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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. WILLESEE (Australia): Mr. President, may I first express to you most hearty congratulations from my Government and from myself on your election to the presidency of the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly. I am sure that your own experience and personal distinction as Prime Minister of Luxembourg and the wisdom and the diplomatic skills for which your country has long been famous will stand you in good stead as you preside over the meetings of this session.

2. And this session is a historic one. We are commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations. This is a time for some satisfaction and much reflection. Our Organization, whose Charter was written in the final months of the greatest conflict the world has ever suffered, has grown and developed through 30 difficult years, which have subjected it to great strain. But we, the Members of the Organization, must pause to reflect how far we have succeeded in our efforts to implement the purposes and the principles of the Charter. We must reaffirm the principles and ideals, and recapture the enthusiasm, which animated those who drafted the Charter in 1945.

3. The Charter has stood the test of time very well. We have all yet to make full use of the Organization to achieve the primary purpose declared in Article 1, to achieve international co-operation in solving economic and social problems. But the seventh special session made an excellent new start, and was a most important step towards resolving the major questions it faced. There was constructive debate and effective negotiation, with an evident desire for improvement in international economic relations. Its resolution [3362 (S-VII)] was adopted unanimously, and the further negotiation on its detailed provisions is already beginning.

4. On this occasion, so soon after the special session, I wish only to re-emphasize that in the course of these further negotiations Australia will examine on their merits all proposals deriving from the resolution, for we support the thrust and objectives of the resolution and the achievement of a new international economic order.

5. The success of the special session in the face of the complexity of the interests at stake, some of them involving competition for limited resources, is renewed and timely proof of the high value of the United Nations. We must treat this invaluable asset with care.

6. Our Charter opens with the expression of the determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. This was a passionate conviction which bound together the delegations at San Francisco. Today it is vital that all of us gathered here and the Governments that we represent should be equally determined to prevent developments which could lead to war. The past 30 years have not been scarred by a catastrophe of the scale of the two world wars, but they have been marked and marred by many smaller conflicts. The United Nations has helped to control and resolve some of these conflicts, but dangers to peace still abound.

7. From the early days delegations have been agreed that to implement the Charter properly requires a great international effort to achieve disarmament, or at least the controlled reduction of armaments. Year after year in this Assembly, and in various bodies established by it, we have debated, argued, contended and endeavoured to reach agreement on disarmament. All too often the thing most lacking was the sense of mutual trust and confidence without which no agreement for the reduction of arms can succeed.

8. The question of the reduction and control of nuclear armament is complex. But the essential nature of the problem and the essential responsibilities of Governments to solve it are clear. Here I wish to concentrate on some crucial aspects of nuclear disarmament.

9. The sense of urgency which was evident in the debates which led to the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] of 1968 must be maintained. At that time there was widespread recognition of the dangers of the spread of nuclear weapons beyond the five Powers which already possessed them, and the increase in the nuclear weaponry of those Powers. We must continue to guard against any erosion of the non-proliferation Treaty and strengthen the will to make it work.

10. The Final Declaration of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*A/C.1/1068, annex I*] points the way ahead. All nations represented here,

whatever their attitudes to the Treaty itself, should appreciate the value of this Declaration for our future deliberations.

11. For many nations nuclear energy is an essential factor in their future economic development, but due attention must be given to the horrifying consequences of any diversion of fissionable materials to weapons manufacture. The growth of the civil nuclear industry throughout the world must be accompanied by internationally accepted safeguards to protect the security of all States.

12. An important step was taken in August last year when major suppliers agreed on additional safeguards to be applied to exports of certain nuclear materials and equipment. At the Review Conference there were encouraging indications that suppliers agreed on the need for further energetic action in this field. But the pace and scope of follow-up action has not so far been encouraging. Time is not on our side in this vital matter. The need for more power, the development of technology and the activities of commercial interests will not wait for Governments to act. Governments must keep ahead of them in the working out of safeguards.

13. We must also give the most careful attention to the problems presented by the conduct of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Australia would not try to deny to any State any legitimate means which would obviously assist it in its development. But, in the case of nuclear explosions, the very nature of the technology used makes us just as alarmed about the proliferation of such devices as we are about the spread of nuclear weapons themselves. The technology can be diverted from peaceful to military purposes. The United Nations family has to find a satisfactory solution to this complex and urgent problem. Australia welcomes the establishment of the advisory group, which will hold its first meeting on 29 September under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency to consider this problem. We hope that all participants will approach their very difficult task in a spirit of determination to succeed.

14. It was obvious at the Review Conference, and in other meetings, that many non-nuclear-weapon States feel that in the implementation of the non-proliferation Treaty the burden is falling too heavily on themselves. In the consensus achieved at the Review Conference there is some hope that this justified concern of the non-nuclear-weapon States is being recognized by the nuclear Powers. We urge the nuclear Powers to make stronger efforts to meet the concerns of non-nuclear-weapon States.

15. No one should underestimate the difficulties in the way of achieving real agreements in this vital area. We cannot condone the stockpiling of weapons which ultimately are a threat to all mankind. We share the concern of countries which feel their own security threatened by these weapons. There is no security in increasing the number or power of weapons or the number of States who make and hold them. Both are factors making for insecurity.

16. As the first step the United Nations should continue to work for the acceptance of the nuclear

non-proliferation Treaty as the most appropriate means of achieving nuclear arms control.

17. I turn now to the question of decolonization. Under the Charter, colonial Territories have been a major responsibility of the United Nations, and the task is not yet complete.

18. It was a matter of pride for Australia that on the day on which this thirtieth session convened, the former Territory of Papua New Guinea became independent. This brought to an end the Trusteeship Agreement concluded in 1946 between the General Assembly and the Government of Australia. Now, as equal, sovereign States, Australia and Papua New Guinea are friendly neighbours, and our relations cover a wide range of mutual interests. Over the years we have known each other we have developed a considerable degree of mutual trust. The Australian Government and the Australian people express to the Government and people of Papua New Guinea their warmest fraternal greetings. We look forward to friendly and neighbourly co-operation with Papua New Guinea in many fields, including here in this Assembly.

19. During the past year we have been happy to see other former dependent Territories achieve independence and apply for membership in this Organization. We welcome the admission of the new States of Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe. The pace of decolonization in the continent of Africa has increased tremendously, though very difficult problems still remain. Despite the commendable efforts by a number of interested parties, the impasse in Southern Rhodesia continues. But we still hope that there will be early progress towards the convening of a constitutional conference, with the declared objective of a negotiated transition to majority rule. The present situation is unacceptable and dangerous, and the régime in Southern Rhodesia must be made to realize the urgent necessity of negotiations on this basis.

20. Both through our participation in the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and also directly, we have sought to play our part in trying to bring about Namibia's full and complete independence. Regrettably, the recent South African moves in regard to the future of Namibia do not meet the requirements of the United Nations. The Australian Government chose Namibia Day—26 August—to express to the South African Government its strong concern at the inadequacy of that Government's policies and actions. We stressed the urgent need to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations. We said the Organization must be involved in any process of consulting the people of Namibia if it is to have international credibility. We restated our firm position that Namibia should move rapidly towards independence as a united country and that the genuine leaders of the people should be parties to that process. We shall maintain our pressure on South Africa on this matter for as long as may be necessary.

21. It is now 15 years since the fifteenth session at which the General Assembly adopted two resolutions on decolonization and Non-Self-Governing Territories—resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). The former was the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The

latter stated the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation existed to transmit information under Article 73 *e* of the Charter. The greatest problems facing this Organization in the colonial field were and still are in the continent of Africa. However, we are glad to see that in recent years the United Nations has been devoting more attention to colonial problems outside Africa and particularly to the problems of small Territories. There still exist a considerable number of small colonies, most of them islands or groups of islands, which face very acute problems and which do not have a great deal in the way of natural resources for their solution. Here there is scope for more effort, more application of what the United Nations has learned over the past 30 years. The objective must be for the peoples of small dependent Territories to achieve not only an end to political dependence but reasonable economic conditions which are essential to the proper enjoyment of political freedom. We must be careful to take full account of the particular circumstances of each Territory and of the wishes of its people. Australia has greatly valued its close association with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and respects the experience and dedication of its fellow members. Our close co-operation with the Special Committee is reflected in the importance we are attaching to its recommendations on the Territory of the Cocos Islands.

22. I should like now to state briefly how Australia sees certain major political issues. I start, quite obviously, with the Middle East. The Australian view has long been that the existence of the State of Israel has to be accepted, and Israel has to have assurances of its security. Equally, the concerns of the Arab States for their security and territorial integrity have to be respected. We believe that, in conformity with the principle of self-determination, the Palestinian people has the right to create a State of its own, alongside Israel, if it so wishes. We believe that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are now widely recognized and accepted as one of the major keys to a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

23. Australia welcomes the recent conclusion of a further interim disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel. We see this as a further step towards peace, which we hope will lead to progress in other areas and to a full, peaceful and just settlement. We commend the continuing contribution made by the United Nations, especially through the Security Council and the peace-keeping forces established in the area.

