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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ROEL (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of Mexico I bring you the best wishes of its Constitutional President, José López Portillo, for the success of this session of the General Assembly.

2. The fact that Mr. Mojsov is President of this Assembly guarantees impartiality and efficiency, given his high personal qualities and his country of origin, Yugoslavia, with which we have great affinity in the struggle for a better, more just and equitable world.

3. In the name of Mexico, I also address my greetings to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, whose efforts to bring about world peace deserve our appreciation.

4. We also pay tribute to Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, the President of the thirty-first session and our efficient leader in the negotiations on the law of the sea.

5. We wish to express our most sincere congratulations to the delegations of Viet Nam and Djibouti on the occasion of the admission of their countries to membership of this world Organization. Permit me also to pay a special tribute to the brave Vietnamese people, whose struggle for freedom recalls the heroic feats of the Mexican people throughout their history.

6. Mexico has supported the United Nations since its foundation in June 1945—"the sovereign Powers' supranational summit for ordering our affairs"—and has supported its principles and purposes, *inter alia* the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among peoples, equal rights and the self-determination of peoples and international cooperation in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems, as well as the other noble goals defined in its original Charter.

7. Mexico has always been true to those purposes and principles. As President José López Portillo stated in his first report to the Congress on 1 September 1977:

"The world problems in which we are involved are not just evidence of a transitory and generalized disturbance, but a profound shaking of the present-day structure to its very roots, one that presages great changes in the economy, in culture, in relations among nations, and even among society, Man and Nature."

8. In the 32 years since its foundation, the United Nations has had its successes and setbacks, it has suffered crises and known fear. It would have been difficult, in the short span of its existence, to alter vested interests and change the psychology of human beings. In the perspective of history, 32 years is but an instant, during which great progress has been achieved by our international community, though much still remains to be done.

9. Nevertheless, the real problems of man are very often misconstrued and their place is taken by artificial problems. Sometimes some controversies are overemphasized to distract attention from more serious conflicts or else a "smoke-screen" of procedural and unimportant aspects of a question is created to dilute the essential objective of the developing countries, whose only aim should be, on the one hand, their economic, social, political and technological liberation, and, on the other, their physical, geopolitical and even mental decolonization. Therefore it is necessary to evaluate the progress made within the United Nations, suggest possible future options and draw up new formulas to update our world Organization.

10. Consequently we need: first, to review the United Nations machinery and its functions; secondly, to update the United Nations, that is, deepen its democratic character, a goal sought by the proposal sponsored by Mexico and other countries;¹ thirdly, to use the limited time at our disposal to discuss fundamental questions; and fourthly, to eliminate questions that evade the true problems of the peoples of the world. To achieve these ends, we need positive and concrete evidence of political will on the part of States, a will to take the utmost advantage of the resources at our disposal, not wasting energy or duplicating forums.

11. From the days of its first revolution in 1810 to its social revolution of 1910, which culminated in the Political Constitution of 1917, Mexico has maintained important ideals, among which are independence, the sovereignty of peoples, respect for the rights of others, decolonization and

¹ See document A/AC.182/L.12/Rev.1.

the optimum and sovereign use of natural resources, as well as a more equitable distribution of wealth.

12. In short, Mexico has stood for peace with liberty, an equitable world economy and universal social justice. We are aware of the fact that such ideals are difficult to attain; but we have patience.

13. In its international relations, Mexico's position is firm: we have indeed unwaveringly supported the same tried and true principles throughout our history, and we have always endeavoured to make them consistent with our domestic policy.

14. I now turn to Mexico's current domestic policy. The present public administration, which took office on 1 December 1976, has instituted a series of substantial reforms of the Mexican governmental system.

15. In essence, these reforms are based on the following factors: first, an important administrative reform, involving a reorganization of the Government, which will in turn organize the country; secondly, a political reform, aimed at streamlining our tried and stable democratic system, the result of the first social revolution of this century; thirdly, a fiscal, financial and monetary reform, which has quickly restored general confidence by reducing the public debt, stimulating national savings, fighting the sickness of our times—inflation-recession—and improving the tax system and promoting exports; fourthly, the organization, to spur production and productivity, of an "Alliance for Production", wherein employees and management, with the collaboration of the State, enter into agreements—the former to exercise self-restraint in the matter of wage increases, and the latter to endeavour to reduce prices and costs, thus forestalling the inflationary spiral; and fifthly, the stimulation of the oil and petrochemical industries, which will ensure Mexico's healthy short-term and long-term development.

