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*President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to convey to you our congratulations on the occasion of your election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. We wish you every success in fulfilling your task and express our confidence in your ability to guide the Assembly at this session towards the result expected from it.

2. I should also like to commend the efforts of your predecessor, our colleague Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, in presiding over the last regular session and the seventh special session and guiding them to the success they achieved. I should not let this occasion pass without noting with deep appreciation the sincere endeavours of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to uphold the principles of this Organization and to attain its objectives.

3. It is also a pleasure to note that this session has witnessed a positive event in the admission of a number of newly independent States to membership in the United Nations: they are the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique. The admission of these young States indicates that the long-standing gap between the principle of the universality of the Organization and its limited reality has begun to narrow with the withdrawal of the forces of colonialism and the emergence of the new countries of the third world which have gained their freedom and independence after a long and arduous struggle. In welcoming the new Members, my delegation wishes to assure them of Iraq's readiness to co-operate with them within the United Nations and outside it.

4. While we note this positive event, we cannot but remember the regrettable fact that there are other States still deprived of membership in this Organization. It is a source of disappointment and bitterness that the United States of America should resort to the

use of the veto to defeat the equitable application of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations. On the other hand, we are pleased to see the legitimate Government of Cambodia occupying its rightful seat in the United Nations.

5. The thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations provides us with an opportunity to look in retrospect at the distance covered by the international community over the last three decades, at its successes and its failures. Thirty years after the signing of the Charter of the United Nations one must make an appraisal that will determine the areas of success as well as of failure in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of the world's problems and to mobilize collective efforts towards solving them. The world that we inhabit is indeed characterized by violent upheavals, complexities, and conflicting interests, in spite of which the United Nations has achieved a fair measure of success in meeting the world's problems and in comprehending its vicissitudes. The United Nations has also remained, in the view of all States, the appropriate and acceptable instrument for the treatment of deep-rooted problems, as it has remained the greatest hope for the creation of a world in which justice, peace and prosperity will prevail.

6. The Secretary-General's introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/10001/Add.1] contains a comprehensive survey of the Organization's work during the recent period of its existence, obviating all that which may be said in this field.

7. While we recognize the United Nations' numerous achievements which are deserving of praise, we must also refer to the dangerous problems still threatening mankind with dire peril. First and foremost among those perils are the problems which concern the maintenance of international peace and security.

8. If the steps taken towards international détente—the victory of the peoples of Indo-China, the dissolution of colonialism in the African continent, the United Nations conferences on population, food, the law of the sea, International Women's Year, the non-aligned conference, and the dialogue between the developed and the developing countries within the framework of the United Nations—if, as I say, all these events represent an aspect of positive developments in the international situation since the end of the last session, there are still certain negative factors which pose dire threats. In the forefront of these problems directly affecting international peace and security, is the question of Palestine.

9. The question of Palestine is a flagrant example of settler colonialism and perhaps one of the most blatant cases of injustice in the history of mankind. It is without any doubt the problem of a people whose land was usurped and which was exiled by the brute force

of foreign invaders who had come to establish in that land a racist régime with the support of the forces of imperialism led by the United States of America. The General Assembly adopted its famous resolution 3236 (XXIX) affirming the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine in Palestine, including its right to self-determination, independence, and sovereignty, and the right to return to the homeland from which it was expelled. In spite of the fact that nearly a year has elapsed since the adoption of that important resolution, the Zionist forces of occupation in Palestine continue their occupation of the Arab land and continue to deny the rights of the Palestinian people in defiance of the will of the international community. What should be a cause for censure and firmness is the Zionists' persistence in defying the relevant United Nations resolutions and in implementing a policy of aggression and expansionism aiming at the creation of new political facts transcending the question of Palestine and the rights of the Palestinian people. The Zionists have even resorted to mass killings in order to exterminate the Palestinians, but the will of the Palestinian people and its determination to persevere and to continue in its struggle are stronger than all the attempts made against its very existence—such as barbaric air attacks on refugee camps killing thousands of unarmed, innocent refugees.

10. The sanguinary tragedy that has been the lot of the people of Palestine for the past 28 years, the scenes of which are being enacted in full view and within earshot of the world, is, above all, the responsibility of the United Nations. It was the General Assembly that voted for the partition of Palestine in 1947 [*resolution 181 (II)*] in contravention of the provisions of the Charter and the terms of its mandate. Acting under the pressure of the colonialist forces led by the United States of America, the United Nations thereby deprived the people of Palestine of its right to self-determination and turned it into a nation in exile. It is in the light of these facts that the significance of the General Assembly's resolution concerning the rights of the people of Palestine [*resolution 3236 (XXIX)*] adopted at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, becomes evident.

11. During the last quarter of a century, the world has witnessed radical changes in the political structure of States. These changes were reflected in the United Nations and were responsible for the initiative taken towards finding a settlement based upon the rights of the Palestinian people and its legitimate struggle. The resolutions of the United Nations, in spite of their importance, are not sufficient in themselves as remedies for a problem which threatens international peace and security. These resolutions must be accompanied by actions which will guarantee their implementation. Hence, the implementation of the provisions of the Charter with regard to Israel, including its expulsion from the United Nations, would constitute the right approach towards the desired settlement of the problem, and the international community will thus have taken a positive step towards rectifying the error it had committed. Within this context, the Government of Iraq reaffirms anew its unswerving determination to continue the struggle, together with the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, in order to liberate the Arab lands from Zionist aggression

and to restore to the people of Palestine their inalienable rights.

12. Among the problems that are still threatening international peace and security is the increasing pace of armament in the world. The arms race, particularly that of nuclear weapons, poses an enormous threat to the future of mankind if no comprehensive and drastic solution is arrived at. In spite of the limited progress achieved in controlling strategic nuclear arms and bacteriological weapons, our world is still in desperate need of regional and international measures to limit the arms race, to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and to limit the use of atomic energy to peaceful purposes only.

13. We believe the success of endeavours to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons depends on the accession of all States Members of the United Nations to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. It also depends on the readiness of States possessing nuclear weapons to take effective and immediate measures to fulfil their obligations, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, and to undertake not to resort to the threat of the use of nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear country. Iraq, as a party to the non-proliferation Treaty, finds that Treaty an indispensable instrument for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons under the present international circumstances. Iraq therefore also warmly supports the appeal of the Soviet Union to stop all nuclear testing, including tests held underground, and considers the Soviet initiative a considerable contribution to the strengthening of efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the creation of a suitable climate for the initiation of the process of general nuclear disarmament. Iraq also considers the proposals concerning the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world another effective means for making the whole world a nuclear-free zone. Iraq regards the General Assembly resolution concerning the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East [*resolution 3263 (XXIX)*] as a constructive preliminary measure. We believe that the way to the implementation of this resolution lies through the accession of all the parties concerned in the area to the non-proliferation Treaty.

14. My delegation considers with concern and denounces the American armaments plans with regard to Israel and the evolution of those plans which seek to make of Israel a nuclear Power that would dominate the Arab States. My Government considers non-alignment a basic pillar of its foreign policy. As those who pursue the policy of non-alignment have reacted positively to events and adopted a progressive approach which distinguishes between good and evil and does not equate the aggressor with the victim of aggression, and as they have in that policy paid serious attention to the problems of poverty and injustice in the world, the non-aligned policy has played an effective role in promoting international understanding and the beginning of the establishment of a world order under the rule of justice, freedom and peace. My country is honoured to be an active member of the community of non-aligned States and, hence, we cannot but exert our utmost efforts for the consolidation of the foundations of the movement and its success. We attach special importance to the next confer-

ence of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries to be held at Colombo next year.

15. Iraq is part of the Arab nation, which suffers from the fragmentation initiated by colonialism and which has suffered and continues to suffer from injustice, aggression and exploitation. Iraq therefore believes in the unity of the Arab nation and struggles with all the means at its disposal for the realization of that unity in order to build a modern Arab society which would add to the strength of the progressive forces of the world. Taking this principle as a starting-point, Iraq stands by the side of the partitioned nations in their legitimate struggle to unify their countries, as it also stands on the side of all progressive and just causes in the world.

16. The Western Sahara area in Africa is undergoing developments that call for comment. We call upon the friendly Government of Spain to terminate its rule over the territories of Río de Oro and Sakiet El Hamra, known as the Western Sahara, and this in agreement with the brotherly Governments of Morocco and Mauritania. We are confident that the Government of Spain will thus strengthen its ties of friendship with the Arab people which is bound to Spain by strong historical ties.