24. With regard to Cyprus, we commend and thank the Secretary-General for the dedicated manner in which he has carried out his mission of good offices for the parties concerned in Cyprus. We see the role of the international community as essentially one of encouraging, where possible, the successful conclusion of intercommunal talks, of avoiding any action which would prejudice these talks, and of assisting in the alleviation of the difficulties faced by persons displaced by the violent events of last year. During the present year Australia has continued its efforts to help to ease the plight of displaced persons in Cyprus, and we

have maintained our contingent of police with the United Nations force.

25. The Australian Government welcomed the end of the long conflict in Indo-China, which has caused so much suffering to the people of the countries of this region. Now that the war is over we trust that all South-East Asian countries will work to develop relations based on mutual respect and trust. Only if all the countries in the region, and the great Powers, accept that each State has the right to determine its own future free from outside interference will there be true prospects for peaceful and enduring co-operation and friendship in the area.

26. It is a matter of regret that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam are not today seated in this General Assembly and it is our hope that, following our appeal to the Security Council, the situation will soon be changed. This Organization is now close to the achievement of universal membership; the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam would be two more steps towards that goal.

27. In June of this year I paid visits to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea. I was greeted warmly in both places. In both parts of Korea the people share a past and traditions of great value. But the vast gulf which has grown between them in the past three decades is very real. We wish to see good relations between the two States, but any realistic approach to the future of the whole of Korea has to proceed from the recognition that two separate entities exist, and that each is the lawful Government of that part of Korea in which it exercises effective control.

28. In our view, the two Governments are equally sovereign, and therefore in determining the future of the peninsula, unified or otherwise, the two Governments should act with full respect for each other's sovereign rights. Peace must be agreed, but it needs to be an enduring peace, recognizing the realities that exist in the peninsula. Peace has been preserved under an armistice agreement for over 22 years. We would welcome any progress which could be made to strengthen the prospects for reduction of tensions and for lasting peace. We would be most concerned if the prospects for progress were set back by the dismantling of machinery which has proved its usefulness, without putting something no less effective in its place.

29. When I visited Pyongyang and Seoul I made it clear that Australia would support either or both of the Korean Governments if either or both wished to join the United Nations.

30. Might I turn to the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization this year [A/10001/Add.1], our Secretary-General made some pertinent observations about the evolution of the role of the United Nations in its primary function of maintaining peace and security. It was in similar spirit that at the last session of the General Assembly Australia proposed under agenda item 36 on strengthening the role of the United Nations a re-examination of the possibilities inherent in the Charter for the peaceful

settlement of international disputes. Our intention was to strengthen the application of the Charter and to bring again to the attention of the Members the variety of flexible procedures available to them in the Organization for the peaceful settlement of disputes, some of which deserve more attention than they have received in recent years. In accordance with the resolution adopted at the last session [3332 (XXIX)], the Assembly will be considering this year a report prepared by the Secretary-General [A/10205 and Add.1]. Australia hopes that this report will stimulate a useful debate from which Members will become more aware of the machinery available to them for the settlement of disputes.

31. I should mention, too, another initiative which our delegation took at the last session of the General Assembly concerning diplomatic asylum and which was adopted as resolution 3321 (XXIX). A useful debate was held in the Sixth Committee and the debate will be resumed at this present session. It is clear from last year's debate that it will be a slow business to reach agreement on this subject, but the ultimate objective is a very important one, one we are fighting for, and we should like to see all States participating in this work.

32. I have been pleased to note the remarks that have been directed towards the question of the law of the sea, because this is certainly a vital problem with which this Organization is dealing. The problem of the law of the sea affects not only immense political and strategic issues but also the economic future of all nations, whether coastal or land-locked. The new rules of international law now under discussion embrace not only the essential norms of sovereignty and the traditional freedom of navigation, but also questions of the exploitation of natural resources in an area which covers two thirds of the earth's surface. The new law must make a reality of the concept of the common heritage of mankind.

33. The third session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva this spring, produced for the first time a single negotiating text, thanks to the initiative of the President of the Conference and the able work of the Chairmen of the three Committees. This text will be supplemented by a negotiating text, submitted by the President, on settlement of disputes. These texts have been studied by the Australian Government and discussion with other Governments has already begun. It is our hope that at the next session, in New York in March 1976, the Conference will agree on a negotiated text which can be accepted by Governments and which can become the convention of Caracas. In any event, we must press the negotiation to the earliest possible successful conclusion. As the Secretary-General reminded us recently, a modern law of the sea for peace and co-operation on the sea cannot be achieved by bilateral or regional agreements. A universal convention is essential.

34. On the question of human rights, this Organization, over the past 30 years, has endeavoured to define, to broaden and to express in legally binding instruments the principle of human rights as contained in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Unfortunately the United Nations has also had to express deep concern about many violations

of human rights. We must press on with this work, however difficult, because the alternative is to fail to honour the principles affirmed in the Charter, by which we are all bound.

35. The Australian Government attaches great importance to International Women's Year as a symbol of the need for change and improvement and as a great new departure in itself. The scope of activities in International Women's Year is very wide because it aims at the improvement of the status and role of women in the development process and in all aspects of life. At issue are the legitimate needs and demands of half the population of the world. Deep-rooted discriminatory practices and discriminatory social attitudes have placed women in a position of artificial inferiority. Women everywhere in the world must achieve freedom and equality.

36. I could sum up all the points I have tried to make very simply. The Charter has shown that with all its imperfections it is basically a sound instrument which provides the statements of principle and the institutional framework which all countries need if we are to live in peace and mutual respect. But the task of applying principles of the Charter and living up to them requires great and continuous effort. Unless that effort is made, this Organization cannot succeed, and a light will go out of the world. It is the firm conviction of my Government that this Organization must succeed and to that end we reaffirm the pledge which we made in San Francisco in 1945. We must not fail the peoples whom we represent and in whose name our Charter was written.

37. Mr. RUMOR (Italy):* In beginning my statement, I should like first of all to convey to you, Sir, my most respectful congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Knowing the country that you represent, so rich in civil and democratic traditions, and knowing your personal gifts as an eminent statesman, we are certain that we shall have the benefit of a firm and enlightened guide. I should like to add, in my capacity as President of the Council of the European Economic Community, that we are particularly gratified to note that the representative of a country which is a member of the Community has been called upon to preside over the work of the Assembly as it celebrates the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations. To you, Mr. President, I should like to repeat that the countries of the Community are jointly determined to strengthen and make increasingly active their relations with the United Nations.

38. To the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, I should like also to convey our deep appreciation for his unceasing and tireless efforts in the affirmation of the ideals of the United Nations. As he has rightly pointed out in the introduction to his report to our Assembly:

"It is widely acknowledged that in our present world there is no rational alternative in international relations to the principles and procedures of the United Nations." [A/10001/Add.1, sect. XXI.]

39. I am glad at this regular session to begin my speech, as I did during the recent seventh special

* Mr. Rumor spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

session, with a statement on behalf of the nine Foreign Ministers of the Community.

40. On 17 July last, at the end of a meeting of the European Council, the Heads of State and Government of the nine countries members of the Community issued a statement concerning the United Nations, which was subsequently submitted to the Secretary-General and circulated to Member States. In that statement, the nine members defined their joint vision of the role which the United Nations is called upon to play and their joint approach to the problems which the United Nations must help to solve.

41. With regard to the role of the United Nations, the members of the Community expressed their conviction that the Organization, while affected by the tensions which continued to divide the world, remained the indispensable instrument for meetings, negotiations and co-operation, because the growing interdependence of countries and peoples was multiplying the problems which required solution on the international level. Consequently, the members of the Community intend to play an active and constructive role in the efforts to strengthen the action and efficiency of the United Nations, in which the nine countries maintain every confidence.

42. I think that it would be generally agreed that, during the seventh special session, which has just concluded, the countries of the European Community showed their united readiness to make a positive contribution towards the building of a more just and equitable international economic order. We welcome the successful outcome of the seventh special session and look forward as a Community to participating in the action that will follow.

43. Within the Organization, the nine countries plan to follow the path of conciliation and dialogue based on the principle of universality, the application of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, respect for the rights of Member States and the carrying out of their obligations.

44. With regard to the problems faced by the United Nations, the nine countries are working primarily for the maintenance of peace and for the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts. I shall mention as an example the active support which the nine countries, taking advantage of the special ties of association existing between the Community and the three countries concerned, are giving to the unceasing and tenacious efforts being made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the solution of the Cyprus crisis, in accordance with the mandate given to him by General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 367 (1975), in the adoption of which they played an active part.

45. Similarly, with regard to the Middle East, the nine countries reaffirm their keen and permanent interest in a renewal of efforts to achieve a final, overall, peaceful settlement which will be just and lasting, in pursuance of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and in conformity with the principles of their statement of 6 November 1973. The concept of justice and the desire to defend fundamental freedoms and human rights, as they have been formulated in that statement, form the basis for

the commitment on the part of the Governments of the Community to help to put an end to the practice of *apartheid* and all forms of racial, political and religious discrimination, wherever they appear.

46. Moreover, the principles of the independence and equality of peoples have inspired the action taken by the Community in making a solid contribution to the final settlement of the problem of decolonization. That contribution has included the new Members of the Organization—the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the People's Republic of Mozambique, which we welcome among us today as a result of their accession to independence—and will constantly be renewed in upholding the rights of the people of Namibia and the people of Southern Rhodesia.

