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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. SAUVAGNARGUES (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I should first of all like to convey to you my own congratulations and the congratulations of my country. I am personally delighted to see my colleague and friend, Gaston Thorn, preside over the work of the General Assembly. Through its excellent choice the Assembly has not only paid a tribute to a country dedicated to the cause of peace and international co-operation, but it has also secured for itself the talents of an exceptionally experienced, wise statesman who happens also to be one of the great architects of European construction. You, Sir, have continually laid emphasis on the task of opening up a united Europe towards the rest of the world, and particularly towards the developing countries. That concern, as you know, is fully shared by the French Government. Therefore France cannot but be gratified to see such a great European as yourself shouldering the burden and responsibilities that have been entrusted to you by this Assembly.

2. I must say, too, how much we owe to the outgoing President, Mr. Bouffé, on whom fell the important task of presiding, at times under difficult conditions, over the previous session of this Assembly and over the seventh special session.

3. I should like, finally, to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, who presides over the work of our Organization with an authority, a competence and an impartiality that are universally recognized.

4. The annual meeting of the General Assembly is a particularly privileged moment for all of us who represent our Governments here, but who at the same time also feel responsible, for that very reason, for the higher interests of the emerging world community.

5. The crisis which we are going through, which perhaps for the first time in history affects the entire world, is the result of a genuine change, a complete breakaway from the old system of balances. The upheavals this crisis brings in its wake, the risks it comprises, pose a real threat to our future. But man's special characteristic is his ability to react to control his destiny.

6. An example of this healthy reaction was recently seen at the seventh special session, and this is probably the most encouraging feature of the whole of the past year. Faced with increasing dangers, we have all recognized the obvious globalization of the economic and political problems of our age, as well as the need to resolve them by appreciating all the consequences of our indissoluble solidarity.

7. This realization helps us to realize the importance, the very great importance, of the collective responsibility borne by our Governments. What we have to do is master and control what the President of the French Republic has described as "the crisis of the human race". It is our task to bring under control the fever for change with which the human race is obsessed and master its course, because ultimately this crisis reflects the growing pains of all mankind. This is the price we have to pay for the tremendous progress we have achieved both in technology and in the political sphere. It is the fruit of persisting inequalities and injustices.

8. In mankind's long march towards the achievement of the goals of the United Nations, economic justice is still lagging behind political evolution, and the desire of the less privileged States to obtain their fair share of the fruits of economic growth is most certainly justified. However, where this political determination was expressed in ideological terms, and where the rich countries bridled in defence of their privileges, there was a risk of the emergence and exacerbation of disastrous tension.

9. At the end of 1973 and early in 1974, an infinitely dangerous trend started to divide the world into hostile blocs. France, through its President, underlined the gravity of the danger in time, and indicated the measures needed to avert it.

10. The President's appeal was heeded, and I like to think that it has contributed to the very favourable developments we have witnessed in recent months. The results already achieved, as regards both the final resolution of the seventh special session [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] and the now forthcoming resumption of the dialogue proposed by France between the industrialized and the developing countries, guarantee that we are now taking the right course.

11. Although the subject is important, I shall not dwell on the results of the seventh special session except to stress once again that the results obtained

complement the work that will be done at the enlarged conference which will follow up the second preparatory meeting in Paris. Let us note in this regard that the very importance of the subjects to be discussed demonstrates the political dimension of the undertaking, which was begun on behalf of our international community and in close liaison with the United Nations.

12. It is now, therefore, quite clear that we should set as our target the gradual establishment of a political and economic world order based, not on positions of strength, but on dialogue, solidarity and respect for the interests of others.

13. For this we must keep our feet on the ground, but we also must demonstrate imagination and generosity in our response to the expectations of those who are least privileged, and all those whose problems come in the tragically brutal form of famine, death and loss of liberty.

14. In a world where the spirit of violence, alas, is prevalent, where odious acts of terrorism and the taking of hostages seem to be replacing conventional warfare, let us proclaim that such actions are contrary to human rights; they solve nothing and corrupt the noblest aims. But at the same time let us realize that in order to halt the momentum of violence, the rights of individuals and of peoples must be recognized everywhere.

15. Let us make no mistake about the immensity of the task before us. A great deal remains to be done in order to achieve the tone and specific realization of the aims and objectives of our Organization. Tenacious determination, expressed through effective instruments, is required of us all.

16. The Charter has given us the framework for our common efforts; hence the importance of the effectiveness of the United Nations.

17. Our Organization, which is now 30 years old, may have been disappointing to those who forgot that its ability to settle conflicts depended on the co-operation of Member States. It has in fact done some extremely useful work and, as our Secretary-General quite rightly noted in the introduction to his last report on the work of the Organization, it has: "... shown a remarkable capacity to take on new tasks, to adjust to a changing world ... within the conceptual and organizational framework laid down by the Charter." [A/10001/Add.1, sect. I.]

18. Both this flexibility and this strength are without a doubt due to the wisdom with which the founders of our Organization, in San Francisco, were able to balance ideals and reality, rigorous principles and political realism. This balance, which has enabled it to withstand the test of time, is basic and we believe must be protected from all perfectionism.

19. It is obvious that, given the current state of affairs, the United Nations is not and cannot be a world government. The present phase in the history of mankind is one of affirmation of independence. It is also one of consultation, more necessary than ever among sovereign States. That observation places in its proper perspective the problem resulting from the emergence of majorities—which, by the way, change—in international assemblies. This is a natural phenomenon once the law of democracy—and thus the law

of numbers—is agreed to, but it is a phenomenon that should not be allowed to obscure the real mission of these assemblies—and above all ours—which is to seek compliance with universally accepted rules and intentions. Nor has our Charter set up a world system in which the Assembly holds sway. It provides for permanent adjustment procedures among us; a good example of this is the division of responsibilities between the General Assembly and the Security Council, because it is based on realities that it would be dangerous to forget.

20. It is also obvious that the United Nations can be true to itself and fulfil its mission only if it respects the cardinal principle of universality, both by admitting any State that meets its requirements and by refusing to reject States whose policies might be unpopular, except for cases strictly defined in the Charter. In either case, the golden rule of universality, towards which decisive progress has been made in the past few years, must not be broken.

21. We are pleased, in this respect, that a new step has been taken with the admission of three new Members: the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique.

22. We for our part were prepared to support also the applications of the two Viet Nams, as well as that of the Republic of South Korea, countries with which we have friendly diplomatic relations and which we should have liked to see join the Organization. We regret that the turn taken by the Security Council deliberations did not allow such a step to be taken this year.

23. It is because France attaches the greatest importance to this principle of universality that it believes that any measure aimed at suspending or excluding any of our Members would bring into our Organization an element of mistrust and pressure that would be totally alien to the spirit of dialogue that should prevail here.

24. It is by remaining what it is—a privileged and universal forum for consultation and dialogue—that our Organization will be in the best position to translate the ideals of the Charter into reality.

25. In this attempt to advance towards a better world political and economic order, I shall first of all point out two factors which are sound reasons for having confidence in the future. The first has to do with the successful development of regional groups; the second, with détente in Europe.

26. World consultation—which should prevail—in no way precludes, but rather presupposes, the grouping of co-operation efforts along regional lines. These groups of States will be a factor in conciliation and increased international co-operation provided they turn their backs on any tendency to form opposing blocs and follow the rule of openness and dialogue. This, as you know, is the byword and *raison d'être* of the nine members of the European Community.

27. I think that—as I said last year—the task undertaken by six countries of Western Europe following the last world war is exemplary in many respects.

28. The work begun by those six countries is now being carried forward by the nine. An unequivocal vote by the British people recently confirmed this

irreversible commitment to building Europe. This task is being actively pursued with a determination that is both ambitious and pragmatic. Out of this spirit grew last year's decision by the Heads of Government—a decision that has now been fully implemented—to meet periodically in order to maintain the co-ordination and momentum vital to the internal process of construction as well as to the attitudes and actions of Europe in the international community of nations.

29. This Europe, contrary to certain assertions, is in no way self-centred or preoccupied with its own future. It has been its intention from the beginning to make its contribution to the world scene as an independent source of decision and initiative, and also as a factor of equilibrium and imagination in a world of interdependence and mutual opening up.

30. That was the main thrust of the statement by the nine European Heads of State and Government at their meeting on 17 July this year at Brussels.

31. The current President of the nine countries—Mr. Rumor, our Italian colleague—reported on the progress that has already been made [2357th meeting]. I myself shall just mention the important contribution of the ACP-EEC Convention at Lomé, which, starting early this year, has opened the way for new forms of co-operation.

32. Secondly, to stress its political importance, I shall mention the European-Arab dialogue that has now been started between the Community and all the countries of the League of Arab States. New ties of solidarity, adapted to the needs of our time, have to be woven between two groups of people, heir to two of the civilizations that shared the ancient world and that history has made enemy and ally in turn.

33. The Europe of the Community, Mr. President—and I know I do not have to convince one of its prime movers of this—is a voice speaking for many, making itself heard in favour of greater international co-operation. Thus, Europe is dedicating itself to the service of peace and democracy, while respecting the interests and freedoms of others. The positions that it has taken with regard to the Middle East, Cyprus and Portugal are proof of this.

34. The strengthening of détente in Europe is another major positive factor which should help us to concentrate on the real problems which people will have to face at the end of the twentieth century. France, which provided the initial impetus 10 years ago, took an active part in the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in close collaboration with its Community partners; it helped to see to it that the Final Act of the Conference signed at Helsinki on 1 August not only endorsed the commitment of the participants to exclude all recourse to force but also laid the foundations for the development of entente and co-operation among the signatory States. Of course there remains the task of translating into reality these very specific declarations of intent regarding increased exchanges of people and ideas, thereby giving positive content to détente. It is because France believes in the sincerity of the desire of all its partners for détente that it intends to apply along with them the letter and the spirit of the decisions made at Helsinki. In any case, the curtain has already come down on an era that

has ended—the era of the cold war. An objective has been jointly set; that objective is entente and co-operation. This result is not insignificant and constitutes a useful precedent for the entire world.

35. Let us be glad in this respect that in other regions of the globe some progress has been made along the path of conciliation and the settling of conflicts.

36. I should like to mention the Middle East first. I hardly need restate the three principles on which, in our view, a lasting peace settlement must necessarily be founded: withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel in June 1967; recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland; the right of all the States of the region to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed frontiers.

37. France believes that for these three principles to be implemented it is indispensable for the spirit of dialogue to prevail over the spirit of confrontation. That is why we welcomed and consider a positive step the disengagement agreement signed in Geneva on 4 September by the representatives of Egypt and Israel. That agreement is to be commended and is encouraging proof of the commitment of the parties concerned to the process of negotiation.

38. The détente that has thus been brought about, as President El-Sadat of Egypt has noted, and as Mr. Henry Kissinger of the United States underscored a few days ago from this rostrum [2355th meeting], should now make it possible to embark on an overall settlement which, by attacking the basic problems, is the only possible way of averting the risk of other major crises and establishing a lasting peace between Israel and its neighbours. Without prejudice to what may be done on other fronts, a global approach is called for. My Government has always advocated this; similarly, when there arises the question of over-all guarantees to strengthen peace in the region, France, and I believe Europe, will be ready to take an active part in them.

39. I should not like to leave the subject of the Middle East without mentioning the current ordeals Lebanon is undergoing. My Government and the European Community wish to stress the vital importance of maintaining the independence, unity and integrity of that friendly country, which is an essential factor for equilibrium in the region. I am convinced that all the groups of the Lebanese community, as well as the parties concerned, aware of the seriousness of the situation, will do everything they can to help the Government in its efforts to maintain public order and to strengthen national unity.

40. In Asia, peace has finally returned to Viet Nam. But the length of the conflict, the damage inflicted and the suffering caused make it even more urgent and necessary here than elsewhere for genuine co-operation to be established. France, which since 1954 has had official relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, has begun relations with the new authorities of the Republic of South Viet Nam and remains ready to take an active part in the reconstruction of the country. We hope to have with the Vietnamese people relations based on mutual esteem and trust.

41. As far as Cambodia is concerned, the French Government, as the Assembly is aware, proposed

establishing diplomatic relations with the Cambodian Government on 12 April of this year. Our intentions with regard to that country remain unchanged.

42. In reviewing the various reasons for hope it would be a serious omission if one did not include a few words on the positive developments on a continent of the future—Latin America, whose political, economic and intellectual influence is being increasingly felt in world affairs. The topic is too vast for me to cover. I shall just point out that France attaches great importance to increasing its co-operation with all the countries of Latin America. In this respect I shall mention my delegation's satisfaction with the resumption of our relations with Peru.

43. Africa is another continent of the future, one to which France and Europe are linked by ties the strength of which is without a doubt one of the main reasons for our confidence in the future. My country has guided many friendly countries to independence and has maintained with them particularly close relations based on co-operation. France wishes to respect the decision of all Africans freely to determine their own destiny and to assume responsibility for their future under conditions of their own choosing.

44. Quite recently France consulted the people of the Comoros regarding their future. The great majority favoured independence, and, without waiting for completion of the constitutional process, decided through their deputies to take over the management of their own affairs. The French Government took note of this and announced that it was prepared to begin talks immediately regarding the transfer of responsibilities. We still hope there can be agreement among Comorians permitting establishment of a framework within which this new State will begin its future. In this case, as in others, France is true to its continuing policy of respect for the right to self-determination.

45. I should not like to fail to welcome the resumption of diplomatic relations between my country and Guinea.

46. Unfortunately there are still some clouds in this picture of the international situation. In Cyprus, in Korea and in southern Africa the international community should spare no efforts to prevent tensions from degenerating into conflicts.

47. The question of Cyprus, involving States with which my country has traditionally enjoyed friendly relations and a region that is very close to us, remains one of our foremost concerns. We are obliged to note that the situation resulting from the events of the summer of 1974, with the continuing threat it poses to peace and the suffering it inflicts on the people of the island, not only has not changed but has actually deteriorated.

