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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ANDERSEN (Denmark): Mr. President, allow me first to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a well-deserved tribute to your great qualities as an international statesman.

2. The admission of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe to membership in the United Nations is yet another result of the persistent and successful process of decolonization and yet another important step towards full universality of membership. The Danish Government looks forward to continuing in this Organization the fruitful co-operation which already exists among our peoples.

3. We share with others the belief that all States should be Members of the world Organization. All countries should be allowed to reap the benefits of full participation in the work of the United Nations, while being subject to the obligations of the Charter. Irrespective of the sympathy or antipathy we may harbour for any system or policy, we oppose any attempt contrary to the Charter to expel or suspend any Member State from the United Nations itself, its organs or affiliated organizations, or any attempt to limit the rights of a Member State. Peace and progress towards a more orderly world require contacts and dialogue in an organized forum. Exclusions or restrictions will serve only to eliminate useful contacts and, in turn, to lessen the possibility of exerting influence.

4. The thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations offers a very welcome opportunity to evaluate the present state of the Organization and to try to look into the future. In recent years it has often been said that the United Nations is in a state of crisis and irrelevancy. Rather than go into a general but ultimately fruitless discussion of this, I would prefer to take as my point of departure the remarks made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the

work of the Organization [A/10001/Add.1] when he underlines the fact that two great questions concerning the future remain unanswered. First, can the sovereign nations of our interdependent world, in the new circumstances in which we live, reach a sufficient consensus and generate the necessary collective will to give real and lasting effect to the original idea of the United Nations as an effective instrument for keeping the peace? Secondly, can they develop the capacity of the Organization to deal with the global problems which now face all nations and which certainly cannot be dealt with in isolation by one nation or group of nations alone? Those two are essential questions.

5. We can give a positive reply only if certain important pre-conditions are fulfilled. The first is strict adherence by all Members to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and respect for the letter of that instrument. At the twenty-fifth session a foreign minister concluded his statement at this rostrum with what he called the most modest and the least original of proposals: "Let us use our Organization and let us apply the Charter." On this occasion I take the liberty of repeating that proposal.

6. In this connexion it is important that the division of competence between the Security Council and the General Assembly laid down in the Charter be strictly observed.

7. It is of paramount importance that we preserve the basic principles of the Charter. At the same time we must realize that the proper functioning of our Organization in an ever-changing world depends on continuous and constructive adaptation to new challenges. We must strive together to proceed by dialogue, negotiation and co-operation and we must avoid bitter confrontation. The proceedings and outcome of the seventh special session testify to that.

8. There must be a convergence of opinions into compromises that all countries can live with. That is true not least in questions where viable solutions can be found only through the participation of the world community as a whole.

9. We are eager to co-operate, but we are also determined to insist on orderly procedures and adherence to the Charter. The United Nations was never intended to be an organization of like-minded States; it is rather an arena in which to harmonize and accommodate different policies and different interests. That does not mean that this Organization should not reflect deep-rooted divisions and existing, but unacceptable, inequalities. Without an open airing of justified grievances the Organization would lose its life. But we should endeavour to understand our respective backgrounds and motives and ultimately to seek solutions through joint efforts, not arbitrary action.

10. In particular, in the specialized agencies excessive politicization should be avoided. In spite of the

many burning and unsolved questions, we are convinced that these organizations derive their strength and their significance from the very fact that they are able to deal with their separate tasks in an objective atmosphere.

11. If the pre-conditions which I have just mentioned are fulfilled we should be on the road to making this Organization a truly universal tool of co-operation among nations.

12. The primary task of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security. The record shows both success and failure. There have been local wars; yet there have been no global wars. More than once, conflicts which might have escalated have been contained through the efforts, or at least within the framework, of the United Nations. The confrontation which marked East-West relations in the post-war period has been increasingly replaced by various forms of co-operation. Here and elsewhere our aim must be, through the development of international co-operation in breadth and in depth, to create a network of common interests by which to make the process of détente irreversible.

13. The second interim agreement between Egypt and Israel must be viewed as a significant step towards a just and lasting peace. The momentum must be preserved, however, so that through negotiation new and substantial progress can be made on the road to a global peace settlement in accordance with the well-known principles laid down in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). In this respect may I also recall our adherence to the declaration of the nine members of the European Economic Community [EEC] adopted on 6 November 1973.

14. In Cyprus the United Nations has endeavoured for many years to help bring about conditions for a peaceful solution based on the consent of the two national communities. The Danish Government highly appreciates the current efforts of the Secretary-General to promote negotiation between the representatives of the Cypriot communities. We shall continue to support those efforts. We appeal to the parties to act with prudence, with realism and with flexibility.

15. When we consider the search for just and lasting settlements in the Middle East and Cyprus we should not overlook the essential role also played by United Nations peace-keeping forces in these areas. Peace-keeping operations cannot in themselves solve political problems. That goes without saying. But they can help to reduce tension between conflicting parties and thereby create an atmosphere conducive to realistic negotiations between them. Peace-keeping is an indispensable prerequisite to peace-making. The peace-keeping operations of the United Nations have in fact proved to be one of the most constructive and imaginative accomplishments of this Organization.

16. After a decade of slow development the process of decolonization has regained its impetus. The United Nations has played an essential role in the developments which have taken place in southern Africa and which in the last few years have brought out particularly gratifying results in the efforts to achieve independence for the former Portuguese Territories.

17. But many Africans are still under the yoke of oppression. This is true not least of Namibia. The Republic of South Africa continues to uphold its illegal régime and to prevent the population from exercising its right of self-determination and independence. In this respect, the United Nations has quite a special responsibility which we must all do our utmost to live up to. The pressure on South Africa must not be weakened; on the contrary, it must be enhanced—and so must the pressure on the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia—by strict implementation of the sanctions of the United Nations. In spite of the persistent denunciation by the international community, the illegal régime continues to exercise its repressive policies against the African majority of Zimbabwe and to deprive those people of their rights as equal citizens.

18. The United Nations is rapidly acquiring a new and important role in the management of the world economy. This is in keeping with the universal character of the Organization.

19. The existing gaps between rich and poor countries, between countries favoured by nature and countries less endowed, constitute the stark reality on the basis of which our common endeavours in the United Nations must proceed. It is the duty of all nations to take an active part in efforts to eliminate unfair inequalities and outdated privileges among the peoples of the world. Only by helping the less fortunate peoples to regain their dignity and to occupy a proper place in the human community can we hope to create a just world.

20. In the promotion of this goal, the Danish Government is firmly committed to the official development assistance target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product set out in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*]. According to our national plan, the target envisaged in the resolution adopted last week at the seventh special session [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] will be reached by the end of this decade.

21. It is a distinctive feature of Danish development assistance that about half of it is channelled through international organizations. Through our contributions, first and foremost, to the United Nations Development Programme, we have supported efforts to enable the United Nations to play an important role in international development co-operation.

22. Although we can truthfully claim that considerable and encouraging results have been accomplished through past and ongoing development programmes, we have to admit that those programmes have been insufficient to achieve the goal of narrowing the gap in standards of living of developing and developed countries.

23. We have accepted this challenge. The response by the member countries of EEC to the proposals presented by the Group of 77, including the signing of the 1975 Lomé Convention, bear out our earnest desire for a constructive dialogue.

24. It would be idle to expect rapid and spectacular results. The process of adjusting to new conditions and of accepting the necessary sacrifices has its own rhythm and is conditioned by our democratic decision-

making processes. Patient negotiations are needed, not only among nations but, equally importantly, within nations where conflicting interests have to be reconciled. The general economic climate is another significant factor in determining the ability of developed countries to meet the requirements for changes in the economic order and, in turn, the capacity of developing countries to enjoy the benefits thereof.

25. The seventh special session was an event of major importance. Member States succeeded in reaching agreement on guidelines for a broad and realistic programme of measures designed to increase the capacity of the developing countries to pursue their development. The outcome was significant because it was achieved through true negotiations involving give-and-take on both sides. It is an encouraging sign that a new and realistic approach has been found. It holds a real promise for the success of the detailed negotiations which must now be conducted to give substance to the resolution.

26. Another area of international co-operation under the auspices of the United Nations is the drafting now under way of a convention for a new law of the sea. Such a convention will only acquire the intended value if it receives nearly universal adherence. It is therefore essential that reasonable account should be taken of all legitimate interests in the elaboration of solutions to the concrete problems.

27. A continuing concern of our Organization is to promote and encourage respect for human rights. Throughout the existence of the United Nations we have had to witness persecution on ideological, political or religious grounds, torture and other flagrant violations of fundamental human rights in many parts of the world. Unfortunately, present-day practices in our various continents bring fresh and tragic evidence of such violations. It remains one of the central duties of the world community to react with determination to such practices wherever they occur.

28. In conclusion, I would like to touch briefly upon a very important aspect of our work. The United Nations was established by the peoples of the world. An organization created by man to work for man can only succeed if it is backed by public understanding, by respect and by support from the people. We must admit that a flow of rhetoric, inaction, disrespect for the Charter, and national narrow-mindedness have often weakened public faith in this Organization.

29. Public understanding and support must be regained. We must develop an atmosphere of moderation and conciliation conducive to a genuine dialogue: that is, a dialogue based on respect for differing national interests. We must all show greater willingness to co-operate constructively in the search for common answers to the global problems confronting us.

30. The Danish Government does not underestimate the magnitude of this task. But if we all have the wisdom, the courage and the political will to co-operate we may be able together to develop a strong United Nations. It is an immediate challenge to all 141 Members to make this Organization a more effective instrument for the strengthening of international peace and security and for international economic and social co-operation. If we fail, it will be our common responsibility.

31. Mr. RAJARATNAM (Singapore): Permit me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I believe that you are the first Prime Minister to hold this high office. The fact that you feel able to be away from your country for three months reflects well on the political stability of your country, as well as on your self-confidence and political courage. Not many heads of government would feel safe these days to be away from their countries for three consecutive months. Your election to this high office is primarily a reflection of your personal qualities; it also does honour to Luxembourg. As the Foreign Minister of a small country, I take some vicarious satisfaction in the fact that the representative of another small country has been elected to the presidency of this Assembly.

32. My delegation would also like to extend its warm welcome and good wishes to the three new Member States: the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the People's Republic of Mozambique. We also look forward to the accession of Papua New Guinea to membership in this Organization. As a close neighbour, we take very great pleasure in co-sponsoring its application for membership.