16. In this respect, it is well known that Mexico's proven oil reserves are such that it ranks thirteenth among the 68 oil-producing countries of the world, and if probable reserves are taken into account, it will eventually rank tenth. In May 1977, we produced 1 million barrels a day and we exported one sixth of our production. The reserves-to-production ratio is 27 years, higher than the international rate, aside from any of the expected new discoveries. In other words, Mexico will become a relatively important oil producer in the world. At the end of this year, Mexico will be exporting 290,000 barrels per day, after internal consumption has been adequately covered. By 1982, it will be producing large quantities of gas from newly discovered oil fields. In short, Petroleos Mexicanos contributes to the "Alliance for Production" and materially assists the economic liberation of Mexico.

17. The Sixth factor is that Mexico has also other important sources of energy, and their rational exploitation is currently being studied.

18. The Seventh factor is the launching of a reform of the agricultural sector through a co-ordination of effort, a reduction of costs to restore the small owner's confidence and the introduction of guaranteed prices for basic agricultural products.

19. The Eighth factor is that, through such measures, the production of staple foods for the people of Mexico has been stimulated, and international support has been sought for the establishment of a common fund within the framework of the Integrated Programme for Commodities. With the support of certain Latin American and African countries, an agreement has been reached for the establishment of a fund for the stabilization of coffee.

20. One of the problems that Mexico shares with other countries in the world is the population explosion, with all its inherent complications. With this in mind, the new administration has established a Ministry for Human Settlements, an Urban Development Commission, the National System for the Full Development of the Family, and the National Co-ordinating Agency for Family Planning.

21. We seek, in particular, to reduce the population explosion through persuasion, heavily backed by a national education plan designed for the modern world. Old taboos are fought by the use of new methods and our problems, which are the same as in other parts of the world, can be solved since we have the material and human resources to draw on.

22. Science and technology hold pride of place in my country's aspirations, and during the analysis of the problems of raw materials, development and financing, at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, known as the North-South dialogue, we insisted on asking for the support of the rich countries in the form of adequate, not obsolete, technology. In my country, this matter is entrusted to an important government agency which keeps in close touch with the universities and technical institutes of Mexico and the world, as well as with the United Nations programmes.

23. Mexico attaches great importance to the physical and mental health of the Mexican people, in conjunction with social security. In this respect, large-scale programmes are in force, which are closely linked to those of the United Nations.

24. Thus, I have outlined the way in which the Mexican Government and the new generations in my country are preparing for the advent of the twenty-first century, which is just over the horizon.

25. A brief description of the essential aims of the domestic policy of the Government of President José López Portillo, is as follows: first, more and better economic confidence, inside and outside the country; secondly, more and better education; thirdly, more and better production and productivity; fourthly, more and better health; fifthly, more and better family planning; sixthly, more and better fiscal, monetary and financial management; seventhly, a larger and better democratic and social system; eighthly, more and better public administration; ninthly, more and better individual and social justice; and tenthly, more and better international relations.

26. On the international scene, Mexico has always endorsed certain basic principles which are the result of its history: non-intervention of one State in the domestic affairs of another; the self-determination of peoples; the

peaceful settlement of disputes, with its complement, the abstention from the threat or use of force; and the sovereign equality of States.

27. We support the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and important documents which define the scope of those principles, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; and the approved guidelines for the establishment of the new international economic order, whose implementation cannot be postponed.

28. We also observe the treaties and conventions of an international character, which are an integral part of the Magna Carta of Mexico, as provided for in its article 133.

29. Furthermore, President José López Portillo has stated that his Government will abide by the golden rule of international relations: "Treat others as you would wish to be treated", which is, in other words, the great phrase of Juárez: "Among individuals as among nations alike, the respect for the rights of others means peace".

30. To summarize, the general framework of Mexico's international policy is as follows: respect for the rights of others and observance of its own historical principles, which in essence coincide with those of the United Nations Charter and other important related documents; and friendship and reciprocity—on an equal basis—with all peoples of earth.