48. Yet at that time we did unanimously adopt a text defining the framework and principles for a settlement and giving the main outline of a solution, which should be one of reconciliation. Indeed, as everyone is aware, nothing can be done without the agreement of the two communities. Accordingly we have steadily given our encouragement, unilaterally or with other members of the European Community, to the inter-community talks begun last spring, with the unflagging assistance of our Secretary-General. At the same time

we called for a solution to the most painful problem, that of refugees, which affects nearly one third of the people of the island. We are not unaware of the difficulties involved, but we should stress here its extreme urgency.

49. I should therefore like to make another pressing appeal for genuine negotiations to begin without further delay, accompanied by urgent measures which the onset of winter makes necessary from a humanitarian standpoint. Such negotiations should be based on well-defined proposals for an over-all settlement that would provide solutions for all the political and territorial problems confronting Cyprus. Such a settlement should be based on right and justice—"right" meaning the independence of Cyprus and the integrity of Cyprus, and "justice" meaning the respective size of the two communities. It is this double condition that will finally enable the Cypriot communities to live in peace. It is not for us to tell them how they should organize their relations. But, as the President of the French Republic said recently in Salonika, France is firmly convinced that nothing lasting can be built on force, nor can right result from faits accomplis.

50. Of the tensions that may still exist on the vast continent of Asia, I shall mention only the problem of Korea, because of its repercussions upon the United Nations.

51. It is disturbing that more than 20 years after the cessation of hostilities a situation should still exist in Korea which, were it to worsen, could have consequences dangerous to world peace. The Korean people feel its effects daily, and the international community views this persistent anomaly as an almost anachronistic danger, so we very much hope that the United Nations will at this session be able to find a solution to the question of its commitment in that country, taking into account the need to set up arrangements to preserve the Armistice Agreement. But it will also be necessary for the parties directly concerned, respecting the spirit of the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972,¹ to substitute dialogue and a spirit of compromise for confrontation and intransigence. In this context France noted with interest the constructive proposal made by the United States Secretary of State.

52. I should like now to return for a moment to the African continent, where tension still persists, tension to which we should devote particular attention.

53. Last year, from this rostrum, I spoke on behalf of France and welcomed Portugal's effort to put an end to the futile fighting and the anachronistic situation in the Territories under its sovereignty. We note that in spite of its own difficulties the Portuguese Government has faithfully fulfilled its commitments. However, our satisfaction is tinged with concern over the civil war raging in Angola, a country which seemed destined for prosperity. For its part, my Government hopes that the fighting will cease and that this country will very shortly be able to achieve independence in restored harmony.

54. But it is particularly southern Africa that remains a major cause for concern.

55. Of course, in the past year we have been able to note signs which might seem to indicate a change

in orientation. We believe in particular that the Government of South Africa can and should play a role conducive to the establishment in Rhodesia, within a reasonable period of time, of a Government based on majority rule.

56. Concerning Namibia, the South African Government has made statements which, although partially encouraging, remain ambiguous. We shall continually stress the importance we attach to the Namibian people being able to express quickly and freely their views on the political future and constitutional structure of the Territory.

57. In this reference to the problems of Africa, the French Government cannot forget the distressing problem of *apartheid*, a doctrine contrary to human rights and one which deeply disturbs our conscience. France's categorical condemnation of discriminatory measures based on race recently prompted the President of the French Republic to define the strict limits of our policy on arms sales to South Africa.

58. South Africa must respond to the appeal of the international community; it must realize that little time remains for it to satisfy by concrete action the legitimate aspirations expressed both inside and outside that country.

59. In all these areas, it goes without saying that France will be unflinching in its efforts to ensure that conciliation and consultation prevail.

60. The settlement of conflicts, the easing of tension and the encouragement of dialogue are daily imperatives which the international community can no longer avoid. But we must go further: we must band together to take up the challenges threatening the very existence of mankind.

61. It is those long-term problems that I should like to mention briefly in conclusion.

62. In the nuclear age, the first problem is quite obviously the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

63. Can we put an end to the chronic state of insecurity from which mankind has suffered from the beginning of its history and which, since the emergence of weapons of mass destruction, threatens its survival? If the international community believes, as France does, that this ideal, although distant, is indeed attainable and that in any case for the human race there is no longer any alternative to peace, then we should get down to work.

64. On the long road ahead, disarmament—genuine, universal and controlled disarmament—is and remains more necessary than ever.

65. France, for its part, has supported the idea of a world conference now under consideration by our Organization. That plan, if it were assured of the support of all the military Powers, in particular the five nuclear Powers, would be able to get us out of the rut in which we have become bogged down.

66. I should now like to state the view of the French Government with regard to the principal treaties on nuclear arms. The discriminatory nature, in its view, of some of the clauses in those treaties has prevented my country from acceding to them. However, France, as it has stated, intends to act as though it were a signatory. France is fully aware of the responsibilities

attaching to the status of a nuclear Power—which is our status—and believes with the majority of nations that the proliferation of nuclear weapons should be avoided. My Government has already made known its intention to take part in this work. I can confirm this today and state our wish to participate in every genuine effort liable to bring about real and controlled reduction, and relieve mankind of the burden and threat of the arms race.

67. A world which, thanks to genuine disarmament and the adoption of peaceful means of settling disputes, would finally be freed from those haunting fears would be able to devote its efforts to developing its resources, its production methods and its way of life.

68. For 30 years we have been living with the obsession of a nuclear nightmare; but is not mankind also in danger of perishing from lack of oxygen or water, packed as we are together on a planet which has become too small for us? Such prospects no longer belong just to the realm of science fiction, because we are entering the age of finite resources and we must realize the present inability of our world community to deal with those fundamental problems. Surely it is time for us to put our heads together and take joint action to remedy this situation.

69. The excesses and lack of foresight of industrial civilization have other more subtle aspects just as potentially tragic. We are jeopardizing with reckless arrogance the balances established by nature for millions of years. That is just one more worldwide problem that should be considered by the United Nations.

70. The development of the productive forces of mankind should be placed at the service of all men. We agree on the need for reorganization in order to put an end to intolerable inequalities. Hundreds of millions of people in the world are threatened by hunger; the majority of mankind live in a state of destitution unworthy of human beings. The continued expansion of the world economy is therefore indispensable. Nevertheless, we must not allow ourselves to be swept away by the mystique of production and consumption, nor must we forget our ultimate mission: the spiritual and intellectual development of man. Let us not become the agents and ultimately the slaves of a voracious economy. We must above all tackle the major problem of growth in its two aspects: the means of ensuring balanced expansion and the goals at which the arduous labour of man must be aimed.

71. The topics for study which I have just suggested are directed to a fundamental concern that is basically the justification of any genuine policy—respect for and development of the human personality. This concern has continually guided our Organization, which has achieved much in the field of human rights. But the battle for recognition of and respect for fundamental rights is far from won. We must fight it with determination until victory is ours.

72. In times of change and crisis one can always distinguish two main trends: towards movement and towards immobility.

73. Because it is France's tradition, its mission, and because France itself deeply feels the need for change,

it is ready to put its resources, its imagination and its generosity to work for the emergence of a more just, more peaceful and more united world.

74. Our Organization and all its Members can count on the active contribution of my country in this vital task of striving for world solidarity.

75. Mr. FRYDENLUND (Norway): Mr. President, first I should like to congratulate you on your election to your high and demanding office. The part of the world from which I come could not have been better represented in the presidency of this Assembly than through you, Mr. Thorn, as an experienced and outstanding spokesman of our part of the world.

76. May I also express our appreciation of the dedicated and untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in promoting international peace and co-operation.

77. A number of speakers before me have already dwelt at some length on the recently concluded seventh special session of the General Assembly. Most references have been of a positive nature, some even to the extent of characterizing the session as a turning-point in the relations between the rich and the poor countries. My Government shares this hope. Through the unanimous resolution of the seventh special session [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*], a foundation has been laid for attacking the problem of injustice and inequity through co-operation rather than through confrontation. The decisions of this special session were based on the realization of the fact that the development process is the joint responsibility of us all.

78. My Government attaches the greatest importance to the fact that consensus was reached. Now we have to prove that consensus works. The implementation of the decisions taken at the seventh special session is vital in this respect. We have to prove to those still remaining sceptical that the consensus was genuine. Then, and only then, will we have taken that important step towards a new and more equitable economic world order which we all wanted the special session to be. Then, and only then, can we sustain the spirit which prevailed in this hall during the last few weeks.

79. My Government considers the call for a new international economic order an urgent one which also affects our national priorities. Our response must properly reflect this urgency. For that reason the Norwegian Government has submitted to Parliament a comprehensive report, containing concrete proposals relative to our over-all economic relations with developing countries. In this report the Government also reaffirms its commitment to the targets for transfer of real resources, reaching a transfer of 0.7 per cent of our gross national product this year, and 1 per cent in 1978, all in official development assistance on a grant basis. This report also defines the policies called for on our part in order to live up to the demands of the sixth and seventh special sessions in the fields of trade, industrialization and international economic relations in their wider sense.

80. The unanimity with which the decisions at the seventh special session were taken gives us hope that, in the process of implementation, national, political and economic limitations will be overcome. My Government fears, however, that we can be faced with

other limitations to which sufficient attention has not yet been paid. I am thinking of the organizational and structural short-comings of the present world community. Many of the justified demands of developing countries are often frustrated not only through a lack of political will in the developed world but also through short-comings of the present organizational system. My Government is of the opinion that this is a problem to which the Members of the United Nations will have to pay ever-increasing attention in the years to come. For the United Nations to play an effective role in the process of development, an overhaul of the system is called for. This is a prerequisite for the attainment of the session's declared objectives. The present international machinery for dealing with the development problem has become so complicated that not even the experts any longer have a clear view of its structure. The organizational development has occurred piecemeal and more as a result of a process of proliferation than on the basis of any co-ordinated assessment. As Sir Robert Jackson writes in the introduction to the report of the capacity of the United Nations development system "... the machine as a whole has become unmanageable in the strictest sense of the word. As a result it is becoming slower and more unwieldy, like some prehistoric monster".

81. Therefore, it was only logical that the special session, after having reached a broad agreement on matters of substance, also decided to establish the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System.

82. In its work this Committee should be able to benefit from the considerable amount of work already carried out in this field by the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System, appointed by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session. The fact that these 25 experts from all over the world have agreed unanimously on a report is in itself encouraging. In all main respects, Norway is able to support the proposals put forward by the Group of Experts. We have in particular been glad to note the proposals for strengthening the role played by the Economic and Social Council. These proposals are in accordance with the idea put forward by Norway and Finland at the twenty-ninth session with the aim of making the Council a sort of permanent security council for economic and social questions.

83. I have dwelt here on institutional and organizational aspects of our efforts to build a more just world order. This is also necessary. There may be little use in adopting the principle of a new international economic order unless we have a clear idea how to realize this order in terms of practical policies and how it is to be organized, administered, directed and planned.

84. There is, therefore, every reason to subject the whole of the international organizational structure to a thorough review in all sectors in relation to, and on the basis of, existing needs because, as I see it, the large and ever-widening gap between the tasks confronting us and the means of co-operation for the solution of these tasks is a fundamental problem facing the world community today. We must commit ourselves to narrowing this gap, we must commit ourselves to solving more and more problems through

multinational means. We cannot accept that such commitments can only be undertaken in the aftermath of world wars.

85. I speak here as a representative of one of the smaller Members of the United Nations. We, the smaller nations, have a vital stake in the creation of a better-organized world. We need a framework within which we can be treated as equal partners and share in the management of this increasingly interdependent world of ours. We, the smaller countries, are particularly dependent on the general observation of rules of conduct and codes of behaviour in international society. But we have also a vital interest in efficient management. And for this reason we must be prepared to show restraint and moderation. Increasingly, we shall have to adopt procedures for selective participation in order to manage the many complex and complicated problems on our agenda.

86. It goes without saying that the organizational evolution will be different according to whether it is a question of managing world peace and security, of tackling the problem of world poverty, of conserving resources and protecting the environment, or of safeguarding fundamental human rights.

87. If we take world peace and world security, this is today primarily dependent on the political and military equilibrium between the super-Powers. Whether we, the smaller countries, like this or not, the responsibility for avoiding major wars will basically continue to remain with these Powers.

88. This very necessary recognition of the basic factors on which world peace depends should not, however, lead to resignation on the part of the smaller nations. These countries also have ample opportunities for engaging themselves in the efforts to build a more solid basis for peace.

89. One such opportunity lies in the strengthening of the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations and participation in the United Nations peace-keeping forces. The strengthening of the United Nations role in this field should also be in the well-conceived interests of the major Powers. Recent developments in the Middle East are, I think, a good example of how regional efforts, combined with great-Power engagement and United Nations peace-keeping efforts, may turn events in a positive direction in a conflict which for such a long time has represented a serious threat to international peace and security. Here I should like to associate myself with the many previous speakers who have paid tribute to the leaders of Egypt and Israel for their decisive readiness for negotiation and compromise, and also to the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kissinger, for his outstanding contribution to the agreement reached.

90. Another opportunity for engagement for peace lies in regional co-operation. Today important regional efforts are, for instance, being made to build bridges across ideological and political barriers in the interest of détente. I am especially referring to the conclusion in Helsinki in July of this year of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Even though this Conference has taken place outside the United Nations framework, its results may be of significance for the Organization's ability to maintain peace. The negotiations during the various phases of the Con-

ference are also another good example of how smaller States may play an important role as a supplement and as a necessary corrective to the co-operation between the major Powers.

91. In his report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General underlines the urgency of making real progress towards disarmament and arms control. In particular he reminds us that the danger of nuclear proliferation not only remains, but has increased.

92. It is of crucial importance that the United States and the Soviet Union continue their efforts to reach agreement on further limitations in the field of strategic weapons systems. Progress in this field will also increase the willingness of other nations to accept limitations on their freedom of action.

93. But the whole world community must now give increased priority to the awesome problem of nuclear proliferation. All countries must adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. A complete ban on all nuclear tests must be introduced. An increasingly more comprehensive system of international control of peaceful nuclear activity must be established.

94. While the responsibility for averting a large-scale war lies primarily with the major Powers, the many new tasks confronting the world community require new forms of organization of a global character. For instance, the efficient and just management of the world's resources or the protection of the environment will make far greater demands on the development of the organizational set-up than we have hitherto been accustomed to.