47. The nine members of the Community, which worked closely together with the other Western countries, and especially with the United States and Canada, during the course of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, are most pleased that the Conference was able to establish the lines along which it will be possible to strengthen security and increase co-operation, exchanges and contacts among the peoples in the whole of Europe. The nine countries are convinced that the results achieved by that Conference will make an important contribution to the pursuit of the process of *détente*, not only in Europe, but all over the world.

48. In their statement on the United Nations, the nine countries also favoured the achievement of concrete progress towards building up a more balanced and more equitable framework of international economic relations.

49. Finally, in the spirit of interregional co-operation recommended by the United Nations, a dialogue is proceeding between Europeans and Arabs with a view to the building, within a broader and more complete framework, of the links between individuals and the relations of co-operation between the countries of the Community and the countries of the League of Arab States. A fortunate beginning has been made to this dialogue as a result of the recent meetings of two delegations of experts in Cairo and Rome.

50. It is the wish of the nine Governments to maintain a constructive dialogue and to develop the greatest possible number of contacts with the other Members of the United Nations in a spirit of common understanding, in order to bridge the gaps between their respective positions and, if possible, to harmonize them.

51. The statement I have just made on behalf of the nine members of the Community has made it clear, through the series of examples mentioned of their actions and joint positions, that they are seeking objectives which are also being sought by the United Nations. This part of my statement may therefore be considered as the contribution made by them, not through recollections of the past, but through specific responses to the challenges and responsibilities of our time, to the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, which we are celebrating this year.

52. Having completed this general statement on behalf of the Community, I shall now continue speaking

as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Italy.

53. We are all living through a period not only of great interest but of great changes. Both the world and international relations are changing with the emergence of new States. Italy takes a positive view of this process and also welcomes the slow and laborious confluence of vaster entities, linked together internally by common political, economic and conceptual interests.

54. Precisely because we are confronted with such an intensely dynamic phase in international relations, we deem it necessary to emphasize how closely the question of peace is linked with the existence of balanced and stable structures. Stability, of course, should not be understood as a static vision of the international system, but rather as a continuous and creative adaptation to the world historical process.

55. On the other hand, the growing pluralism deriving from the multiplication of international protagonists is the main cause of dynamism within the community of nations. The process of decolonization has liberated new forces. These require working space appropriate to their needs of recovery in the process of development and to their expectations for the future. In short, there has begun a process which implies, besides the conquest of national sovereignty, participation in those international decisions on which the social and economic survival of entire populations depends.

56. Undoubtedly, pluralism implies the risk that disruptive tendencies might prevail within the system. The great multilateral forums are thus faced with the need to devise procedures which do not nullify the benefits inherent in a necessary and inevitable movement towards diversification, but which offer appropriate opportunities for all legitimate expectations without dislocating the system.

57. Italy takes a confident view of this process, without abstract feelings of optimism, in the certainty that the profound motives of interdependence among peoples will finally triumph. It is these motives which, at the multilateral level, suggest a strategy of consensus, in conformity, moreover, with those principles of universality and equality which form the historical and juridical basis of the United Nations.

58. Italy is situated at a cross-roads between three continents, in a geopolitically crucial region where fruitful coexistence between different civilizations and cultures is still interspersed with movements towards conflict and where the dynamic currents of the international system meet residual and tenacious sources of tensions. This special geopolitical position makes it essential for Italy to adopt clear definitions of diplomacy and strategy.

59. In accordance with this view and with these aims, Italy has found, in its friendly relations with the United States and in the Atlantic Alliance on the one hand, and in its commitment to European unity on the other, solid ground on which to base its participation, without isolation, in the peaceful and civilized development of international realities, with particular regard for the areas in which Italy is most directly and most naturally concerned.

60. These policies are in full accord with the great ideals and objectives of the United Nations and have enabled my country to make a contribution not only to the stabilization of Europe, by achieving the condition of security which is essential for all, but also to the process of détente, in whose continuance we believe.

61. Our commitment to European unity is meant to be not only a model for joint development, but a new approach to co-operation with other countries as well. Thus, within the framework of the Community, Italy, like the other Community members, has been able to work out comprehensive forms of multilateral co-operation with the emerging countries in an effort gradually to go beyond bilateralism.

62. Our policy is based on the premise that in order to achieve permanent conditions of world peace it is not enough to settle existing conflicts; we must also work for the gradual conquest of those imbalances which are at the root of instability and unrest in international life.

63. An essential and integral part of this development is the social and human element, because any new model of international relations will be very fragile unless it is based on respect for the dignity of the individual and his fundamental freedoms.

64. It is in this sense that I hope that the present session will go forward in a spirit of co-operation, with respect for statutory procedures, and in an atmosphere of serious and profound searching for solutions to the problems which still trouble political, economic and social relations between States.

65. In my statement on behalf of the Community I have already referred to existing conflicts. The Government of Italy is following with concern and special attention those affecting the Mediterranean area.

66. We are seriously preoccupied today with the Cyprus crisis precisely because it affects the background of interests in co-operation and political stability existing among Mediterranean peoples. We cannot forget that the three countries directly involved are linked with Italy by numerous and special ties of co-operation and friendship. We have therefore done our utmost, directly, in our present capacity as a member of the Security Council, and within the European Community, to bring about between the parties an atmosphere more propitious for reaching a just and lasting solution to the problem.

67. Thus it is with deep regret that we have learned of the postponement of the talks between the two communities in New York. We hope that under the auspices of the Secretary-General, these talks will be resumed as soon as possible, and that no unilateral action by the parties will seriously disturb the progress of negotiations towards a final and equitable solution of the problem.

68. With regard to the Middle East, we have welcomed the conclusion, on 4 September at Geneva, of the second partial agreement between Egypt and Israel. We consider this step forward a further proof of the constructive attitude taken by Egypt, Israel and Syria since January and May 1974, when the first agreements for the separation of forces were reached. However, we believed then, and we believe

now, that these agreements must in no case imply giving up an active and essential search for a global solution to the problem.

69. Here I must pay a deserved tribute to the determined and responsible efforts of the United States Secretary of State, who created the atmosphere for negotiation and made a decisive contribution to the search for formulas which made the agreement possible.

70. We must also express our appreciation to the President of Egypt, Mr. El-Sadat, for the political wisdom and far-sightedness he has shown in establishing, with the new agreement and the resulting improvement in the negotiating atmosphere, the bases for subsequent progress towards a peaceful overall solution for the benefit of all the countries in the area.

71. We must, finally, express our appreciation of the fact that the Israeli Government is now ready to seek its own integrity and security through political instruments and international consensus, which, for our part, we consider essential for the settlement of a conflict which has for too long afflicted the peoples of the region.

72. Of course, it is more difficult to evaluate the medium-term and long-term prospects of the agreement of 4 September. These prospects appear to us to depend on the ability of all the protagonists to become involved in the process of peaceful settlement the key elements of which, as we have often stated, are: first, Israeli withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967; secondly, recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, who cannot be denied a homeland; and thirdly, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States of the region, naturally including Israel.

73. The position of Italy, which may be summed up in the two indissolubly linked principles "security for States and justice for peoples", induces us to condemn with the utmost firmness—and with respect also to the absolute need for safeguarding the political and territorial integrity of Lebanon—all violent actions, whatever their origin. Such actions give rise to a senseless spiral which is contrary to the path of peace.

74. Another region which for too many years has been a theatre of war is South-East Asia. Although armed conflict has now come to an end in Viet Nam and Cambodia, there remain in those areas a number of problems related to reconstruction.

75. The Italian Government, having for some time now maintained diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of North Viet Nam, has recognized the new Governments of the Republic of South Viet Nam and of Cambodia and is now awaiting developments from the initiative already taken for the opening of diplomatic representation in the capitals concerned.

76. In line with the growing interest of the countries of the Community in the political and economic stability of South-East Asia, Italy will not fail to support all appropriate initiatives for the advancement of a region which has long sought to achieve its legitimate aspirations for progress in a new climate of peace.

77. A fundamental component of peace is a general relaxation of tension. A decisive contribution to this objective will certainly be made through agreements in the field of arms reduction or disarmament, at both the general and the regional level, always with the maintenance of the necessary balance.

78. The world community must be freed from the threat of potential extermination by existing military arsenals. We must therefore renew our efforts in the field of disarmament, and of nuclear disarmament in particular. In this endeavour, the role to be played by the major atomic Powers is obvious. Italy considers that the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks agreements and subsequent understandings at Vladivostok constitute important steps towards the containment of nuclear armaments. These steps must, however, be followed by further progress in the direction of specific reductions in existing nuclear arsenals, as provided for by article 6 of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

79. That Treaty, which was ratified last May by Italy and four other Member States members of the European Atomic Energy Community, is an essential instrument in the struggle against nuclear proliferation, whether horizontal or vertical. It is in the interest of all to reinforce and to strengthen it. It is therefore important that the Treaty should command the universal acceptance that will help in great measure to achieve its objectives. The recent Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has in fact shown how profound and extensive is the world's desire for a more determined effort both in the field of nuclear disarmament and in the field of international co-operation for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, in a context other than that of proliferation. It must be clearly stated that, if we wish to reinforce and strengthen the non-proliferation Treaty—and this is essential for the success of the struggle against nuclear proliferation—we cannot allow these expectations to be disappointed. The non-nuclear-weapon States which have acceded to the Treaty must have the assurance that the Treaty will provide the necessary basis and an effective channel for acquiring the economic and technological benefits of co-operation in the nuclear field that are envisaged under the Treaty.