33. I should also like to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the tireless manner in which he has discharged his duties, some of them difficult and demanding, during the past 12 months. I should like to single out for special mention two examples of his contributions to the cause of international peace and security. First, I think all of us owe him a debt of gratitude for having convened and chaired the intercommunal talks on Cyprus. Four rounds of such negotiations have been held. Although the negotiations appear to have run into difficulties, I would urge the Secretary-General to continue his efforts with the two parties in order to resume the negotiations on the outstanding obstacles in the way of a peaceful and lasting settlement in Cyprus. Secondly, I should like to congratulate our Secretary-General on the helpful role he played in bringing about the resumption of diplomatic relations between France and Guinea.

34. This year marks the thirtieth year of the existence of our Organization. This is a period of time which divides two generations: the pre-war generation, which had already been born when this Organization was founded and which still largely directs its affairs, and the successor generation, born since the United Nations was launched in San Francisco. This latter generation, the post-San-Francisco generation, which is now entering middle age, today constitutes the vast majority of the world's population. In the years ahead the direction of world affairs and of the affairs of this Organization will pass into their hands, and so any discussion of the United Nations and its future must be stated in terms meaningful to this generation rather than in accordance with the quaint beliefs and the obsolete prejudices of a gerontocracy which will fade away.

35. It is generally agreed that after 30 years this world Organization has lost much of its zest and vigour, and there are pessimists who hopefully predict its eventual demise. Though we disagree with the

pessimists, it is nevertheless true that the high hopes the United Nations held out in its early years have, for the most part, evaporated. The sorry state into which it has fallen no doubt prompted this Assembly to set up an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 3349 (XXIX)] to look into ways and means of rejuvenating it. These experts have now completed their report and I shall comment on their largely constructive and helpful recommendations later on.

36. But the streamlining of United Nations procedures and the restructuring of its machinery are by themselves not enough. What is required even more is a fundamental change in the intellectual, moral and emotional approach to world problems on the part of the 141 nations which collectively constitute the United Nations. The shortcomings and weaknesses of this Organization are in fact the sum of our own failures. We cannot absolve ourselves from blame by hiding behind abstractions like "machinery" and "procedures". We are the United Nations, and it can be no better or worse than we are.

37. Before I embark on what is really self-criticism, let me say that I disagree with those who claim that this Organization has nothing to be proud of and that the world would be better off without it. The facts do not justify that extremist view. The achievements of the United Nations may have fallen short of expectations, but its record in spreading education, in bettering the health of peoples the world over, in assisting developing countries in social and economic development and in promoting international co-operation in such diverse fields as outer space, the oceans of the world and peace-keeping are significant achievements and evidence of its great potentialities for good.

38. Perhaps the two most outstanding achievements which more than compensate for its many failures are, first, the liberation of hundreds of millions of people from imperial bondage and, second, the inculcation, in however rudimentary and imperfect a form, of the habit of discussion and co-operation among 141 nations. Never before in human history have so many nations met so frequently to conduct discussions on so comprehensive a scale.

39. So, as we see it, the dismantling of the United Nations, far from making for more effective international diplomacy, would in fact plunge the world into inevitable disaster. The belief that world stability could be restored by a reversion to traditional great-Power diplomacy or by a restricted concert of nations calling themselves the third world would, in the long term, be disastrous for mankind. The fact is that there is no alternative today to the United Nations. Even if we were to scrap it tomorrow we would be forced, as a matter of survival, to create another organization very much like this one. This is because over the past 30 years we have unwittingly, and even unwillingly, created a truly interdependent world. It will become more, not less, interdependent with every passing year. Modern science and technology and the political, social and economic institutions they have forced upon us are thrusting us, very often against our will and against the grain of our national ideologies, in the direction of a global community. The global community is today not a myth, but a reality. Our economics, our politics and our social problems have

global as well as national dimensions. Food and fuel, population and the environment, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the making of a new legal order to manage the uses and resources of the world's oceans, the transfer of resources and technological skills from developed to the less developed countries, and the rapid modernization and industrialization of the less developed countries are problems that demand simultaneously national and global solutions. Neither one by itself is sufficient.

40. In short, the world is one, and its fundamental problems are indivisible. This is the reality. But the ideology and approaches that guide deliberations in this Organization are rooted in a world and an epoch that has for the most part vanished. They are the beliefs which were shaped to meet the needs of a seventeenth-century Europe which had just discovered the marvels of coal and steam technology. The ideology of that period was a xenophobic nationalism built around the myth of racial supremacy and the civilizing virtue of a national religion which, it was claimed, was most favoured by the Creator himself. That same ideology sanctified wars of conquest and the subjugation of inferior peoples as necessary steps in the march towards a higher civilization.

41. It is this seventeenth-century ideology which still governs our thinking and shapes our international policies in this Organization. True, these basic beliefs, in these more enlightened times, are dressed up in the rhetoric of internationalism and world brotherhood. But, shorn of these wrappings, what stands revealed is the seventeenth-century mind. Perhaps most distressing of all is how readily some third-world countries, despite their having been victims of this outdated European ideology, have taken to xenophobic nationalism and the racial and religious arrogance associated with their former Western rulers. We quite rightly complain of the arrogance of the powerful, but if we are honest with ourselves we should also be critical of the growing arrogance of the weak.

42. The inadequacy of the United Nations is only partly attributable to organizational defects and inadequate procedures. More basic is the fact that we are seeking to resolve what are global problems in terms of a steam-engine nationalism. Worse still, we create more and more problems for ourselves by compelling an interdependent world to conform to the imperatives of an outmoded and increasingly irrelevant ideology. So our economic problems get worse because 141 nations formulate solutions to global problems in purely national terms. Hence, monetary problems, to name one, become unmanageable because there are as many often-conflicting solutions as there are nations.

43. So the first prerequisite for the revitalization of the United Nations is an acceptance of the fact that we are moving towards a global community and that, unless we think as members of a world community, the more intractable our problems, both domestic and international, will become. This does not mean abandoning national identities or the sacrifice of basic national interests; it is largely a question of a new kind of thinking which would permit us to consolidate and expand national interests within the wider framework of a global community. And this is not as difficult as it sounds. Great nation-States have managed to establish a satisfactory relationship between conflicting

individual, group and minority interests within the structure of transcending national interests.

44. In this Organization we have 141 Members. Our interests do not always coincide and often they are diametrically opposed. Yet, collectively, we constitute the global community. If this Organization is to acquire significance and meaning, it should become the instrument for the planned nurturing and direction of the global community which we are now creating in an unplanned and unpurposeful manner.

45. If we are to play this role—and, as we see it, this is now the only justification for this Organization—then I should like to suggest some guidelines.

46. First, we must get away from the old concept, which dominated the last 30 years, of using this Organization as an arena for staging contests and confrontations for the edification of our home audiences and the working out of obscure private and public frustrations. In this regard, the great Powers should be blamed for first initiating this unworthy tradition in the days of the old cold war. If we are to find global solutions to planetary challenges, then we must learn to use this Organization as a forum for negotiations and problem-solving. It is no use talking about international co-operation while adopting tactics calculated to divide and humiliate Member States.

47. A problem-solving approach requires a different cast of mind. It must accept the fact that, given 141 Members with diverse interests, very often a series of compromise solutions, less good than what we expect but each better than the preceding one, might be the practical road to an eventually satisfactory solution.

48. Secondly, we must get away from the prevailing belief that a resolution adopted by a decisive majority has in fact solved a problem. This is perhaps our greatest weakness and one which has greatly helped to bring this Organization to its present sorry state. Where a resolution injures the basic interests of dissenting States, it will be ignored. Worse still, the resolution will be quietly breached even by States which had been shamed or cajoled into voting for it. By adopting resolutions which we know would be shamelessly breached we are in fact helping to bring our resolutions into disrepute.

49. The emphasis should therefore be not on decision-making by a majority but on conciliation and consensus-building. It is a fact that the principle of majority vote is becoming increasingly suspect in this Assembly for a variety of reasons. It has on many occasions become a device, not for conciliation, but for staging confrontations for humiliating opponents or for impressing antagonists and suggesting that the prime mover has more camp followers than his enemy. The result is that, through constant misuse, majority decisions have lost their efficacy. Far from intimidating the victim, they only strengthen his intransigence and compel defiance.

50. It is also true that on many occasions majority decisions are not made on the merits of the case. The unfortunate defendant is well aware that the judges and the jury have already arrived at a decision long before they have heard the case and the facts—which is not surprising because the facts and the case which prompted the decision more often than not have

nothing to do with the case at hand. Decisions are openly arrived at as a result of secret deals on matters irrelevant to the issue on which the pronouncement is made.

51. Again, there are resolutions which by their very nature invite defiance and even threats to peace. For example, any resolution which calls for hostility towards nations with which one has no quarrel and with which one may even be on the best of terms, or any resolution which calls upon a State to liquidate itself politically or economically will understandably be breached. Yet there have been occasions when such resolutions have been solemnly adopted by this Assembly.

52. It would, of course, be a good thing if decisions could be arrived at and implemented on the majority principle. But we do not think that the members of this Assembly are ready for it yet. The minority has yet to be satisfied that majority decisions are arrived at with judicial impartiality and that majority decisions are made by men of virtue and not by a kangaroo court.

53. So this Organization must for the time being aim at consensus-building or, as the United Nations Charter itself wisely prescribed, we must make the Organization “a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations”—not encouraging and expanding disharmony and conflicts.

54. I should like now to make a few comments on the recommendations contained in the report of the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System, which bears the title, *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation*.<sup>1</sup> I refer, in particular, to its suggestion that, at the request of the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council, or upon the motion of one tenth of the members of either body, a small negotiating group should be constituted to seek agreement on a specific action proposal or related action proposals in the field of development and international economic co-operation. Negotiating groups would be of manageable size, normally between 10 and 30, and would include countries principally interested in the subject-matter whether or not they were members of the Council. These groups would operate for periods of one to two years, subject to renewal as determined by the Assembly or the Council.

55. The Council would be kept informed by the negotiating groups of the progress being made by them. During the two-year period, the Assembly and the Council would be free to consider subjects under discussion in the groups and to vote resolutions thereon; but, in deciding upon whether to vote on a particular resolution, the Assembly and the Council would take into account the progress of the negotiations.