17. Out of our belief in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, we express our satisfaction with the agreement we arrived at with our neighbour Iran. That agreement settled all the disputes which were pending between our two countries and which almost led to the outbreak of an armed conflict. The agreement which was declared at Algiers on 6 March 1975 has led to the delimitation of the land boundaries and their complete closure to clandestine traffic and saboteurs. The river boundaries were settled in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Baghdad and its protocols signed at Baghdad on 13 June 1975. Those agreements will open up new horizons for fruitful co-operation between the two countries, on the basis of reciprocal respect for sovereignty, and on the basis of their legitimate mutual interests. The agreements serve as an example of the renunciation of the use of force in the settlement of international disputes and respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

18. The termination of the war in Indo-China with the victory of the peoples of that area over colonialism and the collapse of the puppet régimes is an event of outstanding importance. It signalled the end of the policy of internationally policing the area and perhaps the end of that policy throughout the world. It has thus contributed to the strengthening of peace and stability in that part of the world. This accomplishment was achieved through the struggles of the people of Viet Nam and the people of Cambodia, for which they deserve our highest admiration.

19. There remains, however, next to that great positive achievement, the problem of Korea: another focus of tension in east Asia threatening peace and stability not only in that area but also in the world at large. Iraq calls for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the territory of South Korea in order to enable the Korean people to exercise its self-determination by itself without any foreign interference. We also support measures aiming at the unification of Korea.

20. It is truly regrettable that colonialism should still survive to this day, despite all the efforts of the United Nations to eradicate this evil phenomenon. The African peoples continue their struggle in order to complete the liberation of the African continent from colonialism and racial discrimination. My Government therefore declares from this high rostrum our full support for the aspirations of the African peoples for unity, freedom from colonialism and final deliverance from the racist régimes. We pledge that we shall always remain by their side and co-operate with them with all the means at our disposal for the realization of their legitimate aspirations.

21. South Africa's violations of the Charter of the United Nations and its constant defiance of the resolutions of its various bodies do not require any proof. In spite of the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly confirming the right of peoples to defend their freedom and independence, in spite of the resolutions calling upon South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and to allow the people of Namibia to exercise its self-determination, South Africa continues to ignore those resolutions and to defy the will of the people of Namibia and of international public opinion. The acts of aggression committed by the South African régime and its persistence in its policy of *apartheid* towards the majority of the population, puts that régime in the same category as the Zionist régime, thus deserving expulsion from the United Nations.

22. In speaking of the liberation of the African peoples, we must commend the progressive approach adopted by the Portuguese Government to end its presence in its colonies. We must also praise the heroic struggle waged by the peoples of those territories for their freedom and sovereignty. We support the struggle of the African people against the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and salute the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to overthrow that régime.

23. The Government of Iraq follows with great interest the development of events in Cyprus, and wishes to reaffirm here its firm support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the non-aligned status of the island. We sincerely hope that peace and understanding will be restored in Cyprus. We believe that it is incumbent upon the parties concerned, especially the Greek and Turkish communities, to make greater efforts to arrive at an agreement which will satisfy all parties and guarantee the legitimate interests of the two communities.

24. Iraq supports the policy of international détente and the substitution of constructive, positive relations for the policy of confrontation and cold war. It should be noted at the same time, however, that the policies of understanding between the great Powers should be in conformity with the right of peoples to independence, sovereignty and progress. Iraq also supports the proclamation of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

25. Allow me, finally, to refer to the effects of economic conditions on international relations. The great gap in the distribution of wealth and the continuing phenomena of exploitation and inequality in the exchange of trade are problems which, if not solved radically, can lead only to disruption of the international situation and threaten peace. Developing coun-

tries have endeavoured for years, within and outside the United Nations, to rectify these conditions without any noteworthy success.

26. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its last special session [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] on the economic situation was a positive resolution although it does not satisfy all the expectations of the developing countries. What is required now is that the resolution be implemented in a positive spirit of goodwill.

27. As a developing country, Iraq declares its full support for the legitimate aspirations of the countries of the third world and strives with them, with all the means at its disposal and all its capacity, to implement that resolution and to make of it a beginning for the radical solution of the world's economic problems. We sincerely hope that the forthcoming negotiations at the Paris Conference will bear positive results.

28. Those are some of the tasks of our Organization to which Iraq attaches great importance. Our delegation will undertake to explain its position on those subjects and other items of the agenda in greater detail in the various committees of the General Assembly. Iraq, which has always had faith in the United Nations and has always supported its endeavours, wishes further success for the Organization, for the benefit of all mankind.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is Her Excellency Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, the Personal Representative of the Head of State of the Republic of the Philippines. It is an honour and a pleasure, for me, Madam, to invite you to address the General Assembly.

30. Mrs. MARCOS (Philippines): With your kind permission, I shall address the representatives here in the name and in representation of the Head of State of the Republic of the Philippines, President Ferdinand E. Marcos. He has designated me to deliver on his behalf a special message to this thirtieth anniversary session of the General Assembly, which coincides with International Women's Year.

31. Let me begin by conveying to you, Mr. President, the cordial felicitations of the Government and people of the Republic of the Philippines upon your election to the leadership of the General Assembly at such an important juncture in the life of the United Nations.

32. The Philippines joins in the warm welcome extended to the three new Members of our Organization: Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique. Their entry into the family of independent nations marks another milestone in the inexorable march of decolonization in Africa. We also look forward to welcoming our neighbour, Papua New Guinea, into the United Nations.

33. My country was one of the original signatories of the Charter of the United Nations and is therefore a founding Member of this world Organization. Many of you will recall that our own esteemed General Carlos P. Romulo, who later became President of the fourth session of the General Assembly, signed the Charter on behalf of the Republic of the Philippines. Having been present at its creation, the Philippines has a vital stake in the survival of the United Nations.

34. As we all know, the survival of the United Nations has been threatened for many years by a dangerous struggle for political and military advantage between two so-called "worlds". But underneath it a new confrontation was taking shape. As the force of historic colonialism diminished and withered away, new nations emerged—a third world that sought, not supremacy, but equality and justice. This new world sought to challenge the economic and social order inherited from an age that had in fact come to an end, an order that was no longer rational or equitable or justified—if indeed it had ever been.

35. My country inevitably shared in this new confrontation; we identified ourselves with other developing nations in the common search for a just distribution of the human heritage. This is why I bring with me the resurgent hope of a developing country in Asia. We dare to believe that the great and fortunate Powers of the world have at last acknowledged the aspirations of the third world.

36. We aspire not to dispossess or to deprive the rich, but to claim our legitimate heritage. For decades, we have indeed been insisting that the predatory politics of the past were formidable obstacles to our development. But there is this resurgent hope, a hope sparked by the consensus reached at the seventh special session, which marks a turning-point in world affairs. That consensus should necessarily be the primary concern of this Assembly.

37. That concern would be reflected in the reordering of priorities in the agenda of this Assembly. The various aspects of a new international economic order must rank equally in importance with the political questions of special interest to the great Powers.

38. Peace is essential to development. That is why we are gratified by the spirit of conciliation and mutual accommodation that inspired the recent agreement in the Middle East. But peace is not measurable in military and political terms alone. There can be no peace in our world until conditions of life worthy of the dignity of man are achieved in the developing countries.

39. Certainly we understand the importance of the search for national security. Still, we must note how the people of the world deplore the madness of an armaments race that yearly dissipates more than \$300,000 million in weapons of death in the midst of mass hunger and privation in the developing countries.

40. For this reason, we cannot accept the thesis that the search for peace and the promotion of development are not concurrent but consecutive tasks. We therefore commend this Assembly for adhering to the view of the vast majority of mankind that peace and development, being inseparably interlinked, should be concurrent undertakings.

41. We could go further and suggest that the creation of a new world economic order is a proper field for the application of détente. We hope that this stage will be reached in due course. The sooner the better. It is only when détente among the great nations and the great Powers becomes a positive and substantial factor in the international economic order that it will be truly meaningful for the developing countries. The specific measures contained in the concluding resolution of the seventh special session, approved as it was by an unexpected and unprecedented unanimous

vote, lay the basis and framework for pragmatic co-operation. But it remains to be seen if and how they are actually implemented.

42. Much hard bargaining is ahead of us on the terms of international trade, on market structures in the field of raw materials and commodities, on indexation and buffer stocks, on tariff preferences, on the transfer of resources and technology, on monetary reform, on the tragic problem of food, indeed on all the aspects of a new world economic order.