31. During the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly,² which concluded its work a few days ago, we noted how the points addressed at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation reverted to their natural forum: the United Nations. We hope that, as a result of this experience, we shall no longer in future have meetings convened for particular reasons or special points of interest, which only serve to distract attention and consume the energy required for more urgent purposes.

32. At the last ministerial meeting of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris, I had the honour of stating on Mexico's behalf:

"If the Conference had succeeded in helping to provide a more just system of remuneration for the basic products exported by the developing countries, it would have contributed to solving one of the major defects of the present international structure; if it had established solid bases for undertaking a true reform of the international monetary system and of development financing, it would have helped to eliminate a serious cause of tension; if it had effectively facilitated the transfer of technology and access to markets for the industrial products of the developing countries, it would have brought about urgently needed changes in the productive structures of those countries; and, lastly, if it had considered national

sovereignty as the basic condition for any viable system of international co-operation it would have speeded up one of the tasks that has consumed more time and effort during this century than any other."

33. I went on to say—that under those circumstances we should now undertake to make new efforts, using all the means at our disposal, through international organizations and bilaterally, to implement the socio-economic order that the world requires today. This is a task in which the United Nations has an important role to play, through the activities of its relevant bodies.

34. Once again I repeat that our fundamental duty is to keep alive the spirit of co-operation, despite the not-very-encouraging results of the Paris Conference.

35. The highest priority of the international community must be given to the task of finding ways and means of implementing the new international economic order, the basic concepts of which were defined by the United Nations. Putting this new economic order into operation will settle many social and political problems through a better and wiser distribution of the world's wealth. Moreover, it will lead to the establishment of universal social justice.

36. The Declaration adopted yesterday at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Group of 77 [see A/32/244] represents the objective view of the Group as a whole that the most significant part of the new world order needs still to be established.

37. Since the adoption by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the protection of these rights has become the responsibility of the international community. That Declaration defined the dignity and worth of the human person as the loftiest aspiration for the advent of a world delivered from fear and poverty, from tyranny and oppression, where the fundamental freedoms are guaranteed.

38. Since the time of Hidalgo and Morelos, the heroes of our independence, Mexico has fought for those noble principles, which cannot be understood except within the context of social rights. Those rights have achieved a new and permanent effect.

39. Mexico firmly supports without reservation the adoption of adequate measures to strengthen the protection of human rights and will insist that they be, first, implemented in strict compliance with the conventions in force on the subject or with the appropriate decisions adopted by the United Nations, and secondly, applied, without discrimination of any kind, to all human beings, even to those who for socio-economic reasons are temporarily compelled to abandon their countries of origin.

40. I now wish to speak about science and technology, the transfer of technology and the effective transfer of resources to the developing countries.

41. Within the framework of scientific and technological co-operation, I should like to stress the importance of the preparation for the United Nations Conference on Science

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

and Technology for Development for whose headquarters Mexico has offered its capital. This Conference will provide an excellent opportunity for examining the activities aimed at directing and promoting science and technology so that they become an instrument for the collective development of all countries and for the solution of the problems of employment, food, and income distribution, and for the increase of the productive capacity and of the exports of the developing countries.

42. Science and technology must, in our view, be an instrument in the service of mankind and not the tool of selected elements, which would, paradoxically, reduce the capacity for development of the majority of the population of the world, while enhancing the growth and potential of a privileged minority. Science and technology must be dedicated to Eros, not to Thanatos, which would mean the destruction of unimaginably vast areas which would affect both man and the environment as in the case of the so-called neutron bomb, the last in the chain of diabolical destructive weapons.

43. The United Nations system must bring to bear its full support so that developing countries may take advantage as far as possible of every opportunity for reinforcing and increasing their own real economic capacity.

44. Mexico, as the Depositary Government of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco, appreciates the full value of the gesture made by James E. Carter, President of the United States of America, when on 26 May of this year he personally signed Additional Protocol I of that instrument, whereby the countries of our region brought about the establishment of the first nuclear-free zone encompassing heavily populated areas. We feel that as a matter of priority Latin America should bring this instrument into full force as soon as possible.