56. Each negotiating group would function under the guidance of a full-time chairman with the assistance, if necessary, of a small representative body of vice-chairmen, all of whom would be proposed by the Secretary-General and confirmed by the Assembly or the Council, depending on where the proposal for the group originated. The full-time chairman would serve for the duration of the group. Each negotiating group would operate on the basis of unanimity. When a negotiating group reached agreement it would

report to the Council, which could adopt the agreement, refer the matter back to the negotiating group for further consideration or take such other action as it deemed appropriate. Upon approval by the Council, the agreement would be passed to the Assembly, which would approve the agreement, refer the matter back to the group or take some other action.

57. My delegation sees considerable merit in the consultative procedures proposed by the Group of Experts. We support them because they are designed to promote agreement on major policy issues where agreement might otherwise be unobtainable. We recognize, however, that it is not enough to introduce new consultative procedures for reaching agreement. It is also necessary to address the question of how negotiations should be conducted.

58. Allow me to suggest four further rules for your consideration. The first rule is that to be successful in any negotiation one must examine the most constructive proposals the opponent offers. One needs to find a position offered by one side acceptable to the other side, and try to build from there. To put it very simply, the essence of the first rule in any negotiation is to see the problem from the point of view of your opponent; to understand the interests he has to serve; the constraints under which he has to operate.

59. The second rule, I would suggest, is that one should not seek superiority in any negotiation. As a very distinguished diplomat and negotiator, Mr. Averill Harriman, has put it, "You can't accomplish anything by knocking your opponent over the head . . . the idea that you can whip your negotiating opponent into agreeing with you is nonsense."

60. The third rule which I would offer for your consideration is that no party to a negotiation must insist that all its demands be satisfied. Every party to a negotiation must be prepared to sacrifice some of its demands and to make some concessions and compromises. There can be no successful bargain if it satisfies all the demands of one side and none of the demands of the other. There must be a mutuality of gains and losses and of rights and obligations.

61. The fourth and final rule which I would offer is that every country has a certain irreducible minimum national interest. It is unreasonable to expect a country to consent to any proposal which detracts from that interest. The parties to a negotiation must therefore attempt to perceive the extent to which other parties are able to make concessions, or can even be pressured into making concessions, and the limits beyond which it would be unreasonable to expect an opponent to go.

62. The four rules which I have suggested above are by no means original, nor are they intended to be exhaustive. They should, however, convey an idea of the kind of new values and attitudes which must animate the negotiations and guide the negotiators if the United Nations is to be changed from an arena for shadow-boxing into a forum for negotiations.

63. Those who drafted the Charter of the United Nations were inspired by the vision of the Organization as a centre for harmonising the actions of nations. That vision has never been more relevant than it is today. We are faced with a new agenda of pressing problems—energy and the proliferation of nuclear

weapons, food and famine, the population explosion and environmental deterioration and the north-south dialogue: these are planetary challenges to which only planetary responses may be feasible. The United Nations is the appropriate forum in which solutions to these problems can be found. The seventh special session has perhaps been a turning-point in United Nations history. It has shown that the United Nations can be made to work, that peoples and nations can negotiate. Let us resolve to continue to exert our efforts in that direction.

64. I began by saying that the thirtieth year marks the period of the gradual take-over of this Organization by the generation born since its inception. The older generation, the pre-war generation, has many things to be ashamed of, and the most shameful of these was the senseless slaughter unleashed by the last war and the subjugation of millions in the name of empire. But I like to think that we and they have atoned for all this by creating this Organization dedicated to the outlawing for ever of wars and imperialist adventures. But the atonement will not be complete until we can hand over to the new generation a United Nations refined and perfected to make it a reliable instrument for truly uniting the nations of the world. Then the new generation will have cause to say: "The generation from whom we inherited our world were unique in that they swept nothing under the carpet for us to clean up."

65. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Uruguay would like at the outset to congratulate Mr. Thorn, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, on his election as President of the General Assembly. We welcome the choice of a young but at the same time mature statesman of a noble country, with great traditions from the past and a great capacity for action in our time.

66. We also pay a tribute to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, who presided over the work of the General Assembly during a particularly dynamic year in the life of the Organization.

67. We welcome the admission of the new Members—the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique—which thus carries forward our progress towards universality.

68. May I be permitted, first of all, to make a statement general in nature, one which will be especially appropriate inasmuch as this is the thirtieth anniversary of our Organization. Uruguay comes to this new session of the General Assembly animated by the same spirit by which it was inspired when we signed the Charter in San Francisco.

69. Today, we share, as we did then, the objectives of the Charter, and we will work tirelessly to attain them in the context of a policy of peace and co-operation with all nations. In accordance with its tradition, Uruguay hopes that international coexistence will be consistently governed by law, and that within that context every people will be able to achieve its own destiny, free from interference by others.

70. As a symbolic manifestation of respect and fidelity to the objectives that brought our Organiza-

tion into existence, and as an expression of the permanence and continuity of our foreign policy, my Government has chosen to incorporate into our delegation at this session two distinguished personalities of our country who were among the signatories to that historic document.

71. I have preferred to depart from the traditional approach of analysing one by one the principal items of the agenda, and instead will concentrate my attention on the most important concepts and facts of international politics and economics as we in Uruguay see them. I believe that the general debate will thus gain in depth and will shed greater light on the essence of each country's thinking. The Uruguayan delegation will set forth, in the appropriate Committees, its specific views on each item. For the moment, I shall state specifically that there is no change in the traditional political line of my country. As always, that line gives expression to a position that is independent and cannot be categorized. It does not act in accordance with the needs of any bloc, but rather from a faithful assessment of the facts in accordance with our own principles.

72. For this very reason, Uruguay will energetically oppose any attempt to use the machinery and institutions of the United Nations for promoting any propaganda objectives or encouraging any type of ideological domination. Such action is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter, and from the political point of view is a source of discredit to this Organization and makes ineffective the impartial performance of the lofty duties with which this Organization is entrusted.

73. The United Nations was born in order to save the world from a new war, a war like the one that was just coming to its end. That type of war, the weapons that existed at the time, the causes and motives that precipitated that conflict, the ideologies that brought the factions together, the power relations existing among the victors, and the general feelings of all the other nations—all these were the realities and the known elements of that time.

74. In the time that has elapsed since there have been notable and overwhelming changes. Today, the original group of founding Members sees its number tripled. A large and varied assortment of items involving the most complex technical questions and the profoundest aspirations of men all over the world now enriches the agenda of the General Assembly.

75. Ideological divisions and political and economic power have followed tortuous and often surprising paths.

76. Conflicts have broken out which at the time could doubtless not have been foreseen, and the course of those conflicts, in general, has been very far from feeling the beneficent effect of the governing machinery provided by the Charter. Even the kind of war which today we may fear or undergo is different.

77. Perhaps this change, which has been so profound in so short a time, is what distorts our understanding of the new facts that refuse to fit into the traditional categories.

78. World war gave way to the cold war, and the cold war, in turn, to coexistence. Each of these periods was a milestone in the history of this Organization.

79. In the political field today the most noteworthy fact is détente. My country, of course, fully supports the aim of reducing tensions and warding off the danger of an atomic disaster. I believe that all nations must unreservedly and unhesitatingly give their support to that aim. We must, however, state that such a policy is limited in scope, confined as it is to relationships among the great Powers. To be sure, it reduces the risk of nuclear war, even the danger of a wide-scale conventional war. But for dozens of small and medium-sized nations that want to live in peace and build their lives for themselves, free of foreign interference, this does not represent a concrete solution.

80. As a matter of fact, détente does not do away with power politics or the ideological struggle. These today take different forms; the battlefield changes and the weapons employed change; from war declared between nations we have now passed, over and under frontiers, to war that is undeclared and within nations. No longer is it a question of mere propaganda intended for theoretical dispersion; it is a combined action utilizing all media and resources.

81. Terrorism and subversion are its concrete expression. These obstruct the development process and impair political sovereignty in determining a future in keeping with the values that characterize each society. Closely tied each to the other, so that they are almost one and the same, united in an international activity that recognizes no limits and that day by day reaches into more countries, they still are able to enjoy the open and explicit support of certain countries.

82. We must bear in mind that these activities do not affect one country or one group of countries alone; they affect even the most highly developed ones, those with the highest social and economic standards. Prosperity and culture do not serve as barriers. It is one and the same destructive design which in each area assumes a different political guise, adapted to local circumstances, but always with the same urge to violence and domination as the concrete expression of power politics.

83. Its very behaviour represents a return to outmoded forms of coexistence and a sure obstacle to the free development of every community, even though this inhumane and irrational tendency claims at times to have a monopoly of change towards a new society.

84. We should try to achieve, therefore, a clear awareness of the fact that, despite declarations and agreements, there is a pitiless struggle for power taking place on as many fronts as there are nations, and that the very principles and basic values of civilization are everywhere imperilled.

85. Without this awareness it will not be possible for us to understand the most frightening political phenomenon in the world today, and even less to face the challenge it represents.

86. This is not the first time that my country has spoken about such facts. We did so, quite properly, when we ourselves were subjected to a similar type of activity. Perhaps for that reason the international community did not at that time fully understand the magnitude and significance of the danger and tended

to attribute it to local factors, as was claimed in certain distorted and false propaganda. Now that we have succeeded in pushing back the massive attack launched against us, and while we are mounting a permanent guard against any other such attempts, I wish to repeat once more our warning to all countries and to urge the community of nations to act against the unmistakable international wave of terrorists and subversives motivated by clear political aims of domination or, if that is not immediately possible, destruction.

87. I wish to call attention to these facts, for my country cannot and does not rest content with an international peace that is superficial and limited to the immediate concerns of the great Powers.

88. Uruguay wishes to see international law respected. Let each country develop from its own strength and in accordance with its own values the response it regards as appropriate to the arduous problems of coexistence. Let no one set himself up as a censor of other people's political, economic and social systems. Let a plurality of political and ideological solutions be respected by all. Let no one infiltrate, subvert or commit aggression against others, or seek to exercise domination over others.

89. All this is more than a starting-point; it is at the same time an objective of international law. If there is no strict compliance therewith, there will be no peace in the true sense. And the small and medium-sized nations will have to continue to mount a constant guard over their freedom, menaced by a war that cannot be prevented by détente.

90. When the Charter was signed the dominant economic concern was the devastation wrought by the war and the need to get the economy back on the traditional course. Thirty years later, aware now of the interdependence of all nations, we are trying to meet the needs of developed and developing countries and bring them together in a more balanced and just system. At the same time we are trying in the immediate future to attenuate the effects of the present crisis.

91. As soon as the first indications of the magnitude of this crisis appeared, by the end of 1973, all major international activities in the economic field assumed a dual purpose: on the one hand, the search for a global organization of the world economy and, on the other, the need to assist those affected by the emergency.