43. Let us not forget that with all the proliferation of conferences and resolutions, plans, funds and councils, we still find ourselves, at this mid-point of the Second United Nations Development Decade, very far indeed from a just and equitable world society. It has been many years since the United Nations officially fixed 0.7 per cent of the gross national product as a fair annual rate for assistance from industrial countries [see resolution 2626 (XXV)]. Yet even now the richest countries in the world extend development assistance in an amount far below the official United Nations target. But dare we hope that, in the new spirit of conciliation and co-operation, Member nations might be prepared to consider a more reliable means of financing development?

44. The unpredictable fluctuations in the amount of international assistance extended in any given year have made it almost impossible for national and international authorities to plan balanced development on a long-term basis. Would Member nations, rich and poor, of whatever economic or social system, be prepared to consider restructuring international development assistance by basing it on fixed assessments in accordance with objective criteria?

45. Under such a system, development could be pursued on a more stable and systematic basis, little influenced by political and military considerations. If this system is adopted, it will make the poverty of nations and the hunger of peoples a truly global and human concern. All nations should be assessed according to their capabilities as an earnest of our sincerity about pursuing the universal goal of the general consensus. International co-operation for development has become too important, too crucial a factor in the new world economic order to remain at the mercy of voluntary contributions.

46. Indeed, if we are in earnest, we should be prepared, rich and poor alike, to give world development more generous and more dependable support. This we must consider now: just as the United Nations is supported by contributions from all nations, so should world development be supported. This suggestion may seem visionary to some, but to us it is attainable, a goal worth striving for.

47. That is why it is imperative to widen the dialogue on the new world economic order. In this age of increasing interdependence, the United Nations is the only Organization in which the necessary dialogue can be conducted and consensus achieved on the building of a new world order. The Member nations should therefore seize the opportunity to move the United Nations from the periphery to the centre of world affairs. The consultations and negotiations within the United Nations system and related forums should be maintained and intensified. Every effort

should also be made to enlarge the consensus among Members on each side—the developed countries on the one hand, the developing countries on the other—as an essential step towards wider and more generally acceptable agreements.

48. On the side of the developing countries, an important stage in the continuing search for wider consensus will be reached in the Philippines in February 1976, when the ministerial meeting of the Group of 77 is held at Manila, in preparation for the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which will be convened at Nairobi next May.

49. The dialogue, so important for the future of mankind, should no longer be left exclusively to diplomats, politicians and bureaucrats. It should not be limited to Governments bargaining with other Governments here in the General Assembly and in other international forums. The time has come to engage not only Governments but also the peoples which they represent. The time has come to bring to life the provision of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] calling for intensive, concerted mobilization of world opinion.

50. We are convinced that the creation of the new world economic order is too big a task for Governments alone to accomplish.

51. In order to implement their solemn commitments in the consensus decisions of the seventh special session, the Governments of the industrial countries will need the understanding, consent and support of their constituencies—of their own peoples. So will the Governments of developing countries in discharging their own responsibilities.

52. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, the international consensus on the new world economic order must be matched by a corresponding domestic consensus. Otherwise, there is a danger that the professions of interdependence and co-operation will amount to little more than well-intentioned lip-service. The critical testing-ground will therefore be in our respective national constituencies, because the fundamental structural reforms implicit in the new world economic order will inevitably affect domestic policies and practices; they will require basic changes in political and social attitudes.

53. Our appeal therefore must be directed to peoples, to their sense of what is right and fair. Certainly, our peoples can perceive that the problems of the world, including those of an economic nature, cannot be reduced to mere material terms. The solutions to the world's economic problems must have a moral basis.

54. The problems facing us today have moral roots—in injustice, intolerance, greed and dominance by the strong. Their solutions, then, if they are to be effective and enduring, cannot be sought in man's acquisitive nature but in his sense of justice and sense of community with his fellow-men.

55. It is clear that international relations including economic relations, must no longer be based merely on the balance of conflicting interests nor on the unremitting competition among nations over material objectives but on the moral principles accepted by all

mankind—justice, fair sharing, mutual understanding and co-operation, tolerance, the protection of the weak, and freedom from domination by the strong.

56. These universal moral principles could be embodied in an international code of ethics governing relations among nations. The international community has already adopted the International Development Strategy, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] and the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)]. The idea of a code of conduct for transnational corporations has gained almost universal acceptance. We can now extend our attention to a more comprehensive international code of ethics which should guide the entire range of the behaviour of nations towards one another.

57. Central to the proposed international code of ethics are the principles of sovereign equality and self-determination, taking into account national aspirations for self-reliance and the equitable distribution of the goods of life among the nations of the world.

58. A sincere commitment to an international code of ethics will free mankind from the tyrannies that have stifled the full development of so large a sector of humanity: the tyranny of circumstance, which has kept men and nations prisoners of historical events; the tyranny of power blocs, which has curtailed the rights of many nations to make autonomous decisions for the welfare of their own peoples; and the tyranny of ideological dogmas, which has constrained Governments from devising practical solutions to concrete problems.

59. The code of ethics that should animate the relations among nations is rooted in the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. It is in the very foundations of our Organization, therefore, that we should search for the solutions to the problems that confront us.

60. May we not say, too, that this code of ethics is inspired by the morality of the oppressed, the oppressed who seek not dominance but the simplest right to live as decent human beings? We have not forgotten, I trust, that our civilizations, our religions, all those great movements which exalt the human spirit have been leavened by the morality of the oppressed.

61. It is in accordance with this view that we in the Philippines have placed the moral imperative at the very heart of our development programme. We believe that the goal of economic and social justice—the human goal which we require of the international community—should also be a cardinal aim within nations and societies. This is the very essence of the new society which President Marcos and the Philippine people are striving to build in our country.

62. It is a rare experience, on this occasion, to gain at first hand such a vivid sense of history in the making. This thirtieth session of the General Assembly provides a unique opportunity for shaping a better future for mankind.

63. The new international economic order confronts not only our instinct for survival or our natural desire for material well-being but also the deepest values of our civilization. The challenge, therefore, is ultimately

addressed to the conscience of humanity. We are called upon to create a new moral image of man.

64. At the threshold of action, we should pause and reflect on the kind of world we want for ourselves and for the generations yet to come. We could aim simply for a world of coexistence, of minimum “give and take”, of nothing more than “live and let live”—until the next conflict.

65. But we could raise our sights and aspire to the kind of world envisioned in our Charter: a world of compassion; a world without borders where basic human needs are concerned; a world of tolerance, of dignity, of respect and reverence for life—a just world, an authentic human community.

66. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the personal representative of the Head of State of the Republic of the Philippines and, through her, I should like to thank the Head of State of the Republic of the Philippines for the special message he addressed to the General Assembly on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations.

67. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):* Since the founding of the United Nations a period of time has elapsed which we normally call a generation.

68. This is a singularly appropriate occasion to consider what the United Nations has accomplished during these past three decades and what remains to be done. I am pleased to see as the President of the General Assembly the Prime Minister of a country which is not only associated with my country in close friendship but whose outward-looking attitude and whose willingness for international co-operation are exemplary. The spirit with which your country and you personally, Mr. President, participate in this co-operation both in Europe and in the world presents an example as well as a challenge. Please accept my warm congratulations on your election to this responsible office.

69. At the same time I wish to express my thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, who held this office during a very difficult period in the history of the United Nations.

70. The first 30 years of the life of the United Nations have witnessed fundamental changes in the world from which this Organization has not been excepted. We are all familiar with the graph which depicts the population explosion; a curve which runs almost horizontally for thousands of years, then begins to rise and in the middle of this century suddenly shoots up almost vertically. The graphs depicting the advancement of science and technology, the growth of production and consumption, world trade and communication and, not least, the destructive force of weapons, are no different.

71. Everywhere developments have been explosive. Within that same period the number of nations has trebled. The original Organization had 51 Members, now it has over 140. The world was then dominated by a rigid régime of bipolar confrontation of two blocs; now it is a complex, multipolar world in which multifarious forces and aspirations are asserting

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

themselves. This process is sharply reflected within the United Nations. Nothing has had a greater influence on its development than the emergence of the third world as a separate independent element of world politics, freed from colonial dependence and vested with the same rights and obligations as all other States.

72. Over and above their different views and attitudes, the nations which make up our world find themselves forged more and more into a community of destiny. The destructive power of modern weaponry, which has grown to immeasurable proportions, has produced a single, global security interest, and the abrupt expansion of productive power has created a single global economy. Security and economic growth and stability cannot be guaranteed today by any one State alone and in isolation. Whether it is a question of preventing a nuclear catastrophe, of fighting international terrorism, of overcoming inflation and recession, or of preserving ecological and environmental conditions on this planet, the problems that have to be resolved are everywhere beyond the resources of any individual nation and can be met only if all States and all groups of States work together.

