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**President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM**  
**(United Republic of Tanzania)**

**Address by His Majesty King Hussein I**  
**of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan**

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by His Majesty King Hussein I of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour of welcoming to the United Nations His Majesty King Hussein I of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and of inviting him to address the Assembly.

2. King Hussein I (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like first of all to extend my warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a tribute paid to you personally and to your friendly, struggling country. In all your efforts exerted at the United Nations you have always embodied the spirit of the United Republic of Tanzania, which is struggling, under the wise, experienced and determined leadership of its friendly President, Julius Nyerere, for the benefit of Africa and the whole world. The assumption of the leadership of this Assembly by Africa today has very deep meaning of which no one is ignorant. Africa has recently begun with determination, awareness and courage to put its efforts, experience and hopes at the service of mankind for its benefit.

3. I thank your predecessor, a true son of Latin America, who led the General Assembly last year with competence and dedication. Latin America has contributed with enthusiasm and wisdom to the work and successes of the United Nations from its inception; and it will continue to do so, increasing day by day the role of Latin America in our new contemporary world.

4. I could not fail to praise the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who bears his great responsibilities with patience, courage and impartiality while working for international peace and co-operation and for the solution of humanitarian causes.

5. The last time I spoke from this rostrum the world situation and the situation in my own country were very

different from what they are now. It was on 26 June 1967,<sup>1</sup> when the Arab nation was tending its wounds and attempting to absorb the shock of the Israeli expansionist campaign which had thrust Israel's armed forces across the borders in every direction. The Israeli forces had just occupied the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai, as well as Palestinian Gaza and the West Bank—the heart of Palestine and the secure and stable habitat of the largest concentration of Palestinians. They had occupied Arab Jerusalem, so dear to the hearts and minds of hundreds of millions of Moslems and believers around the world. In one fell swoop, they had shattered the city's security, violated its sanctity and annexed its people, its land and, indeed, its history, to the body politic of Israel.

6. At that time I carried to this international body—which, after all, is the world's conscience—a message from a brave people that had borne the brunt of the pain and shock in the wake of the aggression and occupation carried out so blatantly against them. I told you then that this same people, which had stood in the face of aggression on behalf of the Arab nation and in defence of its rights and principles, was a valiant and steadfast breed which would cope with suffering but would not compromise its principles. I said then that we would stand fast until the entire world community came around to comprehending our just cause, at which time it would stand by us and enforce a just and honourable peace based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and rooted in the requirements of international justice.

7. The United Nations, then, was still groping for maturity, independence and comprehensive membership. There was then a sector of world opinion which still believed that Israel sought security, not hegemony or expansion. The then independent nations of the third world, the opponents of racism and colonialism in all their forms, had not yet achieved their present cohesion. Nor had the ideas, aspirations and new values of the third world emerged with the insistent voice within this world body that they have today.

8. The world had not yet experienced Israel's intransigence, its determination to block all avenues to a just peace, or its increasingly open declarations of its ambitions to annex occupied Arab lands. The world's conscience had not yet been aroused to the reality that Israel's Zionist racism was of the same coin as the racism of the minorities of southern Africa. Nor had it come to realize that it belonged to the same stuff which made the colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and lies behind the present strife in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

9. We in Jordan, together with our Palestinian

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1536th meeting, paras. 1-37.

brethren and the rest of the Arab nation, have suffered for many years from a lack of understanding or appreciation by the world community of our just cause. But we now take solace in the fact that the world of today is not the world of 1967. There have been dramatic changes during the last decade. Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau are now liberated. The colonial institution—a vestige of the nineteenth century—has collapsed in Africa and elsewhere. United Nations membership has been extended to include almost every country around the globe, affording a proper representation of the interests and principles of the majority of the nations of the world.

10. The non-aligned countries, together with the rest of the third world, have succeeded in placing the United Nations in an adversary relationship to colonialism, racism and foreign domination of whatever kind. The values governing international relations have thus shifted in favour of the overwhelming majority of nations and have moved towards greater international equality.

11. There is a growing international conviction, even among the industrially and technologically advanced nations, that the world must rectify existing economic relationships and seek a new pattern of international economic interaction based on equity, co-operation and equal opportunity. Concepts of the new international economic order are gaining acceptance on the part of the majority of nations and are viewed with respect even by the minority which still approaches them with varying degrees of reservation.

12. This is indeed a different world from that of 1967, when Israel could perpetrate its tragic occupation of surrounding Arab lands and impose on the Palestinian people yet another round of pain and suffering.

13. Jordan, together with the entire Arab nation, welcomes these far-reaching developments in international life. We in Jordan have always supported the movements towards positive change which inevitably leads the world towards broader horizons of liberty, prosperity and self-realization.

14. Every day, the world moves closer towards the new values. My country's active participation in this movement is prompted by several factors. As part of the third world, as an Arab country and as one of the non-aligned countries, Jordan seeks renewal and progress, be it economic, social, cultural or political. As an Arab country it has an unquestioned obligation to Arab history, to Arab unity, to the ultimate triumph of the Arab struggle for liberty and progress and to the Arab future. Jordan has also been inextricably linked to the sufferings and aspirations of the Palestinian Arabs, whose recent history is a living symbol of the just struggle of all nations against colonialism, racism and oppressive foreign rule and whose aspirations are a true reflection of the desire of the entire Arab nation for stability, security, a just peace and continued progress.

15. Jordan is for world peace, without which the world cannot hope for stability, prosperity or a better standard of living for all nations. For this reason, we stand against international tension and the cold-war mentality, not to say the cold war. We are for complete and comprehensive disarmament based on reciprocal

guarantees. We are for an honest and a fruitful dialogue between the South and the North, between the industrialized world and the less fortunate countries which are seeking to achieve comparable progress. We are for the new international economic order in all its manifestations: equitable interaction among all nations; a new basis for international trade; the transfer of resources from developed to developing countries; the implantation of technology in the developing countries where it is most needed; the effective supply of food to the poorer countries and the wherewithal to produce more of their own food; the dissemination of knowledge and education; the effective solution of the problem of housing and clothing; the provision of medical care; and the promotion of individual dignity. We are for viewing the entire world as an indivisible unit with regard to resources, aspirations, peace and the solution of problems. We are for placing the resources of humanity at the service of progress and enlightenment for all of mankind.

16. The forces of positive change which have altered the world of today from what it was a decade ago have also had their effect on our Middle East region. The cause of justice in the Middle East, which is closely intertwined with the rights of the Palestinian people, has been making continued progress. Transcending old barriers, the new, free and vibrant Africa has declared its firm and clear support for the just Arab cause and for the Palestinian people. Western Europe is overcoming the effects of Zionist control both in the mass media and in national parliaments. The European mind has been opened to the realities of the situation in the Middle East and to the aspirations and sufferings of the Palestinian people. Western Europe has started a constructive dialogue with the Arab countries, with a view to building bridges of understanding, broadening the base of mutual interests and directing joint efforts towards the achievement of a just peace in the region.

17. The whole climate in the world today is one that rejects occupation and racism wherever they are exercised. It is thus conducive to an emergent recognition of Palestinian rights.

18. Unfortunately, however, the Israeli occupation of Arab territories and the concomitant sufferings of the Palestinian people have prevented a break-through in our own region. The cause of justice and liberty for the Palestinian people continues to face increasing Israeli intransigence.

