank among the richest countries in the world.

91. These two comments which I have just made on behalf of my own country relate to the two fundamental tasks of our Organization, namely, to ensure peace and to reduce economic inequalities throughout the world. Important progress on those two levels is necessary, but the small positive steps already taken, thanks to the work done here, provide ample justification for this meeting of 154 countries. It is my conviction and hope that progress will indeed be made if we all co-operate.

92. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on the occasion of your election to your highly responsible position and to express my conviction that your activities will contribute to the fruitful work of the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

93. Speaking today from this rostrum, I should like to emphasize at the very outset the great importance which this session of the General Assembly would have if its work were successful. In view of the specific character of the situation in the world arena today, it is essential for the work of the session to be conducted in a constructive atmosphere. Its participants will have to display to an even greater extent than before a sense of realism, a considered approach to key international issues and a genuine interest in finding solutions to them.

94. Thereby the States Members of the United Nations would demonstrate their commitment to the principles and purposes of this world Organization and awareness of their responsibility for the destinies of peace. Indeed, this is now a vitally important task for them individually and collectively.

95. We focus attention on this because the state of affairs in the world has lately become more complicated as a result of a sharp turn in the policies of the United States of America and some other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO].

96. Let us look at the facts—they are more eloquent than words.

97. Back in May 1978, the NATO countries decided automatically to increase their annual military expenditures almost to the end of this century. Last December, they took a decision to produce and deploy in Western Europe new American medium-range nuclear missile systems designed to change the military and strategic situation to the unilateral advantage of the NATO bloc. Simultaneously, Washington also announced its own multi-billion dollar build-up programme.

98. The course chosen by the United States of America, which cannot be called anything but militaristic, is expressed in the so-called "new nuclear strategy". Under the cover of arguments that have nothing to do with reality concerning the possibility of some "limited" or "partial" use of nuclear weapons, the architects of this strategy seek to instill in the minds of people the idea of the admissibility and acceptability of a nuclear conflict. This foolhardy concept exacerbates the risk of a nuclear catastrophe, which cannot but cause concern throughout the world.

99. And is it not contrary to the expectations of the peoples of the world that Washington should have indefinitely postponed ratification of the Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, SALT II?¹⁶ It has demonstrated that it sets a low value on the assurances and promises it gave earlier.

100. Several theses have recently been adopted by American foreign policy which, by all appearances, are regarded as its credo. Here is one of them. A given region of the world is chosen at will—especially if it is rich in energy resources or important from the point of view of transport and communications, or simply if the Pentagon has taken a fancy to it—and that favoured area is declared with naked bluntness to be a United States "sphere of vital interest". And if, to boot, it is a sphere of American interests, not just anyone's, and on top of that—God only knows why—of "vital" interests, efforts are made simply to deprive the peoples who live in that area of the right to be masters in their own home and masters of their own wealth. It is even harder to understand that at the end of the twentieth century generally recognized rules of international law hallowed by time should be so blatantly and so rapaciously flouted.

101. Another proposition is that any internal changes in any State—merely because they are not to Washington's liking—are considered to be a good enough pretext for United States interference in the affairs of that State, including the dispatch there of armed forces and commandoes. It is precisely these functions that have been assigned to the rapid reaction corps. And it is surely those countries which cannot defend themselves that become the first victims.

102. And what about the treatment of Cuba? This is a striking example. Contrary to the legitimate demands of its Government and people, a part of Cuba's territory, Guantánamo, where a United States military base is located, is held by force. But at Washington they reason in the following way: we want this base—so that is that. It is of no importance to them that the sovereign rights of Cuba and its people are thus flagrantly ignored, once American interests stand to gain.

103. And what a host of statements are made to justify such a policy. Those deal at length with human rights, the rights of States. It is simply amazing how such a policy can be combined with genuine respect for the rights of States, the rights of peoples, and human rights. If such statements are to be believed—and they are, incidentally, repeated with the importunity of commercial advertising—then all manuals and all books on international law, and indeed the United Nations Charter itself, which strictly protect the sovereignty of States, should all be discarded. But no verbal acrobatics, no diplomatic contrivances can conceal the real essence of such a policy.

104. The methods of pressure and blackmail in foreign policy are making themselves felt in various parts of the globe. Blatant violence is employed against Iran. Everybody knows this. United States actions in the Persian Gulf area threaten the sovereignty not only of that country but of other countries of the region as well.

¹⁶ Signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

105. A build-up of the United States military presence is under way in East Africa, where, most recently, new American military bases have been coming into being. This is taking place in particular in Somalia, a country whose leadership continues to make groundless territorial claims in respect of its neighbours. The Soviet Union fully supports those States which raise their voices in protest against the establishment of such bases. Surely, those who offer their homes for American military bases assist in the accumulation of inflammable material in that area, with all the ensuing dangers.

106. The anti-Arab Camp David deal has as its direct consequence unabated tension in the Middle East, where the situation is fraught with perilous and unforeseen developments. That should not be overlooked. That deal, which runs counter to the interests of and slights the just demands of Arab States and the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, whose only legitimate representative is the PLO, is intended to satisfy Israel's annexationist claims and to affirm an American military presence in the Middle East.

107. In short, since the time of the separatist collusion among the United States, Israel and Egypt, the situation in that region has proved to be further from genuine peace than ever before. It is for that reason that Camp David is rejected by Arab States and denounced by all those who are interested in a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, not in a settlement dictated by imperialist interests. That has been graphically demonstrated by the recent resolutions of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, on the Palestinian question, and by recent resolutions of the Security Council.