73. The problems have become global. The irresistible trend towards ever greater interdependence is the distinguishing feature of the new age; it is the course of world history. For the first time mankind as a whole is moving towards a common future: either to survive together or to perish together, to prosper together or to decline together. The world as a whole lives under the iron law of interdependence: its parts cannot prosper unless the whole prospers.

74. Slowly, this development is beginning to be realized and appreciated. This is indicated by the close co-operation among the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development countries in seeking to overcome the consequences of the world economic crisis, by the constructive consensus reached by the General Assembly at its seventh special session, which tried to achieve an equitable balance of interests between industrialized and developing countries, by the reaffirmation of the will for détente and co-operation between East and West as expressed at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and by the initiation of the European-Arab dialogue.

75. We all know the only alternative to common progress is common chaos. We are called upon resolutely to choose the course of co-operation and consistently to develop the foundations of that co-operation which have so far been laid by the United Nations. The task is to strengthen the awareness of interdependence and, as a consequence, to assert the policy of co-operation once and for all in the face of the powerful forces of traditional doctrines and ideologies, to assert it both externally and internally. Because it is also necessary that the individual citizen, too, should develop an understanding for the new constraints of interdependence and that he should muster the will for international solidarity. For the possibilities open to Governments in pursuing such a policy of solidarity reach only as far as the people themselves appreciate the need for it and are therefore prepared to support it. The present crisis of the world economy gives us a chance to draw the necessary conclusions from these considerations and insights.

76. It would be wrong if the wealthy countries were to resort to the attitude of "every man for himself". It would be wrong if the destruction rather than the further elaboration of the international economic system were to be regarded as the way out of the difficulties with which we are confronted in the development process. It would be equally wrong if part of the industrialized countries were to refuse to join in the necessary world-wide solidarity between industrialized and developing countries by referring to the colonial past of others and to their own non-colonial past—true or alleged.

77. Interdependence postulates the common weal universally. This must be the guideline for our action and this goal can be reached only through a policy of an equitable balance of interests.

78. In spite of all setbacks and catastrophes our century has so far also been one of unparalleled progress for mankind. The challenges facing us in our shrinking world are extraordinary—both in terms of their novelty and of their magnitude. But also extraordinary and unparalleled in history are the means we have at our disposal to meet those challenges. If we use them rationally and co-operatively and do not squander them in irrational conflict, we shall be able to master those tasks.

79. The founders of the United Nations set the world the three big tasks laid down in our Charter: to maintain peace, to respect human rights and the right of self-determination, and to promote economic and social progress. What was a vision in 1945 has turned into reality today: the global interdependence of one world.

80. The three great challenges of our time are: we must proceed from economic egotism to a world-wide reliable régime of co-operation among equals; we must proceed from the proclamation of human rights to their world-wide application and to the implementation of the right of self-determination wherever that right is still being denied; and we must proceed from the management of crises to a just and thereby lasting peace.

81. Our first goal is to establish a reliable régime of economic co-operation. The seventh special session, which has just concluded, marked a promising beginning in our endeavour to establish a system of economic co-operation which is based on the simple realization that we are all in the same boat. During the very intensive but business-like negotiations the Assembly gave an example of a world-wide spirit of co-operation. This will make it easier to embark on the road towards a just balance of interests. For a number of problems the foundations for solutions have been laid. Some questions still require clarification, while the consequences of others need to be studied. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has joined in the consensus because it is based on the idea of reasonable and necessary reform, but not on revolutionary changes in the international economic order.

82. The present world-wide recession has made all of us keenly aware of the relationship which I earlier called the iron law of interdependence: the parts cannot prosper unless the whole prospers. The growth rates of national economies have become interdependent. This applies also to the relationship between

industrialized and developing countries. Higher growth rates in the industrialized countries mean higher growth rates in the developing countries, and lower growth rates in the industrialized countries mean lower growth rates in the developing countries. The fact that all of us recognized and accepted this inter-relationship made the satisfactory result of the seventh special session possible.

83. It is also in this spirit of co-operation that my country will enter the forthcoming producer-consumer dialogue. In a world economy which can only grow and develop through joint efforts all partners have to bear their particular share of responsibility. Thus, because of their economic significance and weight, the industrialized countries have to assume a special responsibility. My Government is conscious of that responsibility and acts accordingly.

84. In close co-ordination with the other industrialized countries having a free market economy my Government endeavours to set in motion a process of economic upswing without, however, providing inflationary impulses. By opening up markets and intensifying co-operation with the developing countries this economic upswing is especially intended to benefit the developing countries. We are against exporting our difficulties by taking restrictive measures and we consistently uphold a policy of further opening up markets, especially with regard to imports from the developing countries.

85. As the role of the developing countries on the world economic scene grows, there is an increase in the responsibility which they, too, have to bear in all fields, including commodities and energy. Together we want to break and reverse the trend which in the past has continued to widen the gap between the rich and the poor. One objective is to achieve the general growth of the world economy; the other objective is to overcome inequality. We feel that these aims can best be achieved by basing the economic relations between States on the principles of the market economy, irrespective of their domestic economic systems.

86. I turn now to the question of self-determination and human rights. In a system of co-operation among equals which our Organization intends to bring about, a central role falls to the application of the right of nations to self-determination. A true world community of States and peoples will emerge only if the nations are integrated within that community on the basis of free self-determination. Only in such a world can the readiness to assume responsibility for the whole fully develop. The right of nations to self-determination is therefore a fundamental principle of our system.

87. During the first decades of the United Nations the basis for a universal international community was created through the implementation of the right of self-determination of the former colonies. At this year's session of the General Assembly too, three new States have joined our Organization, and I wish to take this opportunity to bid Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe a warm welcome to our Organization, which is becoming truly universal.

88. The process of decolonization is drawing to its close. There are only a few regions left in the world to which the outdated system of colonialism still clings. But that system's days are numbered. We trust

that in southern Africa, too, those days will come to an end without violence and devastation. The Federal Government therefore welcomes the decision taken by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Dar es Salaam in April 1975, that in the solution of pending problems preference should be given to negotiations. It welcomes also the efforts made by the leaders of both the black and the white communities in Southern Rhodesia to establish a new and just order through negotiations and thus to avert the danger of a civil war and bloodshed.

89. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany strongly advocates the granting of the right of self-determination to the people of Namibia. The Government of the Republic of South Africa itself has stated that it does not consider Namibia to be South African territory. It must finally and quickly draw the conclusions from this and lead Namibia to independence without delay and more quickly than has so far been envisaged. The Federal Government has repeatedly and urgently brought its attitude to the attention of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and will continue to do so. With no less urgency it advocates the abolition at long last of the inhuman system of *apartheid* practised in the Republic of South Africa, a system which we condemn.

90. That last question leads me to the subject of human rights. The United Nations, which has achieved so much in promoting the application of the right of self-determination, has also been able to lay essential foundations on which to secure respect for human rights. By means of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*resolution 217 A (III)*] and the human rights Covenants [*see resolution 2200 A (XXI)*] based on it, the United Nations has defined the term "human rights" and received acceptance of that definition all over the world. It is now up to us to see to it that human rights are implemented everywhere in practice. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will support all proposals aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations with regard to the implementation of human rights.

91. Human rights must apply everywhere; they must apply in all continents. And, as a European, I add that they must apply also in all parts of Europe. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has drawn the conclusion from this and made the implementation of human rights a major subject.

92. Freedom of movement is one of the basic rights guaranteed both by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by the human rights Covenants. And, indeed, if co-operation in Europe is to be extended more and more, people must no longer be prevented from meeting freely. The decisions taken at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe abound with specific promises of improvements in Europe both as regards this right and as regards other human rights. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will gauge the worth of the results of the Conference particularly by the manner in which and when those promises are fulfilled.

93. I turn now to the safeguarding of peace. Peace is the prerequisite for progress in all other spheres. It therefore remains a primary task of the United Nations to safeguard peace.

94. In this respect I would refer to the peace policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. Being fully aware of this perspective, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has from the very beginning pursued a policy aimed at the maintenance of peace. This goes for our own national policies as well as for our co-operation within the European Community, that great and promising union of European States, and for our membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the defence alliance whose purpose it is to safeguard peace. By pursuing a consistent policy of the non-use of force, the Federal Government has promoted détente in Europe and thus laid the foundation for growing and mutually fruitful co-operation with our neighbours in the East. Let me mention here in this connexion the Treaties of Moscow, Warsaw and Prague. The same is true of the Treaty on the Basis of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic done at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

95. On the occasion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, additional arrangements were concluded in a spirit of mutual understanding with the Polish People's Republic concerning outstanding questions. These arrangements are intended, after a past full of misery and distress, to bring about the reconciliation of the two peoples and to lead to long-term co-operation between partners.