92. I should like to say very firmly that my country is in strong disagreement with the orientation and results of this general process on both sides of the picture, and we say this in a very forthright and direct manner.

93. First of all, in general an attitude of confrontation has prevailed. In practical terms, that attitude could not—and did not—lead to any concrete results.

94. If we are trying to lay down guidelines for restructuring the international economy, there must be a straightforward, genuine and sincere consensus among all participants, and that can be reached only on the basis of generally acceptable and negotiated formulas.

95. Building up majority votes in international organizations in favour of specific resolutions is not

enough for us, the developing countries, nor can that satisfy our legitimate and vital interests, if it does not lead straightaway to concrete and tangible action.

96. In today's interdependent world, solutions adopted in isolation or antagonistic solutions are no longer feasible. There can be no response to a given problem unless it comes as a result of co-operation on the part of all.

97. Secondly, the idea of reform of the whole international economic order, unless it is practical and realistic, will not have any effect on the most urgent problems. At times it may, and indeed does, happen that the proposal that appears the most ambitious and far-reaching will delay steps that are already clearly needed and, by their very nature, indispensable for any future order.

98. It is clear that with regard to such vital and urgent questions as those of agriculture, food and population, there cannot be complete understanding on all aspects of the world economy. I believe that if we can agree on satisfactory formulations in these essential areas, it will be sure to have a multiplying effect, promoting mutual confidence among nations and opening the way for the integrated solutions we all desire.

99. My country, therefore, proposes that international efforts be concentrated on those areas, which are recognized by one and all as priority areas, in an attempt to reach solutions and adopt practical measures based on a broad political consensus.

100. Thirdly, I shall now speak of the inadequacy of the means of action taken in the face of the crisis. In April 1974 I explained in the General Assembly<sup>2</sup> how my country had been adversely affected by increases in the prices of oil and other raw materials. I mentioned then certain encouraging figures concerning the Uruguayan economy towards the end of 1973, and spoke about the favourable outlook at the time; but I also spoke about the negative effect that importing 100 per cent of our fuel at the new prices would undoubtedly have on our economy.

101. The forecasts made at that time applied not only to my country, but to a broad range of countries that were at one and the same time developing countries and net importers of oil. Unfortunately our predictions have been borne out by the facts. In Latin America in one year the deficit in the balance of payments of oil-importing countries tripled. The deficit then amounted to the value of half of all the exports of those countries.

102. Another prediction that was proved true concerned the fact that the industrialized nations would be able more rapidly to absorb that deficit, by relying on the diversity of their economies, on their capacity to attract surplus capital, and unfortunately on restrictive measures with regard to imports from the most severely affected countries.

103. Clearly, this situation has resulted not entirely from any action or failure to take action, but is due to external factors over which Governments and peoples have no control whatever.

104. It was only natural, then, to assume that the international community would adopt a policy of decisive support for those who were suffering this grave affliction. I must say, however, in all frankness

that the activities of the innumerable meetings which have been convened on the subject have not so far produced any effective measures. The amount of special resources devoted by the international community to this end is far from sufficient to meet the needs; the inadequacy of the resources has forced countries to resort to commercial loans, frequently on very difficult terms, in order to offset the debts incurred as a result of higher oil prices; even international loans, such as the oil facilities of the International Monetary Fund, have to be repaid over a fairly short period of time, require the payment of interest and increase the foreign debt, thus limiting the credit margin available for development. All the additional resources have to be devoted exclusively to the maintenance of a normal level of fuel supply and cannot be invested for economic and social development.

105. To this we should add a very important negative factor. In the Special Programme that was adopted by the General Assembly, it was specified that the purpose of emergency assistance was to meet the needs of those countries most affected by the crisis, and a set of criteria was laid down to determine which were those countries [*see resolution 3202 (S-VI), sect. X*].

106. However, in the distribution of assistance, the *per capita* income alone has been taken as a criterion, and as a result a number of seriously affected countries have been excluded. It is clear that that criterion by no means indicates the degree to which each country has been affected.

107. In this regard, the Organization of American States last week unanimously recommended that international and regional financing organizations should revise that criterion. According to the present manner of applying the rules, with *per capita* income as the criterion, in Latin America only two countries could qualify for special assistance. In the circumstances, nations which as a result of the crisis are facing the worst of problems are not receiving the special assistance which was provided precisely to meet the needs of the crisis.

108. I should therefore like to make clear my country's strong disagreement with application of the criterion. Not only does it not conform to the rules contained in the resolution of the General Assembly; unfortunately by reason of its limited and haphazard character it also has no significant impact on the situation of the poorest countries, which, in the opinion of my country, are not being helped by present resources. For them, massive amounts of resources should be accorded in grant form.

109. Here I should like to say that the tendency to use emergency assistance for permanent problems conceals the fact that assistance specifically intended for the poorest countries provided by countries with the greatest resources has decreased in absolute value and in real terms. The commitment to contribute 0.7 per cent of the gross national product, in accordance with the goal of the Second United Nations Development Decade, is not being fulfilled. If that contribution were actually made, it would solve the problems not only of the poorest countries, but also of the rest of the developing countries.

110. The situation is the same, for example, with regard to the replacement of the resources of the International Development Association, which provides loans on favourable terms to countries with the lowest incomes.

111. The inadequate contributions of the industrialized countries and those countries that have profited by the new oil prices cannot be supplemented by emergency resources that are intended precisely for the countries most adversely affected by the present crisis.

112. This trend has even deeper implications and goes beyond the question of the distribution of emergency resources. Implicitly, yet with singular force and clarity, it raises the question of whether the development of the poorest countries should be achieved through a reduction of the standard of living of other countries, including not only the industrialized countries but also those developing countries with the most promising economic and social statistics.

113. To put it another way: should the vital and unchallenged needs of the most backward countries be met by reducing the moderate amount of progress achieved by the less backward? Should not the international community rather promote the progress of those countries whose economies are backward without inhibiting progress in other countries?

114. Neither on the international nor on the national level does my country accept the class war in either theory or practice. Instead, we believe that it is an imaginative, constructive and concerted effort which will make it possible to maintain and increase progress in the most advanced countries and at the same time promote a more rapid advance on the part of the backward countries.

115. This opinion is not only the result of our political and ethical convictions; it is also based on our practical experience of present-day economics: in our interdependent world there can be no solutions adopted in isolation. Prosperity, if it is to be lasting, must be widespread.

116. I should like to bring out another point with which we are not in agreement. The inadequacy of international financial measures is revealed at a time when restrictions are also being imposed by the developed countries, and by EEC in particular, on imports of certain primary commodities which are essential to the economies of the developing countries affected by the crisis. This is true of meat. The Organization of American States at last week's meeting took a stand on that subject, expressing deep concern over the matter and hoping that the restrictions would be lifted.

117. Thus the situation arises where a group of nations severely affected by the rise in oil prices are at the same time prevented from exporting to their usual customers, the developed countries, those products which are the mainstay of their economies. Furthermore, those same developed countries, by means of a policy of subsidies, are vying with one another in other markets, by reducing their prices and flooding the market.

118. This complicated set-up has a critical effect in the present circumstances. It is also a grim expression of an underlying problem.

119. First, the international community has not found the means to ensure the stability of the basic exports of the developing countries. Without the condition of stability it is impossible to save or to accumulate capital to allow investment for the diversification of the economy. Any employment policy is also inhibited thereby.

120. Secondly, the rules governing the world economy all conspire to force the infant industries of the developing countries to confine themselves exclusively to a policy of efficiency and competitiveness. But no such criteria are applied to the agricultural policies of all developed countries, and as a result there is distortion and waste.

121. It happens then that in developed areas of the world, industry subsidizes inefficient agricultural production, blocks the access of products produced more economically in other areas, and even competes in third-country markets with the help of subsidies.

122. Thus a paradox arises: economic rules, instead of being more flexible to help those countries which are most backward, are, in fact, less rigid for the most advanced countries.

123. We wish to point an accusing finger at this unjust contradiction.

124. We are all familiar with the harsh laws and practices of international economic life. But faced with such a simultaneous accumulation of negative factors, with no particular attenuating circumstances, one cannot help but wonder what outlook there is for co-operation to foster development.

125. As I have already stated, there can be no doubt that it is necessary to give top priority to the questions of agriculture, food and population. Together with their tremendous economic significance, they have even greater humanitarian implications.

26. Recently we have heard many pleas for an increase in the production of food as a means of meeting vital and growing human needs.

127. That brings home one of the most startling facts, which is, without exaggeration, both an indictment of and a challenge to the present international order: namely that there are some peoples which are experiencing serious difficulties in selling the food that they produce and at the same time there are some peoples which go hungry because they cannot afford to buy that food.

128. Thus it is not production capacity that is lacking in these cases; there is only a lack of international financial machinery to co-ordinate supply and demand; international machinery to bring, for example, proteins produced at the lowest cost in the Southern Hemisphere to the millions of undernourished human beings everywhere.

129. It is my belief that concentrating our efforts to find a concrete answer to this question will help us to set aside our abstract speeches and our documents, replete with generalities, to get away from the "ins" and "outs" of United Nations procedures and to embark on a practical and eminently humane task.

130. Many years ago, when Uruguay's commodity trade was flourishing and prosperous and when the outlook was even more promising, my Government

proposed the creation of a food bank as a way of simultaneously meeting the financial needs of production and consumption of the countries with the lowest incomes. We acted out of a deeply held sense of solidarity with the poorest peoples and we felt that it was our moral duty to use our food-producing natural resources in the widest possible way and not just to benefit the richest societies.

131. Today we renew that proposal, which is more urgently needed than ever. It is a material and moral imperative.

132. At the same time we must express our disappointment over the operational failure of the machinery set up by the World Food Conference which was held last year within the framework of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

133. On behalf of my Government, I repeat that we firmly intend to increase our food production in so far as the terms of trade and of financing allow.

134. During the recent seventh special session of the General Assembly a resolution on development and international economic co-operation [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] was adopted.

135. In spite of our general disagreement with many issues, this is promising. The substance of the discussion was more constructive. Practical ideas were presented by industrialized and developing countries in a search for joint solutions.

136. We believe that the ideas put forward by the delegation of the United States,<sup>3</sup> for example—which met with a favourable response in other countries—represent a very profound approach to many problems which are of interest to the entire world. The document of the Group of 77 is an important statement of the views of the developing countries. A financial security network for Latin America was proposed that, in addition to being a system that would benefit the whole region, might help to raise income levels and improve employment conditions in those countries for which Latin America is an important market.