108. In another region, the Far East, Washington is striving to strengthen its political and military position and is heating up militarist trends that are far from being on the wane in certain quarters in Japan. Beijing is acting in unison. Yet one would think that the Japanese leadership would display the ability to see things as they are and succeed in resisting the outside influences prodding that country onto the road of hostility towards the Soviet Union, a road that has already led Japan to catastrophe.

109. The United States, whose troops, contrary to General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX), still remain on the territory of the Republic of Korea, shares with the puppet Seoul régime the responsibility for the fact that the Korean problem is still unresolved. It obstructs the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula and the reunification of Korea on a peaceful and democratic basis without any outside interference, as is proposed by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

110. The United States adds to the destabilization of the situation in Indo-China and in the whole of South-East Asia. Here, too, the United States acts in league with the Beijing hegemonists who, having committed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, continue their demonstrations of military force on the Sino-Vietnamese border and stage provocations against the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, whose voice, we are sure, will sooner or later be heard from this rostrum. Other countries of that region are also under constant pressure from Beijing and Washington.

111. In recent years, the United States and some other Western countries have resorted ever more frequently to playing the "China card"—they love it—in order to use to their own advantage the great-Power ambitions of Beijing, which is itself keeping pace with the most zealous proponents of the position-of-strength policy and is stubbornly and cynically advocating the idea of the inevitability of another world war—with never a thought of giving up this idea. I stress this idea of the inevitable nature of a new world war.

112. While these countries are intent on having China follow ever more closely in the wake of their policy, Beijing, for its part, in seeking a *rapprochement* with them, attempts to put them on the track of the cold war and confrontation with the Soviet Union, although our country, I would note here, stands for the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China, as has been repeatedly stated at the most authoritative level. Even if we leave aside the question of who is playing whose cards more, it must be emphasized that this game is dangerous to the cause of peace.

113. The facts I have enumerated suffice to lead us to the conclusion that influential circles in some countries would like to squander away the substantial assets of the policy of détente that were accumulated, especially in the 1970s, as a result of prolonged and strenuous efforts by many States.

114. Not long ago, at Vienna, where the SALT II Treaty was signed, there was a frank conversation between Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and President Carter of the United States. The latter also recognized the need to maintain the existing approximate parity of military strength between East and West, the Soviet Union and the United States. This was recognized also by the leaders of other NATO countries. At present, contrary to their previous statements, the leaders of the NATO bloc are seeking to change the strategic balance of forces in the world in that bloc's favour. That is the root cause of the aggravation of the present international situation.

115. Attempts to give a different interpretation of world developments and to cast aspersions on the foreign policy of the USSR by once again resorting to the myth of a Soviet military threat constitute a gross deception.

116. Only the gullible could heed the groundless assertions to the effect that the aggravation of the world situation has been caused by the temporary introduction of a limited Soviet military contingent into Afghanistan. As has already been explained repeatedly, our move was made to assist the Afghan people in protecting their country's sovereignty and repelling armed incursions into its territory from the outside, as well as to prevent the emergence of a direct threat to the security of the USSR on its southern border. That assistance was rendered in response to repeated appeals by the Government of Afghanistan, and it is in full accord with the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of 1978¹⁷ and the United Nations

¹⁷ Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Charter. I believe that there still exist in the United States persons who signed the United Nations Charter, which contains a provision relevant to this. Now that the situation in Afghanistan is gradually returning to normal, some of our military units have been brought home by agreement with the Afghan Government.

117. Not infrequently, and notably at the United Nations, one may hear persons speak in favour of a complete withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent. To that we reply that the USSR will withdraw its contingent by agreement with the Government of Afghanistan as soon as the reasons that made the introduction of a contingent necessary have been removed, but not before.

118. It will be recalled that the Afghan Government has put forward a programme for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. It is quite possible to achieve such a settlement on that basis and the Soviet Union is firmly in favour of that. But any attempts that run counter to the sovereign rights of Afghanistan are futile. The truth about the nature and essence of events in Afghanistan and around that non-aligned State is steadily gaining ground.

119. The allegation being bandied about in certain Western countries that the Soviet Union is building up its military might on a scale that exceeds its defence requirements is also patently false. There are some experts who make such claims. Our country believes that the strategic parity of forces obtaining in the world is sufficient to protect its own security and that of its allies and friends. Our country aspires to nothing more.

120. Let us take Central Europe, the area with the highest concentration of military forces confronting each other. There, the Soviet Union, unlike the NATO countries, has not for a long time now increased its forces by a single soldier, a single tank, a single aircraft. On the contrary, it has been reducing them.

121. As for the medium-range nuclear systems deployed in the European part of the USSR—we do not deploy them on the territories of other States at all—in terms of the number of launchers and the yield of their nuclear warheads, such systems have recently even been somewhat reduced. The leaders who, with a specific purpose in mind, are trying to mislead people are also fully aware of that. However, being at odds with the truth, they systematically feed public opinion with fraudulent propaganda whenever they talk about the foreign policy or the armed forces of the Soviet State. The products of such propaganda are often to be seen floating around this hall.

122. Against that background, it is obvious that those who speak of some unprecedented build-up of our country's defence potential are in fact trying to turn attention away from their own plans to deploy hundreds of new United States nuclear systems on the territories of several West European countries.