96. The Federal Government includes in its policy of the non-use of force and détente our most painful problem also: the division of Germany. It is our aim to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination.

97. I reaffirm our belief that history has not spoken the last word on the division of the German nation. The nation's will to achieve its unity will preserve its historical strength. The conclusion of the Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic is evidence of our determination to exhaust all possibilities of peaceful co-operation also in the relationship between the two German States.

98. Building on its bilateral policy of détente and on the treaties it has concluded in this connexion, as well as on the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed on 3 September 1971, the Federal Government has played an active part in the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, because no nation in Europe senses more keenly than the German people the danger emanating from the division of our continent. The participating States want the results of the Conference to have effect throughout Europe. Indeed, security and co-operation must prove their worth particularly in that city which in the years of the cold war so often was the scene of dangerous tensions which affected the whole world—the city of Berlin. Berlin remains the barometer of détente. Détente presupposes mutual confidence.

99. Distrust and fear will only revive the former state of tension in Europe. This is why the Federal Government has begun, without delay, to implement the confidence-building measures decided upon at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It was the first Government taking part in that Conference to announce to all other participants

military manoeuvres in accordance with the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki. However, the results of the Conference are important not only for Europe. Détente in Europe should, and can, release political and economic energies which have so far been bound up in sterile conflicts. If this happens, we will have added strength to face the big challenge of our time: the reduction of the gap between rich and poor countries.

100. In the matter of disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, of great importance for the safeguarding of world peace is a persistent policy of arms control and arms reduction. The Federal Government takes an active part in the negotiations in Vienna which are to lead to mutual and balanced force reductions in central Europe. It is our aim to achieve a stable balance of forces since only on the basis of equal security for all concerned will détente and trustful co-operation be possible.

101. The Federal Government lends the same active support to all measures likely to contain and ultimately to stop the world-wide arms race. Balanced and controlled disarmament is one of our most urgent tasks. The United Nations can and must make a major contribution to its fulfilment.

102. Likewise, one of the most pressing challenges to this interdependent world is to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The dissemination of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes will quicken considerably in the years ahead. It has been estimated that the number of nuclear reactors available in 1980 will be 15 times greater than the number in use in 1970. The operation of those reactors would make possible the potential production of up to 26,000 kilogrammes of plutonium in the non-nuclear-weapon States every year as from the early 1980s in other words, enough to make 50 atomic bombs a week. So the task we have to solve is to use the advantages of peaceful nuclear technology without at the same time proliferating nuclear weapons.

103. As one of the leading producers of nuclear installations for peaceful purposes, the Federal Republic of Germany realizes that it has a special responsibility in helping to find a solution to this problem. Consequently, in every case in which it exports nuclear installations it adheres strictly to the provisions of the non-proliferation Treaty, of which it is a member, and to the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency. In addition, it subjects itself to the commitments under the Euratom Treaty. It actively supports proposals aimed at further strengthening these safeguards and developing uniform criteria for the export of fissionable material and nuclear equipment.

104. Let me say a word about regional crises. The policy of détente between East and West helps to consolidate peace in Europe. But in our neighbourhood the sources of crisis smoulder on, and the most dangerous of them is the Middle East conflict. Nowhere is it more obvious that present-day problems can no longer be resolved by war, that war is no meaningful alternative to a political settlement, that war is no longer an *ultima ratio* but an *ultima irratio*.

105. Four sorrowful wars have failed to hammer out a solution in the Middle East, and a fifth Middle

East war could have disastrous consequences. The Federal Government, therefore, welcomes with great relief the Egyptian-Israeli interim agreement of 4 September. This agreement is the result of statesman-like action on the part of all concerned. Further steps will have to follow if the momentum of this constructive development which has been set in motion is to be maintained. Standing still would mean taking a step backward and would in the end even wipe out the progress made so far.

106. The Federal Republic of Germany supports all efforts to bring about further steps along the path of negotiations. An informal multilateral discussion of the problems to be solved, as suggested by the Secretary of State of the United States [2355th meeting], could indeed be useful in promoting a subsequent peace conference.

107. The path towards a just balance of interests in the Middle East has been sketched out by Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). This means, among other things, that any peace settlement that is to last must respect Israel's right to live within secure and recognized boundaries; it must give effect to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; and it must include the termination of the occupation.

108. This is the attitude adopted by the Federal Republic of Germany, in full agreement with its partners in the European Community. The Federal Government is most anxious that equitable and lasting peace should prevail in the Middle East, which is a neighbouring region to us. It therefore seeks to make every contribution possible, both bilaterally and within the framework of the European Community, towards bringing about such peace.

109. In Cyprus, too, a negotiated solution must quickly be found. The Federal Government, therefore, regrets that the fourth round of talks between the representatives of the two communities, which was scheduled for 8 and 9 September in New York, had to be postponed because of the lack of concrete proposals. The tragic events of 1974 were the upshot of letting things drag on for years and years without reaching the necessary compromise. Now, at least, a lesson should be drawn from this. The deadlock caused by the fact that each side is waiting for the other to be the first to make concessions must be broken. The Federal Government therefore appeals to all concerned to resume the negotiations as soon as possible. Any solution must preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

110. Cyprus needs a federal structure that will accommodate the interests of both communities. Accommodating the interests of both communities also requires correcting the present demarcation line between them. The Federal Government seeks, both bilaterally and together with its partners in the European Community, to give diplomatic assistance in the search for a solution and humanitarian assistance to ease the misery of the refugees.

111. As in the Middle East, the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations in Cyprus, too, are making an indispensable contribution towards maintaining an atmosphere in which constructive efforts to find a solution can be made. The same applies to the endeavours

of the Secretary-General to facilitate discussions between the two communities. I wish to express to the Secretary-General and to his staff the appreciation and the thanks of the Federal Government.

112. I turn now to the question of strengthening the United Nations. In the efforts to establish a régime of co-operation in the spirit of global interdependence and joint responsibility, the United Nations must play a central role. In the past 30 years the United Nations has made an essential contribution preventing crises and to containing or overcoming existing ones. It has helped to accelerate the process of decolonization. It has spread the demand for the implementation of human rights throughout the world. And it has fully brought home to the public the crucial task of our time, the economic development of the third world, and has evolved a consistent strategy and a coherent strategy for tackling this task.

113. With the growing awareness of global interdependence, the role of the United Nations, the only universal Organization in this world, must continue to increase. The prerequisite for this will be that we do all we can to achieve and maintain universality. We must continuously adapt the structure of the Organization to the changing situation and tasks in the world. The countries of the European Economic Community [EEC], in a declaration of 17 June 1975, have again stressed their support of the United Nations and have spoken out in favour of the strengthening of its role. The President of EEC, the Italian Foreign Minister, Mr. Rumor, reaffirmed this willingness in an impressive way yesterday in this forum [2357th meeting]. The Federal Republic of Germany fully endorses this commitment regarding the United Nations. Only if the nations of the world will join in a spirit of genuine co-operation can the tasks of the United Nations be successfully mastered. Only if we succeed in bringing to bear everywhere that spirit of genuine co-operation within the United Nations will we be able to tackle the tasks confronting us—to safeguard international peace; to implement everywhere the right of peoples to self-determination as well as their human rights; and to promote the common weal universally through economic and social progress. The Federal Government is determined to support all efforts towards that end.

114. Mr. ABDULLAH (Afghanistan): Mr. President, it is a pleasure for the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan to see you as the elected President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. We are certain that under your able and wise guidance the proceedings of this session will be conducted in a successful manner.

Mr. Chissano (Mozambique), Vice-President, took the Chair.

115. Allow me, on behalf of the delegation of Afghanistan, to express our most sincere appreciation to our distinguished outgoing President, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, for the remarkable and successful manner in which he guided our deliberations during the twenty-ninth session and for the patience, fortitude and wisdom he displayed in conducting the proceedings of the recent seventh special session of the Assembly.

116. During this session, we will be celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the United

Nations. On this occasion, we should not only assess and evaluate the past, but also plan with foresight for the future. It is the time to seek and dispel doubts which impede the effectiveness of the United Nations and to restore the hopes and trust of the world's people in the future of this Organization. The United Nations is indispensable in our view. Of course, it is not perfect and can be further improved and made more effective through a strict adherence to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

117. The period of time from the inception of the United Nations to the present has been characterized by an increased recognition of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, the need to terminate colonialism and alien domination, and the equality of States, as well as by the translation of this recognition into reality.