137. The final resolution reflects many of the ideas which were contained in the documents I have just mentioned and thus represents a step forward towards a definition of principles. But I very much fear that if its implementation is postponed and if too many subjects are taken up, it will be difficult to put into practice and the solution of urgent problems may be delayed. Moreover, if the present criteria continue to be used with regard to the allocation of assistance—as I mentioned earlier—then the international action we are trying to initiate now will have no practical effect in many countries.

138. Uruguay will support the implementation of the various guidelines set forth at the seventh special session; but we shall pay special attention to case-by-case solutions that concern vital aspects of the present situation.

139. I should like to refer to a few of the more outstanding issues in an effort to make a contribution to concrete solutions.

140. My Government believes that a fund to stabilize income from the export earnings of developing countries is of the greatest importance and therefore we give it our fullest support. We should adopt a very

careful scientific approach with regard to the management of the fund so as to prevent the exclusion in practice of certain nations by the establishment of general rules.

141. My Government also concurs with the belief that trade is the chief means of promoting development. For this reason, we support Brazil's valuable proposal to negotiate a general agreement on trade between the developed and developing countries.

142. If expansion of trade is to take place then, first, negotiations within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] must not be confined just to subjects of major interest to the industrialized countries. They must come up with special rules to govern trade between developed and developing countries, bearing in mind the concept of non-reciprocal treatment stated in the Tokyo Declaration issued by the Ministerial Meeting of the Contracting Parties to GATT held from 12 to 14 September 1973.<sup>4</sup>

*Mr. Fall (Senegal), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

143. Secondly, we believe that the agricultural policies of the industrialized countries, particularly EEC, and agreements on products which were concluded between those countries should not restrict trade in those products through protectionist policies and should not lead to sharp fluctuations in international prices to the detriment of the developing countries.

144. Thirdly, non-tariff barriers should be changed in keeping with the technological possibilities of developing countries; and health regulations should not be more restrictive for foreign exporters than for nationals.

145. Fourthly, exports of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from the developing countries should enjoy a stable system of access to the markets of the industrialized countries.

146. Lastly, I would like to mention the fact that my country is ready to enter into agreements on commodities with exporting and importing countries in an attempt to better organize production and trade. These agreements should not be limited to a narrow range of products which are of interest primarily to industrialized consumers. They must cover each and every product which is of substantial interest to one or more producing country.

147. My Government believes that dialogue and the joint working out of solutions are the right course to take.

148. It is precisely in that context and in that spirit that Uruguay has presented its views in various forums. We have done so firmly and dispassionately, and we have tried to show the realities, as dramatic as they are little known, in certain countries very directly affected by the crisis.

149. The President of France himself recognized this situation in a recent statement when he said:

"As regards the developing countries which produce few goods, the prices of which have not increased and in certain cases have even decreased, their situation is tragic inasmuch as they must bear

the burden of the increase in the prices of oil, food-stuffs and manufactured goods".

150. It is obvious that some solutions which are desirable in themselves—such as access to capital markets, and increased exports—are not feasible in practical terms over the short term.

151. In order to arrive at appropriate solutions we must approach the present situation on the basis of concrete criteria. In this spirit, I should like to sum up the measures which my Government thinks should be adopted.

152. The trade rules and policies of the industrialized countries must be revised, including the elimination of protectionist policies, as regards the commodities and manufactured goods of the developing countries. The resources provided by industrialized and oil-producing countries must be increased in order to contribute to funds for assistance to the poorest countries, in particular the International Development Association. Countries whose balance-of-payments positions have been most adversely affected by the prices of oil and other essential imports must be helped, and the criteria used in the distribution of resources must reflect the harm which has been done. A fund must be created as soon as possible to stabilize the export earnings of developing countries, and buffer stocks must be established. Effective machinery must be established to provide incentives to agriculture in the form of a food bank which will ensure economic conditions for the production of agricultural products and access for the most needy, and there must be basic commodity agreements between producers and consumers on each and every product of substantial interest to one or more producers. There must be appropriate institutional reforms within the United Nations system to concentrate and better co-ordinate action on the part of the international community to benefit those countries most adversely affected by the emergency and those most in need of assistance.

153. Finally, I should like to say, on behalf of my Government, that we wish to put forward a concrete proposal concerning financing for countries at the intermediate level, the developing countries with medium and higher levels of earnings. Many of them are Latin American countries which have been left on the periphery of the most urgent international assistance. A mechanism should be created for them similar to the "third window", which might be called the "fourth window", and which should deal with the tremendous additional needs of those countries by means of a specific financial instrument with relatively higher interest rates.

154. If any subsidy were necessary it would be limited to reducing the tariff which the administrators of the system, whether the World Bank or regional banks, those who lend the funds on terms compatible with development financing needs, would have to pay.

155. The United Nations today is at a cross-roads: either we shall be satisfied with a rhetorical and ideological, purely superficial, approach to problems, or we shall penetrate to the substance, the essence of situations in order together to find generally acceptable solutions which reflect a genuine consensus.

156. The first approach, obviously the simpler one, could lead to ineffectiveness and discredit us in the eyes of world public opinion, which, little by little, would separate the Organization from all relevant issues.

157. The second course offers more difficulties, but is the only way for the United Nations to play a significant role in the world, enjoy the respect and confidence of all and achieve the objectives and hopes of the founders 30 years ago, of its new Members and of all the peoples of the world.

158. Mr. MINIĆ (Yugoslavia):\* I should like to extend to the President my heartfelt congratulations on his election to that high office and responsibility. It gives me particular pleasure to have this opportunity to do so as our two countries have traditionally promoted bonds of friendship and co-operation. I should also like to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation to the President of the twenty-ninth regular session and seventh special session of the General Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who guided those important sessions very successfully and imbued the proceedings with the dynamism of his personality and of the non-aligned policy of his country.

159. It is with great pleasure that I welcome the admission of new Members to the United Nations: the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the Republic of Cape Verde. Their admission symbolizes both new victories of the liberation struggle of peoples for freedom and independence and the right of all States to participate, on an equal footing, in the affairs of the international community. We expect that we shall soon have the opportunity to welcome here the representatives of independent Angola, which is now encountering great difficulties caused by interference from external factors taking advantage of the discord and conflict among the internal political forces of Angola.

160. Regrettably, the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam has been prevented by the use of the veto in the Security Council, contrary to the positions and demands of most of the States Members of the United Nations. Thus, membership was denied to the two Republics of Viet Nam, whose people had made an inestimable contribution to the strengthening of the principles that constitute the essence of the United Nations.

161. The current session coincides with the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, which emerged as a result of the great struggle of the peoples against fascism, whose aim was to subjugate countries and peoples and to smother the freedom and destroy the dignity of man. Therefore the United Nations from the very outset, notwithstanding the weaknesses which reflect the contradictions of the contemporary world, has embodied all the fundamental values that express the most profound aspirations of mankind to peace, freedom and progress.

162. This session is taking place in a period of very important international conferences, such as the recent Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-

Aligned Countries at Lima, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the world conferences on population, food, the law of the sea and the International Women's Year, the Second Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the seventh special session of the General Assembly. These gatherings reflect an involvement of peoples and countries in the concerted effort to create conditions for equitable international co-operation unprecedented in history. The non-aligned countries are making a decisive contribution to all these important endeavours to eliminate the anachronistic relations and structures based on force, subjugation and exploitation, and to establish new and more just economic and political relationships.

163. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to single out in particular the constructive contribution of non-aligned countries to the resolution of key issues on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. By increasingly reflecting the need for a world united on the basis of common interests and problems, non-alignment has become a world policy, or, as stated in the Lima documents, an active option of all countries striving for independence, equality, peace, economic and social progress and democratic relations among States. This is also clearly emphasized by the interest in the policy of non-alignment displayed by an ever-growing number of countries from various geographical areas, of differing political systems and levels of development.

164. At Lima, as on previous occasions, the non-aligned countries took the position that the key problems besetting the contemporary world can be solved, not within the framework of closed groupings, irrespective of their strength, but only by the broadest international co-operation and sharing of responsibility within the context of equitable relations among peoples and countries.

165. We should like all international factors to appreciate fully this basic message of Lima. The non-aligned countries, as a universal factor influencing ever more directly the over-all development of international relations, have already assumed their share of responsibility for resolving international issues of interest to the international community in general. They again confirmed this by their contribution at the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

166. The strategy of the policy of non-alignment in the struggle for peace, equality, and economic and social progress proceeds from a realistic assessment of the role of all international factors exercising a crucial influence on the development of international relations and general development in the world, and thereby of the role of the big Powers and relations between them. This strategy also realistically appraises the major changes in the relation of forces, one of the most characteristic features of which is the emergence of the non-aligned countries and their ever-growing unity, as well as the solidarity of developing countries—a solidarity that is increasingly reflected in activities aimed at solving current international economic problems.

167. It is our deep conviction that no strategy for solving international problems that fails to take into account such international factors as the non-aligned

\* Mr. Minić spoke in Serbo-Croatian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

and developing countries and their solidarity can achieve lasting success.

168. We are likewise convinced that solidarity and mutual co-operation among non-aligned countries, as well as among developing ones, is of the utmost importance for the safeguarding of peace, the promotion of more equitable international relations and the settlement of pressing international issues. Moreover, we believe that any attempt to destroy this unity and solidarity, which is based on common aspirations and interests that always outweigh the differences that may exist among them or that may arise over specific issues, is doomed to failure.

169. The current session of the General Assembly is taking place in a year of highly significant developments that reflect the complex processes in the world as well as broad and intensive efforts aimed at creating conditions for the solution of international problems through equitable international co-operation.

170. A characteristic of the present-day world is the growing activity of forces which refuse to accept any relationships based on inequality and dependence. We are witnessing continuing change in the world generated by the success of the struggle of peoples on all continents for independent national and progressive social development and for a substantive transformation of political and economic relations and structures.

171. The victory of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, the mortal blows dealt to the colonial system in Africa, the successes of Latin American countries in the battle to strengthen their political and economic independence, and the democratic and progressive changes made in the internal relations of many countries are vital factors constantly altering the relation of forces in favour of liberation, progress and peace. The international community has made major strides towards identifying the issues relative to the new international economic order and has taken initial steps towards its establishment. The successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has significantly encouraged the relaxation of tension.