19. Everyone knows that Israel has since 1967 been occupying vast Arab territories and that the entire Palestinian homeland is under occupation. The Assembly will recall that at first the Israeli leadership made the claim that Israel was ready to withdraw within the framework of a comprehensive settlement that guaranteed peace and security. However, it is evident today that the Israeli leadership has no intention of withdrawing from the occupied territories or of returning to the Palestinian people its occupied homeland, where it can exercise its right to self-determination and the establishment of a free national entity.

20. Israel has literally planted, and is still planting, the occupied territories with settlements. It has tied the economy of these territories to its own. It has introduced deep radical changes into their physical, human

and cultural characteristics. And it has done this before the eyes of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and the whole world. In successive announcements the Israeli leaders have emphasized that they consider any self-rule for the Palestinians—however mutilated—to apply to the inhabitants but not to the land. The same leaders have dug out—from myth and legend—claims for perpetual ownership of the occupied land.

21. As for Jerusalem, which is the heart of Palestine and the occupied territories, and the sanctum of Arabs and Moslems everywhere, it was forcibly annexed by Israel in the early days of the 1967 occupation by a government that had claimed more concern for peace than the present one—although every Arab knows from bitter experience that the thinking and actions of successive Israeli governments have remained alarmingly constant.

22. Jerusalem, so dear to us all, is suffering from the ravages of daily mutilation. Its long-suffering people are faced with sustained psychological and economic pressures as well as outright repression intended to force them to leave or else surrender their national and historical identity. Arab Jerusalem, which is so closely linked to our history, religion and culture throughout the ages, is undergoing systematic erosion and a painful loss of identity as an annexed body. It is as if the Israeli authorities wish to eradicate from the world's memory centuries of history and tradition and of spiritual, moral and cultural ideals.

23. How, under such conditions, can a just peace and genuine coexistence come about in the Middle East? How can peace be achieved between an occupying Power that refuses to engage in an equitable dialogue and the people it has sought to vanquish and suppress? How can Israel convince the world that it wants peace and stability while refusing to change its outlook and its methods of dealing with the environment around it?

24. Students of Zionist and Israeli political thought have realized for some time that Israel treats the Arabs around it not as part of a human environment with which it aspires to coexist but as a human barrier which it must seek to demolish. This is evident in Israel's daily attacks on southern Lebanon—a beautiful and peaceful country, a small country—carried out under a variety of pretexts. Again, it is as if Israel intends this cruel approach as a substitute for facing up to its responsibility for the catastrophe that has beset the Palestinians and the ravages that have plagued hitherto peaceful Lebanon. It is also evident in the failure of the Israeli leadership, over the long years, to come up with a genuine peace proposal which neighbouring Arab countries can look at with any degree of objectivity.

25. The official Israeli political line has never once provided a glimpse of possible recognition of the Palestinians as a people with a right to a free and secure existence based on self-determination. Rather, it has insistently smeared the Arab image and projected the Palestinians squarely on Arab shoulders. Such claims, however, are meant for external consumption and are part of Israel's war against the Arabs, not Israel's battle for peace.

26. It is for these considerations that we were deeply hurt to see the leadership of Egypt—a country which

we love and cherish and appreciate—fall into the Israeli trap aimed at fragmenting the united Arab front. The Egyptian leadership has walked, or has been led, into the trap, but honourable and genuine peace, which can be accepted and lived with, has become more elusive than before. If Israel really wanted peace and was eager to seize the opportunity for peace, it would surely have preferred to deal with the Arabs as a group, and would have presented a positive position, respecting their historic rights, and opening for the Palestinians an opportunity for regaining the exercise of their national and human rights as well as recreating their unity within a truly national entity.

27. Until this very moment, no statement has been made by the Israeli Government to the effect that Israel accepts the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people—even within a framework of reciprocal peace and security. Until this very moment, no statement has been made by the Israeli Government that Israel commits itself to withdrawal from the occupied territories in the context of a comprehensive settlement leading to peace and mutual guarantees.

28. Since 1967, the Arab parties have been ready for a comprehensive and just settlement. They have been ready for the establishment of a just peace, where all can live within secure borders after a complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination and sovereignty in their national homeland. But in spite of this declared Arab position, all international efforts to achieve a complete and just solution have met with failure. This is so because, while the Arab parties accepted peace and its guarantees, Israel has chosen a claim to Arab territories over and above peace. In place of security and coexistence, Israel has insisted that the Palestinian people should suffer continued dislocation outside their homeland or submit to a life of captivity under occupation.

29. Even after the unfortunate Egyptian withdrawal from the joint Arab front, the entire Arab world re-emphasized at the Ninth Arab Summit Conference, held in Baghdad in November 1978, its commitment to a just and honourable peace based on respect for recognized Arab rights.

30. Jordan, which I am honoured to represent here today, has a thorough understanding of what is and what is not possible in the context of war and peace in our region. Jordan has always advocated reason, moderation and a search for the just and durable, both by virtue of its proximity to danger and its close involvement in the tragedy from the very beginning. The Jordanian people have always shared the sufferings and aspirations of the Palestinian people. Jordan carried the major burden of the human tragedy that befell the Palestinians, and absorbed the human, economic, social and political results of this tragedy.

31. In 1950, Jordan entered into a voluntary union with the Palestinian West Bank in order to protect the people and the land as well as out of a conviction that Jordan shared with the West Bank a common destiny and a brotherly obligation.

32. On 24 April 1950, the joint Jordanian Parliament, in taking its historic decision on unity, did not neglect to

record Jordan's unwavering stand concerning the historic rights of the Palestinians and the support of Arab Palestinian rights in any future settlement in accordance with national aspirations and international justice. Thus when we speak today of the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people, we do so because it is something we have always believed in and have always attempted to bring about within the framework of a just and comprehensive settlement.

33. Israeli officials have constantly reiterated that Jordan must solve the Palestinian problem by absorbing the Palestinians itself. But the answer to this argument is a very simple one. When we speak of Palestinian rights we speak of a clearly defined territory and an equally clearly defined people who with their ancestors have inhabited that territory, situated west of the River Jordan in Palestine for countless centuries. The subject is thus not a matter of terminology or semantics. In 1948, Israel managed to uproot distinct people from their homeland. It then took another major step and placed 1.5 million Palestinian Arabs under its control. The case of this nation—half in exile and half under occupation—is the case of the Palestinian people.

34. Playing with words will not solve the problem. Israel must withdraw from the territories it occupied in June 1967, must respect the right of the displaced Palestinians to return to their homeland and must stop its denial of the Palestinians' right to self-determination, including their right to establish an independent state if they so wished. We in Jordan, together with the other Arab countries, stand behind the Palestinians in demanding this right. We support them in the exercise of their free choice and will respect the choice they make.

35. Let me now return to the question of what is possible and what is not possible.

36. We in Jordan support any sincere international efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive settlement. We have co-operated with such efforts, within our announced principles, from the very beginning. We co-operated with Mr. Gunnar Jarring and with the Security Council when it attempted to tackle the Middle East problem through the efforts of its permanent members. We co-operated with initiatives made by the United States during the Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter presidencies. We accepted the proposal of President Carter in September 1977 to reactivate the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East under the United Nations and under the co-chairmanship of the Soviet Union and the United States with participation by all parties, including the Palestinian people, in a unified delegation on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the other principles of the United Nations Charter. Even after Israel, consistent with its record, aborted this latest United States initiative, we remained open-minded and positive in our reaction to international efforts. But the tripartite agreement between Egypt, Israel and the United States—the Camp David agreements<sup>2</sup>—resulted in what we perceive as contrary to our national interest, to the interests of the Palestinian people and to the interests of the Arab world. I do not wish to engage in a lengthy critical appraisal of the Camp David

agreements. I merely want to emphasize two basic points.