118. The realization of the right of peoples to self-determination has not been an easy task. The United Nations has played a major role in the historic process of decolonization. At this session, the membership of the Organization consists of 141 sovereign States as compared to the initial 51.

119. The people and Government of Afghanistan welcome and congratulate the Republic of Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the Republic of Cape Verde on gaining membership in the United Nations as the result of their long and arduous struggle against colonialism and the attainment of their undeniable right to self-determination. We look forward to co-operating with them in this Organization.

120. The Afghan Government regrets that the two Viet Nams were not among those listed in the roster of new Members in this world Organization. In the view of my Government, they are fully qualified for membership in this Organization and we earnestly hope that the Security Council will reconsider its previous decision and, consequently, pave the way for their membership in the world body. My delegation supports the recent decision taken by the General Assembly [*resolution 3366 (XXX)*] in that respect.

121. Afghanistan is indeed happy to see the lawful representatives of Cambodia occupying their rightful place in this Organization.

122. The foreign policy of Afghanistan is based on the principles of non-alignment, free judgement of international issues, positive and active neutrality, and peaceful coexistence among all peace-loving nations of the world.

123. As I mentioned at the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima in August, Afghanistan has persistently supported the non-aligned movement. Our support of this movement is not new. Afghanistan, as stated by President Daoud during the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, has maintained this policy since before the First World War.

124. In our view, at the present time more than ever before it is necessary for the non-aligned countries to respect and adhere to the principles and values laid down by the founders of that movement. We should not allow the movement to lose the increasing

dynamism and influence which it has had in bringing about peace, security and the evolution of the era of confrontation to one of dialogue, understanding and détente in international relations. In pursuit of this policy, Afghanistan has been a faithful supporter of the United Nations and has always striven, on the basis of the lofty aims and purposes of the United Nations, to strengthen international peace and security.

125. We earnestly believe that in an atmosphere of peace, security and tranquillity, nations can achieve their national aspirations and the well-being of their peoples. It should be mentioned that, after the establishment of the revolutionary régime in Afghanistan, our foreign policy has happily taken a much more active course. On the basis of such a policy and personal contacts between the leaders of Afghanistan and other friendly nations, we have been able to understand more clearly each other's positions and views on various issues of mutual interest. As a result, we are convinced that we can make a contribution and play a more positive role in international affairs.

126. Despite our continuous efforts the only country with which, regrettably, we have not been able to establish friendly relations, is Pakistan. As has continually been brought to the attention of world public opinion and this Organization, the only impediment to friendly relations between our two countries is the settlement and realization of the legitimate and human rights of our Pashtun and Baluchi brothers.

127. In conformity with our firm conviction that all international political problems can be solved by peaceful means, we have always endeavoured to resolve the only existing political difference—I repeat, "the only existing political difference"—with Pakistan, in accordance with the aspirations and wishes of our Pashtun and Baluchi brothers and their national leaders, through peaceful negotiations.

128. I wish to say to our Pakistani brothers that only with courage and an open mind can the desired atmosphere and conditions be created to resolve this sole political difference between friends and brothers. The present situation should not be allowed to destroy the prevailing *rapprochement* which had created hope for a solution of this issue, or to disturb peace and tranquillity in our region. Political courage and goodwill will further our efforts for an honourable and just solution of this important problem. I avail myself of this opportunity to repeat a paragraph from my statement delivered last year in the General Assembly with regard to this issue:

"If we really desire peace, co-operation, understanding and living together, let us leave aside resentment and pride. As responsible human beings, we should have the courage to acknowledge and assess issues and events with foresight, and bear in mind that our actions will be judged by history and by future generations. In facing and solving problems, we need foresight and courage. In our present world, where we live in a close, interrelated community, we must face the grave issues before us responsibly and realistically. Realism is essential to success in the search for the necessary solutions."¹

129. We welcome the spirit of détente, a recent manifestation of which has been the holding of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We have been of the view that détente should not be limited to certain geographical areas, but should encompass all areas of geographical proximity, as well as all problems of interest to the international community. Its success can be manifested in the resolution of world-wide issues of importance to the members of the international community.

130. A review of recent world events reveals, *inter alia*, positive developments in certain parts of the world. However, many critical situations still remain unsolved.

131. In the Middle East no significant progress toward a lasting and durable peace has been achieved despite certain efforts. Israel still continues to occupy the territories of three sovereign Arab countries and denies the national and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. This policy is undoubtedly a serious threat to international peace and security and a challenge to the cardinal principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

132. Afghanistan is strongly convinced that the Palestinian question forms the core of the Middle East impasse. Therefore, we are of the opinion that, until this vital question is solved on a just basis, it will be almost impossible to arrive at a solution of the Middle East problem.

133. Another major conflict in this area is the question of Cyprus, which we have followed with concern and regret. No significant progress has been achieved to date. We hope that the independence, the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Cyprus, based on the inalienable rights of the two communities, will be preserved. We appreciate and support the efforts of the Secretary-General in this regard.

134. As a result of the policy of the Portuguese Government, the birth of sovereign States in the Portuguese colonial Territories has been facilitated. With regard to Angola, we agree that this Territory should be safeguarded against external interference and we hope that the Government of Portugal will be able to maintain the present state of *rapprochement* between the parties concerned for a final peaceful settlement.

135. My delegation wishes to appeal to the liberation movements in Angola to resolve their differences and to concert their efforts for their people's national cause and for the fulfilment of their inalienable right of self-determination.

136. However, despite those encouraging achievements on the African continent, the situation in South Africa still constitutes a major threat to international peace and security. The Government of South Africa has continued its illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia and has shown contemptuous disregard for United Nations decisions, in particular, Security Council resolution 366 (1974). In our view, it is the responsibility of this Organization to consider all appropriate measures under its Charter, especially those provided in Chapter VII, to secure the full and speedy compliance of South Africa with these decisions.

137. Afghanistan condemns the continued oppression of the people of Zimbabwe by the illegal racist minority régime of Rhodesia with the assistance of South African forces. My delegation reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination on the basis of majority rule.

138. Since the early days of the United Nations, high priority has been given to disarmament, but, unfortunately, it still remains one of the most intractable problems of multilateral diplomacy. Afghanistan has always been in favour of general and complete disarmament. It has acceded to the Treaty of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and attaches great importance to the implementation of that Treaty.

139. We have always supported the banning of nuclear tests in all environments and again hope that a treaty banning all nuclear-weapon tests will be concluded in the near future. The Government of Afghanistan, as a matter of principle, advocates the establishment of nuclear-free zones recognized internationally on the basis of the agreement of the countries directly concerned. The establishment of such zones should be an effective measure for curbing the spread of nuclear weapons. We advocate the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East to which Afghanistan belongs. To this end, the accession of all countries in the region to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is indispensable, as the full co-operation of all States, particularly the nuclear States, is decisive. An important prerequisite for the establishment of such a zone is that countries that possess nuclear weapons should refrain from introducing or using them in the region.

140. With respect to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, on behalf of the Afghan delegation, I wish to state that this proposal meets our approval.

141. Despite an impasse with regard to the convening of a world disarmament conference arising from disagreements among some States, we believe that the idea seems to be gaining momentum and hope that the outstanding obstacles can eventually be overcome.

142. Another subject to which we attach great importance is the finalization of a new just and comprehensive legal order governing the sea, one which would ensure the rights and interests of all States, whether coastal, land-locked, developed or developing. In our view, extensive and constructive negotiations among "interest groups" at the fourth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea scheduled for next year in New York are required.

143. It is a well-known fact that the recognition of inevitable and irresistible changes in international relations has thrust into prominence the reality of the interdependence of all members of the world community, a reality which found a forceful expression at the sixth special session of the General Assembly in the spring of 1974. The seventh special session was another step forward towards achievement of that ideal based on co-operation between all members of the international community on the basis of sovereign equality and the removal of disequilibrium and imbalances, especially the unfavourable terms of trade of

the developing and least developed countries. The seventh special session's adoption of the resolution on development and international economic co-operation [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] translated many of these plans and programmes into action. While more could have been achieved, it must be stated that what actually was achieved at this session is a reassuring and hopeful sign that, through co-operation, equal partnership and constructive dialogue, it will be possible for the world community to solve its differences and to achieve an equitable, harmonious and healthy balance in the world economy in the light of the new international economic order.