172. These positive processes and results have to some extent moved mankind away from a world war, but they have not secured a lasting peace for all countries. There are still bloc and other divisions in the world, as well as profound economic inequalities and vast social differences. The practice of obstructing positive processes by force, sanctioning interference in internal affairs and attempting to legalize this practice is being pursued intensively. Imperialist, neo-colonialist and hegemonistic pretensions are not diminishing, and in some areas are even gaining strength. The world economic situation is deteriorating, while the position of the developing countries is particularly adverse. The arms race continues unabated. Some of the most dangerous crises remain unresolved or are being aggravated, while new ones threaten to flare up. The process of détente is still limited. Such a development calls for the urgent and resolute involvement of the entire international community in the settlement of outstanding international issues and the establishment of more just economic and political relations upon which alone a

stable peace and the unhampered development of all countries can be founded.

173. Yugoslavia, as a European, non-aligned, socialist country, attaches exceptional importance to the outstanding results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki, and for this reason we wish to draw due attention to that Conference at the current session also. The Final Act of the Conference not only indicates the progress achieved with regard to the relaxation of tension in Europe but also outlines conditions for the further deepening and extension of that progress to other areas of the world and to all spheres of international relations.

174. The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, in his statement at the Helsinki Conference said, *inter alia*:

"Our attention should now focus on the implementation of the decisions contained in the documents that we are going to adopt . . . We shall thereby be making an important contribution towards realizing the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations, which, in a great measure, have also inspired this Conference."

175. My delegation believes that it will be necessary to exert persistent efforts with a view to ensuring that the decisions contained in the Final Act will not only be implemented consistently and fully and become an integral part of international life but also become a creative lever for the democratic transformation of the world and for the overcoming of existing bloc and other divisions, both in mutual relations among the participating States and in their relations with other countries and regions in the world. Consequently, the stress laid on the relations of Europe with the rest of the world is of great significance because, parallel with changed relations within Europe itself, it is necessary to ensure Europe's ever more effective contribution to progressive and peaceful processes in the present-day world.

176. Yugoslavia endeavoured from the outset to ensure that the Conference should reflect the close interdependence of European security with security in the broader area of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and that the participants in the Conference should contribute to solving development problems and other international issues in a spirit of equality and respect for the interests of all countries.

177. Yugoslavia is aware of its great responsibility—both as a participant in the Helsinki Conference and as host to the next Conference, to be held at Belgrade in 1977—to contribute as much as possible, through its initiatives, to the realization of the principles and positions formulated in the Final Act.

178. I wish to stress in particular that my country, which has consistently pursued a policy of good-neighbourly relations, will, by relying now also upon the Final Act, make even greater endeavours to strengthen all-round co-operation with its neighbours.

179. I also wish to point out that we hope that the documents of the Helsinki Conference will stimulate broader co-operation among the countries of the region in which my country is located, more specifically among the Balkan and Mediterranean States. For its

part, Yugoslavia will strive to contribute to the utmost towards the development of such co-operation as will be significant and beneficial to all the countries of these regions.

180. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima, devoted special attention to the problems of the Middle East, Palestine and Cyprus, to the acceleration of the decolonization process in Africa, to the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination, to the problem of Korea, to the problems of Latin America and the Caribbean, to the situation in the region of the Indian Ocean, to the problems of disarmament, to the problems of international economic relations, to the position of developing countries, and so on. It expressed its solidarity with all peoples under colonial domination in their struggle for liberation and emphasized the necessity for lending assistance to the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos for the rehabilitation of their countries devastated by war.

181. All the final documents of the Lima Conference have been distributed as a document of the United Nations [A/10217 and Corr.1], and the Foreign Minister of Peru, General de la Flor Valle, very ably presented the positions and decisions of the Conference to the seventh special and the present session of the General Assembly.

182. If I were to outline in this the most important world forum the viewpoints of Yugoslavia on the most important issues on the agenda of our current session, I should have to repeat many positions taken by the Lima Conference, since my country contributed, within the limits of its possibilities, to the formulation of these positions and decisions, and will therefore continue to work even more resolutely, through its entire foreign policy activity, towards their implementation.

183. I should like now to refer to some of the crises and problems which I mentioned earlier.

184. The situation in the Middle East constitutes a source of most immediate danger for peace in the region and in the world. The responsibility of Israel for its policy of constant aggression, occupation and denial of the national rights of the people of Palestine has long since been established. If Israel persists in its present behaviour, then nothing else remains but to take resolute steps, including such measures as are provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, to compel it to implement the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

185. The agreement on disengagement in Sinai initialled recently represents a new, important development which could constitute a positive step towards the establishment of a durable peace, provided it accelerates the movement towards a just and comprehensive settlement based on the withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied after 5 June 1967 and on the implementation of the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine, including its right to establish its own State, as a basic pre-condition of guaranteeing the independence and security of all the peoples and countries in the region. We believe that there should not be a stalemate after the present step, nor should there be any long delay in undertaking the next steps towards the settlement of the crisis;

otherwise a new, dangerous aggravation of the situation may occur in the Middle East.

186. The merit of each step taken towards finding a solution to the problem of the Middle East must be measured by the extent to which it contributes to the attainment of the national rights of the Palestinian people. Unless substantive progress is soon made towards this end it will become impossible to take any decisive step towards a lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis. It is precisely the fact that no progress has been made in this respect that is causing the gravest concern. My delegation attaches great significance to the position taken by the Lima Conference, namely, that the non-aligned countries should commit themselves directly and positively to the search for a lasting and just settlement of the Middle East crisis.

187. Respect for and the ensuring of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus is a constant concern and responsibility of the United Nations. My country, therefore, resolutely urges the speedy implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The non-aligned countries reaffirmed their full solidarity with non-aligned Cyprus at their recent Conference. We proceed from the belief that the solution to this problem can be found only on the basis of resolution 3212 (XXIX), a resolution unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, since all the parties directly involved voted in its favour. This resolution represents the only generally accepted basis for the settlement of the Cyprus crisis, through the equal, mutual agreement of the two Cypriot communities. It was submitted to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly by the group of non-aligned countries.

188. In this connexion, the contact group of five non-aligned countries for good offices played a very constructive role. In the meantime, the group continues to be active and remains willing, within the framework of its mandate, to contribute further to this end. As a country maintaining friendly relations with Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and belonging to the same geographic area, and, naturally, as a non-aligned country and a member of the contact group, Yugoslavia has from the beginning been actively engaged in the search for a lasting and just settlement of the Cyprus problem.

189. Despite the major steps taken towards a definitive dismantling of the colonial system, the imperialist and neo-colonialist forces persist in their efforts to preserve as many of their remaining positions as possible. This is attested to by the involvement of these forces in Angola and by the support they extend overtly or covertly to the Republic of South Africa, its occupation of Namibia, the racist régime in Southern Rhodesia and so on, all of which are situations constantly fraught with the danger of a crisis of world dimensions. Now more than ever before, a mere general moral and political condemnation of colonial and racist systems is no longer sufficient. Today it is necessary to move to concrete and resolute actions against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, utilizing in this all the possibilities in extending effective assistance to the national liberation movements and to the Organization of African Unity with a view to achieving the complete liberation of the African continent.

190. The artificial perpetuation of the division of Korea not only constitutes a denial of the inalienable right of the Korean people to unification but also endangers peace and security in Asia and in the world. For these reasons, we support the policy of the non-aligned Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which has opted for peaceful unification without outside interference. It is indispensable to abolish the United Nations Command, to withdraw all foreign troops from Korea and to create conditions for transforming the armistice agreement into a treaty on durable peace. Only by removing every foreign influence will it be possible to create conditions in which the North and the South of Korea will find a solution on the basis of the three principles of national reunification contained in the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972.<sup>5</sup>

191. The countries of Latin America and the Caribbean are making an exceptionally important contribution towards the contemporary processes of national and social emancipation and progress in the world through their struggle against neocolonialism and for the eradication of colonial enclaves, for the exercise of sovereignty over all their natural resources, for the broadest, free and equitable international co-operation.

192. The countries of this region, which are at the same time exposed to various pressures by forces that do not favour these processes, deserve the full support and solidarity of the international community. We particularly support the struggle of the people of Chile against the Fascist dictatorship of the military junta, as well as the right of Panama and Cuba to establish full sovereignty over their national territories.

193. The fact that the essential questions of disarmament have not yet been moved off dead centre and that the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, is spreading and accelerating fearfully, not only brings into question all the results achieved so far in reducing tensions, and becomes the source of new relationships of monopoly and domination, but constantly keeps the world on the brink of nuclear catastrophe. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] has remained, in the final analysis, an instrument of monopoly for the production of nuclear weapons and the development of nuclear technology. The provisions of this Treaty were strictly adhered to only by the signatory countries which do not possess nuclear weapons and nuclear technology. An extremely unfavourable effect also results from the tendency to withdraw the disarmament negotiations from the direct influence of the United Nations, transferring them to other institutions or bilateral channels which, in spite of possible partial solutions, cannot replace the United Nations.

194. My delegation believes that it is high time that we reverse the trend and reach a turning-point in solving this fateful problem which affects all areas of international relations. It is in the most vital interest of all nations that the arms race be halted at the earliest possible time and that the process of general and complete disarmament start. We, together with many other countries, therefore call for the most urgent convening of a world conference on disarmament and, if this continues to be hindered, we believe that it is necessary to hold a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, as requested also by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs

of Non-Aligned Countries at Lima, where the great majority of the States Members of the United Nations were represented. The General Assembly must take the initiative and accept the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter instead of remaining paralysed by the differences of views of the big Powers.

195. The adoption of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] marked an orientation towards a fundamental change in the existing system of international economic relations. The seventh special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the initiative for which was given by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers, represents an effort to implement the resolutions of the sixth special session.

196. The results of the seventh special session, taken as a whole, are an important step in the right direction, both in changing the position of the developing countries in the world economy and in the interest of the entire international community. The immediate and potential significance of the unanimously adopted resolutions of the seventh special session is that these resolutions have established priorities, indicated specific courses of action, prescribed negotiating forums and set a time-table for the execution of a number of measures—all based on principles and criteria which until yesterday were not acceptable to certain developed countries whose role in the development of the world economy and international relations is of particularly great importance.

197. We should like to believe that the seventh special session has opened a new phase in the relations between the developed and the developing countries. The further development of these relations will depend on how and when the agreements reached at the seventh special session are carried out, how and when we shall go beyond them towards the full implementation of all the essential decisions of the sixth special session, for which particular responsibility rests on the developed countries.