45. In accordance with the decision adopted last year, the General Assembly will meet in the spring of 1978 for a special session on disarmament. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, the international community will have the opportunity of making a thorough and exhaustive review of the question—as its importance requires and indeed demands—including the reasons for the unfruitfulness of the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which meets in Geneva.

46. World military expenditure, estimated at more than \$350 billion annually, has reached levels never before attained in peacetime. The waste of resources that this represents, added to the ever greater diversion to military purposes of the work of so many technicians and experts whose efforts are essential to development, is the best justification for taking immediate and concerted action. Furthermore, the cumulative destructive power of the nuclear arsenals is such that their mere existence constitutes a danger of universal suicide.

47. While acknowledging the special responsibility of the military Powers for taking disarmament measures, we nevertheless wish to express once again our concern at the fact that such important negotiations as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [*SALT*] should take place outside the

United Nations. This does not prevent us from taking note with interest of the declaration made by the United States of America and the Soviet Union in Washington on 24 September 1977, whereby both countries reaffirmed their determination to extend the obligations of the 1972 *SALT* agreements. Even though we have always considered those agreements of a very limited nature, we hope that such evidence of accord will augur well for the forthcoming adoption of effective disarmament measures.

48. One of the permanent elements of Mexico's foreign policy has been to endeavour by all means at its disposal to halt the arms race, to eliminate nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction and to strive to see to it that real measures are taken to bring us closer to the final objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

49. Moreover, in conjunction with Sweden and Yugoslavia, we have initiated action aimed at the early adoption of conventions limiting or prohibiting certain conventional weapons having cruel and indiscriminate effects.

50. Mexico, as President José López Portillo has reiterated, has a history of struggle against colonialism and its vestiges. It will endeavour to see to it that the decisions adopted this year on the subject of physical colonialism, geopolitical colonialism and mental colonialism fully safeguard the responsibility of the United Nations and comprise prompt action for the elimination of colonialism, including the application of enforcement action, as mentioned in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Apart from the struggle against physical or geopolitical colonialism, Mexico is also aware of the need to fight against mental colonialism.

51. I turn now to the question of the law of the sea. Mexico has actively participated in the sixth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, determined to help to make its work as great a success as possible. We note with appreciation that, in contrast to what happened at the fifth session, it was possible at this session to advance the work of finding solutions of the problems that still stand in the way of our reaching the objective that we have set for ourselves, namely, the adoption of a maritime code. We particularly welcome the fact that the text of article 55 of the informal single negotiating text³ now defines the legal status of the exclusive economic zone as a zone subject to specific international law and not included in the definition of the high seas or of territorial waters. Likewise, the rights of coastal States within that zone have been more clearly defined. Substantial progress was also achieved in the area of scientific research, and partial progress in that area pertaining to the pacific settlement of disputes. Finally, we consider that some advance was made in the search for solutions of one of the main problems confronting the Conference concerning the resources that are the common heritage of mankind, namely, how to exploit the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

³ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

52. We trust that at the seventh session, which is due to take place next spring, all States will continue to strive to reach an agreement on matters that are still outstanding. We must bear in mind that, unless we adopt a code of the sea, the oceans will fall prey to anarchy.

53. The early conclusion of agreements on the law of the sea, the transnational companies, the transfer of technology, a new strategy for development that will contribute to the full implementation of the new international economic order, machinery that will ensure the faithful protection of human rights are all matters to which we must devote our efforts.

54. Following a proposal of Costa Rica and Mexico, several countries met recently at San José in Costa Rica to rationalize and to regulate the fishing of the yellow-fin tuna. Good results are expected to come from the Mexican and Costa Rican proposals.

55. Mexico is located in the northern portion of the American continent and, in equal sovereignty and dignity, it has increased its relations with the United States, with which it has established a *modus operandi* for handling common problems, in view of the fact that we share a border of 3,000 kilometres. We are also entering a new era of diplomacy with Canada. After all, Canada lies north of the colossus and we to the south of it.

56. In essence, our problems relating to the United States are, though different, of a common nature. In the first place, the United States has not had a consistent policy of mutual understanding and agreement with Latin America. On the other hand, neither has Latin America had a permanent and mature policy with respect to the United States.