144. In conclusion, I wish to state that the passage of time has shown that we have gathered many times under this roof and in this Hall to work out our problems. Many years have gone by and this session marks the end of the third decade of the historic establishment of this world body at San Francisco. Although we have no doubt witnessed significant success during this rather long interval, on the other hand, it is evident that we have so far not been able to achieve all our envisaged global goals and ideals.

145. Our world is a world of challenge, a challenge to achieve a better life and a brighter future for the human race. Let us face this challenge through co-operation and constructive dialogue, rather than confrontation, and let us find peaceful and conciliatory ways and means of attaining our objectives.

146. My Government has always had firm belief and strong faith in the United Nations and is desirous of a more active role for this dynamic world Organization.

147. I hope that the optimistic results of the seventh special session and, hopefully, the current thirtieth session of the General Assembly will herald a new and bright era for all nations of the world in the dawn of the fourth decade of this world body.

148. Mr. KAMOUGUE (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): I am happy to have this opportunity to speak in this Assembly as Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of my country, and I would immediately wish to associate the delegation of Chad, which I have the honour to head, with the tributes which previous speakers have paid to the President on the occasion of his election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that thanks to his diplomatic and statesmanlike qualities, which are unanimously recognized in Europe and in the United Nations, our work will certainly be successful in spite of the problems facing the international community. The delegation of Chad takes particular pleasure in the fact that in this year of the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations the presidency of our Assembly falls to a statesman whose country will never forget the sufferings of the last war. We are convinced, too, that he will make it his primary duty to remind us constantly of the will of those leaders who sought at any cost to prevent a renewal of the same tragedy by creating the system of the United Nations, which has now become one of the strongest bulwarks of men against barbarism.

149. I should also like on this occasion to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of the People's Democratic Repub-

lic of Algeria, who is the pride of the whole of Africa and the third world and who, in the midst of political tensions and the divergent interests of influence brokering, conducted the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session of our General Assembly with such brilliance, tact and success. I should like to pay a warm tribute to him and, through him, to his country, Algeria, with which Chad enjoys excellent relations.

150. My warmest congratulations go also to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our Secretary-General, who ceaselessly works, with discretion but very effectively, for international peace and security.

151. Permit me, on behalf of the High Military Council of the Provisional Government of Chad, to welcome our three brother countries just admitted to membership in the United Nations: the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique. My delegation is delighted at this overwhelming victory over the colonialist forces in Africa.

152. Chad comes to this thirtieth session of the General Assembly with a new image. The wind of liberty and justice which has blown through Chad has swept away the unpopular régime in power prior to 13 April 1975.

153. I must recall what I have already had occasion to say in different international forums. Some still remember the political situation which prevailed in Chad before the military *coup d'état*. The country was plunged in benighted obscurantism; national unity was being completely eroded because of the armed rebellion, the policy of social injustice, and the fact that the most elementary democratic liberties were being trampled under foot; the financial situation was catastrophic because of the squandering of public funds; the national economy was in full recession, and the army had been humiliated. Poverty, ignorance, unemployment, waste, speculation and corruption had become the rule in a country in ruins.

154. It was because of this tragic situation that a group of officers of the armed forces, swayed by patriotism and heeding the will of the nation of Chad, determined to overthrow on 13 April a régime which was no longer in keeping with the legitimate aspirations of the people, and henceforth to guide the destiny of the nation of Chad towards a better future.

155. Thus, the High Military Council, supreme organ of the State, and the Provisional Government of Chad determined to carry out a coherent programme of action. Within the country the authorities restored the liberties of the citizens of Chad, including freedom of expression, freedom of opinion and freedom of worship. The lay State of Chad recognizes and guarantees liberty of belief and worship for all. There is no established State religion. Moreover, Chad respects the fundamental Charter of Human Rights, and will therefore thus respect the lawful rights and aspirations of all citizens of Chad, inside and outside the country, both exiles and those who took part in the rebellion. In due course a national constituent assembly will be elected on the basis of universal suffrage, in order to draft a constitution.

156. In the economic and social field, when the army took power, the country was on the edge of the

precipice. After 15 years of independence, the economy bequeathed to us by the colonialists had remained stagnant, if it was not actually deteriorating. No coherent policy in this field was undertaken by the former régime in order to effect any real improvement in the country's situation.

157. In the face of that situation, the High Military Council and the Provisional Government undertook in their programme of action a series of measures affecting all sectors with a view to improving gradually the level of the national economy.

158. Chad intends to diversify foreign participation in its economic development. That is why we are against any allegiance to a foreign bloc, but we want to have good relations with all those who are ready to maintain good relations with us.

159. With reference to my country's foreign relations, I should like to state solemnly from this rostrum, on behalf of the High Military Council and the Provisional Government of Chad, that we unreservedly support the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU], and we shall pursue a policy of non-alignment and a completely free foreign policy.

160. My country respects all the agreements that have been duly entered into in the past and reserves its right to denounce and revise certain agreements that are not in keeping with the aspirations of the people of Chad, who has suffered so much injustice.

161. That, very briefly, is the programme of action of the High Military Council and the Provisional Government of Chad, on whose behalf I appeal to friendly and fraternal countries to strengthen active co-operation and enlightened solidarity among States.

162. The delegation of Chad, which I had the honour of heading during the course of the seventh special session of the General Assembly on development and international co-operation, followed the debates which then took place. Again, unreservedly, we support the very correct priorities of the third world. The satisfactory results for all, both for the countries lacking in capital equipment and the developed countries, in the matter of the establishment of a new international economic order must not be allowed to suffer the fate of previous decisions. At all costs the United Nations, which is the only authentic universal organ of cohesion, must give practical effect to its resolutions, because everyone in this Assembly is aware that order and discipline alone can safeguard peace and the prosperity of the world which is so uncertain today. Until such a line of conduct is adopted by the States Members of our Organization, the consequences which will flow from the current world economic disorder will be immeasurable.

163. The developed countries, which are responsible for the climate of disorder, can no longer shirk their responsibility. They must bring to bear effective remedies for the present crisis so as rapidly to bring about a world economic balance that will be beneficial to the whole of mankind.

164. In any case, the ball is right now in the court of the rich, and the third world is waiting to see what they will do.

165. Chad has always supported and will continue to support the fundamental principles of the Charter of

the United Nations: the maintenance of international peace and security, sovereign equality of all Members, the right of peoples to self-determination, international co-operation among Members, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and respect for territorial integrity.

166. We take this opportunity to reiterate our unswerving loyalty to these unchanging principles.

167. However, ever since the signing of the Charter in 1945, our world has undergone tremendous political, social and economic changes; science and technology have made great progress in the interests of mankind, and the process of decolonization continues to gain ground in considerable portions of the globe and liberates some of our brothers who are still under the colonial yoke.

168. The United Nations has always had to confront often difficult and delicate situations especially when it came to having the principles of the Charter respected. However, today the international community numbers 141 Members whereas only 51 countries took part in drafting the Charter in the particular circumstances obtaining immediately after the Second World War.

169. We cannot fail to observe, furthermore, a steady deterioration in friendly relations among the States Members of the Organization. This deterioration is rooted in the policy of hegemony, imperialism, expansionism, colonialism, racism, zionism and *apartheid*. The United Nations is the only body competent to confront problems of this importance. Now, it is generally agreed that the Organization is ineffective in the sense that many of its important resolutions have not been implemented or carried out. In the view of my delegation, this failure is due, not only to the lack of political will on the part of Member States to respect the provisions of the Charter, but also and above all to certain machinery and anachronistic practices deriving from these provisions which have completely paralysed our Organization. A case in point is the right of veto enjoyed by certain Powers.

170. Furthermore, my delegation also believes that the Charter should reflect more faithfully than ever the actual image of our Organization. Let us not be afraid of the desire to change because this is just a part of the normal process of the steady development of our world. The revision of the Charter is part of the logic of events.

171. With regard to the difficulties which our Organization faces concerning the respect due to the fundamental principles of the Charter, I have to denounce the actions of a great Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, in Chad's internal affairs. I refer to France, which, in its attempts to free a French citizen held hostage by certain citizens of Chad following her imprudent action and deliberate obstinacy, has lavished war *matériel* on outlaws in my country. My delegation feels that, with regard to a purely internal matter of Chad, this great Power, which we respect and for which Chad has made so many sacrifices in the course of history to save, namely France, is, we believe, infringing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Chad. We therefore denounce France's attitude before international public opinion.