198. Although the results achieved in certain vital areas are still far from what the developing countries proposed and rightly expected, and although almost all the most important differences of principle remain primarily regarding the nature of the new international economic relations, the document adopted by consensus at the seventh special session of the General Assembly [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] is in itself an extremely important politically agreed framework and basis for further activity, within the United Nations system, towards achieving concrete agreements containing obligations for their implementation.

199. Having this in mind, we consider it essential to follow most closely the implementation of the agreement reached, which should evolve in all the organs and organizations of the United Nations concerned with the problems dealt with in that document. The results of these activities should first of all, through the Economic and Social Council, be concentrated in the General Assembly. The results should, in our opinion, be reviewed at the thirty-first regular session of the General Assembly.

200. In the light of the results of the seventh special session, the Paris conference, which will convene on the initiative of France and consider the questions of energy, raw materials and development, should adapt itself to the decisions of this session. The conference should concern itself with the implementation of the decisions of the seventh special session because of the role it might play in realizing the most important provisions of those decisions, because of the possible impact affecting the interests of all countries, primarily of the developing ones, and because of the consequences involving the role of the United Nations in the economic field.

201. In view of the importance and the complexity of the situation, the General Assembly should, at its thirtieth regular session, in our opinion, take the following actions, which should be the subject of specific decisions: request all organizations of the United Nations system to accord, in their activities, the highest priority to the questions contained in the document of the seventh special session which are within the framework of their competence; call on them to submit reports, through the Economic and Social Council at its sixty-first session, to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session with a view to establishing an indispensable link between the Paris Conference and the United Nations; address a request to the participants in the Conference to keep the United Nations regularly informed, through the Council, of the results of the work of the Conference; obtain an understanding that all agreements possibly reached at the Paris Conference should be subject to consideration by the General Assembly.

202. Three decades of the United Nations give us an opportunity to review the road traversed by the world Organization.

203. We have always considered that the United Nations is the most appropriate instrument of universal international co-operation, as it was founded on equality and respect for the interests of all countries. It is of exceptional importance that the United Nations should continually contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the solution of urgent and long-range international problems. Yugoslavia, for its part, has contributed to its utmost to the fulfilment of the tasks confronting the world Organization.

204. The strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations is—as was so properly stated by the Secretary-General in his very substantive introduction to his report on the work of the Organization—most closely connected with and most directly depends on the political behaviour of the Member States, on their attitude towards the obligations they have undertaken in virtue of their membership and of the resolutions adopted by the Organization. The Charter itself has stood the test of time, and, despite certain short-comings and even some outdated provisions, it remains a basis for the regulation of relations among all States. However, the non-implementation of many decisions, including even the most widely adopted, due to the behaviour of some Member States, is one of the greatest weaknesses of the United Nations, which undermines the confidence of the international public in its effectiveness.

205. As long as certain Member States act from positions of strength, exert pressure, utter threats, interfere in internal affairs of other states or commit aggression against the independence, sovereignty or territorial integrity of other States; as long as they occupy foreign territories, negate or violate the right of peoples to self-determination, practise racial discrimination and *apartheid* or violate fundamental human rights; as long as they do not recognize the right of States to dispose in a sovereign manner of their own natural resources and wealth; and as long as they, in any way whatsoever, maintain or establish relationships of foreign domination and hegemony, there can be no international order that would be in harmony with the Charter and with the principles of sovereign equality and equal rights of States.

206. However, there is no doubt that the United Nations, despite all the difficulties and resistance, has achieved significant results in many areas of international co-operation. With the admission of a large number of new countries, decolonization, and constructive action in a number of crisis areas, with the advancement of co-operation in new fields, the laying of the foundations of a new international economic order, the substantial contribution it has made to the process of relaxation of tension, and with its humanitarian activities, the world Organization has fundamentally changed its character, shape and role. The great advance towards achieving universality and the new relation of forces in the United Nations make possible an ever-greater consideration and gradual resolution of the most important and acute world problems, and enable all Member States, regardless of their size and degree of development, to exert a greater influence on the development of the United Nations and on essential changes in the world.

207. Along with the other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia devotes special attention to the constant strengthening and effectiveness of the work of the United Nations. Within the framework of the United Nations, the non-aligned countries constantly strive for its democratization and adaptation to the needs of the international community. They do not desire confrontation, nor do they wish to impose their will on other countries; on the contrary, they favour such relations as will enable all countries to participate in, and contribute to, the search for appropriate solutions, in spite of the tendencies towards preserving outdated relationships of dependence and exploitation.

208. The United Nations has always been a living organism. It reflects the changes in the world and, in its way, reflects the progressive processes in international relations conducive to the freedom, independence, equality and unhindered development of all countries and peoples. The United Nations encounters resistance from forces that attempt to discredit it and reduce its importance. The so-called credibility crisis was artificially provoked. The generally accepted interdependence of all members of the international community is demonstrated in the common search for just solutions of existing international problems, which will lead to the further strengthening of the role of the United Nations.

209. Speaking about how we view the future of the United Nations in this year of the thirtieth anniversary of its existence, we, of course, harbour no illusions

that our goals can be achieved easily or without considerable difficulties. However, we are convinced that, today, the United Nations is basically on the right path and that, through concerted efforts, solutions can be found that are in the over-all interest of the world community.

210. In conclusion, my delegation believes that this session of the General Assembly would fulfil its task provided it adopted appropriate decisions which would amount to concrete contributions along the following lines: removing the main danger spots by implementing existing decisions; undertaking concrete action for the liberation of peoples who are still under colonial and racist domination; taking a decisive political initiative in the entire area of disarmament; ensuring that the decisions of the seventh special session are put into practice through the timely involvement of the entire system of the United Nations; expanding the process of relaxation of tension to all geographic regions and areas of international relations; ensuring that all important international problems of interest to the whole international community are solved within the United Nations or in close contact with it.

211. If this session achieves progress along these major lines, we are convinced that an atmosphere of constructive co-operation will be maintained and this will enable us to solve the problems facing the United Nations.

212. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):\* I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to renew my congratulations to our President on his election to his high office. At the same time I wish to express my satisfaction at the thoughtful work of the Secretary-General. I sincerely wish both gentlemen success in their responsible functions.

213. The thirtieth session of the General Assembly is marked by notable changes in international relations. The idea of peaceful coexistence among States having different social systems has gained ground in the past year. International agreements and pledges make this idea both powerful and binding, and this fills the peoples of the world with relief and lets them look hopefully to the future.

214. In the thirtieth year since the victory over fascism, we are also celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Both jubilees are strong incentives to us further to strengthen international security. By fighting and shedding their blood, the peoples of the world have gained the right to live in security and peace. To establish a world without war has been the guiding principle of the United Nations.

215. It is on record that this is also the supreme purpose of socialist foreign policy. On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of its liberation from nazism, the Government of the German Democratic Republic reaffirmed its dedication to the legacy of the victims of fascism, pledging to do everything not only to preserve, but also to promote, what was so hard to achieve.

216. Of course, we still have a long way to go until war is eliminated from the life of mankind forever. We have no illusion about that. But experience teaches. When all people interested in peace unite in firm and persistent action, the opponents of détente will find it more and more difficult to encroach upon the vital interests of the peoples. And the United Nations can effectively contribute to achieving our aim. This, we believe, is the very purpose of the Charter of the United Nations.

217. Two events have convincingly demonstrated that political détente is growing in international relations. In Indo-China, the war came to an end, and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe came to a successful conclusion. Both events are having a beneficial effect on world politics.

218. Waging a long struggle and making heavy sacrifices, the people of Viet Nam defended their right to social and national self-determination and gained victory over foreign intervention. The States of the socialist community always have firmly stood on the side of the people of Viet Nam, and so have the anti-imperialist forces and all those who cherish justice and peace. The brave people of Viet Nam have a moral and legal right to be immediately represented in the United Nations on an equal footing. We object to any blocking of the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam to membership, whatever the excuses may be. The German Democratic Republic expects the Security Council to consider again and approve the applications of both States for membership, in accordance with the resolution adopted on 19 September [resolution 3366 (XXX)]. Who could seriously dispute the right of these two States to membership in the United Nations? And by admitting these States, would the United Nations not be reinforcing its peace-keeping mission and encouraging co-operation among peoples?

219. In Europe, after a long period of dangerous confrontation and cold war, a historic change has occurred. The peoples of the continent and of the world expected much from the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. They have not been disappointed. A solid basis has been created for the relations among States of the European continent. The frontiers and sovereignty of the States are respected and the principles of peaceful coexistence have been recognized as the standard of behaviour in the mutual relationships of States having contrary social systems.

220. The Government of the German Democratic Republic made every endeavour, together with the Governments of the USSR and the other socialist States, to ensure the success of the Conference, and it did so in accordance with its socialist Constitution.

221. With the adoption of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, a significant step was taken towards the establishment of a regional security system, in the interest of securing universal peace in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations.

222. Of far-reaching importance, especially, are the 10 principles guiding relations among States and constituting a "code for the application of the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different

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

social systems", in the words of Mr. Erich Honecker at the Conference on 30 July 1975.

223. In view of the lessons of history in Europe, where two devastating world wars started, let me emphasize the principle of the inviolability of frontiers. It is not only significant for the peoples of the European continent, but also relevant to stable relations among States in general.

224. If it is asked why the Conference proceeded and ended successfully, the answer is that there were, above all, both a willingness and a commitment to proceed from the principle of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all European States. Reason and realism prevailed over dangerous illusion.

225. The representatives of the 35 States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in affixing their signatures to its Final Act, collectively committed themselves to abide by the international legal principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. That commitment is to be strengthened. Events in Portugal make it imperative to insist strongly on that principle. All attempts to hinder the Portuguese people in solving their problems on their own favour both Fascist and other reactionary forces.

226. We have noted with interest the appraisal of the results of the Helsinki Conference which the Secretary-General made in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization. We concur in the conclusion that the United Nations, relying thereon, should extend the process of détente to other continents. The fruits of European détente must benefit all peoples.

227. To make détente irreversible, it must be extended and be given material content. In the view of the German Democratic Republic, arms limitation and disarmament are of priority importance. The arms race is more and more clearly in conflict with the development of prosperous relations among States. Today a majority of States recognize arms limitation and disarmament as the central and most topical task. The view of the socialist States that political détente urgently needs to be complemented in the military area is meeting with broad approval. Here we envisage measures to reduce military confrontation as well as a step-by-step reduction and elimination of means of warfare.