37. First, the occupied territories are indivisible. They are all subject to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of other peoples' territories through the use of force. The West Bank and Gaza are no different from the Sinai or the Golan Heights. They are occupied territories and the occupation must end.

38. The West Bank and Gaza are the heart of Palestine and the homeland of the Palestinians. The West Bank is not subject to bargaining. There can be no meaning to any international settlement if it leaves the future of the West Bank and Gaza vague or applies to it a status at variance from that which applies to the other occupied territories.

39. It goes without saying that the Israeli theory of autonomy for the people but not the land is unacceptable. The only true equation for a just settlement is one of complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories in accordance with a clear time-table, coupled with Palestinian self-determination, against a commitment to mutual peace and security, and all this should be in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

40. Secondly, Jordan does not accept the role of assisting the Israeli occupation authorities in the West Bank while Israel makes daily claims to ownership of the land and refuses even the possibility of the alleged "autonomy" eventually evolving towards sovereignty and independence for the people of the occupied territories within their own homeland. Jordan stands behind the Palestinian people in supporting their freedom and the establishment of their free political entity. It stands ready to help them in all fields. It is not prepared to accept from the occupying authorities any vague international formulas designed to gain time while planting the land with settlements and postponing the difficult basic decisions through recourse to tactics aimed at preventing world public opinion from exercising moral and political pressure to end the occupation.

41. I should like to emphasize here that the destiny and the future of the area cannot be decided in the absence of the parties concerned, foremost among them the Palestinian people, or in the absence of the rest of the international community. Developments have led us to believe that the United States by itself cannot exert a constructive influence in achieving a just settlement and the establishment of a durable peace as long as its policy is committed to supporting Israel by all political and material means and by supplying armaments, while Israel persists in refusing total withdrawal and the recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people on their national soil, as well as respecting the rights of all States in the region to live in peace and security.

42. I have emphasized these points in order to place before you the realities of our region and make clear where we stand with regard to what is possible and what is not possible. At the same time, I would like to reiterate that we in Jordan, together with the rest of the Arab world, continue to stand for a just, honourable, viable and durable peace.

43. The objectives of the peace efforts are clear and

<sup>2</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

simple. Once the world community agrees on them, they are easily achievable. The form is not important. What is important is the substance.

44. The world community must realize that comprehensive peace will not be achieved until the armed forces of Israel withdraw completely from the Arab lands they occupied in 1967. If the Israeli forces withdraw completely, then the world community can arrange a smooth and lawful transfer of authority and responsibility to the people of the occupied territories—those living there now as well as those who belong there—through internationally recognized and voluntary means. The right of self-determination is as sacred to the Palestinian people as it is to any other of the world's peoples. It is the only way by which they can establish a free national entity and regulate their relations with their neighbours, in full freedom.

45. A third point is the right of the displaced Palestinians to repatriation or compensation in accordance with successive United Nations resolutions since 1948. This can be achieved within a legitimate framework of peace and in the light of their wishes as expressed by their free choice under neutral international supervision.

46. If the world community accepts these basic principles, which are indispensable for a just peace—and the world community has in fact fundamentally accepted them for a number of years—then the way will be open for their implementation in a reasonable and appropriate manner. I need not point out that there are various methods, forms and formulas of reasonable implementation.

47. For example, we, the Arab parties, have in the past accepted the idea of an international conference in which the Arab parties would be represented by a unified delegation under United Nations auspices. During the past months, I have personally called for the problem to be taken back to the Security Council with the purpose of agreeing on a formula for implementing these accepted principles which should underlie a settlement.

48. We are also ready to consider suggestions from any quarter with regard to the implementation of a just settlement, so long as they abide by the principle of withdrawal and an equitable solution of the Palestinian question.

49. We believe that the United Nations, with its Charter, its flag and its successive resolutions, provides the natural framework for the achievement of the comprehensive settlement we all seek.

50. The Arab countries today have sufficient confidence in themselves to consider all suggestions and ideas leading to a just peace. They are fully capable of consultation and co-operation among themselves, as well as with the rest of the world for the achievement of peace. The Palestine Liberation Organization, through its international activities and announced positions in recent months, has proved that it wants to participate, in the name of the Palestinian people which it represents, in steps leading to a just peace which will ensure the liberation of the Palestinian people from occupation and the pursuit of a free and independent existence within their national homeland.

51. We in Jordan are co-operating in good faith with the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and with the rest of the Arab countries for the good of the brotherly Palestinian people and the Arab world at large.

52. The opportunities for a just peace are better now than at any other time in the past. It is important that they should not be frittered away either because of inaction in the international quarters, wherein lies the responsibility of preserving peace and international justice, or on account of intransigence on the part of those who harbour grandiose dreams of expansion and domination and thus close their eyes to the real possibilities of peace and security.

53. If I have spoken at length about the problems of our region, it is because they are fateful problems affecting the life and future of my nation and touch in a very direct manner on the peace of the world.

54. In seeking peace for our region and justice for our nation, we seek peace for the whole world and justice for all nations.

55. Our cause is inseparable from the cause of a just and equitable world order.

56. Our cause is inseparable from the cause of international détente, co-operation and mutual trust.

57. Our cause is inseparable from the struggle of nations—and that of the United Nations itself—against racism, colonialism and foreign domination.

58. Our cause is inseparable from the aspirations of the nations of the world for economic progress, national stability and a better life for mankind.

59. Our Arab nation stands with all other nations in the battle for freedom, peace, progress and international co-operation.

60. May God help all our nations and guide the United Nations.

61. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Majesty King Hussein I of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan for the important statement he has just made.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

62. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker in the general debate this morning is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines and former President of the General Assembly, Mr. Carlos P. Romulo.

63. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of satisfaction that I add my voice to the swelling chorus of congratulations to you on your election as President. With your election the world affirms the validity of the United Nations as the parliament of man, where every nation, weak or strong, rich or poor, stands equal before all the rest. With your election the world honours Africa, which has long been, and still is, a symbol of the continuing struggle against

racism. You have long stood on the ramparts of that struggle. The Philippines, I am proud to say, has stood and will continue to stand side by side with you in fighting for this noble cause. We wish you every success.

64. More than 2,000 years ago, the greatest of Greek historians, Thucydides, provided mankind with some of the deepest insights ever given into the nature of the human condition and of relations among men. In this effort he has not been surpassed; the lessons of the Peloponnesian wars are as relevant to our times as they were to his troubled era. The causes of human conflict, he said, are rooted in the motives of fallible man. But the management of conflict depends on the faint spark of wisdom which, as a gift of the gods, inheres in the very frailty of mankind.

65. It is not inappropriate to recall this thought at this time, for while the correspondence between the world of ancient Greece and ours is not exact, Thucydides provides us with an ancient guideline to the management of modern conflicts in our complex era.

66. Last year in this Assembly, there was general agreement on the complex nature of the present world. Three things stood out. The first was a scrupulous avoidance of direct confrontation among the great Powers. The second was the diminution of ideology and a renewal of emphasis on national interests. The third was a shift from military competition to economic competition.