123. In order to prevent another round of the arms race, the Soviet Union has proposed negotiations to be held on the basis of equality and with observance of the principle of equal security. In order to remove the obstacles to negotia-

tions arising from the NATO decision, we propose that discussions be initiated without delay on the question of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and the question of United States forward-based systems, concurrently and in organic interrelation. It is understood that eventual agreements would be implemented after the entry into force of the SALT II Treaty.

124. The USSR has not so far received a substantive reply to its initiative. The Soviet proposal is talked and written about; various assessments of it are made, and it is sometimes alleged that it is unclear or even mysterious. But those who are supposed to respond to it have as yet said nothing intelligible. And the reason for all this is that the Soviet Union's proposal is designed to find a genuine solution to the problem of strengthening European security and to erect a barrier to prevent Europe from becoming an even more dangerous staging area for military confrontation, with enormous quantities of nuclear weapons in readiness day and night.

125. It would seem that the delays in making a constructive reply to the substance of our proposal are intended to muffle the positive international response which it has evoked. We express the hope that common sense and a responsible approach to improving the situation in Europe will yet prevail. We would like to believe that. The Soviet Union is ready to start talks with its partners on the aforementioned just basis at any time.

126. Of course, if there is any lack of clarity as to the substance of our proposal, we would not be averse to removing it through consultations and exchanges of views. But it is essential that the participants in such exchanges of views should join us at the negotiating table in good faith and not just to kill time. At the same time, it must be clearly understood that the Soviet Union and the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty will not allow the military-strategic balance they have achieved between them and the States members of NATO to be upset. Any calculations aimed at disrupting this balance should be discarded.

127. The USSR and other countries of the socialist community have never sought, and are not seeking, any military superiority. They have not had, and will not have, any strategic doctrine other than a defensive one. As Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev stated once again, with all clarity, in his recent speech in the city of Alma-Ata:

“Our country's foreign policy is a clear and honest policy of peace which is not directed against anyone else. We do not encroach on anybody's land; we do not interfere in anybody's internal affairs. But we shall always manage to defend our rights and legitimate interests”.

128. Peaceableness is an inherent feature of the foreign policy of socialism, which is a social system having no classes interested in war. A world without wars, said Lenin, is the very ideal of socialism. The source from which the policy of the socialist countries draws confidence in its strength is the identity of their objectives in constructing a new society, in defending the cause of peace. To this end, the perfecting of relations of full equality, fraternal unity, comradesly mutual assistance and fruitful co-operation in all

spheres of life is constantly in the forefront of their attention, and this was once again borne out by the results of the meetings held in the Crimea last summer between Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and the leaders of fraternal parties and States.

129. The Soviet Union and the socialist community have been and will continue to be in the vanguard of the struggle for international security. However, we do not claim a monopoly in this field. We shall stand in the same line with all States which consistently pursue a policy of peace and of averting the threat of another world war, a policy of *détente*.

130. The concrete deeds of the socialist countries are shown in a whole series of initiatives, in particular those they have advanced since the previous session of the General Assembly. These are: the proposal put forward by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty¹⁸ for holding a top-level conference of the leaders of States of all regions of the world to discuss problems related to the elimination of hotbeds of international tension and to the prevention of war; the measures for curbing the arms race, for disarmament and for strengthening peace in Europe and throughout the world contained in the declaration which was adopted at that same meeting; the initiative of the USSR with regard to holding negotiations on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe in close interrelation with United States forward-based systems; the recent withdrawal by the Soviet Union of 20,000 troops, 1,000 tanks and other *matériel* from the German Democratic Republic, a process which has been completed; the proposal submitted by the socialist countries at the Vienna talks¹⁹ providing, among other steps recommended, for the reduction of United States military personnel by 13,000 and of Soviet military personnel by 20,000, in addition to the Soviet military contingent which has been unilaterally withdrawn from the territory of the German Democratic Republic; and the withdrawal of some Soviet military units from Afghanistan.

131. A comparison of the list of the initiatives we have advanced during the past year alone with NATO's record immediately reveals the contrast between the two main lines in world politics. The facts are self-evident in showing which policy line is consonant with the aspirations of the peoples and which is in conflict with them.

132. It certainly seems to be far from easy to create a distorted picture of our foreign policy in the minds of the peoples. Misinformation and, primarily of course, slander directed against it backfire on those who resort to them.

133. Given the present state of international relations—when the policy of *détente* is being put to a severe test, when the danger of war is growing—it is essential to multiply efforts in order to arrest this course of developments. Even if the initial steps were not to be the most radical ones possible, they would still be steps which could infuse an invigorating spirit into the international political climate.

134. Proceeding from this, the Soviet Union proposes the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the General Assem-

bly of an important and urgent item entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war", and we are submitting for the Assembly's consideration a relevant draft resolution. What is proposed here is the adoption in the immediate future of the following measures.

135. First, an important step would be for the States members of military alliances to renounce the expansion of existing military-political groupings through the admission of new members, and for countries which are not members of such groupings to renounce joining them. All States, without exception, should avoid any action conducive to the establishment of new military alliances or to assigning military functions to regional organizations which have no such functions at present. At the same time, the statements repeatedly made by the USSR and the other socialist countries concerning their readiness to disband the Warsaw Treaty organization if, simultaneously, the NATO bloc were dissolved and, as a first step, to eliminate the military organizations of the two groupings, starting with a mutual reduction of their military activities, remain fully valid.

136. Secondly, it is essential that all States, and, first of all, the permanent members of the Security Council and countries which have military agreements with them, undertake not to increase as from a certain date—say 1 January of the coming year—their armed forces and conventional armaments, as a first step towards their subsequent reduction.