57. But worst of all, Latin America has not had a continuous and understanding policy with respect to Latin America itself. These are theses advanced by the President of Mexico, José López Portillo. In all cases, but particularly in the case of Latin America's policy regarding Latin America, we must unify our positions. While ideologies or political systems may still divide us, we must seek, whenever possible, our own similarities and not our differences. Our weakness has been our disunity.

58. Efforts, however, are being made in connexion with United States policies with regard to Latin America which seem to be improving. This is evidenced vis-à-vis Mexico by the signing of Additional Protocols I and II to the Treaty of Tlatelolco and by Mexico's recovery of the Ojinaga salient and vis-à-vis the rest of Latin America by the signing of the two treaties of Panama and the Additional Protocol.

59. In the last-mentioned case, that of Panama, Mexico has maintained that the Republic of Panama had to recover unconditionally full sovereignty over its own territory.

60. With regard to Latin America itself, the first attempt at holding a high-level meeting was made in Bogotá on 6 August 1977, with the participation of the Presidents or Heads of Government of various Latin American countries: Mexico in North America; Costa Rica and Panama in Central America; Jamaica in the Caribbean; and Colombia

and Venezuela in South America. It was an experience worth repeating, particularly in order to reinforce the bonds of brotherhood with Latin America, with which we have cultural and historical links.

61. Among the subjects discussed at the Bogotá meeting, which I have just mentioned, I should like to stress the consensus that emerged on the need to find a just and prompt solution of the problem of Belize, on the basis of the principles that were reaffirmed at the Conference, in particular, that of the right to self-determination. I take this opportunity of expressing once again our firm hope that, until such time as a solution is found, neither of the parties directly involved in the conflict will attempt to resolve it unilaterally, thus endangering peace in the region.

62. After a suspension of 40 years, diplomatic relations have now been resumed with territorial Spain. Relations with the Spanish Republic in exile, from which we inherited many democratic and cultural teachings, had previously been terminated. Thus, two peoples bound by ties of affection have been reunited, diplomatically and fraternally.

63. Peace is one and indivisible. This Organization has received the historical trust of defending it and preserving it, which means that it must seek, through negotiation and conciliation, acceptable formulas based on mutual respect.

64. There is no doubt that the Middle East situation is one of the main threats to international peace, and this fact places the Assembly under the obligation of giving the matter the required priority and of taking effective steps to find a way that will lead to a just settlement of the problem. Mexico endorses an early convening of the Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation not only of all the parties directly concerned and of the super-Powers but also of a limited and representative number of other States whose participation could help in the achievement of a viable solution of the problem. We confirm our support of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) as the soundest base on which to seek a just solution of the problem.

65. One of the areas where the United Nations has achieved its greatest success is the decolonization of the modern world. Yet we are now confronted with an impasse with regard to possible action by the Organization to solve the three fundamental problems in that area, namely, the refusal by the minority Government of Zimbabwe—Rhodesia—to transfer power to the majority; the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the need to find ways and means for the United Nations Council for Namibia to fulfil its mandate; and the policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government. Mexico demands that a prompt settlement of these urgent problems be encouraged.

66. Despite the efforts that have been made within the framework of the Organization, there still remains much to be done before women are fully integrated into the development process as equal partners with men.

67. In each of our countries, efforts are being made to attain that end. In Mexico, we have eliminated all traces of discrimination from our laws—that is to say that there is no

legal difference between the opportunities afforded to men and those afforded to women in Mexican society.

68. We must now eradicate discrimination from our daily attitudes, from our way of thinking, and allow women the same rights as men, giving them equal treatment not only in our laws but also in social and economic reality.

69. The United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace is the culmination of a process, the basis of which was laid during the World Conference of the International Women's Year, which took place in Mexico City in 1975.

70. Mexico is bound by friendship to all the peoples of the earth. We strive to increase that friendship. Our relations with countries of diverse ideologies and different levels of development could not be better. We are part of the developing world, whose ideals we share.

71. The United Nations represents a positive effort at a rational solution of world problems. The means offered cover the economic, political and social fields.

72. Nations and individuals alike often repeat the same patterns of conduct even though such patterns may be self-destructive or tend to destroy others. This may be due to a lack of knowledge or understanding of the deep causes that motivate such conduct and the struggles between the impulses that govern behaviour. This accounts for the marked contrast between the rational, conscious, and apparent objectives and the incontrovertible reality of events.