67. All these were, as we saw them, hopeful signs of a better and more peaceful world to come. Some began to think it possible for mankind some day to be free from the ever present threat of war. We chose to read in these signs the beginning of an age when all mankind would be guaranteed its basic needs.

68. But gifts are not always all good. The bitter comes with the sweet; thorns hide among the most fragrant flowers. The encouraging trends which we noted last year are still there, but along with them are the unwelcome. If we were to portray the world today, the following would stand out: first, the revival of wars by proxy as an alternative to direct confrontation; secondly, and as a corollary to the first, the exploitation of the instabilities in many third-world countries; thirdly, the pursuit of national interests at the expense of weaker States; fourthly, the growing alarm at the possible fragmentation of the world into political and economic spheres of influence.

69. As our discussions in this Assembly proceed, we cannot ignore these trends which, unless arrested, will certainly pose new threats to world peace and stability. The great Powers in particular bear a heavy share of the responsibility for their solution. We invite the super-Powers to assist in this search.

70. In connexion with the items in this year's agenda, we note with necessary caution the progress achieved in the corollary disarmament studies that are at present under way as a result of the mandate of the tenth special session, held on disarmament. On the question of disarmament itself, we view with continuing regret the profound inability of the human community to come to grips with what is at the heart of the problem. Even on

the question of arms control, there has been no progress and, indeed, very little constructive discussion. While recognizing the difficulties of a practical and technical character in arms control agreements, we should always keep in view the unassailable fact that the larger interests of mankind, particularly its survival, outweigh all other considerations. The life of a single human being has a value far above the mightiest arsenal in the world. But we think so little of humanity that we persist in the mindless pursuit of our destruction.

71. We welcome the signing of the agreement reached at the conclusion of the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]<sup>3</sup> in full expectation that it will lead to a reduction of current world tensions. We hope further that this measure will be followed by a succession of other agreements, including a complete ban on the testing of nuclear weapons.

72. In the Middle East, much has been accomplished to pave the way to a solution of this generations-old problem. Yet the fabric of peace in that troubled land continues to be fragile. We maintain the view that, unless the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people is upheld, the chances for durable and comprehensive answers to one of the most puzzling riddles of our time will be diminished.

73. A great statesman once said that compromise does not necessarily mean a concession. If a memorable dictum was ever out of place, that surely is the case in relation to the Middle East. In our view, the needed compromise has been set by the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, and they remain the guidelines for solving once and for all a problem which, unless solved, will continue to bear grave implications for the peace of the entire world.

74. Africa south of the Sahara is still to be a storm-centre of unrest. It will continue to be so until the universally accepted principle of rule by the consent of the majority is accepted in precept and in practice and until the evil of rampant racism is removed from its midst. The problem of South Africa appears obdurately resistant to solution, and a parallel situation is found in Namibia. South Africa remains beyond the pale, a moral outcast from the community of nations and from peoples everywhere, who hold fast to the norms of human decency and respect for the dignity of the human person.

75. We are at a crucial juncture in our march to economic and social progress. Since the founding of the United Nations, never has there been such disparity in the living standards of peoples and in the wealth of nations. The data of 1978 tell us that nearly 2.5 billion people—the population of 74 countries, or 60 per cent of the world's population—are classified as poor. Only 32 countries with a total population of only 645 million—or 16 per cent of the world's total—are considered rich and have *per capita* incomes ranging from \$US 5,000 to \$US 15,000. For the peoples of the poorest 20 countries with about 6 per cent of the world's population, or 260 million people it is a question of bare survival, as they are subsisting on *per capita* incomes av-

<sup>3</sup> Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

eraging 5 per cent or less of those of the rich countries. Yet there is so much wealth in the world, wealth so heavily concentrated in a minority of rich countries, that grinding poverty and hunger need not stalk so many lands. Indeed, this is the irony—and tragedy—of our times.

76. During the year, the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization continued its work towards fulfillment of its mandate to list proposals for the improvement of the United Nations, identifying those which awaken special interest for later action by the General Assembly or other appropriate bodies. The potential usefulness of that Committee is high, and its value can be very great, depending upon the interest of the Members and their seriousness in implementing steps to improve our world Organization.

77. I now wish to invite your attention to our own corner of the world. For the last several years, the greatest single concern of my country and our partners in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] has been to encourage a balance among the Powers in the region, as well as among external Powers with interests in the area. There are two fundamental reasons behind this effort. First, we wished to avoid a situation in which rivalry among the Powers with ambitions for undue predominance in the region would involve our countries in such an ambition or embroil us in other people's wars. And, secondly, we wished to improve the climate within which our countries—generously described as the area with the greatest potential for development—could attain our ambitions of economic development and political and social cohesiveness.

78. I can say with pardonable pride for my own country and without undue presumption also for our ASEAN partners—Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand—that we have advanced far towards our goals. Equally important, our individual progress has benefited from the collective effort; the past year particularly has seen the growth of a tangible unity among us and an increasingly common stand in our relations with the rest of the world.

79. The context of our common efforts in the region has, unfortunately, taken a turn for the worse. We never did entertain any illusions that the onset of a balance of power in Asia, as well as in South-East Asia, would be tranquil or swift. It was bound to take time, because readjustments in relationships in the wake of the second Indo-Chinese war were likely to be a long and complex process. Indeed, the realignments have been more painful and more fateful than anyone expected.

80. The stark underlying fact of life in South-East Asia today, with dire implications for us and most assuredly the rest of the world, is the build-up of the rivalry among the great Powers, but particularly the Sino-Soviet rivalry. It has of late reintroduced tensions fully as dangerous in their consequences as any that have ever existed in the region. We simply seek to state a fact and trace its consequences, not to impute any motives. The Philippines is and will remain a friend to all parties involved. Neither do we say that the events that we speak of are wholly to be ascribed to this rivalry. The tracing of cause and effect is never a com-

plete process in human affairs, but that such a rivalry did play an important part in or behind these events seems to be an inescapable conclusion.

81. Two equally disturbing developments began this year. The first was the armed intervention in Kampuchea. Profoundly disturbed by this break-down of peace in South-East Asia, ASEAN immediately issued a joint statement in Bangkok<sup>4</sup> expressing its serious concern at the armed intervention in the internal affairs of another country and affirming the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine for themselves the form of government which they desired. This statement became the substance of a draft resolution introduced in the Security Council by friends in the non-aligned group of nations.<sup>5</sup> Though defeated by veto, the draft resolution was supported by all but two members of the Council. The statement was reaffirmed by the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN at their subsequent meeting in Bali.

82. The second development is the unceasing flow of refugees from the Indo-Chinese countries. By land and sea, men, women and children fled Indo-China in countless droves: many to their death, most to a life of uncertainty and deprivation, to a temporary though safe haven in makeshift camps in countries barely able to support them.

83. No event in recent memory has so stirred—as it still does—the conscience of the world as the plight of these refugees. Among them are the boat people. Believing in a better life elsewhere they risk life itself by setting out in unseaworthy boats for destinations they know hardly anything about. The estimates of the numbers of those who did not make it run into the hundreds of thousands and this must horrify all of us. Just as in the case of mass involuntary movements elsewhere in the world, how long can mankind live with such instances of man's inhumanity to man?

84. But the suffering of the refugees is only half of the story. There is the other side of the picture—the misery and the serious social, economic and political repercussions on the countries of first asylum, the majority of which belong to ASEAN.