80. In the last two sessions of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament no substantial progress was made. It is necessary that the political will of all the Governments participating in the Conference, stimulated by a body so representative of world public opinion as is this Assembly, strive to reach in Geneva widely acceptable agreements, particularly concerning chemical weapons and the complete cessation of nuclear tests. Without substantial progress in these fields, the objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control will prove even more difficult to attain.

81. The negotiations for the reciprocal and balanced reduction of forces in central Europe are taking place in a regional framework where there nevertheless exists a relationship of forces which underlies the most important strategic and political balance in the world and the deterrent effect derived from it. The special status of the Italian Government as it takes part in these negotiations, which concern the level

of forces existing in central Europe, has not prevented it and will not prevent it from making its own specific contribution. The objective we are pursuing through the mutual and balanced force reduction is to reach agreements which stabilize military forces at a lower level, without creating conditions prejudicial to the political unification of Western Europe.

82. Disarmament is both one of the premises and one of the essential parts of the process of détente. But the slow progress made in the dialogue on the question of disarmament cannot allow us to forget that the process of détente is prompted by continuous demands and pressures which are much vaster in scope.

83. In the framework of détente, Italy has made its own significant and coherent contribution to the progress of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, whose important effect on relations between the Western countries and Eastern Europe I have already stressed in my statement on behalf of the Community.

84. The presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, at Helsinki was a symbol of the fact that the objectives embodied in the Final Act of the Conference and those pursued by the United Nations are homogeneous.

85. The declaration on the Mediterranean approved by the Conference significantly broadens the concept of the problems of security and co-operation, emphasizing how these problems, by their very nature, cannot remain circumscribed within a well-defined regional context.

86. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe achieved its solemn culmination in the Final Act adopted by the 35 countries. It is an Act which improves the atmosphere of détente in inter-European relations and East-West relations in general. Its practical effects will depend on the manner in which it is implemented.

87. The choice of multilateral forums for dialogue does not exclude, but rather favours, the search by the Government of Italy for opportunities for constructive agreement on the bilateral level.

88. The relations between Italy and those neighbouring countries which do not belong to the European Economic Community bear witness to our determination to advance also along the path of bilateral co-operation. These relations are in fact excellent; the ties of friendship and co-operation which the Government of Italy has long since initiated with those countries have not only proved to be of mutual advantage but also brought about significant advances. The Government of Italy proposes to continue the policy which it has so decisively begun by giving every possible encouragement to those friendly relations it has so fruitfully established with its neighbours.

89. The solution of the problems of development and economic co-operation constitutes another essential pillar in that more equitable and stable structure on which we seek to build international relations.

90. We therefore note with satisfaction that this session of the General Assembly is opening at a moment in which we have clearly in our minds the positive results of the seventh special session, to which

I made special reference in my statement on behalf of the Community. We must now keep alive the spirit of compromise and mutual understanding which the special session has generated.

91. One achievement can already be considered as realized. Through focusing the debate on fundamental issues and through the emergence of a more responsible and sensitive approach to the problems of the world economic situation, a growing awareness of the economic interdependence among States, industrialized and developing, consumer and producer, rich and poor, has become apparent.

92. Every country, on the basis of equality and in accordance with its potential, must be granted active participation in the production process of the world and in the distribution of its benefits.

93. As I have already said in my statement at the seventh special session, the United Nations, in tackling the issues of development and international economic co-operation, has drawn the attention of the entire community of nations to questions which, being everywhere a cause of concern, insecurity and uneasiness, constitute the most challenging complex of problems which mankind has been called upon to resolve in recent history.

94. The solution of the problems which I have so far described is feasible only through the observance of those fundamental legal principles which constitute the very basis of the international community and which are essential for its ordered development. Respect for legality postulates the inviolability of the law and its complete accord with international realities.

95. Italy therefore supports the review now being conducted by the United Nations through the codification of current laws as well as the initiation of structural changes, such as those emerging from the laborious and complex search for new lines of agreement governing the utilization of the resources of the sea and the ocean depths.

96. The evolution of international realities is continually bringing new tasks before the United Nations, which, if it is to tackle them effectively, must constantly refine and improve its own structures.

97. Bearing in mind these requirements, the Government of Italy is participating in and requesting initiatives designed to rationalize the activities and machinery of the United Nations. We consider, too, that the proposals made for possible amendments to the Charter are justified. Among the proposals put forward in this field by Italy I would draw attention to that concerning the Commission on Human Rights, which we would like to see given the status of a principal organ of the United Nations within the meaning of Article 7 of the Charter. Italy maintains that the civilized conscience of mankind requires a more decisive effort from the United Nations in defence of human rights, aimed primarily at the elimination of all forms of racial, political and religious discrimination. The peace which Italy desires is not peace obtained through coercion. True peace is that in which everyone can enjoy freedom.

98. Like the ultimate aim of States with respect to national societies, so, too, the ultimate aim of an international system with respect to the community of

peoples is man himself. It is precisely this concept which underlies the obligation of the United Nations to defend the fundamental freedoms of the individual. To encourage the international community to advance towards more developed forms of coexistence means, therefore, also to increase this role and this special responsibility of the world Organization. Through the protection of human rights and freedoms, the international community can and must concur in raising the status of man with the final aim of making him, as an individual, the very protagonist of history.

99. The Charter of the United Nations offers us a set of values which is enlivened by ceaseless contact with international reality. It possesses the capacity for adaptation which will provide valid responses to the demands of mankind. These demands are derived from irreversible, positive changes. There is the change brought about by advancement to an era of interdependence, which makes selfishness outdated and unreal, and which makes any proposal for co-operation and solidarity realistic. There is also the change brought about by a desire for equality as a result of which consensus and joint participation will become the basic principles of the international system of the future.

100. Certainly, such changes are accompanied by disagreements, tensions and confrontations, but these developments in the tortured history of mankind invite us to make a more severe and critical choice of the instruments of dialogue and to search more intensively for a way of overcoming conflicts. We must strengthen our option for the multilateral prevention of conflicts as compared with our option of bringing conflicts to an end more or less opportunely. The Italian Government maintains that in the search for a method of peaceful settlement we will never run the risk of dispersal of efforts.

101. Italy is therefore determined to base its contribution to the international community on the awareness of the fundamental interdependence of States, the need for consensus, the recognition of the diversity, but also of the ultimate complementarity, of interests, and on the search for common solutions to common problems.

102. My country regards the United Nations—as all do—as a vital point of reference and as the moral conscience of the world community with the aim of progressively creating a climate which will favour meetings of peoples and the development, on the basis of mutual respect, of the great ideals of independence, justice and freedom for both peoples and individuals, in spite of temporary difficulties and setbacks.

103. As Members of the United Nations we have the will and the potential to respond to the demands of mankind and that will and potential must not be wasted. I am convinced that we shall respond together to the challenge of our times. It is an enormous challenge but one within the reach of both nations and men: development with justice, security with justice, stability with justice, peace with justice.

104. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union I should like to congratulate you on the occasion of

your election to the high position of President of the General Assembly for its thirtieth session and I wish you full success in the discharge of this most important function.

105. For three decades now, regular sessions of the General Assembly have been held towards the end of each year. And each session becomes a significant event in international life. Indeed, the United Nations activities are focused on the most important and acute problems.

106. If we try to visualize with our mind's eye the work of our Organization over all these years, we shall see a vivid picture of the concerns and anxieties, aspirations and hopes of mankind, permeated by a desire, common to all peoples, for peace and for material, social and spiritual progress.

107. Whether or not international developments are in line with that desire, this should be, above all, the starting-point in analysing the state of affairs in the world. It is from this angle that the Soviet Union views the situation in which representatives of States have gathered for the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

108. The main feature of the situation is that the process of relaxation of international tensions is gaining in scope, and détente itself is increasingly gaining substance. This finds its expression, in particular, in the conclusion of a whole number of agreements between States, including the well-known Soviet-American agreements, which are of great importance for the cause of peace and international security.

109. And though the process of improving the political climate is still being influenced by various, sometimes conflicting, factors, it can be definitely stated that in the past year a new significant step has been taken along the path leading towards a more durable peace.

110. The peaceful foreign policy of the USSR, a policy of socialism, is aimed at those objectives, at the strengthening of international security. Those objectives were set forth by the great Lenin himself, back in the early years of the existence of the Soviet State, and our country has been invariably guided by them throughout its historical march.

111. Following this course, a course embodied in the Peace Programme adopted by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the USSR is an active participant in, and in many instances a sponsor of, efforts radically to improve the international situation.

112. In present-day conditions, we believe it feasible, though not at all easy, to carry out a restructuring of relations among States such as would leave no room for wars between them and would secure respect for the rights of all peoples, large or small, to free and independent development.

113. The principled foreign policy line of the USSR will, no doubt, be reaffirmed and expanded in the decisions of the forthcoming Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Party of Soviet communists early next year. All those who fight for the peace, national independence and social progress of peoples can continue to count on our solidarity and active support.