228. Many things have been achieved on which to build. Large areas of the globe and outer space are free of nuclear weapons. The development, production and use of bacteriological weapons have been outlawed. Nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere have been much reduced. There would be none of them any more if the People's Republic of China would also stop tests of this kind immediately. Among the agreements concluded, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons deserves special emphasis. To secure its universal application, the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty in its Final Declaration [see A/C.1/1068, annex. I] appealed to States still hesitant to adhere to it. This would undoubtedly add considerably to its effectiveness. Therefore, we welcome the call by the Conference to co-operate in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy in compliance with obligations under the Treaty. This refers espe-

cially to States exporting material and equipment to countries which are not parties to the Treaty.

229. We count the agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic armaments and the prevention of nuclear war as measures conducive to a further checking of the arms race. These agreements set hopeful signs. Nuclear arms limitation and disarmament require, however, the participation of all Powers possessing nuclear weapons. The German Democratic Republic strongly advocates the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests by all States everywhere. For this reason we welcome the latest proposal of the Soviet Union relating to the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. That is the logical and most timely move in order to bring to a good end the undertaking initiated with the Moscow Treaty of 1963 and followed up by the Soviet-United States Treaty of 3 July 1974. No measure would at present be more appropriate to check the nuclear arms race.

230. We are confident that the Soviet initiative will be supported by the General Assembly—all the more so as it is a response to what a majority of Member States have been demanding for years. The Declaration of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held in May this year, reads, *inter alia*, "The Conference expresses the view that the conclusion of a treaty banning all nuclear weapon tests is one of the most important measures to halt the nuclear arms race." [*Ibid.*]

231. Equally important is the proposal of the Soviet Government to place the question of prohibiting the development and production of new types of means of mass destruction and of new weapons systems of that kind on the agenda of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. We value the draft agreement submitted to this forum as a basis acceptable to all and appropriate for a just and durable solution of this problem. The adoption of the proposals made by the Soviet Union would moreover give great momentum to the process of arms limitation and disarmament as a whole. It is precisely this that can give material content to political détente.

232. In addition to global arms limitation and disarmament measures, relevant regional agreements can promote military détente as well. For this reason we have taken a vital interest in the current negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. In conjunction with the Soviet Union and the other socialist States, the German Democratic Republic is striving to achieve effective reductions. The principle of undiminished security of all States concerned is naturally important for mutually acceptable results.

233. The German Democratic Republic urges the convening of a world disarmament conference and recorded this position in a statement on 29 April 1975. It would be timely to take practical steps for convening the conference. Should the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference not immediately be given instructions to this effect?

234. We appreciate the fact that the Soviet Union and the United States have presented to the Con-

ference of the Committee on Disarmament identical drafts of a convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques [A/10027, annex II, documents CCD/471 and CCD/472] which are incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health. The next session of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament could consider these drafts.

235. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic hopes that this session of the General Assembly will give vigorous impetus to arms limitation and disarmament.

236. The German Democratic Republic wishes to see implemented the resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and on the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*], adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. It would be for the Security Council to take a binding decision on this question. Thus, world-wide peaceful co-operation and security would surely be strengthened. In this context, I wish to emphasize the 1970 Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. Particularly in the thirtieth year since the end of the Second World War, this thirtieth session, a jubilee session, ought to draw the requisite conclusions.

237. In the past 10 years the role of the United Nations has grown visible to all. The Charter of the United Nations has proved to be a solid basis for the struggle against aggression and national suppression and for the equal co-operation of States in all spheres. The principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council has also proved to be good. In this way it is possible to co-operate more trustfully in strengthening peace and averting nuclear war. Does this not meet the interests of all peoples?

238. The opportunities for implementing the purposes and principles of the Charter in spirit and letter are growing. Evidence of this is, for instance, provided by the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], and other documents. Therefore, there is absolutely no need for questioning the Charter of the United Nations.

239. The German Democratic Republic supports the demand of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea that the question of Korea be solved peacefully, without external interference. This would be instrumental in strengthening peace and security in Asia. The German Democratic Republic is a sponsor of the draft resolution with regard to the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The dissolution of the United Nations Command, the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and the other tasks contained in the draft resolution are indispensable requirements of topical importance.

240. The situation in the Middle East still endangers international security. The German Democratic Republic is in favour of a political settlement of this

problem. This requires: Israel's full withdrawal, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, from the territories occupied since 1967; ensuring the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to establish a State of its own; and guarantees for the security of all States and peoples of the region.

241. Partial steps—and this is shown by the present situation—cannot replace the necessary general solution to this problem. Given realism and good will on the part of all parties, we believe the continuation of the Geneva Middle East Peace Conference to be the most promising way. Participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization is a matter of course, the more so as it has already been recognized in the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

242. So far as the just settlement of the Cyprus question is concerned, we think that the Security Council and the General Assembly, in adopting relevant resolutions, have provided a realistic and hence constructive basis.

243. Also from this rostrum we categorically demand the restoration of human rights in Chile and the release of the Communist Luis Corvalán, and of the other Chilean patriots subjected to maltreatment in prisons and concentration camps of the junta. The Fascist military junta, which is persisting in its terrorism against the Chilean people and which refused to grant entry to the *ad hoc* working group of the Commission on Human Rights, must no longer disregard the resolutions adopted at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly relating to Chile.

244. Fifteen years ago, following an initiative of the Soviet Union and relying on its Charter, the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That ushered in the final stage of the struggle for the political independence of the peoples under colonialist suppression.

245. The German Democratic Republic has at all times stood on the side of the national liberation movements of peoples. It will continue to support them in their efforts aimed at eliminating the last vestiges of colonial and racist domination.

246. Flagrantly defying the clear will of the United Nations, the racist régime of Pretoria, a bastion of defence for colonialism in southern Africa, is still repressing and terrorizing the majority of the people. It is maintaining its illegal rule in Namibia. It is high time for Security Council resolution 366 (1974) of 17 December 1974 to be implemented. Moreover, the German Democratic Republic supports the decisions of the Kampala Conference of the Organization of African Unity, demanding a total arms embargo and economic sanctions on, and the breaking off of all relations with, the Vorster régime. We concur with all those who consider the continuation and expansion of the economic and military co-operation of some States with South Africa to be support for that régime. To stop such co-operation is prerequisite for a settlement of the question of South Africa in keeping with the rights of peoples to self-determination.

247. Our sympathy and solidarity are with the people of Zimbabwe in its just struggle against the Smith

régime. The sanctions adopted by the Security Council against the racist rulers of Rhodesia are to be strictly observed.

248. Under the blows of the national liberation movement, and in the wake of the democratic changes in Portugal, the last colonial empire collapsed. With great joy we greet and congratulate the delegations of the People's Republic of Mozambique and of the Republic of Cape Verde as representatives of their countries, which gained independence with heavy sacrifices, and of their peoples, with whom the German Democratic Republic has long had links of solidarity. An equally warm welcome do we extend to the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. We are looking forward with the utmost sympathy to Angola celebrating its independence in November and taking its place in the United Nations as a sovereign State.

249. The current situation, however, causes us concern. Reactionary forces, backed from abroad, are out to destroy the gains of the liberation struggle, to plunge the country into a fratricidal war and to violate its territorial integrity. They want the country to remain open to the neo-colonialist influence of transnational corporations. But the people of Angola must not be deprived of the fruits of its liberation struggle, for which it made great sacrifices.

250. Political liberation from the colonial yoke is a great achievement. It contributes to equal co-operation among all peoples on the basis of the right to self-determination and of respect for the sovereignty of States. At the same time, these young sovereign States are facing the need to abolish the colonial structures of their national economies and of their international economic relations. We support the just demands they raised at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly to come to a new international economic order.

251. Aspirations for international peace and security are mobilizing ever broader sections of people. It is particularly striking how the role of women is growing in this struggle. The World Conference of the International Women's Year held in Mexico is an outstanding example. The results of that Conference impressively demonstrate the interdependence of peace and social progress on an international scale.

252. Because of its intensive work, the Conference in Mexico has created a solid basis for deliberations at this session of the General Assembly. This permits the discussion of the multifaceted problems of the struggle for the full implementation of equal rights for women and the achievement of adequate results.

253. In October, the German Democratic Republic will host the World Congress of Women. The International Preparatory Committee is expecting over 2,000 delegates. The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic are anxious to provide every facility and to make all the arrangements for this event, along the lines of the resolutions adopted in Mexico.

254. Preparations are under way in our State for the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the leading party in our country. All of our people are making great efforts for high accomplishments in industry and agriculture, science and tech-

nology, education and culture. For this socialist construction work we need peace. Addressing the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Erich Honecker, said: "All major problems that strained relations between States in the post-war period have now been solved."

255. This also applies to the so-called German question. That question has been solved by the development of two German States independent of each other and with contrary social systems. The people of the German Democratic Republic has exercised its sovereign right of deciding upon its own social order and has irrevocably chosen socialism. Anybody who denies this historical truth will endanger the peace and security of the peoples.

256. The people of the German Democratic Republic knows that the other peoples also are profoundly interested in mutually beneficial relations between States and, consequently, in maintaining and strengthening peace.

257. You may always be assured of our co-operation whenever it comes to the contribution of the United Nations to the strengthening of peace, to disarmament and co-operation of peoples for mutual benefit.

258. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of France has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

259. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): The minister for Foreign Affairs of Chad mentioned this morning the painful matter of the French hostage detained for 17 months now by the Tibesti rebels. He said that France "has lavished war matériel on outlaws" [2359th meeting, para. 171].

260. I wish to make it clear, on behalf of the French delegation, that no release of matériel, no delivery of such matériel has taken place or will take place. Further, France has never sought to infringe in any way the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Chad. It recognizes the Government of N'Djamena as the sole legitimate Government, and wishes to maintain with that Government relations of friendly co-operation.

261. The negotiations at present taking place to secure the liberation of the French national detained in Tibesti are being carried out on a purely humanitarian basis and in such a manner that the principles I have just mentioned are not infringed in any way.

262. I repeat that there is no question of the provision of weapons. I should like to stress, moreover, that if the present negotiations are successful, third parties will be in a position to give to those who desire it incontestable proof that France abides by its commitments.

*The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2211th meeting, paras. 288 and 289.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Seventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2327th meeting.

<sup>4</sup> See General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, *Basic Instruments and Selected Documents*, Twentieth Supplement (Geneva) (Sales No. GATT/1974-1), p.19.

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.