85. This was why all the ASEAN countries responded speedily and gratefully to the Secretary-General's call for an international conference in Geneva earlier this year.<sup>6</sup> At that Meeting President Marcos of the Philippines offered to house 50,000 of those refugees who had already been accepted for resettlement. In addition to a similar offer also made by him and subject to similar conditions—namely, that they will be funded by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other interested parties, and that we shall not be saddled with residuals—the Philippines will be in a position to provide temporary shelter to a total of 60,000 Indo-Chinese refugees.

86. In the East we say that what affects my brother affects me equally, that indeed we are our brother's

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13025.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/13027.

<sup>6</sup> Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.

keeper. Although we cannot be more than a country of first asylum, although we cannot risk our development at the present stage by assuming the burden of refugees, President Marcos made these two offers in the ASEAN spirit of assisting another at a time of great need. We made the offers because we feel strongly that the spirit of humanitarianism should prevail, and because we wished specially to recognize the fact that the right of survival is the most basic of human rights.

87. We await the Secretary-General's report on the refugee question this session with particular anxiety because a second generation of problems may soon be upon us. The rampant country-wide famine in Kampuchea; the possibility of the revival of conflict in that country with the end of the monsoon season; the threat of another massive tide of refugees as a result of both war and famine—these are problems which we cannot dismiss lightly and whose consequences, unless we act in time, can be far more terrible than we dare to imagine.

88. I cannot close this statement without paying a tribute to the unceasing and unfaltering efforts of the Secretary-General to uphold the validity of the United Nations ideal in the face of growing odds, to increase its potency and improve its efficiency in solving the world's problems, and in bringing these efforts to bear on the flashpoints that threaten everywhere the flowering of what he calls "a global civilization and order unprecedentedly wide in its scope and diversity" [see A/34/1, sect. XIII].

89. In the name of my country we salute the Secretary-General for his report on the work of the Organization, a report which clearly demonstrates the breadth and scope of his insights into what ails the human community today and—despite the commanding heights from which he views the human condition—for his grasp of the problems on the ground, among them the multifarious concerns of running an Organization that now includes 152 nations, a host of special instruments and even armies in the field. I must commend the Secretary-General for his report, a report which must be read by all members of this Assembly if they are to be loyal to their trust, a masterful document which I feel deserves to be read by all the peoples of the world, so that every man, woman and child whose lives are affected by public events can share the spirit that animates our United Nations.

90. All of us are indebted to the Secretary-General for presenting an excellent summary of what should concern all of us. He has outlined specific problems of instability, poverty and economic weakness in various regions and we are gratified by the prominent place he gives to the New International Economic Order, UNCTAD, the North-South dialogue, the Indo-China situation, the refugees, the law of the sea and the energy problem and their impact on and relevance to the developing countries of the world. We applaud his unflinching concern for human rights. Above all we are impressed with his determination to make the United Nations a better and more effective instrument to achieve the collective goals of mankind and to arouse worldwide the proper attitudes and responses to it that are so essential to its continued usefulness to all of us, for we believe that the United Nations stands alone as an institution available to mankind to reconcile national

and global interests, and without such an institution, we are all in peril.

91. Because we are facing perilous times, the Secretary-General holds an office unique in the annals of mankind, for never has one office had the influence and the responsibility to mould human affairs on such a global scale and to convert the potential contained in the coming together of mankind into a force that solves rather than palliates human problems. The world wishes him well.

92. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on the occasion of your election to this most responsible position and to express the conviction that your activities will contribute to a fruitful session of the United Nations General Assembly.

93. In the Soviet Union, as elsewhere, we learned with great sadness the news of the demise of the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Agostinho Neto. Our memories of that great political leader of Africa, that tireless fighter for peace and friendship among peoples, will for ever remain in the hearts of the Soviet people.

94. The current session of the United Nations General Assembly is the last one to be held in the 1970s. This gives us certain grounds not only for considering the topical issues of today but also for summing up some of the political results of the decade which is about to close and for casting a glance at the past. For the problems of today, as indeed the future itself, are more clearly seen against the background of what the past has to tell us about what action was successful and what was not.

95. It is worth while to recall the circumstances which brought about the founding of the United Nations. The war was still raging and the sword of just retribution had not yet fallen on those who instigated it when the leaders of the major nations of the anti-Fascist coalition undertook a task which today still retains its vital importance: the setting up of a reliable barrier against another world tragedy. That task was indeed enshrined in the United Nations Charter as the main goal of this Organization. The effectiveness of the United Nations in maintaining international peace has been and remains the main yardstick in judging all its activities.

96. Has the United Nations lived up to its mandate? There can be no simple answer to that question. Yet it should be recognized that it has done a lot of good for consolidating peace and promoting international co-operation. It is also evident that the United Nations could have done more than it has.

97. We are all aware that the manner in which the States Members of the United Nations act in international affairs cannot be reduced to one common denominator. Here the amplitude between different policy trends is great: some have not yet abandoned their claims to dominate the rest and even to hegemony in the world arena; others, naturally, cannot and will not reconcile themselves to this.

98. Some countries make every effort to put an end to



the arms race and demonstrate a serious and responsible approach to this task; others, on the contrary, hurl ever more funds into that race and inflate their military budgets.

99. In short, the United Nations, as the broadest international organization, shows up in the boldest relief the characteristic features of the world with all its contradictions and collisions and, at the same time, the growing hopes of the peoples for a peaceful future.

100. The Soviet Union has never abandoned the belief in the possibility of building a solid edifice of peace. Our people and their Government take this as their basic premise and that there is weighty reason for this has been confirmed by the decade of the 1970s.

101. At the beginning of the current decade there was a new lease on life, so to speak, through a series of treaties which have brought international relations in Europe in line with the realities of its post-war development. The first Soviet-American agreements on the limitation of strategic arms and the basic principles of relations between the USSR and the United States of America were also concluded at that time.

102. Special mention should also be made of the historic Conference of the top leaders of 35 nations at Helsinki, which sealed in a document<sup>7</sup> the evolution of Europe towards stronger security and co-operation. In that period, long and serious negotiations at the second round of SALT resulted in the Soviet-American Treaty, whose entry into force, one can say, the whole world is looking forward to.

103. Indeed, all of us can say that the 1970s will hold an important place in history. These years have seen the positive trend in international affairs which was named "détente" becoming a broad process. Détente—and the Soviet Union stood at its cradle—expresses the aspirations of our entire nation and, we are sure, those of all peoples of the world.

104. The attitude towards détente is the best indicator of any country's political intentions. In recent years many a good word has been said about détente. But even very good words in favour of détente are not enough; they must be buttressed by deeds, by the policies of States.

105. There are still people in the world today who frown when they hear the word "détente"; their faces wrinkle like that of a hungry cat tasting a cucumber in a kitchen-garden.

106. Take, for instance, the questions of renouncing the spread of enmity and hatred among nations and the prohibition of war propaganda. This is, we may say, a minimum for any State adhering to the policy of détente and desirous of promoting a healthy political climate in the world.

107. As far back as 1947 the General Assembly adopted a resolution against the propaganda for another war [resolution 110 (II)]. Over 30 years have elapsed since then, but who would undertake to assert today

that such propaganda has been stopped? In many States it has not even been outlawed.

108. The Soviet Union did that long ago. The provision stating that "war propaganda is banned in the USSR" is a formal part of our Constitution, the fundamental law of our State.