95. Among these new tasks there is especially one to which I should like to draw attention: the resources of the sea and the on-going negotiations on the international law of the sea.

96. My Government attaches great importance to the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. New technology, new economic needs and resource perspectives, new strategic and political priorities have caused new legal concepts to evolve. Therefore, it is essential that the various and also competing forces should be channelled through the machinery of orderly international negotiations, so that just and balanced solutions may be formed and a reasonable accommodation of opposing interests achieved.

97. Such solutions must comprise arrangements for the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the deep ocean floor beyond limits of national jurisdiction, and in a manner which should give life to the concept of "the common heritage of mankind". In our view, this requires the creation of a strong international machinery with broad regulatory powers. And that machinery will in the future be called upon to make some momentous decisions, especially in regard to the balance between exploitation and environmental concerns. In order to be effective, the machinery must give adequate representation to all interested groups of States.

98. Negotiations so far have demonstrated that there is broad support for the extension of the sovereign rights of coastal States over natural resources in

an economic zone limited to 200 nautical miles. This principle will form the basis for a system of resource management, but does not in itself provide exhaustive solutions. There will still be an important place for international management in order to achieve conservation of the living resources and provide the world with a continuing supply of protein from the seas. We must develop more effective machinery for international collaboration in this field, adjusted to the new concept of the economic zone, and designed to give rational harvest, long-range productivity and optimum utilization.

99. If the Conference on the Law of the Sea fails, it will be very difficult to establish effective international régimes, in particular for the international sea-bed area. It will also mean a serious setback in our efforts to develop adequate machinery for formulating international legal rules that respond to present-day needs.

100. For this reason, my Government would urge the General Assembly to take every possible step to facilitate the work of the Conference, so that it may conclude next year by the adoption of the new convention on the law of the sea. For that reason also my Government supports the recommendation of the Conference to provide for the possibility of holding two substantive working sessions during 1976, depending on the rate of progress. We realize that two sessions may impose a burden on some delegations, but we ask them to consider the idea against the alternative of a failure of the Conference. Such failure may compel coastal States to take unilateral action in order to protect the renewable resources of the seas and the coastal populations whose livelihood depends directly on those resources.

101. That is the background against which we must determine our priorities. My delegation is in no doubt: the Conference must be given an opportunity to ensure that the new law of the sea convention is adopted in 1976.

102. After 30 years of existence the United Nations is about to become a universal organization in the true sense of the word. The principle of universality has this year been strengthened by the admission of new Members to the Organization. I should like to join in the many expressions of good will addressed to Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Cape Verde on their accession to membership in the United Nations. I should like to express the hope that the remaining colonies will soon join the ranks of independent States, or find other solutions in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants.

103. We had hoped to be in a position to extend a welcome also to the two States of Viet Nam. These States should now finally be allowed, free from outside interference, to reap the fruits of peace. We shall press for an immediate solution to be found, opening the way to full membership for these States. A solution must be found also to the problems of membership of the Korean States.

104. Norway adheres to the principle of universality. In our opinion, the success of the Organization will depend to a large extent on whether all the nations, regardless of political régime, will have the right to participate in the work of the Organization and also

be subject to the obligations imposed by the United Nations Charter. My country will therefore oppose any attempts to exclude or suspend a Member State from the United Nations system in contravention of the Charter.

105. In the same way that peace is indivisible, so in an interdependent world is the dignity of man. The systematic racial discrimination practised by the white minority régimes of southern Africa is, in the view of my Government, particularly intolerable. The continuous oppression of the African population in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa also represents a threat to peace in that part of the world. It is hard for me to understand that the white minorities are not able to draw upon the bitter experiences of other colonial régimes which tried to resist the wind of change blowing over the whole African continent. The struggle of African liberation movements in that area is a struggle for the most fundamental of human rights, the right of self-determination. We support their struggle, while at the same time appealing to the white minority régimes to abandon racial discrimination and negotiate solutions leading to majority rule.

106. Norway is in favour of introducing a compulsory arms embargo against South Africa, and has been practising such an embargo for many years.

107. With deep regret my Government notes that in the field of human rights very little progress has been made during the last decade, in spite of the tireless efforts of private organizations like Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists to arouse the conscience of the world community. The world community should no longer tolerate that countries invoke the principle of non-interference in internal affairs when basic human rights are violated, as, for instance, did Chile when refusing to admit representatives of the Commission on Human Rights. In particular the world community should react strongly against the still widespread practice of torture and inhuman treatment in camps and prisons all over the world. As an intermediate step the General Assembly should adopt the declarations from the recent Geneva Conference on this and related issues.

108. Just before coming to the rostrum I was informed that six of the death sentences imposed in Spain are to be carried out today. If that information is correct I would, on humanitarian grounds, make a last-minute appeal to the Spanish Government to show clemency.

109. In the field of human rights, too, the world community is facing an institutional problem. We must aim at establishing the appropriate machinery to enable the United Nations effectively to uphold basic human rights, as laid down in the Charter, in all parts of the world. Here I should like to reiterate the full support of the Norwegian Government for the proposal for a high commissioner for human rights within the United Nations system.

110. Human rights, however, is also a matter of the fundamental underlying values on which the whole system of international co-operation should be based. The best and most authoritative basis for those fundamental values is to be found in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. It is our duty to ensure that we all live up to the

ideas expressed therein, not only in words and high-sounding declarations but also in practice.

111. We feel that human rights must be given an additional material dimension. The decisions of the seventh special session will be really meaningful only when they are translated into the realities of the daily life of the common man.

112. Mr. SEPETU (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, permit me to begin by conveying to you the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the post of President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. In extending our best wishes to you on your unanimous election to the office my delegation takes satisfaction that the Assembly will undertake these crucial deliberations under the leadership of an outstanding and eminent personality and statesman.

113. May I take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, for the outstanding performance for which his term of office was notable. His was a term of office marked by great challenges and historic initiatives. This Organization can be proud that, under his dynamic and imaginative leadership, it could take a revolutionary look at the traditional political international order and address itself to the long overdue reform of the prevailing chaotic international economic situation. During both the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session of the Assembly he exemplified the surging worldwide tide against the discreditable oppressive traditional world order which is responsible for the misery and insecurity of the overwhelming majority of the world's population. He undertook his responsibility of guiding the historic sessions of our Assembly with great distinction, characterized by courage and compassion, as a spokesman of the international community, which has endeavoured to change the inequitable *status quo*. We wish the Government and people of Algeria to know that we in the United Republic of Tanzania, as indeed I am confident those in the rest of Africa, are proud of him and the Algerian revolutionary spirit which produced him.

114. Allow me now to warmly welcome the new Members who have joined our Organization. We salute the gallant and brotherly people of Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, who, through sheer determination and unflinching belief in the justice of their cause, struggled undeterred towards the goal of achieving independence and the liberation of their people from the curse of colonial oppression. We particularly congratulate the brotherly people of Mozambique, who bring with them the spirit of valour and determination of a combatant people fighting against colonialism. Through a long period of perseverance and suffering, they, like their comrades in Guinea-Bissau, suffered the brutality of a colonial war, with the gallant sons of Mozambique paying the supreme sacrifice for the sake of freedom. Through their determination, the Mozambicans, under the dynamic leadership of Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO], continued to inflict one defeat after another until the forces of colonialism and fascism had been liquidated. We salute, therefore, this inspiring example which our brothers in Mozambique set in the struggle for freedom.

115. The United Republic of Tanzania has welcomed with great satisfaction the independence of Papua New Guinea. We look forward to welcoming that new and promising nation to membership in our Organization.

116. And as we rejoice at the membership in our Organization of Mozambique, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe, we very much look forward to the independence of yet another heroic new African State, whose emergence as a sovereign nation in a few weeks time is the result of a long and arduous liberation struggle. We await with great enthusiasm the independence of Angola on 11 November this year in accordance with the Alvor Agreement, and the subsequent membership of that State in the United Nations.

117. We are, however, fully aware of the machinations of the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism calculated to rob the Angolan people of the fruits of their bitter struggle. In particular, we must condemn the intervention of South African troops and other mercenaries, as we must unequivocally reaffirm our support for the unity and territorial integrity of the territory.

118. The proclamation of independence by the Comoros in July this year has been a source of great satisfaction to our Government. That act represented a logical culmination of the legitimate aspirations of the people of the Comoros. We are looking forward to the time when that new nation will also join our Organization. At the same time we must warn against manoeuvres calculated to undermine the independence and territorial integrity of the new State. In this connexion, we would like to emphasize the declaration of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries in their Conference at Lima, in which they *inter alia* condemned "any attempt against the national unity and territorial integrity of the Comoro Islands and reaffirm their absolute support to its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity" [see A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, para. 41].

119. This should also have been an occasion for our Assembly to welcome the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam. But the abuse of the veto power by the United States of America has made this impossible, thus frustrating the wishes and expectations of the overwhelming majority of the international community.

120. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to convey, through the Permanent Observers of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, our salutations of friendship and militant solidarity to the gallant and heroic Vietnamese people whose decisive victory over the forces of imperialist aggression constitutes one of the greatest victories over injustice in contemporary history.

121. The struggle of the Vietnamese people has been a long, arduous and painful one. Untold were the sacrifices made. Unprecedented in modern times was the degree of barbaric force used and the destruction and havoc created in that land where martyrdom became a rule rather than an exception. But, overcoming all obstacles, the Vietnamese finally liberated their homeland, and, in the process, have written one

of the most glorious chapters in the history of a people's struggle for self-determination and independence.

122. Even at the risk of reiterating what is obvious, I should like to emphasize that the blocking of the membership of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of South Viet Nam, apart from constituting a grave injustice to the Vietnamese people, robs this Organization of two new important Members whose contribution would certainly enhance its effectiveness and prestige. It is, therefore, our fervent hope that the United States will reconsider its position so as to conform with the overwhelming wishes of the international community as expressed by the General Assembly in its decision last week [*resolution 3366 (XXX)*].

123. This year the world community marks the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations following the painful experience of two world wars. At San Francisco, the international community resolved never again to repeat and undergo the like of the preceding experiences. Expressing their commitments in the language of the Charter 30 years ago, they undertook to deploy all their individual and collective faculties to work diligently to fight and eliminate all the evils which lead to human misery and all the underlying causes of international conflicts.

124. An atmosphere of complacency may have been created by the relative international peace that has prevailed over the world in the last 30 years. But the basis of such complacency cannot stand any test. For, while in public we have all been talking of peace, we have yet to attain the basis of genuine peace. Oppression has therefore continued, while justice has yet to replace injustice. In our economic relations wasteful affluence has bred so much greed in the richer portion of our world that that part resists any meaningful change in the present economic system, which makes the rich richer while condemning the majority of mankind to more poverty, contrary to the provisions of our Charter. In other fields of human endeavour, distrust has led to the generation of destructive capacities as never seen before. In many parts of the world, injustice continues to be perpetuated, aggression and colonization venerated or tolerated. This intolerable state of affairs can only delay the achievement of real and lasting peace as resolved by the international community 30 years ago.

125. One of the most serious manifestations of human injustices in the history of world society is the enslavement of one people by another. Indeed, the denial to a people of the right to determine its affairs sums up a host of other injustices. Such a situation was rampant at the conclusion of the Charter, when a few countries, especially in Europe, prided themselves on possessing vast empires over the globe. The word "empires", as we know, was a euphemism for imperialism and colonialism, whereby vast populations in these so-called overseas possessions were reduced to the status of cheap labour and objects for the gratification of the lusts of their colonial masters. Happily, the world community came to realize this evil and condemned it through the Charter. Since then, and taking advantage of the inspiration provided by the Charter, and by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], whose fifteenth anniversary

we are this year commemorating, peoples all over the world demanded, fought for and achieved their right to self-determination and independence. New nations have emerged from colonial servitude to independence and have assumed their rightful places in the world community.

126. That having been said, however, we must not forget that we still have among us Powers—albeit a few—which have not learned from the lessons of these world events or reconciled themselves to the idea of other peoples' right to self-determination and independence. These Powers continue to cling to universally condemned colonial practices and slavery. They have refused to accept that no nation has any right to determine and control the affairs of another people. This outrageous situation continues to exist in its most wicked form in southern Africa.

127. In Zimbabwe, despite international condemnation and opposition, the Smith régime continues to cling to power. In the search for peaceful changes to majority rule in Zimbabwe, the leaders of the African National Council have left no stone unturned. But all their efforts have been frustrated by the intransigency of the white minority régime. Only last month the leaders of the Council were at Victoria Falls to talk to Smith on the possibility of agreeing on the principle of majority rule in Zimbabwe. Smith deliberately wrecked the talks and went all out to create obstacles which make any further talks impossible.

128. In view of the foregoing, the people of Zimbabwe can either acquiesce in a life of perpetual slavery and bondage or resume and intensify the armed struggle for their liberation. Much as Africa would have preferred a peaceful solution to this problem, we must state very clearly that time has run out, and that we shall have no alternative but to support the people of Zimbabwe when they decide on the resumption and intensification of the armed struggle in accordance with the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa.²

129. The United Nations has a duty and an obligation to take all necessary measures called for in all resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly which aim at the liquidation of the Smith régime. In that connexion, in addition to the scrupulous observance of the existing sanctions, there is an urgent need to widen their scope so as to exert maximum pressure on that illegal régime.

130. In Namibia, the *apartheid* régime of South Africa continues to display its anachronistic bigotry not only by perpetuating its colonial presence but also by extending its racist policies to that international Territory. The responsibility of the United Nations and its Members on Namibia under the Charter is twofold. First, it is a responsibility we assumed to put an end to colonialism wherever it exists. And in this particular case this responsibility is all the more pronounced since Namibia is an international Territory directly within the specific responsibilities of the United Nations. Secondly, it is our duty to prevent or stop any situation that constitutes or may lead to a breach of international peace and security.

131. Very regrettably the United Nations has not fulfilled these responsibilities. Recently, we have witnessed the consolidation of colonialism in that

Territory by manoeuvres designed to deflect the attention of the international community. South Africa shows no signs of abandoning its defiance of the will of that community. Clearly, no one can now logically claim that the situation does not pose a threat to international peace and security.