114. In pursuing its policy of peace, the Soviet Union acts in the world arena in close unity with the fraternal socialist countries. And we are proud that the peaceful policies of the socialist countries are in keeping with the aspirations of all peoples.

115. This year will remain in the memory of the peoples as the year of the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Final Act of the Conference, to which the signatures of top leaders of 33 European countries, the United States of America and Canada were affixed in Helsinki, in one of the most outstanding documents of our times.

116. The peoples of Europe to a very large extent pinned on the Conference the hope that the European continent would be able, at last, to break out of the vicious circle of its history where every post-war period turned into a pre-war period, to be followed by a war unleashed by aggressors. The peoples of Europe expected that the Conference would work out and adopt important decisions in the interests of ensuring their security and agree on the main directions for equal and versatile co-operation. Everywhere in Europe people wished the Conference to succeed.

117. The participants in the Conference succeeded through intense collective efforts in achieving important results, which have been clearly recorded in the Final Act.

118. This concerns, above all, the political sphere—the working out of principles governing relations among the participating States. Provided they are strictly observed by all States, the threat of war will be excluded from the life of the peoples of Europe and an atmosphere of trust in the peaceful development of each country will come into being on the continent.

119. This is also true and applicable with regard to the stability and confidence measures agreed on at the Conference, which are designed to promote a reduction of the risk of armed conflicts in Europe.

120. A positive role is to be played by the understandings reached at the Conference on co-operation in the fields of trade, large-scale industrial projects, science and technology, and the protection of the environment.

121. A substantial contribution to the development of co-operation between the States participating in the Conference are the understandings reached on questions of co-operation in the fields of culture, information, contacts and education, and their significance will be ever increasingly felt as détente deepens and develops.

122. It is not without a sense of satisfaction that I note that the success of the Conference was largely facilitated by the efforts of the socialist countries, which invariably seek to switch international relations on to the track of peaceful coexistence. This success became possible also because in Western countries the well-founded conviction is gaining strength that it is necessary to adopt a constructive approach to the solution of problems that arise in Europe instead of aggravating and inflaming the situation, which in the past often reached dangerous levels.

123. The understandings reached as a result of the Conference are based on the recognition by all its

participants of the absolute truth that respect for the sovereign equality of States, the non-use of force, the inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity, non-intervention from outside in the internal affairs of States as well as other basic principles are laws which no one may transgress.

124. What are the implications of the result of this joint work of 35 States for the peoples of Europe and indeed of the entire world?

125. The answer is provided by the experience of the past, when a desire to seize others' territories and brute force raised to the level of State policy acquired the character of criminal claims to world domination and developed into the brown plague of fascism, racism, direct aggression and the tragedy of world wars. Now 35 States which took part in the Conference have assumed, jointly and before the whole world, the obligation to build their relations on the principles of peace, and peace alone, and of deeper co-operation.

126. The results of the Conference constitute a carefully weighed balance of the interests of all its participants, and they reflect generally acceptable understandings and well-founded compromises. We have every reason to state that the experience of the Conference should be used most extensively for the settlement in general of the pressing problems of today.

127. In short, as was stressed by L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at Helsinki:

“The results of the prolonged negotiations are such that there are neither victors nor vanquished, neither winners nor losers. This is a victory for reason. Everyone has won—the countries of the East and of the West, the peoples of socialist and capitalist States, parties to alliances and neutrals, large and small. This is a gain for all people who hold dear the cause of peace and security on our planet.”

128. Assessing highly the results of the Conference, the Soviet Union believes that the main task now is to translate the understandings reached into deeds, and to advance towards new milestones in the struggle for a lasting peace. This is the course the Soviet Union follows and will continue to follow, and this is what we also expect others to do.

129. Who would contest that the year 1975 will go down in history as the year of the triumph of the just cause of the peoples of Indo-China? Triumph crowned their liberation struggle that had been carried on for almost 30 years against colonialists and aggression.

130. Those people sustained tremendous losses, but their will for freedom was never broken. The victory won by the peoples of Indo-China is above all the result of their own efforts. At the same time, it is also a major and common success of all the peace-loving and progressive forces which invariably demonstrated their solidarity with the struggle of the patriots of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, and provided them with moral and material support.

131. The Soviet Union—as the whole world knows—has fulfilled its internationalist duty to the Vietnamese people. It has sought persistently the elimination in

Indo-China of one of the most dangerous hot-beds of war which troubled international relations.

132. Understandably, the removal of that hot-bed was welcomed everywhere with a sense of relief. Now that freedom and peace have dawned over the whole of Indo-China, favourable prospects are opening up for its peoples to begin healing the wounds of war and building a new life, which they are doing with the dedication and heroism so characteristic of them.

133. Having defended their sovereignty and independence in the long struggle, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam now express their willingness to participate within the framework of this world Organization also in efforts to develop international co-operation. We are convinced that the admission to the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam would be fully in keeping with the lofty purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter; and the Soviet Union supports the request of their Governments to that effect. No one who stands for peace should fear such a decision of the United Nations.

134. The lessons of Indo-China are simple and obvious. The struggle of peoples for freedom, national independence and social progress is invincible. It cannot be destroyed by bullets or fire. The outcome of many years of conflict in Indo-China is a convincing case in point. It is also clear that any attempt to dictate or to impose one's will on other peoples by force of arms is untenable and in the final account doomed to failure.

135. This is a good lesson, in the sense that the policy of acting from "positions of strength", which has now been rejected also at the conference table in Helsinki, should be relegated to the archives of history, never to be revived.

136. The radical change in the state of affairs in Indo-China creates more favourable prerequisites for establishing peaceful co-operation in Asia as a whole. Practical steps in this direction would serve the interests of the settlement of urgent problems and the strengthening of security throughout the continent of Asia which of course requires, as in Europe, collective efforts by all States concerned, both large and small. And it is through such efforts, and subject to strict compliance with the principles of equality and non-use of force in any guise in resolving disputes between States, that a most effective solution of the problem of Asian security can be found. Let no one think that the Soviet Union would benefit from such a turn of events in Asia to a greater extent than some other States. Not at all; objectively all countries of Asia are equally interested in this.

137. The entire course of world events in recent times confirms the conclusion reached a long time ago by all those who stand on the ground of reality, that only the policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems can have a future and is in keeping with the interests of the peoples.

138. Our country, the Soviet Union, which is faithful to the legacy of Lenin, carries on a tireless struggle for the further establishment of these principles as a generally recognized rule of international relations. In our relationships with countries of different social

systems there are a good many positive elements which serve both our interests and those of our partners in corresponding agreements and understandings. This finds its expression in particular in the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America in recent years, primarily as a result of Soviet-American summit meetings, which favourably influences the situation in the world as a whole.

139. A joint search for solutions of urgent problems, including their consideration at the very highest level, the development of political contacts, the expansion of economic, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges have already yielded tangible results which have a positive impact on the general state of international relations and strengthen the spirit of trust in them, without which relations among States cannot be built on a solid basis.

140. The Soviet Union continues to consolidate friendly relations with developing countries with which we are united by a common desire for peace and progress. We have invariably rendered and will continue to render support to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the movement of non-aligned States in their struggle to consolidate their national sovereignty and economic independence, to overcome the grim legacy of the colonial past, and against intrigues aimed at undermining their independence and infringing upon their legitimate rights.

141. Step by step the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are freeing themselves of the consequences of the "cold war" and its distortions in politics. In this respect the decision by Latin American States to put an end to the policy of boycotting socialist Cuba, a policy imposed upon them, was an important event.

142. It is quite natural that it should be precisely in the present-day situation that the last pillars of colonialism, built up over centuries, are falling down. Quite recently, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, the Comoros and Papua New Guinea have joined the ranks of independent States. Our country welcomes the victory of the just cause of their peoples.

143. We congratulate the representatives present in this Hall of the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the People's Republic of Mozambique, which have become full-fledged Members of our Organization.

144. Of course, the completion of the process of decolonization is not proceeding without difficulties. The events in Angola, for example, testify to this. The forces hostile to the liberation struggle of peoples do not surrender their positions without fighting. They sometimes find accomplices also among those who like to pose as zealous champions of the good of oppressed peoples while in practice they are in collusion with the oppressors.

145. But in spite of all difficulties, the struggle for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, for the uprooting of racism, is now closer to final victory than ever before.

146. The States of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute a great and active force in world politics,

and this imposes on them a grave responsibility for the state of affairs in the world. We view with understanding the fact that these countries, still suffering from the consequences of exploitation, discrimination and economic coercion, are today participating in the work of putting forward and elaborating proposals to establish such international economic relations as would be based on equality and justice.

147. The solution of those questions, too, is inseparably connected with the further relaxation of political tensions in the world. The Soviet Union is fully aware of the legitimate interests and demands of the developing countries, and it based itself precisely upon such positions in the course of the recently concluded seventh special session of the General Assembly, the results of which we assess positively, although it is quite clear to everyone that much has still to be done before the relevant problems are actually solved.

148. Thus, the past was marked by significant international events of a positive nature. It is not for us, the socialist States, to underestimate the significance of successes in the international arena. Their contribution to the struggle for those successes is common knowledge.

149. At the same time, one should be clearly conscious of the fact that détente is not a process which develops by its own momentum. For détente to move ahead, ever new impulses must be given it. A continuous day-to-day struggle must be conducted for it in international forums and from parliamentary rostrums. Each State, each Government, should realize that it can and should make its own contribution to détente.