109. On more than one occasion we have emphasized the urgency of this matter. Indeed, before the guns of the aggressors who unleashed the Second World War began to thunder, war propaganda had been in full swing for many years. Incessant calls had been made for the map of Europe and of the world to be carved up to suit the aggressors' designs. The Soviet Union mentions this fact because the forces that seek to condition people to think in terms of war and the arms build-up are still active.

110. It is becoming a tradition in some countries to play out scenarios of military conflicts. "Look," they say, "that is how things are going to develop." And estimates are made of the casualties and the number of cities to be swept away. Tens or even hundreds of millions of lives are written off in those callous calculations.

111. The ancient Greeks, and not they alone, left us wise myths whose beauty lies in glorifying what is human in man. It is not to the credit of our contemporaries that other myths are invented today which are designed to stupefy man with pessimism and to make him despair of the triumph of reason. They depict war as totally unavoidable.

112. There is no doubt as to the purposes for which these and other myths are invented and the policies which they are designed to serve.

113. What a huge number of films, books, articles and speeches of politicians and "quasi-politicians", all shot through with falsity and deception, are produced to make people believe the fictitious stories about the source of a threat to peace.

114. One example is the campaign launched with regard to Cuba, in the course of which all sorts of falsehoods are being piled up concerning the policies of Cuba and the Soviet Union. But the truth is that this propaganda is totally without foundation in reality, and is indeed based on falsehoods. The Soviet Union and Cuba have already stated as much. Our advice on this score is simple: the artificiality of this entire question must be honestly admitted and the matter closed.

115. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have never threatened anybody, nor are they doing so now. A society which is confident of its creative forces and abilities needs no war. It needs peace. These words have been inscribed on the banner of our foreign policy ever since the days of Lenin.

116. The policy of peace and friendship among peoples, the policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, has invariably been expressed in the decisions of the congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This policy course will be followed unswervingly in the future as well.

<sup>7</sup> Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

117. Naturally, the USSR and its Warsaw Treaty allies cannot fail to take into account the fact that some States are continuing their military preparations and stepping them up. In these circumstances the USSR and its allies are compelled to look after their security. At the same time our approach in this matter can be described as follows: "The defence potential of the Soviet Union", as L.I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "must be at a level that would deter anyone from attempting to disrupt our peaceful life. A course aimed not at achieving superiority in weapons, but at reducing armaments and easing military confrontation—such is our policy."

118. He who trusts this policy will never be deceived. The USSR and the socialist countries can always be relied upon in the struggle for peace, disarmament and détente and for the freedom and independence of peoples. Those countries have common ideals and are guided by common goals. Shoulder to shoulder, their peoples are working hard in the grandiose effort of construction.

119. Indeed the whole world knows how many proposals, and what kind of proposals, have been submitted by the socialist States to other countries, first of all in the United Nations, with the aim of deepening the process of easing tensions in the world, of broadening peaceful co-operation among States, and of strengthening international security.

120. The countries making up the socialist community co-ordinate their policies for the sake of universal peace, the security of their own peoples and the peoples of other countries. This was again confirmed with new vigour by the fruitful results of the latest series of meetings held by L.I. Brezhnev with top Party and State leaders of socialist countries which took place in the Crimea last summer.

121. I feel that our opinion will not differ from that of most participants in this session if I say that a comparison of the United Nations Charter provisions with what is going on in the sphere of military activities in some countries reveals a glaring contradiction. Although those States affixed their signatures to the United Nations Charter and its peaceful purposes and principles, they are nevertheless doing everything to see that stockpiled mountains of weapons grow.

122. In the meantime, the world has long since crossed the line beyond which the arms race has become sheer madness. We urge all States Members of the United Nations to counter this madness with common sense and the will to strengthen mutual trust. For its part, the USSR, together with other countries, will continue to work consistently to stop the arms race, to start dismantling the war machine part by part and to reduce the military arsenals of States down to general and complete disarmament.

123. Here at the United Nations and at various forums where the disarmament problem is under discussion, there is certainly no dearth of proposals that are well considered and based on the principle of equality and equal security. There are proposals relating both to weapons of mass destruction and to conventional weapons. We are still seized with the question of the reduction of military budgets.

124. There has been no small number of major initiatives directed towards a general improvement of the political climate in the world, including the proposal for a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. In our view, not a single State that sincerely strives for peace and good relations with other countries could possibly object to such a treaty.

125. There are also initiatives concerning various regions of the world. I should like to point, in particular, to the idea of the States bordering on the Indian Ocean that this ocean be turned into a zone of peace, an idea which is supported by the majority of the countries Members of the United Nations. The Soviet Union is certainly in favour of implementing this idea. It is actively working for an early resumption of the Soviet-American talks on the limitation and subsequent reduction of military activities in the Indian Ocean, talks which were interrupted through no fault of ours. An appropriate agreement on that subject would undoubtedly give this idea a more tangible shape, and this would have a favourable impact on the entire international situation.

126. Yet, on the whole, one has to note with concern that all or almost all proposals for ending the arms race and for disarmament as a rule encounter opposition on the part of a number of States. They frequently get bogged down in the quagmire of debate. And it takes tremendous efforts to bring them up to the stage of decision-making, though such decisions do not yet ensure real disarmament even in limited areas.

127. A considerable period of time has already elapsed since the question was raised about reaching an agreement on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles until they have been completely liquidated. In our days there is no more burning problem than that of removing the threat of nuclear war. Every reasonable person understands this. And it cannot be effectively solved without stopping the assembly line producing an incessant flow of weapons of monstrous destructive power—nuclear warheads, bombs and shells.

128. As we have repeatedly stated, the Soviet Union is prepared to discuss this fundamental problem together with other countries, and it is proposing that specific negotiations be initiated. All the nuclear Powers without exception are in duty bound to take part in them.

129. It is sometimes said that ending the production of nuclear weapons and their liquidation are too difficult a task. But can this be a reason for not starting the search for ways and means to resolve the problem? We are sure that reaching an appropriate agreement is not beyond the realm of possibility if States, and first of all the nuclear States, adopt a responsible approach.

130. The complex of questions relating to nuclear weapons includes the ensuring of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States and the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present.

131. The General Assembly has already adopted resolutions of principle on these matters. It is now necessary to embody them in binding international agreements.