132. Yet meaningful and effective action by the United Nations continues to be blocked by some Western countries. It is to these countries that we launch an appeal to reconsider their positions so that the Security Council can take effective measures against the Pretoria régime with a view to ending its illegal occupation of Namibia. At the same time, the United Nations has a clear responsibility to intensify its support of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

133. The rejection by the United Nations of the credentials of the delegation of the South African régime and the exclusion of that régime from participating in the debate of the twenty-ninth session demonstrated the awareness and indignation of the international community concerning the policies of *apartheid*. That act, the first of its kind in the history of our Organization, was the culmination of all possible efforts aimed at persuading that régime to abandon its racial bigotry. In spite of this, South Africa has been brazenly defiant of the very basic ideals of the Charter. South Africa, therefore, more than deserved the treatment meted out to it during the last session of the General Assembly. In fact, South Africa should have been expelled from our Organization many years back. This would have happened last year but for the veto that was cast by the three Western permanent members of the Security Council. In casting their veto, the three States—namely, France, the United Kingdom and the United States—vigorously strove to persuade the world that South Africa was beginning to come to its senses and was changing its adamant attitude—when we had, in fact, long since discarded that illusion. These very Powers are among those which give active and positive military and economic assistance as well as political and moral support to suppress the fundamental rights and the dignity and worth of the human person.

134. These rights, which 30 years ago were articulated in the Charter of the United Nations, remain for the black people of South Africa a far-distant goal. Any change that has taken place in the past has been for the worse. And even at present there is absolutely no room for any kind of optimism about a peaceful change in the situation. In these circumstances, it is imperative that the international community should put its full weight to bear on the South African régime and the States that support it. Such a course of action must include the stopping of all collaboration with South Africa by all States, including the three Western permanent members of the Security Council. South Africa must continue to be excluded from the councils of all international organizations. But, above all, every effort must be made to isolate South Africa from the rest of the international community.

135. In the Middle East Israel continues to trample on the rights of the Palestinian people and to occupy the territories of neighbouring Arab States. We should like to reiterate what we have repeatedly emphasized

in the past: Israel cannot have peace and security and occupation of Arab territories at the same time. It cannot have peace while continuing to trample under foot the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, as authentically represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. Israel cannot have it both ways. Occupation brings resistance and there is no doubt that the resistance of the Arab countries, whose territories have been occupied, as well as the Palestinians whose inalienable rights have been usurped, is mounting. And the international community is duty bound to support that resistance. Time is certainly running out.

136. The non-aligned State of Cyprus is seriously threatened with a permanent partition instigated by forces from without. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member of the United Nations are at this very moment endangered in spite of the guarantee the world community undertook to give through the Charter and the United Nations. The small and medium-sized States cannot but consider the experience of Cyprus as their own, for they must always remember that they are potential victims of such a failure of international law and order. It is therefore imperative that no effort should be spared to ensure observance of and respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. In this perspective, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his representatives once more deserve the compliments and gratitude of all of us for their selfless efforts in searching for a solution to one of the most serious problems facing the international community.

137. We have already hailed the outstanding victories of the Vietnamese people. Those developments, together with the decisive victories of the Cambodian people over the forces of imperialism and reaction, have radically transformed the situation in Indo-China towards freedom, justice and peace. As we warmly welcome back the authentic delegation of the Cambodian people, we express our hope that the lessons of both Viet Nam and Cambodia have been learned so that an end can be put to the continued outmoded policies of intervention in the domestic affairs of other States.

138. In this respect the attention of this Organization is particularly drawn to the situation on the Korean peninsula. There the United States Government continues to maintain its military forces in South Korea. The name of this Organization continues to be used to provide a shield for continued intervention in the affairs of Korea, to perpetuate the division of the Korean people and to escalate tension.

139. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania wishes once again to reiterate its full support for the Korean people in their just cause of the peaceful unification of their country. To achieve this objective we must stress the urgent need to put an end to all foreign interference. In this respect Tanzania reiterates the demand for the immediate dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

140. Running concurrently with the existence of the United Nations, the last 30 years have heard a lot of talk about disarmament. In reality, however, there is neither the will for, nor evidence of, meaningful

disarmament. On the contrary, certain Powers are now talking of the balance of power and are allocating to one another how much stockpile each should aim at for the future.

141. This year the parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons met to review the implementation of the Treaty. The deliberations of that Conference revealed and summed up the politics of nuclear disarmament today. It has been clearly revealed that nuclear disarmament has become a tactic of a few Powers only to acquire a monopoly of nuclear weapons. All this serves to further confirm the apprehensions expressed by my Government when the non-proliferation Treaty was being considered by our Assembly. Our concern is further aroused by the recent reports that one of the parties to this Treaty has openly threatened to use nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear-weapon State. This clearly shows that our countries cannot be secure simply because nuclear weapons are in the hands of a few, especially when some of those few are responsible for most of the tensions in the world.

142. Disarmament and the pursuit of military superiority are mutually exclusive pursuits. One has to give way to the other. Indeed, it is a matter of profound concern that certain Powers have decided to sacrifice disarmament and to engage in reckless competition for military power. It is all the more unfortunate that the genuine desire of many Member States for meaningful disarmament has been abused and twisted to promote a monopoly of nuclear weapons, thus threatening the freedom and independence of all non-nuclear-power States.

143. In order to liquidate the economic evils which plague the world today it is imperative to eliminate the root-causes of the present economic situation. This of necessity calls for overhauling the traditional economic order. This was the essence of both the sixth and the seventh special sessions: to dismantle the old economic system and establish a new international economic order based on justice and equality. We are pleased to note that through the two special sessions the world community has come to the firm conclusion that, in order to bring about a just, equitable and efficient world economic order, it is necessary to provide for a system that will ensure, among other things, fair and equitable trade relations, a reliable international monetary system, the flow of science and technology for development, and equitable participation in the production and distribution of goods and services.

144. My delegation is pleased to note that the struggle to establish a new international economic order has captured the world's attention and is gaining increasing support from many of the developed countries. We note with serious concern, however, that there is still a small minority who are concerned only with their immediate narrow and short-term privileges, who ignore the fundamental interests of the majority of the world's peoples, or who fail to understand that the much-desired change will serve the interests of the international community as a whole. My delegation firmly believes that the international community has already begun the process towards change, and we must continue it on the basis of the current democratic procedures that are a reflection of political

realities. In so doing we must express the hope that those who are still lagging behind in understanding the new challenges will move fast enough to meet the overwhelming rest.

145. The designation of 1975 as International Women's Year is an opportune coincidence. It is the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, when we have rededicated ourselves to the ideals of the Charter, including emphasis on human rights. It is a year when the topical question is the reform of the world economic order, and the stress on woman's role in society therefore fits very squarely.

146. We believe that the strategy outlined at the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July 1975, aiming at a revolutionary change in the status of women and their involvement in all human activities, will be further facilitated by the economic and political awakening of our time.

147. With the passage of time it becomes more and more unnecessary to reiterate the importance of trust in and proper use of the United Nations. For the cumulative effect of experience only increasingly confirms that our world is a unity the components of which cannot afford to operate separately except at the expense of good order, peace and security. The United Nations is the only existing steering wheel, as it were, of progress towards the safety, prosperity and happiness of mankind.

148. We would not like to believe that the beneficiaries of certain discredited practices which the United Nations seeks to abolish thought to use the United Nations for the cynical perpetuation and furtherance of those very practices. But on a number of occasions recently we have witnessed that when the United Nations has stood firmly for the ideals of the Charter and demonstrated progress towards becoming a truly democratic institution, certain Members have displayed surprising disappointment with the Organization. It is important for such members to understand that the United Nations is not a classroom. What one witnesses in the United Nations today is the fruition of the hopes of the signatories of the Charter. It is a reflection of the irresistible trend of world affairs.

149. Differences of views there have to be, for the world is diverse. Diversity need not lead to irreconcilable positions and conflicts. Diversity can and should be used to enrich the deliberations and lead them to intelligent conclusions. Each member brings with him unique experiences which have to be taken into account if the interests of the whole world are to be catered for. But for anybody to attempt to rebuff the United Nations or to impose himself as a being more perfect than the rest is only to invite the whole tide of world opposition against him.

150. We therefore hope that all Members will have the interests of the entire world at heart, accept the equality of Members, and rededicate themselves to the realization of the common goals of the United Nations.

151. These are some of the thoughts which should be in the minds of all of us as we commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations.

152. Mr. ÇAĞLAYANGİL (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): At the beginning of this new session of the Assembly, it is with a certain satisfaction that we look back on the year which has elapsed since the twenty-ninth session. We see, in effect, that there have been positive developments towards the solution of important problems which were of serious concern to us last year. We are also aware that the complexity of the questions we have to resolve on the international level compel us more than ever to persevere in our efforts to create a more just, more stable, more prosperous and more united world. We have reached a phase in the development of international relations where an increasing interdependence among nations requires of us greater mutual understanding, closer collaboration and a spirit of understanding. We can therefore feel pleased that at this important stage of our work we have elected to guide us the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn. The distinguished attributes of our President are well known to us. Representing a country which is politically active on the international scene, Mr. Gaston Thorn has for years played an important and effective role in many international meetings, to which he has contributed by his perspicacity, wisdom and judgement. His enlightened guidance will make it possible for the thirtieth session to find sound and satisfactory solutions to the problems before us.

153. I should like to say on this occasion that we shall remember the important debates of the preceding session as closely linked to the brilliant personality of the Foreign Minister of Algeria. The twenty-ninth session had to deal with extremely important international problems calling for speedy decisions. The energy and discernment of Mr. Boufelflika enabled him to control the thorny debates. I must convey to him the warm appreciation of my Government, as well as my own thanks, addressed to a colleague representing a country which is closely linked with my own.

154. I must also pay a tribute to the untiring efforts of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the exercise of his difficult functions, to make the voice of the United Nations better heard in the various areas of international life. We have found in him a strong support for our Organization. His great personal qualities, his tact, his perspicacity and his devotion to the cause of our Organization enable him effectively to discharge the very difficult task we have entrusted to him. I should like to express to him our appreciation and our deep gratitude.

155. During this session we have had the very great pleasure of welcoming to our Organization three new States: Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique. At the time that these new States, which have won their independence, are taking their place in the community of nations, I should like to express my earnest conviction that they will make a valuable contribution to our activities.

156. We are pleased at the accession to independence of the Comoros and Papua New Guinea. We greet those peoples who have come to join the international community. Their admission to membership in the United Nations will constitute another important stage on the road to universality.

157. During the year which has just ended, developments have taken place which could have very favourable consequences for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and the establishment of closer and more constructive co-operation among all countries of the world. The conclusion of the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the confirmation of the achievements of that Conference by the meeting of European Heads of Government in Helsinki constitutes an event of considerable historical importance in that it reflects the sincerely expressed will of all European countries to adhere in their relations to standards of conduct dictated by the special conditions of détente. Those standards of conduct, which have been defined in the Final Act of Helsinki, have not, it is true, a legal, binding character. The Final Act constitutes, rather, a commitment of a political and moral nature, which in our view is equally important and which in the present political circumstances should have its own force of persuasion and duty. I should like to note that this is a difficult commitment since it is a global one, which covers the various facets of international relations. The Turkish Government wishes to express here the hope and the conviction that all of the participating countries, conscious of the importance of that document and of the fact that it will acquire its true value and effectiveness through respect by all of the principles laid down in the Final Act, will make it their duty to abide by it, thus ensuring the strengthening of détente in Europe.

158. In the view of my Government, the consequences and implications of that Conference, and the signing of the Final Act at Helsinki, cannot be confined to Europe. From the very beginning of the Conference my country has insistently stressed, and in full agreement with the wishes of most non-European Mediterranean countries, that it is not possible to isolate certain political and economic problems of Europe from those of the Mediterranean region as a whole. My country had also from the beginning maintained the view that détente is indivisible, and that it cannot exist in isolation on one continent if it is not maintained on the others. The Final Act of the Conference having been signed, I think that it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that its meaning and, in a general sense, its scope go beyond the confines of the European continent. The presence at Helsinki of the Secretary-General symbolized, indeed, the harmony existing between the principles laid down by the Conference and the goals pursued by the United Nations.

159. It will therefore appear natural that Turkey, which occupies a geopolitical position at the crossroads of two continents, underscores the world implications of détente in Europe. My country, owing to this very special geopolitical position, is compelled, under the political conditions of détente, to play a difficult and important role. I can state that Turkey is fully aware of the duties incumbent upon it because of this special position as concerns the maintenance and strengthening of détente. All of Turkey's efforts in its foreign policy are directed towards that purpose. On the other hand, it has felt that one of its primary obligations was to consolidate détente in its own region, and it is with that goal in mind that it pursues an active policy of friendly co-operation with all its neighbours in Western Europe. With its neighbours of the East

—Iran, Pakistan and the Arab countries of the Middle East—it has friendly and close relations based on common traditions, on historical and cultural links. On the other hand, it firmly supports, in the international arena, any initiatives aimed at enhancing the political and economic ties among States in different regions of the world, aware that in the present circumstances they have become closely interdependent.

160. There can be no doubt that political détente must have the support of appropriate measures in the area of security, having as a goal the gradual reduction of the dangers of military conflagration. It is on this basis that my Government participates in the negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and weapons in Europe. The Turkish Government will support, within the more general framework of world disarmament, any measure that will be a real step towards the final goal of complete disarmament under effective control. My Government is of the view that the achievement of general disarmament is possible, that it can proceed by stages, provided that the balance of forces is maintained and that adequate measures of control are accepted and applied at each stage. This kind of realistic approach will make it possible, in our view, for nations to effectively commit themselves to a gradual reduction of military expenditures, thus freeing vast financial resources which will be devoted to the economic development of developing countries.

161. May I be allowed, on this occasion, to say that we consider the initiative of the Soviet Union concerning the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests to be an idea that deserves very close attention. In our view, the achievement of that goal, to which humanity has been aspiring for so many years, could become an important stage on the road to complete and general disarmament under effective control. It is in that spirit that we welcome with interest the initiative of the Soviet Union.