137. Thirdly, proceeding from the premise that an early conclusion of an appropriate convention, with the participation of all nuclear and non-nuclear States, would best serve to strengthen security guarantees for non-nuclear States, the USSR is also prepared to consider other possible solutions to this problem, provided the other nuclear Powers adopt a similar approach. We call upon all nuclear countries to make identical and solemn declarations concerning the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States which have no nuclear weapons on their territories. Such declarations, if they serve the aforementioned objective, could be reinforced by an authoritative decision of the Security Council. At the same time, the Soviet Union reaffirms that it will never use nuclear weapons against those countries which renounce the production and acquisition of such weapons and do not have them on their territories.

138. Fourthly, we are convinced that, if our partners in the negotiations, the United States and the United Kingdom, show corresponding readiness, it is quite realistic to expect a successful conclusion within a short time-limit of the elaboration of an international treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. We consider this to be possible. There are no insuperable obstacles.

139. To this end, the USSR proposes that all nuclear Powers declare themselves ready to renounce within a period of one year, beginning on a date to be agreed by them, all nuclear explosions. The point is to have a one-year moratorium while negotiations would continue with a view to achieving a more radical solution.

140. A prompt implementation of all these measures would blunt the edge of some of the issues in international relations. It could be instrumental in easing the burden of

¹⁸ Held at Warsaw on 14 and 15 May 1980.

¹⁹ Vienna Talks on the Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe.

military expenditures of States, strengthening the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and creating favourable conditions for progress in the field of the arms race limitation. We hope that the General Assembly will give these proposals careful and due consideration, and that it will support them.

141. In today's international conditions, the Soviet Union considers it an imperative duty of the United Nations Member States to intensify their efforts in all major directions of the struggle for peace. As hitherto, the Soviet Union will maintain and deepen the dialogue and co-operate with all States that display political will towards this end. By the way, with regard to "dialogue", this is a term often used nowadays. One way of reasoning goes like this: if there is something I do not like in the policy of a State, I will not speak with it. But to our mind such capriciousness, such vagaries, have been widely condemned, and rightly so. There should be no place for them in politics.

142. At the current session, we consider it necessary to recall the United Nations decisions which have yet to be implemented, proposals put forward by the USSR and other countries, as well as to set forth our views on enhancing the efficiency of efforts in specific sectors of this historic struggle. To this end, the USSR is submitting at this session a memorandum entitled "peace, disarmament and international security guarantees" [A/35/482, annex].

143. There is hardly any need to prove that the greatest threat to peace on our planet is posed by the unabated nuclear arms race. There is, however, a need to say again and again that it is inadmissible to put up with a situation where people live under the burden of a constant fear of a nuclear disaster.

144. While recognizing the complexities of the problem of nuclear disarmament, one should not toe the line of those who shirk even its discussion. It is for people to resolve this burning problem. People have created the nuclear weapon, and it is they who can and must outlaw and destroy it. There is no denying that man's mind is stronger than his fists. None the less, the fact remains that the negotiations proposed by the Soviet Union for ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed have never started, owing to the negative position of certain Governments. We stand for the talks getting under way and for the Governments concerned to adopt a serious attitude towards them, so that the relevant decision of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament [resolution S-10/2] may be fulfilled.

145. The conclusion by States of an agreement on the renunciation of the use of force in international relations would be of great importance for the cause of peace and détente. In statements made from this rostrum the Soviet Union has repeatedly stressed the importance of such an agreement and of resolution 2936 (XXVII) adopted by the General Assembly in 1972 entitled "Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons". In the current situation, the duty of the United Nations to pronounce itself in favour of the prompt completion of efforts in this field is becoming ever more imperative.

146. To lessen the threat of nuclear war, it is of decisive importance to check the further growth of the strategic potentials of States and subsequently to reduce strategic nuclear-weapon systems quantitatively and to limit them qualitatively. And could anyone deny how significant would be the entry into force of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, SALT II?

147. The USSR is ready to ratify the SALT II Treaty and afterwards strictly to comply with all its provisions. It is also the intention of the Soviet Union to participate in the negotiations on the further limitation and reduction of strategic arms, with strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security. But it would not be out of place to say in this connection that, although the Treaty has not yet entered into force, the American side is already laying a mine under it in the shape of a plan whose implementation would open up the possibility of excluding from appropriate verification a large number of strategic nuclear-missile systems. I think that this is well known to all representatives in this hall.

148. Now that the nuclear missile arsenals of States are being constantly inflated, the question of elaborating and adopting more reliable measures to prevent the possibility of the accidental or authorized use of nuclear weapons is becoming ever more acute, and repeated false nuclear alarms in the United States armed forces give ground for serious thought in this regard. Indeed, the fact that the alarm was false becomes known later—afterwards. And this surely leads to certain conclusions. Such things should not take place if the leadership of a State deals with all questions pertaining to nuclear weapons with a sense of responsibility.

149. It has always been the stand of the Soviet Union that the strengthening of the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be a subject of unflinching concern. The failure to see that transfers of nuclear equipment, materials and technology intended for peaceful purposes could serve as a channel for spreading nuclear arms is fraught with the most negative consequences. An important step would be taken if an international agreement were reached on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of countries where there are no such weapons at the present time, regardless of whether or not these countries are allies of a given nuclear State. However, owing to the opposition of certain Powers, progress in negotiations on this question is slow, to say the least.