150. We deem it necessary to state this from the rostrum of the United Nations because, as facts prove, it would be wrong to underestimate the resistance of the enemies of détente.

151. Designs dangerous to the cause of international co-operation continue to originate in their camp. And in this connexion no small arsenal of means is put into action, ranging from the direct use of force against other countries and peoples to demagoguery which exploits the tenacity of the "cold-war" dogmas and sows doubts as to the benefits of détente for all peoples.

152. The same forces which once in the past sought to thwart the convening of the all-European Conference, and later on tried to prevent it from succeeding, attempt to question the effectiveness of its results.

153. However, the problem does not only lie in tendentious propaganda campaigns against détente and international actions aimed at deepening it; what is even more dangerous is the continuous policy of interference which endangers the independence of States, even though such a policy may be camouflaged by words in defence of the ideals of freedom and democracy. Two years ago, this policy paved the way for the bloody Fascist *coup* in Chile. Today, almost the same methods are used to exacerbate the situation concerning some other countries.

154. The world is deeply concerned over the blatant attempts to bring outside pressure to bear on Portugal, clearly made with the intent to compel the Portuguese people to abandon their chosen road of free development.

155. The interests of solving the complex political and economic problems faced by Portugal require that a calm situation be ensured with regard to that country. No one can be allowed to flout the inalienable right of the Portuguese people to determine its destiny independently and without outside interference. Such is the position on which the Soviet Union has proceeded and will continue to proceed.

156. Opponents of the process of détente will try to slow it down. But if we ask all those who, overtly or semi-overtly, today come out against the line of lessening international tensions what alternative they offer, they cannot come up with anything intelligible. In reality, their policy has but one answer, an answer which would tend to reserve this process and bring it back to the times of the "cold war".

157. Herein lies the watershed between those who in practice stand for peace, for the improvement of relations between States and for the development of peaceful co-operation in all fields—and they are backed by the peoples—and those who reject this course in the development of world affairs, who would rather push the world towards the old path of tension, clashes between States, and an unrestrained arms race with all the ensuing dangers.

158. All participants in this world forum of States would probably agree that one of the main tasks in the international sphere remains the elimination of the hot-beds of armed conflict. One need not dwell on the gravity of the threat when in this or that hot-bed the conflict suddenly flares up and again produces a crisis. The world has repeatedly faced such a turn of events and knows full well how hard it is to put out the flames of war.

159. This, above all, concerns the Middle East, where a dangerous situation has persisted for many years.

160. The essence of the conflict, its origins and causes are well known. What is required for the solution of the problem is no secret either. Only those do not see it who do not wish to. To establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East in the interests of all States of the area and peoples inhabiting it, it is necessary that Israeli forces be withdrawn from all the Arab territories occupied by them in 1967; to ensure the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own State; to guarantee the rights of all the countries of the Middle East to independent development. I repeat, "all" the countries of the Middle East.

161. A Middle East settlement cannot make headway if those crucial problems are left unsolved. Without their solution a settlement in the Middle East can only be delayed indefinitely, with increasing dangers for the situation. No palliative measures or camouflaging can change the substance of the matter.

162. The problem of the Middle East must be free from an approach based on momentary considerations and publicity. It can be solved in the interests of the security and independence of all the countries of the region only in conditions of a serious and responsible approach to its solution.

163. From all appearances, the circles which determine the political course of Israel have not yet realized that it is impossible to ensure the security of the country while trampling upon the legitimate rights of other

countries which are its neighbours. That policy naturally meets with broad condemnation. The Soviet Union, too, decisively condemns it.

164. The main problems of the Middle East are still awaiting solution. There is appropriate machinery for their examination—the Geneva Peace Conference. The Soviet Union stands for the reconvening of the Conference with the participation of all—and I stress “all”—parties concerned, including representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. It will be recalled that the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session reaffirmed by an overwhelming majority the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and national sovereignty [resolution 3236 (XXIX)]. The solution of the Palestine problem is an integral part of an over-all settlement in the Middle East. Today this is axiomatic and politicians cannot pretend that they do not see it.

165. The main thing with which the participants should come to the Conference is a firm desire jointly to seek acceptable solutions. The Soviet Union, for its part, is ready to continue to do everything so that the Middle East may become an area of lasting and durable peace. That is what we mainly want to see in the Middle East, an area adjacent to the southern borders of our country.

166. The Soviet Union consistently pursues a policy of friendship with the Arab countries, which are defending their just cause. This friendship is deeply ingrained and we do not believe that anyone will succeed in undermining it. The Soviet Union will continue to do everything in its power to consolidate this friendship on a basis of justice and principle.

167. The situation in and around Cyprus still remains complicated. To satisfy interests alien to Cyprus the sovereignty of that small country and the inalienable rights of its people have been trampled upon for more than a year.

168. The Soviet Union has consistently come out in defence of the independence and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island, and for the settlement of the internal matters of their State by the two communities, Greek and Turkish, themselves. In other words, we are for the implementation of the well-known United Nations decisions on Cyprus. It is only on such a basis that a just settlement of the Cyprus problem and the elimination of this hot-bed of tension will be possible.

169. The precarious state of armistice obviously does not ensure the stabilization of the state of affairs on the Korean peninsula. The need to create conditions for establishing durable peace on the Korean peninsula and speeding up the peaceful reunification of Korea has long been pressing.

170. Those goals would be served by a cessation of outside interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people and, in the first place, the withdrawal from South Korea of all foreign troops stationed there under the United Nations flag, as well as by the conclusion of a peace treaty. It is the duty of the United Nations to assist in every possible way in taking such steps. This can be done on the basis of the proposals put forward at the current session of the General

Assembly by a large group of States, including the Soviet Union.

171. The process of lessening tensions in the world, the very logic of its development, pose most acutely the question of the need to curb the arms race. The measures taken in this direction in recent years are to be commended. We attach great importance also to the negotiations now under way aimed at working out a new long-term agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons. Its conclusion will be a new and major step forward, not only in bilateral Soviet-American relations, but in a wider international context as well.

172. Hardly anyone would dispute the fact that everything that has been achieved in the field of disarmament so far represents but the first steps. Indeed, mankind so far has been unable to check the arms race or even substantially to slow down its pace. It goes on in the direction both of developing ever more destructive means of warfare and of building up the total volume of armaments.

173. The Soviet Union is convinced that in the conditions of a relaxation of tensions in the world the prerequisites have been created for the implementation of effective measures which would end the arms race. In other words, it is now not only necessary but also possible to supplement political détente with military détente. The States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe unanimously pronounced themselves in favour of this in the Final Act.

174. The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held last May at Geneva, came out for the implementation of broad measures for the limitation of the arms race and for disarmament. It is precisely such specific steps towards easing the burden of armaments that become the touchstone for testing the genuine readiness of States and Governments to pursue the course of peace.

175. The struggle for disarmament has always been and continues to be an integral part of the foreign policy line of the Soviet Union. The USSR is a permanent and active participant in negotiations on various aspects of the disarmament problem.

176. We attach great importance to the lessening of military confrontation in areas where it is especially dangerous. Now, following the conclusion of the all-European Conference, one of the primary tasks is to find ways towards agreement on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, without infringing the security of anyone. The Soviet Union will contribute in every way to the success of the talks on this problem currently under way in Vienna.

177. Within the framework of the United Nations we have on more than one occasion already stated in detail our position on disarmament questions. And we have not merely stated it. The Soviet Union has put forward a large number of specific proposals many of which have formed the basis of important decisions adopted by the United Nations. We have consistently supported their implementation. This applies in particular to the resolution of the twenty-

seventh session of the General Assembly on the non-use of force in international relations and the simultaneous permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*].

178. Another question raised by the Soviet Union—the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—also retains the utmost importance.

179. We consider it important speedily to conclude an international convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of techniques to influence the environment. The conclusion of such a convention would be not only a means of limiting the sphere of the arms race, but also an important means of preserving the environment, which would meet the vital interests of all States and peoples. We would like to express the hope that agreement will be reached on this matter in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, where a relevant draft is under consideration.

180. In the field of disarmament, as in other matters, the Soviet Union adopts a realistic approach. It is constantly seeking areas of disarmament and arms-race limitation in which it is feasible to find commonly acceptable agreements.

181. At the same time, we have never overlooked the main objective—general and complete disarmament. We are of the view that this problem should be in the forefront of the attention of the World Disarmament Conference. The United Nations has already approved the idea of convening it. In that forum all countries of the world could, on an equal footing and freely, set out and compare their positions and outline ways and means of limiting and arresting the arms race.

182. It is high time that efforts were made to complete preparations for the conference and to convene it. As is well known, this is something in which the Soviet Union will not be, and has not been, found wanting.

183. The Soviet delegation would like to draw your attention to two aspects of the disarmament problem on which, in our view, decisions are required and can be taken in practice at the earliest possible date.

184. We all realize the importance of scientific and technological progress. The mission of science is noble and humane in essence. It expands the horizons of human knowledge, makes knowledge a powerful force of economic development, of raising the well-being of peoples and their cultural levels, and links countries together by bonds of peaceful co-operation.