172. A former colonial country still suffering atrociously from the consequences of foreign domination, Chad has been a Member of the United Nations since 1960 and a founding member of the OAU, organizations to whose principles and objectives it has never ceased to demonstrate its whole-hearted support, as I stressed previously. The unconditional support that we give to the struggle of the peoples still under colonial domination, the struggle against *apartheid* and zionism, constitutes one of the fundamental planks of the programme of action of the High Military Council and the Provisional Government of Chad.

173. Therefore, my delegation can only express its satisfaction at the progress recently achieved in the process of decolonization. We do, however, deplore the slow tempo of the process in certain parts of the world and the wrongful exercise of the veto to block this process in others.

174. We should also like to recall the fact that these erroneous doctrines, the denial of universal justice, human rights and fundamental freedoms, contain within themselves the germs of potential dangers to peace, not only for Africa, but also for the world at large.

175. My delegation is gratified at the accession to independence of former Portuguese colonial Territories, and most recently of all the accession to independence of Papua New Guinea.

176. However, we are very much distressed at the serious deterioration of the situation in Angola, where violent fratricidal fighting has been taking place. That poor country, which for so long has been waging an arduous struggle at the cost of indescribable suffering and sacrifices to free itself from foreign domination, should not, any more than those who have just travelled the same road before it, have to be preoccupied right now with anything but the rehabilitation of its national heritage.

177. Although at one time we expressed admiration for the attitude of the Portuguese authorities with regard to decolonization, we are puzzled by and sceptical about its inability to implement the Alvor Agreement [see A/10040]. Indeed, how can we fail to be alarmed when we learn that, on the pretext of ensuring protection for workers in accordance with the recently concluded agreements between Pretoria and Lisbon, and of protecting a pumping station vital for cattle raising in Ovamboland, South Africa is intervening directly in the conflict by sending troops to the southern part of Angola?

178. Mindful of the unfair manoeuvring and the malevolent designs of the imperialists to challenge constantly the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries they have been forced to leave, we would exhort our brothers in Angola, who are, in any case, well aware of this, not to allow themselves to be taken in by this play to divide them, or to be persuaded to announce the political tendency of their régime before the actual proclamation of independence on 11 November.

179. Similarly, although we concede that for purely humanitarian reasons the United Nations might organize an air lift to supply food and medicine to Angola, we cannot support the idea of sending troops

there, since Portugal, the Administering Authority, must assume its full responsibilities itself.

180. The desire of Africans to find a peaceful settlement to the problems of Zimbabwe requires no further demonstration. It is only the intransigence, obstinacy and refusal of the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith which is creating obstacles. So if the people of Zimbabwe do not rapidly succeed in achieving their legitimate aspirations by means of a just and peaceful solution, the only alternative open to Africans will be armed struggle. They will be able and willing to make the necessary sacrifices for that. Mounting pressures and the intensification of the nationalist guerrilla war seem to be the only language which Ian Smith and his clique understand. Be that as it may, majority rule is the only formula acceptable to my Government in the case of Rhodesia.

181. On the question of South Africa, the most serious problem is that of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, which the Vorster Government continues to practise, in defiance of human rights and of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Indeed, all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, its various organs and specialized agencies condemning *apartheid* have remained dead letters for the Vorster régime, which recently claimed that "there is not a single State in the world that would agree to change its domestic policy as a result of any request made by third-party States. . . . South Africa is no more willing to do that than France would be."

182. The international community as a whole must no longer hesitate ruthlessly to ostracize the South African State in its present form. The South African Government must abandon its hateful policy, begin discussions with the South African liberation movements, free the imprisoned leaders, including Nelson Mandela, lift the restrictions on the liberty of others, and cease its so-called bantustan policy.

183. We also believe that the belated announcements of the alleged cessation of the sale of arms, including the "Crotale" missiles, to the South African Government are nothing but a decoy, because those who made them have already armed the protagonists of *apartheid* to the teeth and have given them the technological means to manufacture their own weapons. It is also clear that the cessation of these sales will be selective. Moreover, at the very time when such pronouncements are being made with the cynical idea of misleading Africans, Mr. Vorster's friends are sending one trade mission after another to Pretoria, while the published statistics make shamelessly clear the scale of their trade transactions with South Africa that increase the power of the racist régime which they profess to condemn. Just as *apartheid* and zionism are to be denounced and condemned, so is the criminal behaviour of those countries.

184. The whole of Africa rejoiced at the proclamation, on 6 July last, of the sovereign independence of the people of the Comoros following the clear referendum of 22 December 1974. As we might have expected, this verdict of the people of the Comoros did not please either the colonial Power, which was compelled to leave the Territory, nor the querulous expatriates, who are still behaving like conquerors there and imagining that they will prevail.

185. We have no intention of getting involved in problems affecting the stability of the Comoros Government that face the indigenous people of that country, whose aspirations to self-determination and independence we firmly support. But we condemn any outside intervention that may imperil the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the archipelago, inasmuch as its component islands—Mayotte, Mohéli, Anjouan and Grande-Comore—have, ever since 1912, clearly shared a common administrative and legal régime. There is no reason why, once they become independent, they should become powerless.

186. One of our immediate concerns is the Middle East question. My delegation remains convinced that respect for the usurped rights of the Palestinians is the indispensable element for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the area.

187. In South-East Asia the valiant people of Viet Nam, in the course of their long and arduous struggle for the independence of their country, have won a historic victory. My delegation would like to pay a warm tribute to the heroism of the Vietnamese people. We are still convinced that the simultaneous entry into the United Nations, as full Members, of the Governments of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will confirm the principle of the universality of our Organization, and we shall support any initiative along these lines.

188. My delegation hails the presence in our Assembly of the authentic representatives of the Cambodian people, whose victory, won at the price of an incalculable struggle against the aggressor and for the defence and safeguarding of dignity, liberty, justice and peace, is a victory for the whole of the third world. We take particular pleasure in this because the Government of Chad was one of the first to recognize and support the Government of National Union of Cambodia under Prince Norodom Sihanouk. My delegation has always striven here for the restoration of that Government's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

189. We also support the struggle of the people of Laos to build an independent, neutral, united and prosperous country.

190. With regard to the question of Korea, I should like to repeat the position of my Government: we should like to see united the two fraternal Korean peoples, which are divided today. In this regard, I appeal to the Governments in Seoul and Pyongyang to continue their reunification efforts on the basis of the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972.²

191. That is why we welcome the inclusion in the agenda of the item concerning the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea [item 119].

192. The situation in the Mediterranean, where Cyprus has been the victim of foreign aggression, remains a matter of concern. My delegation would therefore like to appeal to the parties to the conflict to see to it that their efforts lead to the rapid restoration of peace and unity in this island. We call on the international community to apply immediately the relevant

resolutions of the United Nations, particularly General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975).

193. Peace and security in the world are in danger because of the accumulation and perfecting of the weapons of destruction, in which the developed countries have been engaged for years now. This tension would be eased, if not eliminated, if the astronomical sums of money squandered in the arms race could be used to abolish poverty in the world.

194. The question of disarmament, the proliferation of weapons and nuclear tests has long been a matter of concern to us, but still no satisfactory solution has been found. It would seem that difficulties stem from the fact that some people are making a taboo of this business which nobody can breach. However, we should not like to minimize the efforts made so far and which continue to be made in order to achieve a global solution.

195. But when we think of the disasters which precisely led the world to create the United Nations, we are inclined to believe that in the final analysis the proper place to deal with the substantive question of disarmament, proliferation of weapons and nuclear tests can be only within the framework of a world conference where those who possess most destructive weapons just as those who do not—great and small—can freely express their opinions, because if a world conflagration were to occur, the effects of thermo-nuclear weapons, for example, would not be felt simply by those who produce them but in some degree by the whole of mankind.

196. If we look back at what our Organization has done in the 30 years of its existence and at the changes which have occurred in the world over that period we see that the conscience of the world is developing. This is because the peoples are fighting for dignity, freedom and peace—in a word, for a more fraternal and more equitable order. Nevertheless, there are causes that must be removed as soon as possible. I am referring to the threats of war and their corollaries such as the arms race and the uncontrolled traffic in war *matériel*; the accepted and even supported violations of human rights through the heinous doctrines of *apartheid* and *zionism*; the persistence of shameful colonialism; the doctrine that "might makes right" in the distribution of wealth. We would do well to dwell on past conflicts with their indescribable horrors and their unprecedented toll of suffering. We must bend all our efforts to the building of a better world in which love for one's neighbour and international co-operation on a footing of total equality will be our only way of life.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2258th meeting, para. 66.

² *Ibid.*, *Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*