150. The lethal power of such means of mass destruction as chemical weapons does not at all pale in comparison to the monstrous destructive force of nuclear armaments. The negotiations on their prohibition have been dragging on for many years, with the distance to the finishing line—the signing of a relevant international convention—remaining almost as long as ever. It will be impossible to cover the remaining distance without energetic efforts on the part of all participants in the negotiations. We, for our part, have been persistently working towards that end.

151. The Soviet Union, as before, is fully in favour of observance of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [resolution 2826 (XXV), annex]. It has always been, and

remains, faithful to the spirit and letter of the Convention, which constitutes a measure of real disarmament.

152. Sometimes representatives of military quarters float allegations that the Soviet Union does not always respect the obligations it assumes under international agreements. But such allegations are a ploy that is as old as the universe. The reasoning of their authors is obviously as follows: if peoples are to be deceived, let the deception be huge to make an impression. But in the contest between truth and deception, truth has always been victorious sooner or later. The Soviet Union has not violated one single international agreement and it does not intend to do so.

153. Those who resort to such allegations attempt to weave them into a thick shroud to cover their own unseemly deeds. Look at what is taking place in the country whose representatives indulge in such statements: plans are openly being discussed there for building new plants to produce chemical weapons. I said plans are being discussed there, but it would be more accurate to say that they are being discussed here, and this is being done at a time when representatives of that very country are sitting at the negotiating table where the question of banning chemical weapons is being discussed.

154. And how often has the Soviet Union made representations regarding non-compliance with agreements by those who aim such allegations at the Soviet Union? Those for whom these words of ours are meant know that very well. That is how things are with attempts to cast a shadow on the attitude of the Soviet Union towards its international obligations.

155. The world is not safeguarded from the possible emergence in the not-too-distant future of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. This is particularly dangerous now, since forces have appeared that are counting on achieving military superiority. The USSR favours the adoption of additional measures to ensure the conclusion of an international agreement banning the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, as well as the conclusion, as necessary, of special agreements on individual types of such weapons.

156. Vigilance and perseverance are required in the struggle against the neutron weapon—that barbarous means of annihilation. The position of our country, which declared in the past that it would not begin production of neutron weapons unless the United States did so, remains valid and it also applies to the possible emergence of such weapons in any other State.

157. Objectively, there is a basis for the early completion of work on a treaty banning one type of weapon of mass destruction—radiological weapons.

158. Owing to the opposition of certain Powers, the question of what are called conventional armaments has actually been left outside the sphere of concrete negotiations. The solution of that question should be speedily moved to a practical plane. Representatives of certain countries wish to talk endlessly and willingly on that subject, while doing nothing, however, to facilitate agreement.

159. The danger of war could also be reduced in no small measure by the limitation and cessation of the arms race in particular geographical areas as well. That applies first of all to Europe. Developments in Europe have always had a most significant impact on the state of world affairs. The Soviet Union, like other countries of the socialist community, is seeking to ensure a steady continuation of the process initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and compliance with all the provisions and principles of the Final Act which it adopted.

160. As we are staunch advocates of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, we have always striven to ensure that no avenue in our relations with States belonging to a different social system, including the United States, should remain unexplored. We expect those States to do likewise. Indeed, an overwhelming majority of them do build their relations with us in that fashion.

161. The course for maintaining and strengthening security in Europe and for reducing the level of military confrontation on the continent was convincingly demonstrated last May at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. It was also manifested during the recent talks held by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev with French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and with the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schmidt.

162. In the series of proposals made by the countries of the socialist community with regard to Europe, a prominent place belongs to the initiative for the conclusion by all States participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe of a treaty on the non-use of either nuclear or conventional arms—I repeat, nuclear or conventional arms. Does anybody who stands for peace object to this proposal?

163. The socialist countries have taken steps, some of them quite recently, which provide a solid basis for reaching agreement at the Vienna Talks on the Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. Success in that work is being obstructed by those who do not wish to give up attempts to gain unilateral advantage to the detriment of the security interests of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

164. The holding of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe is a matter of paramount importance. We express the hope that all States concerned will contribute to the realization of this idea. This is a good idea.

165. A significant role in achieving general agreement on the convocation and the subject matter of the conference is to be played by the Madrid meeting of representatives of States participants in the European Conference. We wish the meeting to be business-like and to be crowned with positive results on all sections of the Helsinki Final Act. We urge other countries to display the same constructive approach to the Madrid meeting.

166. The problem of lessening tensions in the Indian Ocean is increasingly important. The Soviet Union has invariably supported the initiative of the littoral States to turn

the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. For the purpose of implementing that initiative, we shall continue to co-operate with all States concerned, *inter alia*, at the Conference on the Indian Ocean scheduled for 1981. The same objective would be served by the resumption of the Soviet-American talks, suspended by the United States, on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activities in that ocean. We are ready at any time to sit at the same table with the United States and to continue negotiations on that matter. It is now up to the United States.

167. The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty favour discussion within the framework of the United Nations of the question of limiting and reducing the level of military presence and military activities, be it in the Atlantic, the Indian or the Pacific Ocean, in the Mediterranean or in the Persian Gulf. Agreements in that field would serve the interests of peace and stabilization of the international situation. The Soviet Union is prepared at any time to come to the negotiating table to discuss this issue with the States concerned.

168. More than once the United Nations has tried its hand at achieving agreed decisions on the reduction of the military budgets of States. However, each time, it encountered resolute opposition and all means of misinformation are employed here to frustrate any progress towards agreement in this extremely important field. As a result, the military appropriations of States have been growing from year to year. And what a variety of methods have been devised by certain Governments to extract from the taxpayer ever greater sums to be fed into the grinder of military production. And this is taking place at a time when hundreds of millions of people in the world are suffering from starvation, have no access to proper medical services and education or have no roof over their heads. Resources which could be used for the benefit of people are being consumed by the arms race. Regrettably, the United Nations has not so far pronounced its weighty opinion on that score. It has great possibilities for speaking out.