185. Quite recently the entire world was given new proof of this. We are referring to the outstanding international experiment in outer space, the docking and joint flight of the Soviet and American space craft, "Soyuz" and "Apollo". The handshake in orbit, as this experiment is now known, has rightfully become a symbol of the fruitful union of scientific achievements and the policy of peaceful coexistence.

186. The USSR is a consistent champion of the use of science exclusively for peaceful purposes and in the interest of mankind, and is prepared for wide, large-scale co-operation in the sphere of science and technology with all States interested in this.

187. However, the experience of the past shows that achievements in science and technology can be used for dangerous, even criminal purposes.

188. With today's rapid development of science and technology in various countries new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction could emerge in various places. One can assume with a high degree of certainty that they would be even more ominous than those existing at present.

189. None of this can be ignored. Further, it is well known how difficult it is to withdraw any weapon that has already been developed from the arsenals of States, and consequently how much safer and more reasonable it is to prevent its emergence in advance. If things are viewed from that angle, the need for, the urgency of, effective measures to prohibit the development of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction should become absolutely evident.

190. Proceeding from this, aware of its responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council, the Soviet Union proposes the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly as an important and urgent matter of item 126 entitled "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons".

191. We propose that States, and first of all the major Powers, conclude an agreement based on an undertaking neither to develop nor to manufacture new types and new systems of such weapons and not to assist in or encourage any activities in that direction.

192. The need may arise to be more specific as to the categories of weapons which should be covered by the ban. The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in a detailed examination of this question in the course of appropriate negotiations. It is ready to speak out on the substance of this matter and to put forward most concrete proposals.

193. The draft agreement which we submit to the General Assembly [*see A/10243, annex*] is worded in such a way that, while banning the development of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction, the agreement would not at the same time impede the economic, scientific and technical development of States parties and would not infringe their right to make use of scientific research and discoveries for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of people and without any discrimination.

194. Such an international agreement would make a major contribution to the cause of limiting the arms race and to the cause of further easing international tensions. We should like to express our hope that our proposal will find support from the participants in this session and that other countries will join us in our initiative.

195. In submitting our second proposal we were moved by the same concern, that of delivering mankind from the danger of war; by the desire to curb the race in the most pernicious weapons at present in the arsenals of States, nuclear weapons. Its purpose is to end completely nuclear weapon tests and thus radically to limit the practical possibilities for perfecting it further.

196. Major steps have already been taken towards this aim: the 1963 Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water,¹ and the 1974 Treaty between the USSR and the United States of America on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests.²

197. In our view, conditions are ripe at present for the final step along this road: to conclude a broad international agreement imposing a ban on all nuclear weapon tests without exception.

198. In line with this approach, the Soviet Union has already proposed the inclusion in the agenda of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of an important and urgent item entitled "Conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests" [item 122].

199. In accordance with the draft treaty which is submitted for the consideration of Member States [see A/10241, annex], its adherents would undertake from now on not to manufacture nuclear weapons and to prohibit and prevent any test explosions of nuclear weapons in any environment, including the underground environment. Such an obligation must, of course, be assumed by all States, including all nuclear Powers.

200. While outlawing all nuclear weapon tests, the treaty must not at the same time deny access to the benefits of the peaceful uses of nuclear explosions for both nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon countries.

201. We hope that the General Assembly will support our initiative for the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

202. The implementation of the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union for consideration at the present session is in our view an integral part of the fulfilment of the general task which life itself has today made the corner-stone of all United Nations activities. The essence of the task is to promote the further development of the positive processes taking place in the world and to make them irreversible.

203. We are convinced that the United Nations is equal to that task. Our world Organization has accumulated enormous experience in the multilateral co-operation of States. That valuable asset can and must be constantly employed for the benefit of peace.

204. The successful fulfilment of its lofty mission by the United Nations as an important instrument for consolidating international security, particularly in the present-day most responsible period, presupposes constant enhancement of the effectiveness of its work. That need is ever greater, since some useful decisions of the United Nations still remain unimplemented, and that plays into the hands of those who would like to maintain hotbeds of the danger of war, colonial domination and remnants of racism.

205. It would do no harm to recall once again from this rostrum that, as regards the obligation to comply strictly with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, there can be no exceptions for any of its Members. The Charter is the foundation of the entire structure of the United Nations. It has stood the test of time, and fully retains its significance for the future.

It is in the strict observance of the Charter, rather than in its revision, that one should look for resources for the further enhancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations and the strengthening of its authority.

206. The lofty purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter are an embodiment of the collective quest of the peoples for peace and progress. They were born out of the flames of the greatest tragedy that has ever befallen mankind. Celebrating this year the thirtieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the peoples look to the future with hope.

207. The greatness of the exploits performed in the struggle against fascism and aggression by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of all countries who, during the years of war, combined their efforts in the name of victory and founded the United Nations, setting themselves the task of saving present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war, will never fade.

208. In the three decades since the end of the Second World War a great distance has been covered in the struggle for international security. Particularly impressive are the successes achieved in recent years, which graphically prove that the prevention of wars between States is not a Utopian but an attainable goal. However, that must not be a source of complacency. There is still much to be done to achieve a truly stable peace on earth.

209. As for the Soviet Union, we wish to see no stops on this road, no zigzags and, above all, no reversals. Substantial steps in that direction can be made here, at this General Assembly, and we are willing to take a most active part in this common endeavour.

210. Mr. ROBLEDO (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the first place, Sir, I should like to express the satisfaction of the Government of the Republic of Argentina and my own personal satisfaction at your election to the position of President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. You represent an area of the world with which my country maintains traditional relations. I am happy to emphasize that your personal qualities reflect a valuable culture which has enriched my country and the legacy of which is still alive today.

211. We wish to express our great appreciation to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, from whose dynamism and ability we benefited in the course of two intense sessions of the General Assembly and with whom I recently had the privilege of sharing the historic days of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima.

212. I also wish to express our deep satisfaction at the entry into the United Nations of the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique—new countries with which Argentina will maintain ties of friendship and close co-operation within its policy of maintaining active relations with Africa. Their presence in this Assembly brings us closer to the ideal of universality which we have always advocated, and of which I shall have an opportunity to speak at greater length at another time.

213. We are living at a very special time in history. The irreconcilable enemies of the past meet today, setting aside their own ideological divergencies, to find common paths which will make it possible to consolidate the future of their peoples. Détente has brought about a basic state of peace which has undoubtedly transformed relations among countries, but we are still far from the world of peace, idealism, justice and order to which the United Nations Charter points.

214. That is why there still continue to exist serious hot-beds of conflict which, tragically, lead to armed confrontation, with all its sequel of irreparable damage. That is why there are still oppressed peoples who must await their turn to exercise their right to self-determination. That is why there are still enclaves of occupation which infringe the territorial integrity of nations on various continents. War, colonialism and territorial usurpation are thus an everyday component of international reality.

215. But, at the same time, it is fair to maintain that that atmosphere of détente has made it possible to start new and fruitful courses of exchange which are the very basis of our frequently mentioned interdependence. Economic co-operation, which does not imply that anyone accepts given political ideas, grows daily, possibly because we have at last realized, with all its implications, the significance of the limited area of the earth which we share.

Mr. Rinchin (Mongolia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

216. In the hope of encouraging the trend towards positive dialogue, the United Nations was established. In 1945 nobody thought that confrontations would disappear merely because a group of countries established an organization with universal purposes and goals. That consideration, valid at the outset, still applies, but the course of 30 years of life and experience shows us, in 1975, that on many occasions important agreements have been reached owing fundamentally to the vitality and political resources of the United Nations.

217. Therefore, it is only just to recall the achievements of the United Nations and from them to draw the strength to weave the pattern for the future. To that end no organization can serve us better than the United Nations, which today is celebrating its thirtieth year of existence. The United Nations, whose majorities and minorities have faced each other on historic occasions is the only instrument that we have for mutual understanding and common progress.

218. May this sounding-box serve so that all States Members can state their views frankly, however divergent. May this august Assembly serve in the search for means of understanding and joint action in all those fields in which it is possible to arrive at a compromise. May it serve to hold on high for all time the essential standards which govern international coexistence.

219. Let us be fully aware of our own strength, both individually and collectively, so as to alter unjust situations with which we are all concerned. Let us therefore seek to build with specific elements a more secure structure so that we may not feel we are sheltering under a non-existent ceiling. In sum, let us do

everything within our power, without sacrificing our own principles, to reconcile our ideas and act jointly.

220. It is in this spirit that the Republic of Argentina, in these difficult moments, renews its support for the United Nations. We shall always be ready to give our support to our common task, which we all know is the irrevocable mandate with which mankind must sooner or later comply.

221. Since the time of the League of Nations we have consistently maintained that the principle of universality must be applied in integrating the world. This approach, which is closely connected to a rejection of ideological barriers in international relations, is a basic component of the foreign policy of Argentina.

222. The universality of the United Nations is an essential condition for achieving the purposes of the Charter.

223. Our delegation will therefore support the admission of all peace-loving States, as laid down in Article 4 of the Charter, and we shall oppose any measures in that field which might mean a weakening of the Organization.