132. In our view, further efforts should be made to strengthen the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The responsibility for this lies upon all States. We hope that the forthcoming Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will be crowned with positive results. This Conference will be held soon.
133. Negotiations on a number of essential aspects of disarmament are already in progress, and on some they have been going on for a long time. I should like to single out a couple of questions whose solution could, in our view, be found in the not-too-distant future.
134. Progress has been achieved in the negotiations between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. We would expect that no complicating elements will be introduced in the negotiations by our partners. But, unfortunately, these complications are being introduced even today.
135. In the course of Soviet-American consultations, basic elements of an agreement banning radiological weapons have been worked out. If work on the agreement is not impeded artificially, it can be speedily prepared for signature. This means that, following the ban on bacteriological weapons, one more type of weapon of mass destruction will be prohibited.
136. The file of constructive proposals on various aspects of the disarmament problem is impressive and proper use should be made of it. This offers broad opportunities for action by the United Nations, which, at its tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, adopted a programme which on the whole is a good one [*resolution S-10/2*]. A United Nations resolution should not merely remain on paper. For the time being, however, it is but a paper, though a well-written one.
137. The signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms is convincing proof that, given goodwill and readiness to take into account each other's legitimate interests, it is possible to achieve agreements on the most difficult questions. The Treaty builds a bridge to the further limitation and reduction of strategic weapons. It also contains great potential for exerting a positive influence on other negotiations on the limitations of the arms race and on disarmament.
138. It can be stated without exaggeration that a major step has been taken for the USSR, the United States of America and the entire world. It is quite understandable, therefore, that, one after another, the representatives of States speaking from this rostrum speak out in favour of that Treaty.
139. The strengthening of universal peace is inseparable from ensuring security in Europe. The situation on the European continent is not merely a part of the general picture of the world situation: today, as in the past, it has a profound impact on the course of international developments.
140. Since the historic moment when it raised the banner of a new social system, our country has been pursuing a consistent course towards creating conditions of reliable peace in Europe. Everything we have accomplished in the name of that goal is an open book, and we are proud of its every page.
141. Of course, we are far from underestimating the contributions made by other States. We give their due to the countries that took part in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was crowned by the adoption of the Final Act. That document provides guidelines for further efforts to deepen the process of détente in Europe.
142. Today the basis for the peaceful co-operation of States on the European continent is more solid than it was yesterday. Favourable changes have taken place in relations between socialist and capitalist countries in Europe.
143. Soviet-French co-operation is on the rise. There is a considerable degree of mutual understanding and agreement on major issues of European and world politics, and accordingly there is a possibility for the further development of fruitful co-operation.
144. The development of our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany has been following a positive trend. Both sides appreciate the mutual advantages of what has been achieved, recognizing that a good deal could yet be accomplished in the future. I should like to express the hope that there will be no move on the part of the Federal Republic of Germany that would reduce such possibilities for the future or that would run counter to the peaceful line in Europe and to the easing of international tensions.
145. We are interested in the consistent development of Soviet-British relations. We are hopeful that there is a desire for this in the United Kingdom, too.
146. We have good relations with Italy. The assets accumulated in these relations must be multiplied.
147. I should like to note the genuine and traditional good-neighbourly relations between the USSR and Finland. We appreciate all the good achievements that have been made in our relations with other Scandinavian countries.
148. A positive shift is taking place in our relations with Spain.
149. The development of our ties with the rest of Western Europe is also a source of satisfaction.
150. On the whole, both in the field of bilateral relations with States having a different social system and in other fields, the Soviet Union is following the course charted by the Helsinki Conference.
151. The roots that political détente has taken on European soil cannot, however, be viable unless practical measures are taken in the field of military détente. In this regard, great prospects have been opened up by the proposals contained in the Declaration of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization adopted last November,<sup>8</sup> and in the May communi-

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978*, document S/12939.

qué of the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of that Organization [A/34/275-S/13344].

152. First of all, I wish to refer to the initiative concerning the conclusion between the European States participants in the Helsinki Conference of a treaty on the non-first use of either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other, the intent of which is self-evident.

153. Unfortunately, our Western partners have not yet shown themselves ready to engage in talks on this problem. Nevertheless, we expect that a sober approach and a sense of responsibility will prompt them to react positively to our proposal.

154. The socialist countries are still waiting for a response to yet another important initiative of theirs—concerning the convening, at a political level and with the participation of all European countries as well as the United States and Canada, of a conference on strengthening confidence among States, easing military confrontation and the subsequent thinning out of armed forces and armaments in Europe, and their reduction. Each of those countries could make its own contribution to the work of that conference.

155. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, substantial work is needed on a bilateral as well as a multilateral basis to ensure the success of both the conference on military détente on the European continent and the Madrid meeting to be held next year of representatives of the States participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Far from competing with each other, those two forums are complementary.

156. As for the Madrid meeting, it should focus its attention on truly urgent issues of détente in Europe. No narrow selfish interests should be allowed to prevent this.

157. Now a few words about the Vienna talks, the subject of which, as will be recalled, is the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. This is not a problem of significance to Europe alone. Our country invariably adopts constructive positions at those talks and puts forward initiatives which also take into account the legitimate interests of the Western partners. Only strict observance of the principle of undiminished security of either party would bring the Vienna talks to the road leading to agreement, and the sooner that happens the better.

158. The review of problems relating to Europe would be incomplete if no reference were made to attempts undertaken from time to time by some countries to test the durability of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin.<sup>9</sup> This is contrary to the long-term interests which provided the basis for that agreement and which must serve as guidance for all States, particularly the parties to it.

159. The root-cause of the complexities and contradictions of the international situation at the present day lies to no small extent in the fact that the existing sources of tensions and conflicts between States do not disappear and that now and then new ones keep springing up.

160. There is more than one such source in Asia. It was only six months ago that aggression was committed against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Practically the whole world branded the aggressors as such. But have appropriate conclusions been drawn from that event by all those who should have drawn them?

161. This issue cannot be drowned in the artificially whipped up propaganda campaign concerning Indo-Chinese refugees, a campaign whose sharp edge is directed against Viet Nam. No, that edge should be turned in another direction, which is well known.

162. It is also no secret who imposed and nurtured the bloodthirsty murderous régime of Pol Pot. Today that régime in Kampuchea has been done away with and there will be no return to the past. The legitimate representatives of the Kampuchean people must be given the opportunity to take the seat belonging to Kampuchea in the United Nations.

163. The policy of some States that are intensifying their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is short-sighted—there is no other term for it. That country, which has chosen the road of progressive democratic transformation, comes out in favour of good relations with its neighbours and pursues an independent foreign policy, a policy of non-alignment. The Soviet Union, which has long-standing ties of friendship and good neighbourliness with Afghanistan, considers that this inadmissible interference must be stopped.

164. With respect to such Middle East States as Turkey and Iran, not only have we common borders but we also maintain relations of traditional co-operation with them. We take a positive attitude to the steps which those and other Asian countries take to protect and strengthen their sovereignty, and we are willing to develop relations with them.

165. We in the Soviet Union are satisfied with the friendly nature of relations between the USSR and India, that great Asian country with its consistently peaceful policy. The Soviet-Indian relationship is a major factor for stability and peace on the Asian continent.

166. We wish to maintain, naturally on the basis of reciprocity, normal good relations with all States, whether in south or south-east Asia or in the Far East. This applies to Japan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and other countries of those regions.

167. Like all peace-loving peoples, the Soviet people are gravely concerned over the state of affairs in the Middle East—one of the "hottest" spots on earth, where now there emanates a serious threat to peace.

168. The Middle East problem, if divested of what is immaterial, boils down to the following: either the consequences of the aggression against the Arab States and peoples are eliminated or the invaders will be rewarded by being allowed to appropriate lands that belong to others. A just settlement and the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East require that Israel should end its occupation of all the Arab lands it seized in 1967; that the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to establish their own

<sup>9</sup> Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

State, be safeguarded; and that the right of all States in the Middle East, including Israel, to independent existence under conditions of peace be effectively guaranteed.

169. The separate deal between Egypt and Israel resolves nothing. It is nothing but a means designed to lull the vigilance of peoples. It is a way of piling up on a still greater scale explosive material capable of producing a new conflagration in the Middle East. Moreover, added to the tense political atmosphere in this and the adjacent areas, is the heavy smell of oil.

170. It is high time that all States represented in the United Nations realized how vast is the tragedy of the Arab people of Palestine. What is the worth of declarations in defence of humanism and human rights—whether for refugees or not—if before the eyes of the entire world the inalienable rights of an entire people, driven from its land and deprived of a livelihood, are grossly trampled upon?