169. Now as before, the USSR is prepared to proceed to negotiations on specific reductions, in absolute figures or in terms of percentage points, of military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council as well as of other States with large economic and military potential. We are also prepared to reach agreement on the amounts which each State reducing its military budget would allocate for increased economic aid to developing countries.

170. The Soviet Union believes that thorough preparations should be carried out for the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which is to take place in 1982. That session should be followed by a world conference on disarmament to ensure that a profound consideration of disarmament issues may result not merely in recommendations, but in decisions to be implemented by States fully without any exception.

171. There must be implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], adopted 20 years ago on the initiative of the USSR.

172. We welcome the emergence this year of new independent States. In southern Africa there is the Republic of

Zimbabwe, which was born in the flames of the long struggle of its valiant people. We are convinced that the day will come when the people of Namibia, too, will win their freedom and independence. Everything must be done to bring nearer the moment when here in this hall of the General Assembly final victory will be solemnly celebrated over the monster which has taken the lives of or crippled many millions of human beings, which for centuries has mercilessly exploited many a people and whose name is colonialism.

173. The Soviet Union has always shown respect for the legitimate aspirations of States which have freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism. We have good relations with most of them. We note with satisfaction the increasing role of these States in international politics and appreciate the peaceful anti-imperialist orientation of the movement of the non-aligned countries.

174. Our country has consistently supported the developing States in their desire to attain economic independence, their inalienable right to dispose of their natural resources and their legitimate demand for the restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of equality, without any discrimination.

175. Problems affecting all mankind are becoming ever more conspicuous in the broad spectrum of the concerns of our time. I shall make special mention of one of them: preservation of nature. The Soviet Union wishes to see man show greater care and concern for nature, and to see natural resources used in the interests of all nations on a scientific basis.

176. However, everybody knows what immense material and intellectual resources are being deflected from the solution of this problem by the arms race, how ruinous and perhaps irreversible is the damage inflicted on the entire human environment by military activities of States such as tests of various types of weapons and, above all, of nuclear weapons, the stockpiling of poisonous chemical agents and so on, to say nothing of the disastrous consequences which a nuclear war would have not only for people but also for nature in general.

177. It is the duty of the United Nations to draw the attention of the States of the world to their historic responsibility for preserving the nature of the earth, which is indispensable for the life of present and future generations, and to make its contribution to the development of international co-operation in this field. We have submitted an appropriate draft resolution for consideration by the General Assembly at the current session [A/35/L.7].

178. Our views and specific proposals on important measures which should be adopted in the evolving situation stem from the peaceful nature of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. We are convinced that the necessary possibilities for staving off the threat of war and putting international peace on a more solid foundation exist. There are forces able to do that. For it is the will of the peoples and the policies of States, not fate, that determine the trend of world developments.

179. No responsible politician in the world can remain indifferent to the course pursued by those countries in whose policies the cult of war is becoming the dominant factor. Indeed, even here and now in the host country of the Headquarters of the United Nations there is massive propaganda in favour of nuclear war—before our very eyes, it can be said. But it is not only a question of propaganda; plans for such a war are being worked out and discussed, and this is all being done at government level. In the atmosphere of militarist frenzy which has of late become so widespread in the United States, there is ever less room left for sound and sober assessments of the world situation and well-considered conclusions on the conduct of policy.

180. The United Nations would be right to issue a firm warning to those who seek a dangerous exacerbation of tension and war hysteria. It would be a good thing to say to those responsible: "Gentlemen, do not push the rock down the hill, for there is a risk that you will not be able to stop it later on".

181. Saving mankind from the scourge of war is the goal towards which the States should direct their efforts, instead of preparing for war. If the General Assembly took that stand, it would add a bright page to the book of modern history.

182. Despite all the differences in social systems, levels of economic development, national characteristics and historical destinies of the States represented in the United Nations, all peoples want to live with confidence in their future. No country, no Government, if it expresses the aspirations and will of its people, can remain aloof from the struggle for disarmament, for the relaxation of tensions and for peace.

183. This is the basis on which the Soviet Union acts. "We shall continue to spare no effort", stressed Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, "to preserve détente, everything positive that was achieved in the 1970s, to ensure a turn towards disarmament, to uphold the right of peoples to free and independent development, to preserve and consolidate peace."

184. Our country and its representatives are prepared to participate in a most constructive manner in the work of this session and to contribute actively to its success.

185. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): My delegation joins our colleagues in congratulating you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a tribute to your sterling personal qualities and an honour to your great country, whose role in the international community has been marked by vision, imagination and dynamism dedicated to the cause of peace in a difficult passage in the history of our time.

186. In its wise choice of Mr. von Wechmar, the United Nations has come full circle. A distinguished citizen of an "enemy State" has been elected to guide the deliberations of the Organization at a time when our overriding need is to moderate conflicts and shape the contours of reality in conformity with our desire for peace.

187. There is a trace of irony in this situation. For years my delegation has pleaded for the removal of all references to

"enemy States" from the Charter of the United Nations. However noble the Charter is—and no one disputes this—it is not without its flaws, and this is surely one of the most glaring. Today we are doubly happy. In an indirect way we feel vindicated in our quest, and we are certain that our new President will reflect those qualities which have made his nation one of the strongest pillars of the house of peace which we are all trying to build.