224. Argentina is proud to form part of a group of States within the United Nations which meets under the name of the Latin American group. We have in it heirs of the most diverse races and cultures on earth as well as representatives of different systems of government. My country, without abandoning its national convictions, realizes that it is on a secure and real basis of primary union that we will be able to forge a better future and co-operate effectively to create a better international system.

225. Regional integration is a model which daily acquires greater vigour. On every continent we see the emergence, with difficulties and varying degrees of success, of this new design of co-participation.

226. Statesmen of the old Europe to which you belong, Mr. President, with clear foresight set the example after the last world war by rising above traditional antagonisms and bloody confrontations to channel a handful of Powers along the fruitful path of co-operation and complementarity.

227. The fact is that the shortening of distances and the pressing need for resources of every kind force us to come together. Only in that gathering of nations, which, we reiterate, we know to be very complex indeed in its realization, would it be possible for us to maintain our independence as sovereign entities capable of defending the vital interests of our own peoples.

228. But we have not wished only to seek understanding on the basis of geography and history. That is why we belong to the movement of non-aligned countries, in which the motives for association include very different components. I need hardly say that there, too, we maintain our beliefs and will not endorse criteria which differ from those inspired by our national traditions. At the same time, we are determined to associate ourselves in clear and decisive fashion with ideas active in the world of today and shared by distant and dissimilar countries under the mantle of non-alignment, and that is because the search for agreements among countries that have no capacity to destroy

the world is an imperative that stems from our very origin.

229. It was precisely because of that independent and sovereign vocation of a young State which, from its own beginnings, had to battle against the powerful, that General Juan Perón brought into being the third-world position, which he introduced into the world at the most critical moment of the cold war. The courage and vision he demonstrated in those days serve to inspire and sustain the Argentina of today.

230. We have before us a full agenda, with many important and varied items of a political, economic, social and legal nature. The position of Argentina on these items has been stated repeatedly at this very rostrum. I therefore deem it unnecessary to repeat them here again. Suffice it once more to reaffirm, in the awareness that I speak for all the people of Argentina, the validity of the principles of the United Nations Charter, which we shall continue to strive to bring to life.

231. For this to be possible, we shall have to eradicate injustice and domination from every corner of the earth; we must do away with the scourge of discrimination and colonialism, and bring to a halt the arms race, for which the great nuclear Powers are responsible but which also is felt at the regional level, generating the consequent tensions and resulting in an unnecessary waste of resources that should be used for promoting development. Lastly, subject peoples should be given assistance to enable them freely to decide the destiny of their countries.

232. In this connexion, we cannot fail to express our satisfaction at the signing of the recent agreement between Egypt and Israel, achieved through the expectation and decision of two sovereign States which are seeking a solution to their long-standing problems by the arduous path of negotiation. We appreciate the efforts made by both sides to bring about a happy conclusion. Everything that is done to maintain peace in that so sensitive area through the use of peaceful means should be able to count on widespread support. We realize that this step is only a beginning and that many more steps must be taken in order to reach the final goal of establishing a just and lasting peace, with recognition of the legitimate rights of the peoples concerned.

233. We consider that the balanced set of principles and reciprocal obligations laid down in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is still the principal basis for the attainment of that objective.

234. We are a people convinced of the merits of negotiation. We apply this to what concerns us most directly. As is well known, my country suffers from the usurpation by a foreign Power of a part of its territory, namely the Malvinas Islands. For that question to be settled, there is no solution other than the return of those islands to the territorial patrimony of the Republic, since their occupation by force was carried out against every law and was never consented to by our country.

235. In this respect, I reaffirm the will of my Government to negotiate with the Government of the United Kingdom in accordance with the provisions of the resolutions and agreements adopted by the General Assembly.

236. In this connexion, I trust that the United Kingdom will finally decide to comply with the United Nations resolutions and negotiate, as early as possible, a definitive settlement of this dispute.

237. The Republic of Argentina is reassured by the recent decision taken at Lima at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries with regard to the Malvinas Islands. The solidarity in our cause is proof of the identity of interests that binds all its members together.

238. In the Lima Programme for Mutual Assistance and Solidarity [A/10217 and Corr.1] the right of my country was clearly recognized and the application, in this specific case, of the principle of self-determination was excluded, in view of the fact that the British occupation constitutes a violation of the principle of territorial integrity specifically laid down in resolution 1514 (XV).

239. The Lima Declaration strengthens the purpose of Argentina to secure, in the briefest possible time, a return of the Malvinas Islands to the national patrimony by the course indicated in resolutions 2065 (XX) and 3160 (XXVIII).

240. My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the results of the work of the seventh special session, devoted to development and international economic co-operation. That session was a significant milestone because of the undoubted progress made in the areas covered by its agenda. What is even more important is that that progress was achieved through a dialogue that made it possible to determine more accurately where we are and where we want to go.

241. The developing countries evinced a desire to reduce areas of friction and concentrated their efforts on specific items that offer opportunities for effective international co-operation with the industrialized world.

242. The developed countries, for their part, demonstrated a praiseworthy capacity to adjust to new conditions through a renewal of ideas and a constructive spirit, all of which leads us to believe that we shall be able to proceed from words to deeds.

243. Much needs to be done to bring us closer to the rule of international social and economic justice, which is a permanent objective of the foreign policy of my country. But we must clearly understand that only to the extent that we go forward to greater justice in international economic relations will it be possible for us to go beyond a policy of sterile confrontation to one of fruitful co-operation.

244. For us, the idea of co-operation is not incompatible with acceptance of the conflicting nature of relationships between the developed world and the developing countries. What is more, recent experience shows that we can move forward in the direction of co-operation on the basis of a recognition of the diversity of interests, and even of the fact that confrontation is not sterile when it engenders positive attitudes leading to solutions that benefit all.

245. In that context what is necessary is to do away with the distorting factors as a result of which those who have the most receive not only the products of their own efforts but also additional benefits that accrue because the rules of the game accentuate the

structural disadvantages that are typical of the developing countries. These rules basically include the mechanisms which determine international prices, the monetary and financial system, the transfer of technology, and external debt servicing. Those factors cause the developing countries with alarming frequency to receive less for their efforts than their real value.

246. The world economic recession imposes excessive burdens on the economies of the developing countries which, unlike the developed countries, lack the resources and means to correct these imbalances. It is the urgent duty of the international community to find measures to assist the developing countries in eliminating the bottlenecks from which they suffer in the external sector of their economies and which the world crisis has aggravated. We are studying the various proposals which have recently been made in regard to an increase in foreign private investment, the important role of which in the integral development of our peoples we are the first to recognize. Furthermore, without any ideological pre-conceptions, we are open to any positive contribution to our development.

247. And now I should like to bring before the Assembly a concern which I am sure is shared by many of those who are listening to me: it relates to a growing tendency to accord less and less attention in international organizations for financial and technical co-operation and assistance to those States which have reached a certain relative degree of development. In mentioning this concern we are certainly not objecting to the justified efforts being made in these forums for the benefit of the neediest, still less trying to undermine them. Argentina has always supported, and will continue to support, special measures in favour of these countries. But what we do insist on is that those which have reached a certain degree of development, as is typically the case in Latin America, should not be left out in the activities of these organizations in which many times our continent led the way on the paths now followed by the international community.

248. Latin America is in a position to assist not only with ideas but also, as we have proved, with specific contributions within the concept of an essentially dynamic and multiplying international co-operation. Proof of this is the initiative taken to give a new dimension to technical co-operation whereby the abilities and experience of the developing countries could be used to the full. We are very happy that, for the first time within the framework of the United Nations, provision has been made for an intergovernmental meeting on a world scale to promote this new form of co-operation.

249. The world has become aware that resources are limited and that it is therefore necessary to avoid their waste by using them rationally. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment,

held at Stockholm in 1972, represented official recognition of this new state of affairs and offered solutions on the basis of the fruitful principles of co-operation. Given the problem of a scarcity of resources, co-operation is no longer an alternative but the only way, since it is only by joint effort on the part of the international community that we shall arrive at an effective solution.

250. The United Nations Water Conference, to be held in 1977, will be an important opportunity for the international community to put to the test the principles which were defined at Stockholm. My country trusts that it will be successful and will represent another milestone in this process of growing co-operation.

251. Thirty years of activity by the United Nations in the economic and social fields provide us with sufficient perspective for judging the effectiveness of the units which constitute it in this regard. We have observed with some anxiety that greater efforts have been invested in creating new bodies than in solving old problems. We must adjust the structure of the system to present needs, which in turn will constitute the focus of the concerns of the international community in the remainder of this century. We believe that the time has come to make the objective of economic and social development the central concern of the United Nations, because increasingly the reduction of the existing disparity between the developed and the developing worlds will represent the best guarantee for the maintenance of international peace and security.

252. The same determination and effectiveness which the system has shown in pursuing the objective of eliminating colonialism as a political phenomenon must from now on be displayed in the work of liberating peoples from the less obvious but no less pernicious forms of economic dependence.

253. The almost unanimous recognition by Member States of the need to advance slowly but surely towards the establishment of a new international economic order allows us to hope that this process of liberation is already under way.

254. For it to become a reality we must clearly be aware that no reordering or restructuring of the system can make up for an absence of political will which is indispensable if we wish to make this Organization serve the cause that cannot but respond to the needs of this critical time in the history of mankind.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

² See A/9698, annex.