162. The very special conditions of the world in which we live require that closer collaboration, based on a new conception of the rights and duties in the area of international economic relations, be established today between the industrial and the developing countries. The developments of recent years have made even clearer the interdependence of our nations in the political field as well as in that of economic relations. The principles which ought to govern a new order in international economic relations should be clearly defined so as to ensure rapid economic development in the poor countries, followed by a gradual reduction of the alarming gap which separates them from the industrial countries. The solution of that problem, in the view of the Turkish Government, is a political necessity as much as a moral duty.

163. Turkey, a developing country, has joined in every initiative taken in that direction over the past few years.

164. At the seventh special session, I had occasion to explain the views of my country with regard to the present state and future prospects of international economic relations. A new spirit emerged at the special session in favour of dealing with this crucial problem from a new angle, within the framework of the United Nations and with the active participation

of all countries. The desired goal is to establish a sound and just economic order, to narrow the economic gap between the developed and developing countries and to increase the well-being of peoples. I should like to take this opportunity to emphasize that Turkey shares the views of the developing countries on this problem and considers that the decisions of the special session are an important step towards achieving international co-operation at a high level. We hope that the same spirit of conciliation and mutual understanding will prevail when these resolutions are implemented.

165. I should like to state once again that we shall persevere in our efforts so that rich and poor nations may agree, in their common interest, on the general guidelines of a constructive solution on a world scale.

166. The proclamation of 1975 as International Women's Year is, without doubt, an important event in the context of the efforts made by our Organization to deal with the problems of our day. It is indeed true that we are as yet unable to state that women, in spite of the economic and social measures taken to date, enjoy the same rights and opportunities as men. Turkey earnestly believes that measures should urgently be taken and applied in order to secure a rapid improvement in the rights of women throughout the world. We believe that the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City from 19 June to 2 July, is a real step forward in that direction.

167. Because of its importance I should also like to say a few words about the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which held its third session at Geneva in the spring of this year. Continuing the work commenced in Caracas, the negotiations of the Geneva Conference gave rise to a very thorough debate and our countries expressed a number of views on the many and complex questions which the next session of the Conference will have to settle. It would be useful in that connexion to single out some outstanding principles which should illuminate our debates in the next phase, if we want to achieve valid solutions, and if we want the new law of the sea to be based on solid foundations. We must take into account the fact that the geography of our globe was not drawn with a T-square on a regular and geometrical plane, and that in the various regions of our globe it takes the most baffling shapes. Those differences are intertwined with the diversities of the geopolitical environment and historical traditions. The problem which arises is mainly, therefore, to define the concepts which will make it possible to adapt and to adjust the important concepts of the new law of the sea which we are now creating to the diversity of geographical factors. A theoretical, geometrical approach to the complex problems entailed by this diversity would not be realistic, and would avoid the problem. Rather than solve the new problems of the law of the sea, such an attitude would give rise to new disputes and new problems.

168. Important political events have taken place in South-East Asia during the course of this year. My Government welcomed with satisfaction the termination of the Indo-Chinese conflict which inflicted so much suffering on the peoples of that region. We express the hope and the conviction that in a new

political environment all of the States of the South-East Asian continent, which have common problems of economic development, will establish and consolidate relations of active co-operation in that important region, aimed at maintaining the peace and stability needed for the progress of their peoples.

169. At the twenty-ninth session of the Assembly we welcomed with emotion the historic decision taken by Portugal to grant independence to its colonies. That decision made it possible for us to achieve an important stage in the struggle for the emancipation of peoples under foreign domination, which has been waged over the past 30 years. If the accession to independence has not yet taken place in every case as we would have wished, this is due, we believe, to the difficulties and to the problems which unavoidably arise in the gestation period of new States.

170. The liberation of the former Portuguese colonies renders even more precarious, more untenable and more paradoxical the colonialist and racist policy of the leaders of South Africa and Rhodesia. Representing a country which is opposed to all forms of racist and colonialist domination and which continues strongly to support the liberation movements which struggle for the independence of their countries, I should like to declare that my Government feels it will not be possible to delay further, by half-measures, the historic march of peoples towards their freedom from colonialist domination, and that final solutions are imperative.

171. The Turkish Government is following with close attention the developments in the Middle East crisis. Our attitude regarding the Middle East conflict remains unchanged; it is based on the unshakable conviction that the acquisition of territories by force cannot be accepted or tolerated. The national rights of the Palestinian people must be recognized.

172. My country was among those which at the last session of the General Assembly pressed for, and saw recognized, the right of the representatives of the Palestinian people to make their voices heard in this Assembly. We consider that a final solution of the Middle East conflict should be based on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Arab territories occupied by force, and recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to found a national State. My Government welcomes with satisfaction any progress achieved towards that final goal.

173. I should like to refer briefly to the question of Cyprus. That question was the subject of an item for debate last year in the General Assembly, which adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX) recommending that the Turkish and Greek communities on the island should continue negotiations with a view to reaching a solution. Later, the Secretary-General was to undertake a new mission of good offices. Within the framework of that procedure, representatives of both communities met on four occasions, and although so far they have not reached an agreement on all the elements of a solution, they have been able, none the less, to reach some agreement on some fundamental aspects of the problem, and at the same time to settle some humanitarian questions affecting both communities. In that context I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to bring closer together the positions of the two parties, and

the wisdom, patience and diligence with which he has fulfilled his difficult and delicate mission.

174. Many speakers who preceded me have emphasized the need to continue the inter-communal discussions. I fully share their views and am convinced that the procedure at present being followed is the only one that can lead to a settlement of the conflict.

175. On the substance of the problem, the Turkish Government considers that any solution should be based on the following principles and considerations.

176. First, the two communities are now negotiating on an equal footing on the basis of resolutions of the United Nations. Any attempt to damage that equality, any manoeuvre aimed at sowing distrust, could only make continuation of the negotiations impossible.

177. Secondly, the last phase of the Cyprus conflict originated in a military *coup* from the outside, aimed at ending the independence of the island. Any future solution should be based on respect for the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus. The State of Cyprus should be able to follow a policy of non-alignment, which would best respond to the interests of the two communities and contribute to peace and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean.

178. Thirdly, the constitution of the island should provide for the establishment of a bizonal federation, with modalities and arrangements taking into account the economic situation of the island and the structures and needs of the two communities, as well as the need to ensure co-operation based on security and mutual trust.

179. Fourthly, the two communities should participate in the federal government on an equal footing. Federal institutions should be given the means necessary to safeguard respect for the constitution and the political and economic equality of both communities.

180. As soon as a solution which reflects the principles I have just stated has been found, Turkey will withdraw the military forces it was obliged to send to Cyprus in accordance with its contractual obligations to deal with the imminent danger to the independence of the island and the survival of the Turkish community. To the extent that the security of its forces permits, it has already considerably reduced its troops on the island. The Assembly may rest assured that Turkey will be guided, in its policy concerning the Cyprus problem, only by the earnest desire to contribute to a just and well-balanced solution and to the protection of peace in our region, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

181. Mr. CHAVAN (India): It is my privilege and pleasure, on behalf of my delegation and myself, to extend to you, Mr. President, our warm congratulations and good wishes on your election as President of the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly. You have assumed this high office at a very significant moment in the history of this world Organization, when we are at a turning-point in the thirtieth year of its life. We are fortunate indeed to have the benefit of your outstanding ability, wide experience and dynamism in directing our deliberations during this important session. Your election is also a tribute to your country and its people and to its traditional policy of conciliation and co-operation. I assure you

of my delegation's full support in the discharge of your onerous responsibilities.

182. Your predecessor, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, Mr. Bouteflika, will be long remembered both for his able direction of the twenty-ninth session and for the constructive achievements of the seventh special session. Under his leadership we were able to accomplish much that is valuable and of lasting significance.

183. To the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, we should like to express our appreciation for his ceaseless energy and total dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. His wise counsel and his gentle persistence in drawing attention to the fundamental problems facing mankind have enhanced the prestige of the United Nations. We extend to him our continued support.

184. Anyone who has the privilege of standing at this rostrum to address the General Assembly must be keenly aware of a special sense of responsibility, because the United Nations is an instrument for shaping the destiny of mankind. How we fulfil this responsibility will depend upon the perception of our common mission and our firm resolve to implement our decisions. Our mission, as expressed in the Charter of our Organization, is to secure peace and justice for all mankind. Our duty is to the peoples of all nations and our objective is the moulding of a world based on peace and co-operation, not on its division into three or more worlds separated by conflict and inequality. The growing awareness of interdependence between peoples and nations, each conscious and responsive to the basic needs and legitimate aspirations of the other, marks the hopeful beginning of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

185. Three decades ago our founding fathers conceived of this Organization as a means for harmonizing the views and actions of States in a common effort "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". An embittered world, shattered by the destructive fury of war, was soon enmeshed in the hostile confrontation of opposing military alliances. The cold war threatened to nullify the hopes enshrined in our Charter. Vast numbers of people still lived under colonial subjugation and for them the Charter could have no meaning until they were freed from foreign domination.

186. Many old empires have since been dismantled and colonial rule has been ended in most parts of the world, signifying the victory of the forces of national liberation. The United Nations has made its own contribution to expediting this process. More than half of the delegations present here represent countries liberated from colonial rule. We have watched with profound satisfaction the Organization move steadily closer to its goal of full universality. We are happy to welcome among us this year delegations from the sovereign States of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. We are confident that their participation in our work will add to the strength of our Organization. We look forward to welcoming Papua New Guinea in the very near future.

187. We have before us a heavy agenda, which illustrates the principal problems facing the world

today. Some items have remained on the agenda year after year, testifying to their complexity and intractability. Other items are relatively new, which is an indication of the growing awareness of a rapidly changing world. It is not my intention on this occasion to express our views on all these problems. My delegation will have other opportunities for making our views known during this session. The very fact that these global problems are before us is evidence of the reality of the interdependence of peoples and nations, and a recognition that the United Nations constitutes the appropriate forum for their solution through our collective efforts. Mere recognition of this fact is not enough, however, and, in the words of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization "... we must now go forward from deliberation to action, from confrontation to co-operation and from eloquently expressed allegiance to principles to the far more difficult task of making those principles a reality." [A/10001/Add.1, sect. XXI.]

188. Many newly independent nations of the world, including my own, repudiated the concept of the cold war and chose the path of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. Today there is widespread understanding and acceptance of the policy of non-alignment and its relevance and importance. In the United Nations the non-aligned countries have consistently worked to democratize international relations and to move from confrontation and deadlock into new fields of co-operative endeavour. The foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries, meeting in Lima last month, pledged themselves afresh to continue their efforts to achieve a new world order based on justice and equality.

189. The maintenance of peace must be our first objective, and problems related to this question must continue to occupy our minds with a sense of urgency. Peace reigns today in Indo-China after many years of war, and this is indeed a matter of great satisfaction for all of us. However, the legacy of the past seems to cloud the vision of some. The rejection by the Security Council of the requests of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam to join the United Nations adds to the sorry record of United Nations inertia on Viet Nam. There is no doubt about the eligibility of those States for admission; we should welcome them to this Organization, which will benefit from their co-operation. The international community should do all it can to heal the wounds of war and assist in the reconstruction of the shattered economies of the countries of Indo-China. India is willing and prepared to make its contribution to this effort.

190. The situation in the Middle East remains critical. There can be no enduring peace in the region until Israel vacates all the Arab territories it occupied by aggression and until the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine are restored. Meanwhile, an agreement has been reached between Egypt and Israel for a limited further Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai. This will be an important and positive development, provided it contributes to the reduction of tensions in that area and leads to the speedy resolution of the basic problems. However, the intransigent and obstructive attitude of Israel, which is receiving a con-

siderable amount of sophisticated military hardware, gives cause for serious concern. It is the clear duty of the United Nations, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, to explore all avenues open to it for securing the removal of the Israeli presence from Arab territories. It is also our duty to continue our efforts to restore to the Palestinian people their national rights. We firmly believe that the unity of the Arab countries, together with the continued supporting action of the international community, would enable them to regain their lost territories and secure the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people.

191. In Cyprus, too, there is still an uneasy stalemate the continuance of which may well endanger its territorial integrity. Prolonged neglect of the underlying causes of intercommunal differences has led to external interventions and the virtual partition of the country, resulting in thousands of people leaving their homes in search of safety. At the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly last year, we unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX), which established an agreed framework for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the island and the settlement of the problems between the two communities. Progress in its implementation, however, has been slow, even though the leaders of the two communities have held talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General. Given good will and practical good sense, the problem can be resolved to the mutual satisfaction of the two communities and without prejudice to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. We have every confidence that the Secretary-General will persevere in his efforts to bring the two communities together to seek a mutually acceptable solution.

Mr. de la Flor Valle (Peru), Vice-President, took the Chair.

192. The continuance of multilateral military alliances conceived in the context of great-Power rivalry and the induction of vast quantities of military hardware into countries belonging to these alliances is a source of continuing tension and instability in the Indian Ocean area. The expansion of the Diego Garcia base, against the declared wishes of the littoral States of the Indian Ocean, is of serious concern. We urge the great Powers and other major maritime users to respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, in conformity with the Declaration adopted by the United Nations in 1971 [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. We also call for the early dissolution of the military pacts conceived in the context of great-Power rivalry and the dismantling of foreign military bases established in that context.

193. We have continued to make every effort to strengthen our friendship and understanding with the countries of our region. India is ready, within the limits of its means, to contribute to the development of our region through trade and closer economic links. We have continued to implement the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972³ both in spirit and in letter. It is our earnest hope that we shall achieve in the near future the objective of peace and co-operation among the States in the subcontinent.

194. The decolonization of the Portuguese empire has proceeded with commendable rapidity. We rejoice in the notable successes achieved by the national

liberation movements. However, the process of national liberation is as yet incomplete, and we must address ourselves to the problems in the remaining Territories whose people are still living under colonial and foreign domination.

195. The transition of Angola to independence has been marked by violent clashes between liberation movements. We have followed these developments with concern, because in the last analysis it is the people of Angola who will be the victims of the struggle for power between political parties. We hope that the Organization of African Unity will find it possible to establish a basis for peace and co-operation among the different liberation groups.