188. In this endeavour the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Salim, has made important contributions which we deeply acknowledge. To him we extend our sincere congratulations.

189. We welcome the admission of Zimbabwe and St. Vincent and the Grenadines to the world Organization and look forward to their constructive contributions.

190. In nature, nothing is more constant than the cycle of the seasons. In human affairs, the tides would seem to follow the same cyclical pattern. The brief springtime of détente is over and we face the bleak prospect of another freezing winter of a cold war far more terrifying in its implications for the future of mankind than any that has preceded it in the post-war world.

191. My delegation speaks before this Assembly without discouragement but with considerable apprehension. We live today in a continuum in which not one but several cold wars intersect, creating a labyrinth from which we are seemingly unable to extricate ourselves. Harsh facts confront us today, yet the irony is that in a hall intended precisely to harmonize diverse interests the atmosphere of uncertainty envelops all of us, like a thick fog in which we are unable to find our bearings.

192. In the past year, several important questions have continued to be at the forefront of our most serious concerns. The first is the impasse on the issue of arms control, most notably in the limitation of nuclear weapons; in the failure to make progress on the mutual balanced reduction of forces; and in the additional complications on the question for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The second is the marked lack of momentum in getting the Third United Nations Development Decade under way. And finally there is our inability to provide solutions to brush fires, with their dangerous potential for igniting wars of world-wide proportions.

193. The history of man's efforts to disarm is a long and troubled one. The same history teaches us that when such efforts fail they inevitably lead to open and tragic conflict. But today's problem is of a different order. Never before have arms been developed in such quantity and with such destructive capability. Regardless of the ingenious and clever scenarios for surviving a nuclear holocaust, no one can dare to assert categorically that civilization itself would survive. No doubt our planet would still be here, but it would be there floating aimlessly in space like a dead star.

194. Fear is a poor counsellor, but it is just as often a natural alarm system. If we fail to heed this fear, then we may be—if we are not already in the midst of it—on the verge of a new and vastly more dangerous arms race on a blind course to global annihilation.

195. We are victim of our own folly. Man's genius, which has led him to attempt the conquest of space, is applied with equal fervour to self-immolation. The ever-increasing sophistication of high technology appears to dictate our policies rather than, as it should be, the other way around. Unless we can reverse this futile trend, we shall be creating our own doom. For this reason we look forward to the projected exchange of views between the super-Powers with the prayerful hope that they can begin to chart new courses of action to avert the seemingly irresistible tide towards our common destruction.

196. There is no direct correspondence between arms control and détente; each is supportive of the other. Détente does lead to the development of trust and helps to improve the climate for the peaceful solution of problems. We wish to emphasize, however, that faithful observance of the tacit rules of détente is the first and indispensable requirement for its success. On that basis we would favour the resurrection of the experiment of learning to live together in relative peace.

197. Another requirement, equally indispensable, is that détente should apply on a universal scale. A détente which reduces tensions in one area of the world while creating or exploiting destabilization in other areas, particularly in weaker and more vulnerable countries in the third world, negates the very purposes of détente. Like peace, détente is indivisible.

198. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to economic development, ended on a less than hopeful note. We view the results with extreme regret, for this surely is a problem which affects all countries, large and small. What we need is a crash programme of co-operation on some of the most pressing problems of our time. The painful prospect which faces all of us is that, under the best of circumstances, the growth rate of all countries will decrease in the coming decade in varying degrees. Renewed recession is predictable, and inflation continues to resist solution.

199. It requires little thought to remind us that the crushing burden will be borne mainly by the developing countries which, again in varying degrees, will have to cope with two of the great crises of our time, shortages in energy and food. As these crises grow, there remains the possibility that the debt explosion will reach unmanageable proportions, introducing instabilities which are bound to affect the developed countries as well. The spiral of uncertainty will turn relations between the developed and developing countries into mutually re-enforcing difficulties; the problems of the South will become part and parcel of the problems of the North, just as today the problems of the North have become the problems of the South. The solutions to the problem, while admittedly not easy, are common tasks which require speedy implementation if we are to avert the dread possibility of disaster, not just for the South but also for the North.

200. After seven years of arduous negotiations, with a significantly successful session at Geneva last summer, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is close to the completion of a universal convention establishing a new régime for the seas and their resources, based on the principle of the "common heritage of mankind" con-

ceived by the United Nations. The Third Conference successfully hurdled the difficult issue of the exploitation of the sea-bed, and only a few more related issues remain to be discussed at the next session. We strongly hope that the new convention will be signed next year and thus usher in a new régime of international law. My delegation echoes the thought of Secretary-General Waldheim when he described the Third Conference as a "major achievement" which provides incontrovertible proof that, where the political will exists, issues of a potentially confrontational character can be resolved peacefully and amicably.

201. The results of the 1980 session of the Special Committee on the Charter and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, held at Manila in February this year, demonstrated a determination among Member States of the United Nations to achieve a better congruence between the United Nations system and the realities of the modern world. The Special Committee's work on the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes was particularly encouraging in its consideration of the draft Manila declaration on the peaceful settlement of international disputes [see A/35/33, para. 164]. My delegation expresses the hope that an early agreement on the declaration will be reached. It is not an easy task to develop an equilibrium between continuity and change, and we must appreciate the importance of the Committee's efforts in carrying out its responsibilities. The Special Committee has reached a significant stage of its work and it deserves our encouragement and full support.