171. The Soviet policy with respect to the Middle East problem is one of principle. We are in favour of a comprehensive and just settlement, of the establishment of durable peace in the Middle East, a region not far from our borders. The Soviet Union sides firmly with Arab peoples, who resolutely reject deals at the expense of their legitimate interests.

172. By adopting in 1960 the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]*—one of the most significant acts of the United Nations—the world community acknowledged the indisputable fact that the hour of colonialism had struck. Since then an overwhelming majority of peoples have cast off the yoke of colonialism. But humanity's conscience continues to revolt against the fact that the shackles of colonialism and racism have not yet been completely broken. And it is above all of southern Africa that we should be talking here.*

173. For many years now the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia have been waging a selfless struggle for their freedom and independence. The Soviet Union is entirely on the side of their noble cause. We have raised and shall continue to raise our voice in their support, and we shall co-operate with those States, especially African States, which adhere to the positions of justice, of upholding the inalienable rights of those peoples. All kinds of combinations, no matter how superficially clever, which are aimed at preserving the domination of racists and colonialists with the help of hastily formed puppet régimes should be resolutely rejected.

174. Is it possible to achieve a political settlement in southern Africa? Yes, it is possible and there are ways leading to it. But so far the racists and their stooges have replied with bullets to proposals that a choice be made in favour of a just and peaceful solution.

175. The session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will be right if it clearly states its resolute support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa and condemns attempts to drown this struggle in blood as a crime against humanity. It is a direct duty of the United Nations to make those who ignore the decisions of the United Nations on southern Africa respect them.

176. The Soviet people are well aware of the contribution of the peoples of Latin America to the struggle for peace and national liberation. This contribution will be all the greater the more the stand of Latin American States in defending their independence is resolute and the less their policies are influenced from the outside. In this connexion, we note with satisfaction the growing authority of Latin America in international relations.

177. In its approach to all continents, to all countries of the world, the Soviet Union does not apply different yardsticks when it comes to the sovereignty of States, the freedom of peoples and genuine human rights. One cannot hold aloft the Charter of the United Nations in one situation and hide it under the table in another. The provisions and principles of the Charter must be applied equally to any State and any people.

178. The Soviet Union has repeatedly stressed, notably in the United Nations, the significance of the non-aligned movement and its peaceful orientation. We are confident that the non-aligned States will continue to make use of their entire political weight in the interests of peace, disarmament and détente. This confidence of ours is supported by the successful results of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which recently ended in Havana. This was an important forum and a major international event.

179. What is needed in the first place to resolve any important international problem of a political, economic or other nature is an atmosphere of peace. And whether peace will be more durable or less stable depends to an important extent on the state of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. That conclusion is objective and indisputable.

180. The leadership of the Soviet Union makes no secret of its desire to have normal and, what is more, friendly relations with the United States. This only requires the observance of principles which have become well-established in international relations; and they are recorded, in particular, in the well-known Soviet-American documents—that is, the principles of peaceful coexistence between States and of non-interference in the affairs of others. We shall not allow anybody to meddle in our internal affairs. Concern for Soviet-American relations is a matter for both sides. It is only on this basis that the relations between the USSR and the United States can develop successfully.

181. Our position was stated with exhaustive clarity and precision by L. I. Brezhnev in Vienna, in particular, in the course of his meeting with the President of the United States, Mr. Jimmy Carter. The meeting showed that, given the wish on both sides, the USSR and the United States are able to find mutually acceptable solutions and to co-operate in the interests of international détente and peace.

182. L. I. Brezhnev has stated:

“There is no country or people in the world, in fact, with which the Soviet Union would not like to have good relations; there is no topical international problem to the solution of which the Soviet Union would not be willing to contribute; there is no source of danger of war in the removal of which by peaceful means the Soviet Union would not be interested.”

183. In the succession of post-war developments, along with positive events there were also dangerous ones which gravely threatened the foundations of peace. A closer look at these developments would easily reveal that the evolution of the international situation largely depends upon the States which have the most powerful levers to influence it.

184. When those levers are activated to attain objectives contrary to, or even openly defying, the United Nations Charter, conflict situations and international crises arise. The instigators of such events usually seek to whitewash themselves and, in that, they do not hesitate to pin all kinds of labels on others. That is a procedure that is, unfortunately, sometimes followed.

185. One such tactic consists in juggling with the term "hegemonism", which in recent years has been increasingly used in international political practice. Although of recent origin, the term "hegemonism" denotes a phenomenon that is far from new. On the contrary, it has been known, so to speak, from time immemorial. It means striving for world domination, for domination over other countries and peoples.

186. The Soviet attitude towards hegemonism and domination is clear. Since its very first days, the Soviet State has resolutely objected to anyone's being a hegemonist with others submitting to his will, and to any States' holding a position of domination over others.

187. Twenty million human lives were sacrificed by our people to defeat Hitler's designs for world domination and to bury hegemonism in its Fascist attire. This figure alone is indicative of our score with hegemonism.

188. Hegemonism is a direct antipode to the equality of States and peoples, an antipode to the ideal which the October Revolution proclaimed for the whole world and which the United Nations, as prescribed by its Charter, should promote in every possible way in international relations. Its manifestation in our day constitutes a serious obstacle to the process of détente to which there is not and cannot be any reasonable alternative.

189. The time has come for all States Members of the United Nations to take an unambiguous position with regard to hegemonism—to condemn it and to block any claims to hegemony in world affairs. Its inadmissibility should be raised to the level of a principle that must be rigorously observed.

190. Guided by all this, the Soviet Union is proposing the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an important item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of

hegemonism in international relations" and is submitting an appropriate draft resolution to be considered at the session [A/34/243, annex].

191. The purport of this draft resolution is that no States or groups of States should claim, under any circumstances or for any motives whatsoever, hegemony in regard to other States or groups of States.

192. We are convinced that all those who approach the conduct of international affairs on the basis of equality and in the interests of détente and peace cannot oppose the adoption of such a draft resolution. It is to be hoped that the General Assembly will consider the draft with a high sense of responsibility.

193. Following the General Assembly, the United Nations Security Council, with the five nuclear Powers as its permanent members, could also express itself against hegemonism. It would be a good idea subsequently to couch the renunciation by States of a policy of hegemonism in all its manifestations in terms of a broad international agreement and to conclude such an agreement or treaty.

194. In conducting its policy, our country scrupulously complies with the principles of the United Nations Charter and invariably pursues its purposes. We never lose sight of the fundamental basis of the activities of the world Organization, that is, concentration of its efforts on ensuring that the peoples can live in conditions of peace. The Soviet Union has consistently come out in favour of strengthening the United Nations, of no one's being allowed to erode it.

195. The peoples will assess the results of the current session, like those of previous sessions, of the General Assembly primarily in terms of what it will have achieved to make people feel more secure. Hence, great responsibility rests with all States Members of the United Nations and with their representatives assembled in this hall.

196. Everything positive that we can achieve today will help us in the 1980s to consolidate and to develop the successes of the 1970s. That in turn will largely determine the thoughts and feelings, the memories of the past and the faith in the future that mankind will take with it into the next millennium.

197. We wish, and we shall do all in our power to ensure, that the work of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly may culminate in the adoption of resolutions that will be commended by the peoples of the world.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*