196. In southern Africa we are nowhere near a solution of the triple problem of securing the independence of Namibia, the rule of the majority in Zimbabwe and the eradication of the policy of *apartheid*. These are all interrelated questions and they have to be tackled together. The presence in Namibia of the administration of the white racist régime of South Africa has been declared illegal. The United Nations has been standing ready to take over temporarily the administration of Namibia pending transfer of power to the people. And yet the South African Government flagrantly continues to defy the United Nations. There is no clearer case for intervention by the United Nations and we would call for effective and resolute United Nations action against South Africa.

197. The illegal minority régime of Smith in Zimbabwe evidently continues to be bolstered by the support of the South African Government. There is no honourable way out for this régime except to release all political prisoners, convene a constitutional conference of the legitimate leaders of the people and make arrangements for the inevitable transition to majority rule. The United Kingdom has a special responsibility in this regard and we hope that it will play an effective role. Unfortunately, even the imposition of sanctions by the Security Council has not brought about the desired result, although they may have had some impact. There are reports that the Smith régime is arranging meetings with national political leaders with the purpose of dividing them and compelling them to agree to unacceptable settlements. It is clear that the United Nations should continue to lend all support to the liberation movement in Zimbabwe.

198. The question of *apartheid* has been before the United Nations in one form or another since 1946, and the appeals of the General Assembly have had no effect whatsoever on the racist régime in South Africa. This régime has remained indifferent to the diplomatic isolation in which it finds itself. We deplore that the trade boycott and arms embargo imposed by the United Nations have been ineffective. As a result, South Africa continues to pursue its pernicious policy of segregating the tribal people in separate bantustans, forcibly removing them from their homes and subjecting them to humiliating restrictions. South Africa's continued enforcement of the *apartheid* system in total disregard of United Nations resolutions led to the rejection of the credentials of its representatives and their consequent exclusion from the current session of the General Assembly. Even this has had little effect on the white racist régime in Pretoria, or indeed on

its supporters. There is no alternative but to strengthen the hands of the fighters for freedom and liberation from this iniquitous régime.

199. I have referred to matters that are at present the focus of international tension where critical situations prevail. Certain hopeful developments in Europe may also be noted. We welcome the signature on 1 August by 35 Governments at Helsinki of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which establishes the basis for the preservation of peace and future co-operation in that continent. Since Europe has been the historical spawning ground for world wars in the past, this agreement has great significance. However, détente in Europe can have real meaning for the rest of the world only if this process is extended to other continents, and particularly to the crisis situations of today.

200. The full potential of détente cannot be realized until there is a transfer of real resources from military expenditure to areas that are of vital concern for the general well-being of mankind. The very first resolution adopted by the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations concerned disarmament. That was only natural, as the question of disarmament was an important preoccupation of the League of Nations and it was inevitable that its successor, the United Nations, established in the wake of the last world war, should as a matter of first priority concern itself with disarmament. In the 30 years since the creation of this Organization and despite the regular annual appeals for disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, there has been virtually no progress. Instead, we have been witness to an incredible arms race involving the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction on a scale that brings into question the sanity of such measures. The global expenditure on the arms race is on the order of \$300,000 million per annum, when the world is crying out for resources to relieve hunger, poverty and social injustice. We are nowhere near even considering any serious measures concerning nuclear disarmament, which clearly deserve the highest priority. We have had world conferences on food, population, the environment, industrialization, the law of the sea, the role of women and so forth, but we have not yet been able to agree on a world conference on disarmament. This is truly a tragic commentary on the state of the world, which has lost its awareness of and sensitivity to the dangers facing it.

201. Peace is the foundation for progress. At the same time, an enduring peace cannot be achieved until the growing economic disparities in the world have been overcome. We are now in the middle of the Second United Nations Development Decade, and, despite the various measures recommended by the United Nations, the vast majority of developing countries are still facing unfavourable trade patterns and extremely heavy debt burdens. Such inequalities among nations are the cause of our present discontent. These have to be reversed if we are to move on to true interdependence as between equals, which is the compelling need of today. It is true that the reality of the interdependence of all nations is coming to be recognized more and more, but the problems it poses are only just beginning to be appreciated. The Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment

of a New International Economic Order, adopted at the sixth special session [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, adopted at the twenty-ninth session [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], are important milestones in our journey towards the goal of interdependence. They call for measures of unprecedented scope, the most important of which, if I may say so, is bridging the gap between the minds of the developed and the developing countries.

202. The seventh special session has made a serious attempt to identify problems in detail, to locate some available resources, to pursue further studies of important questions and above all to engage in negotiations with a view to exploring whether a meeting of minds is possible. The achievements of that session should neither be overestimated nor underestimated. Developing countries cannot look upon the final document of the seventh special session [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] with unmixed satisfaction. However, it is an opening, and if the decisions are implemented in good faith and speedily, further fruitful dialogue can be continued on the outstanding issues so that the world economic imbalance can be redressed and the terms of trade for developing countries can be really improved. The *status quo* should change in the direction of a new and equitable economic order, and proof of this has surely to come from the concrete actions of the developed countries.

203. The problem of under-development is as important in the economic and social field as decolonization is in the political field and constitutes a challenge facing the United Nations in the years to come. The United Nations is a unique instrument for fostering co-operation based on equality, and its structures and procedures need to be adapted with wisdom and vision to meet the unprecedented challenges of the future.

204. I should like to conclude by recalling the words of my Prime Minister in her address to this Assembly on 23 October 1970, when she emphasized India's profound commitment to peace and the evolution of a new world order. She said:

"We have always affirmed that the way of the world should be not power but peace, not confrontation but co-operation. The world is not for destruction; it is for development. . . .

"The irony is that we have the means and we see the vision, but we lack the will and the trust to take the one big step forward. . . .

"In the years to come let the United Nations strive to bring about an era of international transformation by consent, a new era of justice and peace."⁴

205. Mr. FITZGERALD (Ireland): It is a pleasant custom that, in speaking for the first time at the annual sessions of the General Assembly, one congratulates the newly-elected President. How much greater the pleasure when the President who has just been elected is the Prime Minister of a small country like my own, a fellow-member of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, and a friend. We who have known the President for many years now in the Community, know the unique qualities which he brings to the presidency; we commend him warmly to this

wider Assembly; and we are confident that at the end of this session the General Assembly will congratulate itself on the good sense it has shown in selecting him to preside over its work.

206. I should also like to express thanks and appreciation to the Foreign Minister of Algeria, his predecessor, who had the difficult and onerous task of presiding not only over the twenty-ninth session but also over the seventh special session, which under his guidance achieved a remarkable consensus. May I welcome our three new Members—the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique—whose presence here is evidence of the commitment of the new Portugal to rapid decolonization.

207. Each year at the start of the regular session we have an opportunity to indicate in general terms the principles which guide our approach to the issues on the agenda and the attitudes we propose to adopt. This year, however, seems to require something more. For this is the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and for Ireland it is also the twentieth anniversary of our admission to membership in the United Nations.

208. Since it was founded in 1945 the United Nations has grown and changed—expanding from the group of countries which had been victorious in the Second World War to become now virtually universal in its membership. In the first decade its membership was less than one third of what it has since become. It was seen at that time as an instrument which its Member States could use in maintaining peace in the world. But now it has also become an almost universal forum.

209. We have not, I think, quite adjusted to this fact in the way we talk about the United Nations. The truth is that, if this Organization is often unable to deal with intractable world problems or if it is ineffective in doing so, it is not so much because defects in its Charter make it unsuitable as an instrument, but precisely because as a mirror of our world of nation-States it reflects all too faithfully the whole range of their disagreements and antagonisms.

210. In general, however, the United Nations has served us well, both as an instrument and as an international forum over a period of 30 years. In that period, thanks in large part to the United Nations, there has been no world war; many serious local conflicts have been settled, or at least contained, and we have seen the major task of decolonization carried through for the most part peacefully. Throughout that period too, the United Nations and its agencies have continued their patient work in the economic, social and technical fields which, though apparently unspectacular, is of immense importance.

211. We have, of course, to recognize the fact that there are issues of the deepest concern to world public opinion with which this Organization has been unable to cope and others to which it cannot even address itself.

212. The major limitation on the power of the Organization to act effectively in certain matters is the fact that the Charter is firmly based on the legal principle of the sovereignty of Member States.

213. The procedures and structures explicitly provided for in the Charter were designed primarily to govern relations, and to deal with conflicts, at the inter-State level. But today the world is also deeply concerned about other issues which cannot be dealt with while keeping rigidly to the level of inter-State relations.

214. These issues are of two kinds: first, there are human rights issues in the broadest sense of the term—I mean issues of individual freedom, of non-discrimination, of tolerance for minority rights, and of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination. These are matters which are all too often claimed to lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of one State or another; in a sense then they fall below the level of the nation-State.

215. But world public opinion has by now developed to an extent where its concern and its sense of solidarity on such issues no longer ceases automatically at national frontiers. The world is, for example, deeply concerned at the problem of *apartheid* in southern Africa, and at its potentially dangerous consequences. Rightly, it cannot accept that this is a purely internal matter for the Government concerned. It is also understandably impatient at the idea that it is logical or consistent to be deeply concerned at this particular form of tyranny and discrimination without feeling similar concern at other examples of disregard or contempt for human rights within the boundaries of other nation-States.

216. Secondly, there are the kind of issues which transcend the capacity of the nation-State. These issues are simply too large and too extensive to be coped with at the level of the individual sovereign State acting either on its own or in direct dealings with its near neighbours. In this category I would include such major current questions as disarmament in all its aspects, the world economic order, protection of the environment, the law of the sea and world food and population problems. These are issues where the fate of each depends to a greater or lesser extent on the actions of every other, and where the common survival requires acceptance of interdependence and common action, to a degree that would be impossible if each nation-State were to act in isolation.

217. In face of such issues—some below the level of the nation-State, and some beyond it—there are naturally difficulties for a world Organization which is based, as it must be at present, on the legal concepts of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

218. It would, I am afraid, be premature at this point to expect a radical change in the structures which were established by the Charter on the basis of the sovereign nation-State and the principle of non-intervention. We are at a point in history where we realize that some older concepts may have to be modified, but we are not yet able to devise new principles that will be appropriate to an interdependent world, while still securing to our peoples those rights that we have hitherto sought to safeguard through the principle of national sovereignty.

219. How should we act during this transition between the old world order of absolute national sovereignty and the emergence of a new world order appropriate to interdependence? We must, while

respecting the rights of others, be willing in our own actions and policies to allow ourselves increasingly to be guided in our work by the spirit as well as the letter of the Charter. This means that goodwill and good sense will be necessary on all sides during this interim period to make the present inadequate structures work effectively and remain relevant in a changing world.

220. Our Organization has had its successes in this respect. Thus, on the first kind of issue I mentioned, that of human rights and self-determination, there has been the process of decolonization, now almost completed, for the most part by peaceful means, and as a result of moral pressures.

221. We have not, however, succeeded in making much progress in respect of individual human rights within nation-States. We have not yet reached a stage where there could be agreement between all States Members of the United Nations to grant to their peoples the right which some of us in Western Europe have given to our peoples—to appeal to an international instance against any abuse of power by our own Governments. It should be a source of shame to all of us in this Organization that a body such as Amnesty International, widely respected, should have to report that in the territories of 100 Members of this Organization breaches of human rights occur and that one Member State, Chile, is currently refusing admission to a United Nations human rights study group, the *Ad Hoc* Working Group on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile.

222. The United Nations has had some successes too with regard to those issues which transcend the capacity of the individual nation-States, although to date it has no more than felt its way towards dealing with such problems as disarmament, the law of the sea, the protection of the environment, and, most recently, and with some real success, the world economic order.

223. While we await the slow development of a new world order in which abuses of national sovereignty, domestic or external, will be restrained by the existence of a superior world-wide jurisdiction, there is naturally an increasing tendency for States with common histories and common interests to form regional organizations of greater or lesser coherence. Is this tendency good or bad? I think it is neither good nor bad in itself—everything depends upon whether such groups of States in their actions at the international level are simply larger projections of the limited self-interests of individual sovereign States which these can no longer realize in isolation, or whether these larger groupings too are animated by the principles to which I have referred—by a genuine concern for human rights and freedom within their own boundaries, and a genuine recognition of an even higher level of interdependence between all States that goes beyond the level of the regional group in question. In the worst case these regional groups could become conflicting power blocs; in the best case they could prove to be the building blocks of a new international order which, frankly, could be difficult to found upon 150 or more separate units, each pursuing individualistic policies.

224. Since 1 January 1973 my country has been a member of one such regional grouping which has a

particular coherence—the European Community. This involves a commitment at this stage to consult, and where possible to align, its policies with its partners, and in the long run a commitment to an ever closer inter-relationship within a European union.

225. Ireland does not see its commitment to the European Community as competing with our membership in the United Nations. We feel, rather, that in both cases our participation is animated by the same principles, those of which I have spoken. With our partners we share a common attitude on individual freedoms and human rights and we seek to give effect to this attitude within our own countries; all of us, of course, accept the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights, established by the wider grouping of the Council of Europe. Externally, in our relations with the rest of the world we, like our partners, are fully aware of the need for interdependence. As a group we played an important part in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We have also sought to establish new kinds of relationships with other groups of countries outside Europe, through, for example, the Lomé Convention, which as President of the Council of Ministers I signed on behalf of the Community seven months ago, and through the Euro-Arab dialogue. Beyond that, we recognize the need to see interdependence established on a global scale and, with our partners, in a statement issued by the nine Heads of Government in July, we gave strong support to the United Nations as the world body where this could be given effect.

226. It is perhaps worth adding that in my own country a serious consideration in relation to our participation in the European Economic Community has been its possible impact upon our contribution to the work of the United Nations—within which, in the 17 years before we joined the European Community, we endeavoured to be constructive members. During the referendum campaign which preceded our entry to the Community, those of us who advocated membership were frequently asked searching questions on this point, thus demonstrating the extent to which attachment to the basic principles of the United Nations and to its role in the world exists at the popular level in my country. The answer we gave to those who posed us those questions was that participation in the European Economic Community is entirely compatible, not merely with membership in the United Nations—that is self-evident—but also with the pursuit of the kind of policies to which we had committed ourselves during our years as United Nations Members before joining the Community. Moreover, membership in the Community will enable us—and has enabled us—to join with others in promoting within the Community a full and whole-hearted acceptance of the need to rebuild the world economic order on more equitable lines, wiping out the ill-effects of the past colonial order, from which my country itself suffered in the past.