202. I turn now to specific issues.

203. On the question of Palestine, my delegation reiterates its support for the right of self-determination of the Palestinian peoples. In the case of Jerusalem, the unilateral act of annexation by Israel is unduly provocative and has rightly earned the censure of the Security Council by its resolution 478 (1980). In the long history of Arab-Israeli conflict, the city of holy shrines has always been a bone of impassioned contention. The reasons are not far to seek. It is not a question of territorial aggrandizement; nor is it a narrow legal question. It is a question with heavy moral overtones just as important to more than half of mankind as they are to Israel. The city is encrusted with layer upon layer of sacred lore to which so many in nearly every corner of the world owe their deepest allegiance.

204. If any city is international in character, it is certainly Jerusalem. My delegation supports, just as it has in the past, the internationalization of the city. We call upon Israel, recognizing its deep devotion to its own historical past, to recognize in other peoples the same measure of devotion to their own past, which continues to the living present. We call upon Israel to return to the processes of negotiation and heed the repeated injunctions of the Security Council.

205. On Asia, my delegation wishes to express its deepest concern over the continued conflict in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea. Both arise from the same root cause: they constitute open and flagrant violations of the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. In neither case can we condone this act of transgression against one of the most cherished principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Nor can we condone the

violation of the right of peoples to determine for themselves the kind of government they want. In both cases, our expressed preference is for political solutions. No other course is acceptable. The longer the conflicts last, the greater the danger of involvement by other Powers, thus enlarging the threat to world peace and stability.

206. In concert with our fellow members in ASEAN, we have consistently held the view that the elements of a political solution to the Kampuchean question are contained in General Assembly resolution 34/22 on the subject, namely, the withdrawal of Vietnamese armed forces and the establishment of a neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

207. The urgent need for a political solution in Kampuchea is underlined by the act of aggression perpetrated by Viet Nam against Thailand on the very eve of the thirteenth ASEAN ministerial meeting at Kuala Lumpur on 25 and 26 June. By that single act Viet Nam betrayed the true extent of its ambitions and its total lack of respect for world opinion. We stand by our beleaguered colleague Thailand, and shall continue to give it our full political and moral support.

208. The grave situation in Kampuchea should not be allowed to deteriorate further. For this reason, the Philippines and its ASEAN partners urge the Assembly to consider on an urgent basis the convening of an international conference on the problem of Kampuchea.

209. Today, Viet Nam will once again make an effort to unseat the legitimate Government of Kampuchea from the United Nations and install in its place the alleged Government of Heng Samrin. But the Heng Samrin régime is not at Phnom Penh by divine right, nor is it there by political right. It sits in the Kampuchean capital by the grace of the weapons of its master and protector, without whom it is helpless and with whom it wields not an iota of power of its own. If we accept the Heng Samrin régime, then we reward the fruits of aggression. If we accept the Heng Samrin régime, then we legitimize and indeed invite interference in our own internal affairs. If we accept the Heng Samrin régime, then we tolerate the violation of the principle of self-determination.

210. More than two thirds of the Members of the United Nations are seated here today because we claimed for ourselves the right of self-determination. We owe it more than lip service; we owe it our most profound respect. For it is this sacred principle which gave birth to us as nations and as independent peoples.

211. Last year we rejected the credentials of the Heng Samrin régime. Let us do so again this year. I urge all those to whom the Charter is not a mere scrap of paper but the holy writ of our Organization to reject decisively the pretensions of the usurper of Phnom Penh. Nothing has happened

since this time last year, when we rejected their credentials, to make their claim more valid than it is now. The resolution which this Assembly adopted last year to resolve this issue²⁰ continues to be ignored. Until the parties concerned evince respect for the collective will of the community of nations, we have no choice but to continue to uphold the sovereignty and the sovereign rights of the legitimate régime, which have been violated by external force.

212. Let there be no mistake about our motives. We hold no brief for any particular régime, personality, or ideology in this matter. We are one with those who stand back in revulsion at the horrors perpetrated by the Pol Pot régime. But we also believe that we have no right, under present international law, to prescribe what régime should preside over the affairs of the Kampuchean people. That is for them to decide for themselves, freely and without external interference. They have not had that opportunity, which is their right.

213. Until they have had that opportunity, which is only possible if the United Nations resolution on Kampuchea is strictly implemented, we must stand fast on the principle which is vitally involved in this matter. That is the principle of the inviolability of the sovereignty of States, of their territorial integrity and their right of self-determination.

214. My delegation wishes to close this brief statement with a tribute to the Secretary-General. The United Nations is our common creation; it is what we want it to be. But the presiding genius who keeps his finger continuously on the pulse of the world situation is the Secretary-General. It is he who perseveres in mediating between the need to keep the principles of the Charter inviolate and the elements of instability inherent in a changing world.

215. Amidst the cross-currents of the numerous conflicts which sorely beset the world, the Secretary-General remains above the battle. Yet it is his unseen hand that unselfishly guides us in defining problems and in this way assists in the search for solutions. He is a realist; he knows that there are no instant solutions. Yet he remains an idealist; he knows that the true foundation for peace is the development of a sense of human community.

216. In the effort to reconcile those two elements, he has kept the United Nations together. Indeed, he has done more. Misunderstood and sometimes reviled by the press, the world Organization has gained in strength and effectiveness under Mr. Waldheim. No one can do more; no one can be expected to do more. In this lies his real achievement.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

²⁰ Resolution 34/2 A. See also *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 3, documents A/34/500 and A/34/L.3 and Add.1.