227. So far I have tried to outline the broad ideas which guide us in our approach to the agenda of this session in the twentieth year of our membership in the United Nations. The agenda before us at this session is a long one. It contains 125 items—some of them disputes at the inter-State level, others issues of human rights or larger economic or political issues

of the kind to which I have referred. During the next three months the 141 Member States will be called on to take a position by speaking and voting on each of these issues.

228. Perhaps we do not always realize just what a novel development this is. Since the foundation of the League of Nations, and more particularly over the 30 years since the United Nations was established, we have had to grow accustomed to the idea that each of us Member States, large or small, remote or deeply involved, is called on each year in the General Assembly to take a stand and to commit itself in detail on almost every world issue, and to do so in terms of a Charter which serves as a code of principles of international conduct.

229. This is in many ways a development of great importance. Indeed, it may not be too much to say that the principal success of the United Nations over 30 years has been, not so much how it dealt with any particular problem, but the more basic fact that its mere existence and the existence of its Charter have promoted, and secured increasing acceptance for, the idea that there is a code of right and wrong—and not merely of expediency—in international affairs. It is true, of course, that not all of us adhere as well as we might to the principles we proclaim in the Charter. But what is remarkable is that, even when we do not, we are at pains to try to justify our behaviour in its terms.

230. But this new situation can also present problems. Our procedure here has always been such that the positions of Member States must be given expression through the votes they cast on detailed draft resolutions, often presented by those most deeply involved in a particular conflict or question. At times a decision on a complex resolution must be taken quickly in a national capital, and sometimes the choice is limited to "Yes", "No" or "Abstain", because there may be no opportunity to vote separately on particular parts of the text.

231. In this situation, at times one of limited choice, made in haste, on complex issues, it is not always easy for a Member State such as my own which firmly supports the United Nations and has a strong commitment to certain international principles, to be sure that the views it holds so firmly will be given adequate expression in every vote it is called upon to cast. What we can do is to try to act on each of these resolutions on the basis of our best interpretation of the applicability of the principles of the Charter to the issues raised.

232. I should like to turn now to say something more specific on a number of the main issues on the agenda. Two major questions before us clearly transcend the boundaries of the nation-State: the need to reform the world economic order and the threat of nuclear proliferation.

233. So far as the first of these is concerned I can be brief, as this session immediately follows the seventh special session which ended in a consensus resolution on development and international economic co-operation [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*]. The work at that special session, despite pessimistic forecasts by some commentators, was constructive and positive.

234. Because of the work done at the Paris preparatory conference in April, and because of the progress made since that conference in discussions among the developed countries, the developing countries accepted that the industrialized world was serious about tackling the problems which had been identified so bluntly at the sixth special session.

235. On 13 October the resumed preparatory meeting will again convene in Paris. The resolution passed by the seventh special session will provide much of the underlying agenda of the four main commissions that are likely to emerge from the international conference to be prepared in Paris next month—for this resolution covered most of the issues, other than energy, that come within the terms of reference of that proposed conference.

236. Promises have been made, promises have been accepted and promises must now be implemented. If the developed world, in its relations with developing countries is to keep the faith expressed in the resolution of the seventh special session, then it must be prepared to negotiate towards real concessions and, where necessary, to modify the less-than-iron law of the market. We are convinced that the European Community is prepared, in a continuing and evolving way, to do just that.

237. One consequence of these developments now taking place in relation to the world economic order may well be that the existing structure of the United Nations and its specialized agencies may need to be reconsidered, so that it may play a more effective role in the new economic order now evolving. My delegation looks forward to results of the study now under way that will more effectively deploy the Organization's resources, both in the Secretariat and the specialized agencies, for the benefit of the third world, and we shall participate fully in this work.

238. A second major issue with consequences that transcend national boundaries is that of nuclear proliferation. The world today is immensely vulnerable to the threat of nuclear war. On the one side there is the vast armoury of nuclear weapons built up by the super-Powers. At another level, we are told that almost 500 nuclear-power reactors already operational or currently planned in 26 countries will by 1980 be producing annually as a by-product more than 40,000 pounds of plutonium which, extracted from spent fuel rods, could provide enough weapons-grade fissionable material for more than 2,000 Hiroshima-size bombs each year. Nuclear facilities have been provided to countries which have not even signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], and nuclear resources furnished with a view to helping at least one developing country to add to its energy resources have been turned, in defiance of safeguards, to explosive purposes. The list of countries with nuclear capability which either have set off nuclear explosions or are within measurable distance of being able to do so is lengthening each year. The time has come to tackle this problem if we are serious about avoiding nuclear war. In 1958 my country took the initiative in proposing in this Assembly a draft resolution on the issue of non-proliferation. The adoption of this resolution in 1961 was seen as a step on the way to the non-proliferation Treaty signed in 1968. That Treaty was a milestone. But

urgent further action is now required if its fundamental purpose is not to be jeopardized.

239. We need a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Such a treaty should be explicit and effective in its terms. The aim, in my view, should be to put an end to test explosions whether over or under the ground. But the problem of peaceful nuclear explosions requires further study. The question is whether in fact such explosions confer any benefits not obtainable by other means, whether they carry serious dangers to mankind and whether they can be distinguished from nuclear-weapon-test explosions. Pending action in the light of the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] *Ad Hoc* Advisory Group on Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes [A/10168 and Corr.1 and Add.1], the establishment of which we welcome, there should be an agreed moratorium on all non-military nuclear explosive tests by all Powers.

240. I should like to see a comprehensive test-ban treaty provide, first, that all those countries which are in a position to export nuclear materials and technology should form a suppliers' club and agree to transfer fissionable know-how only to non-nuclear-weapon States which are prepared to meet accepted approved IAEA safeguards on all peaceful nuclear programmes and are willing to return all spent fuel to the supplier country for reprocessing; secondly, the IAEA itself should in this connexion adopt much tighter standards of protection and control in the production, transfer and use of nuclear materials and technology; and, thirdly, to the extent that if, after the moratorium and the study of the question of peaceful explosions, such explosions were permitted on an agreed basis, there must be provision for adequate inspection.

241. We welcome the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on the question of a comprehensive test ban, as well as the fact that the Soviet Union has taken an initiative in proposing a comprehensive test-ban treaty. This latter proposal should be carefully studied during this session with a view to seeing whether it could provide a basis for a treaty that would incorporate the elements to which I have just referred.

242. The super-Powers in particular have their responsibilities. They must face them. Only they, working together, can halt and reverse the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons; this is closely connected with halting the horizontal spread. If they continue their dangerous nuclear arms race, they are in a weak moral position to ask the near-nuclear countries to refrain from developing nuclear weapons.

243. There is a danger—a grave danger, I fear—that this issue will not be taken seriously. The reaction—or, rather, the lack of reaction—throughout the world, including the developing world, to recent events in connexion with nuclear materials in certain developing countries, is not a good augury for the future. No considerations of prestige and no desire to strengthen a country's military position against that of another Member of this Organization should be permitted to stand in the way of a tight control over the appalling nuclear capabilities which represent an increasingly widespread threat to peace.

244. At a level below that of inter-State relations is the question of human rights. In the past our concept of these rights has perhaps been too narrow. We have not taken sufficient account, for example, of the right to life—the most fundamental of all. This right to life involves the right to food, the right not to be faced with starvation and famine. Famine on the scale on which it exists in some parts of the world today is one of the most terrible scourges affecting, not merely those in this generation who are in dire starvation, but also their descendants for generations to come, as my country knows from its own history.

245. There are, however, other human rights which are violated in a widespread way in the modern world—perhaps even increasingly violated. Among these is the right to be free from torture. In the continent from which I come it was widely believed in the early part of this century that our civilization had brought us to a point where torture had ceased to be thinkable as a policy measure by European States. The history of the past 40 years has seen this illusion shattered not once but many times, not by one country but by many. The world today has become tolerant of torture in a way that was certainly not true two generations back. We must reverse the drift towards tolerance of this most evil weapon of public policy. It must be outlawed; no excuse must be made for it; and no excuse must be made for any State which indulges in it, whatever part of the world it may be in.

246. I warmly endorse the proposal of the United States Secretary of State [2355th meeting] that the United Nations appoint a group of experts to undertake an authoritative study of the nature and extent of torture. I am convinced that world opinion can be mobilized to outlaw its use by any State that indulges in it for any reason. The adoption of a draft declaration on torture by the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders [A/10260, para. 15] is a most promising step, and I trust that it will receive the favourable attention of the General Assembly.

247. There are many less dramatic but none the less deplorable breaches of human rights to which this Assembly should give its attention and to which the Governments represented here should commit themselves to seek a remedy. Because the nation-States represented in this Assembly do not necessarily coincide with cultural entities, there exist in many countries minority problems which are often quite severe in their effects on those involved. We need some kind of code to protect the rights of minorities, to set out what these rights should be and to establish a standard against which a State can measure itself and be measured by its peers.

248. Women are certainly not a minority, but in virtually every country in the world women, for historical or cultural reasons, have less rights than men. Much is being done to remedy these grievances and the United Nations has endeavoured to accelerate progress in this field by nominating 1975 as International Women's Year. The effect of this is already evident in many Member countries of this Organization where the publicity given to this issue in the present year is inducing Governments to take belated action to set right the many injustices imposed on women by custom and by law. A balance-sheet of

this progress needs to be drawn up and presented to the Members of this Organization lest, when the year is over, the pressure towards reform be relaxed or the efforts to set right these injustices be reduced.

249. In conclusion, I wish to turn for a few moments to a problem that acutely concerns my Government—the tragic situation in Northern Ireland. There, two sections of a small community live in an escalating cycle of mutual fear and violence that is destroying the hope of a normal life for them and for their children. Within the last six years there have been 1,300 killings and over 15,000 injuries to people, caused by almost 5,000 explosions and nearly 25,000 shooting incidents.

250. My Government has sought to promote a peaceful solution and to reduce tension by every means at its disposal. We have expressly proclaimed our rejection of violence in any form. We have accepted the right of a majority within Northern Ireland to determine freely the character of the relationship of Northern Ireland with our State, and we stated our willingness to have an agreement to this effect registered with the United Nations. We have arrested and imprisoned members of organizations engaged in violence in Northern Ireland, many of them people from that area who crossed into our territory. We have taken the necessary legal steps to enable us to bring to justice anyone in our territory against whom evidence is produced that he has committed a murder in Northern Ireland; and we have initiated legislation, shortly to be passed by our Parliament, to extend this unique revision to all other crimes of violence.

251. We have, moreover, sought to work in friendship with the leaders of both sections of the community in Northern Ireland, and have co-operated with the United Kingdom Government in a joint policy which would bring internal self-government there on a power-sharing basis as between the two sections of the community, and would bring close links between north and south.

252. All these efforts have yet to yield fruit, for the small groups of violent men on either side in Northern Ireland have immense power to destroy political solutions and to inhibit co-operation between moderate leaders of the two sections of the community. Endless patience is needed in seeking a solution that will resolve fears and appease hatreds. But in spite of this violence from unrepresentative groups, we believe that elected political leaders of the two sections of the community can yet reach an agreement that will provide a solution to the problem of the self-government of this area on a basis fair to both sections. Moreover, we believe that agreement on this issue, if reached, would provide a basis for a joint approach to the restoration of order and the elimination of the nightmare of violence—political violence, sectarian violence and criminal violence—which has plagued this area for the past six years.

253. Our Government pledges itself to work towards this end. We are willing to meet at any time with the United Kingdom Government, or the elected leaders of the two sections of the community in Northern Ireland, to discuss how we can contribute to a settlement of this crisis in Northern Ireland. In any such discussions we shall not be found wanting in generosity or in willingness to make sacrifices in the common cause of peace. We all of us share in the responsibility

for what has happened in Northern Ireland, which is the unhappy consequence of the unhappy history of our island. So intimately linked are the two parts of the island, which share so many common institutions—churches, sporting organizations, the trade union movement, the banking system—and so closely interwoven are the security problems of the two areas along their 362-mile land frontier, that any solution must, if it is to work, be one in which we play a full and generous part.

254. We can never be indifferent to what happens in Northern Ireland, where fellow Irishmen, members of the same churches and trade unions, supporters of the same sporting teams, inheritors of the same largely unhappy history, Protestants and Catholics alike, are being killed and maimed, and their property destroyed by a mindless terrorism.

255. We ask the sympathy of the world's peoples for the tragedy of Northern Ireland. We ask for their understanding of the way in which in Northern Ireland, as in some other parts of the world such as Cyprus, the unbearable burden of an unhappy history, too heavy to be easily shrugged off even by men of goodwill, condemns decent people to a life of fear and violence. We ask for their patience while the elected representatives of the people of Northern Ireland, under terrible pressures from extremists, including often threats of violence, try to find a basis upon which to build a new system of government in the province, in conjunction with the United Kingdom Government and my own Government.

256. The rock upon which we are trying to build, and are encouraging the people of Northern Ireland to build, is that of a total rejection of violence as a force in politics. Upon this principle, which lies at the foundation of the Charter of the United Nations, a solution can, given patience and time, be found to bring the people of Northern Ireland out of the nightmare in which they live and into a peaceful and democratic society within which the right to life, to freedom, and to a fair share of the community's resources is guaranteed.

257. Mr. RINCHIN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic offers its sincere congratulations to the President on his unanimous election to the high post of President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, and expresses the hope that under his able guidance the present session will make a fresh contribution to the furthering of the process of the relaxation of international tensions and to the cause of translating into reality the noble ideals of the United Nations.

258. Permit me also to express on behalf of the Mongolian delegation our gratitude to Mr. Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, who has brilliantly discharged his duties as President of two sessions of the General Assembly.

259. I should like also to take this opportunity to welcome the energetic efforts of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to enhance the effectiveness of United Nations activities as well as to promote mutual understanding and co-operation among States.

260. The present session of the General Assembly is taking place in a year which is of special significance

for peoples of the whole world. This year, all progressive mankind has jubilantly celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the great victory by the peoples and countries of the anti-Hitler coalition over fascism and militarism. This historic victory of global significance has become an illuminating landmark and has had a powerful impact on world history. It is, indeed, this landmark that produced the historic process that led to a cardinal shift in the balance of forces in favour of peace and progress, to a mighty growth of the national liberation movements and to the complete collapse of the colonial system of imperialism.

261. The lessons drawn from the past war are both instructive and vitally important today. In this light we see the purposes and goals of the United Nations and the enhancement of the role and efficacy of its activities. The idea of creating a world organization that would be based on a firm alliance of peace-loving nations, and that would safeguard world peace and universal security, was born in the flames of great battles fought by freedom-loving peoples against the Fascist enslavers.

262. The United Nations, the thirtieth anniversary of which we have just celebrated, declared as its prime objective "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". Looking back on the three decades that have passed, we can state with confidence that the United Nations, as an important international instrument, has made a considerable contribution to the cause of preserving peace and security.

263. It is remarkable that the thirtieth anniversary of the ending of the Second World War and the foundation of the United Nations is being commemorated in a new and more favourable international situation.

264. Thanks to the consistent efforts by the countries of the socialist community and other peace-loving nations, the process of relaxation of international tension is gaining a more and more stable character and the principles of peaceful coexistence are increasingly applied in relations between States with differing social systems. On this basis, a tendency towards a fundamental transformation of international relations and the establishment of a new, just and democratic type of relations among States, as well as towards a new international economic order is gaining new strength.

265. In the opinion of my delegation all this testifies to the gradual ripening of the objective prerequisites for a transformation of the whole system of international relations in such a manner as would reliably guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of all nations, and peaceful relations, equal and mutually beneficial co-operation among all States, large and small.

266. The development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States favourably influences the cause of furthering and deepening the process of relaxation of international tension. The periodic Soviet-American summit meetings and their fruitful and concrete results signify an important turning-point in further improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and represent a tangible contribution to the cause of

preventing a world war and preserving peace and international security.

267. The process of relaxation of tension has found its most visible manifestation in Europe. The fruitful outcome of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe marks the beginning of a new era in the process of détente, which has become the basic and prevailing trend in the political development of the world today. The Final Act, signed at the Conference at Helsinki, is a historic document of broad international significance. The Mongolian People's Republic assesses the results of the Conference as a great victory for all those who persistently stand for the consolidation of peace and international security, as a new convincing proof of the successful achievement of the programme of peace set forth by the Soviet Union.

268. The experience of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe testifies to the fact that, with scrupulous and persistent efforts by nations, it is possible to find a common approach for, and mutually acceptable solutions to, even the most intricate and difficult problems. We entertain the hope that this positive experience of Europe will serve as a stimulus for the solution of similar problems in other continents.

269. The greatest event of the year is the historic victory of the peoples of Viet Nam and Cambodia, which has demonstrated the collapse of the imperialist policy of aggression and support for the anti-popular régimes in the countries of Indo-China.

270. The victory of the national liberation movements of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos has put an end to a dangerous hotbed of tension in South-East Asia, has substantially changed the balance of power in this region in favour of peace-loving and progressive forces, and has also facilitated the over-all improvement of the international atmosphere.

271. The Mongolian People's Republic, which has firmly sided with the courageous Vietnamese people in all stages of their heroic struggle, lends its full support to the application of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam for admission to the United Nations, considering that they have earned an inalienable right to be Members of our Organization as a result of their long and just struggle for peace, freedom and independence.

272. The improvement of the international situation and the historic victory of the peoples of Indo-China provide favourable prospects for the consolidation of peace in Asia, which as a consequence of the policy of imperialist aggression in the post-war years has more than once become an arena of local warfare that threatened to grow into general conflict. The interests of the peoples of Asia and the cause of universal security demand that durable peace be established on this vast and most populous continent. To achieve this, it is necessary, first of all, to do away with all the areas of tension still existing in Asia.

273. It is obvious that, without at least diminishing and removing the threat of wars, eliminating the hotbeds of conflict and creating a reliable system of security for all States, it is impossible successfully to solve the problems, common to many of the Asian

countries, of overcoming the economic, scientific and technological lag and of ensuring speedy progress.

274. My delegation considers that under these circumstances the creation of a system of collective security in Asia has become an urgent task of the day.

275. The historic African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung in 1955, spoke out as far back as 20 years ago, for the transformation of Asia into a continent of peace and co-operation. The well-known principles of Bandung, together with other fundamental ideas and principles, could serve as a basis for peaceful interrelations among Asian States irrespective of differences in their social order.

276. While standing for the strengthening of peace in Asia, we by no means ignore the complexity of existing problems on the continent and the difficulties in the way of creating a system of collective security that are caused by reasons of an objective and subjective nature.

277. We are fully aware that it took almost a quarter of a century for the European nations to reach an agreement on questions of security and co-operation. And there is no doubt that in Asia, too, a certain time will be required to find a practical solution to this vitally important problem. But it is exactly the experience of Europe that persuades all of us that, only by persistent and consistent efforts by all States on the continent without exception is it possible to achieve those successes that have been obtained by the European nations in strengthening peace and security, mutual understanding and co-operation.

278. The actions of those who attempt to deny the international significance of the European experience reveal them as ardent opponents of détente, striving to vitiate the efforts of peoples aimed at creating a stable basis for peace and international security, openly hamper the implementation of the idea of collective security in Asia, frustrate the emergence of constructive measures towards the limitation of the arms race and towards disarmament, in order to achieve their great Power aims of hegemony and expansionism joining with the most reactionary forces of imperialism.

279. We are convinced that collective efforts aimed at the creation of a system guaranteeing the security of Asian States will yield results. In this connexion I should like to stress the importance of overcoming the spirit of disunity and distrust cultivated for centuries by colonizers and reactionaries in Asia. Therefore the normalization and development of bilateral and multilateral contacts among Asian States at all levels, as well as of a broad exchange of views on substantial problems for all of us, acquire greater significance.

280. The Mongolian People's Republic supports the expansion and deepening of such contacts in the search for ways and means of ensuring Asian security on a collective basis, with the participation of all States of the continent.

281. We consider that the United Nations, as a global organization for collective security, must make a worthy contribution to the cause of ensuring a durable peace in Asia.

282. The Mongolian delegation cannot fail to express its concern over the continuing explosive situation in the Middle East, which threatens peace and security not only in Asia but all over the world.

283. The Mongolian People's Republic considers that only the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the safeguarding of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the creation of conditions for ensuring the security of all States of the region will pave the way for a just solution of the Middle East problem. In our opinion, to find a solution to the whole complex of Middle East problems it will be necessary to reconvene, at an appropriate time, the Geneva Peace Conference in which the representatives of the PLO should participate on an equal footing with the other participants.

284. We consider that the resolutions of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, which supported the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and recognized the international status of the PLO, are of positive significance for rendering justice to the Arab people of Palestine.

285. The positive settlement of the problems related to Korea occupies an important place in the strengthening of peace and security on the Asian continent. The peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis, in full accord with the national aspirations of the Korean people, can be achieved only provided that the United States troops stationed in South Korea are withdrawn. Proceeding from that principle, the Mongolian delegation supports the adoption of the draft resolution on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea [A/10191 and Add.1-3].

286. The situation in Cyprus remains unsettled. We believe that the problem of Cyprus should be solved in conformity with the well-known resolutions of the Security Council, without outside interference and on the basis of full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

287. We consider that the process of relaxation of tensions will be set on the most solid foundation if further concrete and effective measures are taken to limit the arms race and to further disarmament. The continuing arms race is not only incompatible with the spirit and aims of the process of détente but it profoundly contradicts the interests of strengthening peace and security. Détente and disarmament are inseparable components of the machinery for strengthening peace and international security.

288. It is necessary to note that positive changes in the world facilitate the adoption of co-ordinated measures to limit and check the arms race in order to pave the way for the solution of the most crucial problem facing mankind: general and complete disarmament.

289. Due to the constructive efforts of the socialist countries and many other peace-loving States which have actively put forward concrete proposals, negotiations on disarmament problems today have a more tangible and practical content.

290. My delegation notes with satisfaction that in recent years negotiations on disarmament have been notably intensified, both within the framework of the bodies already in existence and through new conferences and negotiations.

291. One of the most important tasks in the struggle for disarmament remains the strengthening and ensuring in every possible way of the universality of international treaties and agreements now in force in the field of disarmament, in particular the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We should actively seek the strengthening of those treaties through universal adherence to and strict implementation of all their provisions. In this connexion we emphasize the positive significance of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The participants in the Conference reaffirmed their firm support for the Treaty, their unfailing devotion to its principles and objectives and their commitment to implement, completely and more effectively, its provisions. It is important to note that in the Final Declaration adopted by the Conference [A/C.1/1068, annex I] there is a clear definition of the role that the Treaty has been called upon to play in international efforts aimed at preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons, halting the nuclear arms race, taking effective measures for nuclear disarmament and broader co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

292. The Mongolian People's Republic supports the establishment of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the world. We approach the problem of the establishment of such zones primarily from its close connexion with the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

293. The complete prohibition of nuclear tests has become a problem of great urgency and extreme importance. We consider that the complete cessation of nuclear-weapon tests in all environments, including underground tests, would greatly promote the achievement of the objective of nuclear disarmament; hence the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic warmly welcomes and endorses the new initiative of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

294. At present the progress of contemporary science and technology has reached such a level that these achievements could be used for purposes of development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction. In this connexion we fully support the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction and consider that proposal timely and urgent. To reach an understanding on concluding such an international instrument would represent a constructive contribution to the cause of curbing the arms race and promoting the supplementing of political détente with military détente.

295. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic places particular importance on the identical drafts of a convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques, which were submitted on 21 August by

the Soviet Union and the United States in the Disarmament Committee [A/10027, annex II, sects. 24 and 25]. We consider that these drafts, being a concrete manifestation of effective co-operation between two great Powers, are also an important practical step towards the restriction of the arms race.

296. We believe that the participation of all countries of the world, in the first place of all the nuclear Powers and States with considerable military potential, in the efforts to curb the arms race, is a necessary precondition for elaborating effective and radical measures in the field of disarmament.

297. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic actively supports the idea of convening a world disarmament conference. It stands for immediate practical preparation of the conference, which in our opinion should add a considerable impetus for bringing together and intensifying the efforts of all States in seeking new ways and means to solve various disarmament issues.

298. The implementation of the resolution of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and the utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries [resolution 3093 (XXVIII)], could serve the aims of further normalization of the international situation.

299. Since the last session of the General Assembly many important events have taken place in the field of decolonization.

300. My delegation welcomes the birth of new independent States—Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe—and congratulates the representatives of those States on their admission to the United Nations. We consider that, with the final completion of the process of decolonization, one of the dangerous hotbeds of tension in international relations would be removed.

301. It should be pointed out that in southern Africa there still exist strongholds of racism, where the indigenous population lives under the régime of *apartheid*, which has been resolutely condemned by the United Nations as a crime against mankind.

302. The Mongolian People's Republic is for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the fifteenth anniversary of which is being commemorated today, as well as for a strict implementation of resolutions and conventions on decolonization and elimination of racial discrimination.

303. We submit that the programme of action and concrete recommendation elaborated by many authoritative forums of Africa and non-aligned countries, and by the World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow, are of particular importance for the cause of complete decolonization and elimination of racial discrimination.

304. Brutal repressions carried out by the Fascist junta in Chile against Chilean patriots and democratic and progressive forces in that country continue to evoke deep indignation and protest on the part of world public opinion. The Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemns the gross violations of human

rights and democratic freedoms in Chile. We demand that the Chilean junta stop its bloody repressions and immediately release Senator Luis Corvalán and other patriots of Chile.

305. Détente creates favourable conditions for the development of mutually beneficial economic co-operation among States with different social systems. In turn, the development of just and mutually advantageous international economic relations constitutes a reliable material basis for further normalization of the international climate and for promoting an atmosphere of mutual trust among nations.

306. In the final documents of the sixth and seventh special sessions, and the resolutions of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the close correlation between political and economic issues has been clearly formulated.

307. The deterioration of the economic conditions of the developing countries as an immediate consequence of the discriminatory economic and trade policies of the imperialist Powers makes urgent the task of restructuring international economic relations in accordance with the requirements of developing truly equal and mutually advantageous co-operation among States.

308. In this connexion my delegation supports the consistent implementation of the fundamental principles of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which will be in keeping with the interests of all States, the developing countries above all.

309. As is known, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea still continues its deliberations. The Mongolian People's Republic being a land-locked country, has a special interest in a just solution to problems related to fuller realization of the essential rights of land-locked countries to free access to the sea and to the international sea-bed zones. At the same time the interests of both coastal and land-locked States should equally be taken into consideration.

310. The positive role played by the United Nations in preventing a world war, its valuable contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security, have proved to be the major achievement of its 30 years of activity. This testifies once again to the

vitality of the Charter of the United Nations that has stood the test of time. At present the Charter, in its existing form, continues to meet the requirements of the day and to serve the cause of universal peace and international security, in particular the needs of further promoting the process of détente. It also contributes to strengthening friendly relations and the development of mutually beneficial co-operation among States.

311. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is of the opinion that under present circumstances the main objective of the States Members of the United Nations should be strict fulfilment of their obligations under the Charter. The Mongolian People's Republic will continue to exert its efforts towards further strengthening the role and effectiveness of the United Nations on the basis of strict observance of its Charter, and towards broader utilization of the vast potential embodied in the Charter.

312. The relaxation of international tensions further enhances the prestige and role of the United Nations and assigns it new responsible tasks of developing and consolidating all the positive trends in the world, and of making them durable and irreversible.

313. It is the hope of the Mongolian delegation that constructive and fruitful co-operation of the States Members of the United Nations, the realization of the provisions of the United Nations Charter, and due implementation of many positive decisions by the General Assembly, will still further strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations and its authority in international affairs in the best interests of all peoples of the world.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

² Adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its ninth extraordinary session held from 7 to 10 April 1975.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 858, No. 12308.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1881st meeting, paras. 142, 144 and 145.