73. We express the hope that in this forum mankind will be able to blend the sum of knowledge derived from a multidisciplinary effort and, under the aegis of humanitarianism, use the wisdom thus gained to ensure full survival of the human species on this earth.

74. Mr. MINIĆ (Yugoslavia):⁴ Comrade President, it is with particular satisfaction that I wish to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. This election has been hailed in Yugoslavia for reasons that it would be superfluous to explain. The election to the presidency of the General Assembly of a representative of socialist and non-aligned Yugoslavia, at a significant moment in the development of international relations, is a mark of appreciation that we highly esteem. However, it is also an obligation to exert a maximum effort to contribute to the realization of the purposes and decisions of the United Nations.

75. At the same time, I avail myself of this opportunity to pay full credit to the representative of friendly and non-aligned Sri Lanka, Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe who, by his rich experience and fruitful activity, greatly contributed to the successful work of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

76. May I welcome and stress the extraordinary importance of the admission to membership in the United Nations of the friendly Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose people, by its heroic struggle and enormous sacrifices, has won the admiration of the whole world, and its own freedom and independence, and has proved its readiness to participate on equal terms, and to make its valuable contribution, in the solving of major problems of the present-day world. We are also pleased to welcome the admission of the Republic of Djibouti, whose independence means a contribution to the liquidation of colonialism and the stabilization of relations in Africa.

77. The international community is faced with new challenges that we must look straight in the eye if we are to stimulate positive developments and arrest the dangerous slide toward new conflicts.

78. It is a fact that equitable bilateral, and in some areas also multilateral, co-operation among States has been expanding in many spheres of international life. Accelerated national and social emancipation, the diversity of approaches to the democratic transformation of relations in the world and the spreading of the struggle for universal application of the principles of active and peaceful co-existence have had the effect of uniting ever more the forces fighting for the democratization of international relations and of constantly shifting the relation of forces in the world in favour of peace and progress. The peoples of the world are resisting ever more energetically all forms of dependence, aggression, interference in internal affairs, domination and exploitation. The affirmation of one's own approach to social development and of the authentic values of social and national communities are becoming increasingly one of the essential characteristics of our epoch.

79. All this has also been reflected during the recent visits of President Tito to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China. These visits have undoubtedly contributed considerably to the promotion of relations and the strengthening of co-operation and friendship between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the three aforementioned friendly countries, on the basis of respect for the well-known principles of independence, sovereignty, equal rights, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and independent choice of ways of internal social, economic and political development. One of the very important results of the visits has been yet another strong affirmation of these principles, which form the basis of active and peaceful co-existence. Strict respect for these principles by all the States Members of the United Nations is the most important element of the foundation of peace and security in the world and of the promotion of peaceful, all-round and equitable co-operation among countries and peoples whether with different or with the same or similar socio-economic and political systems. These principles constitute the foundation of the policy of non-alignment that Yugoslavia, which is successfully building its system of social self-management, has been pursuing consistently for many years.

80. The positive trends I have referred to are, however, uneven, and are meeting with growing resistance and, ever

⁴ Mr. Minić spoke in Serbo-Croatian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

more frequently, with the exertion of brutal pressure and the open use of force by the forces of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and foreign domination in general. Major international political and economic questions are not being solved at a rate and in a manner called for by their acute character; or recourse is made to partial solutions, often outside the United Nations, and regardless of the interests and without the participation of the parties directly concerned. What causes particular concern is the absence of substantive results in solving world economic problems, which results in a constant deterioration of the economic development of developing countries, especially of the least developed ones among them, and still further complicates international economic relations as a whole.

81. The evident stagnation in the development of détente, and the ever more manifest tendencies to limit its scope, pose the question as to whether the world is on the threshold of the revival of certain aspects of cold-war policy. This question is raised by the intensified efforts to deepen the bloc division of the world, to step up the struggle for the extension of spheres of interest, particularly in the areas of non-aligned and other developing countries, and to intensify the arms race.

82. The question arises whether this development has not reached the dangerous limit that should not be overstepped, as this could irreparably threaten peace and security in the world. And is it not high time to exert our utmost efforts so that we can begin to overcome negative tendencies and resistance to the process of relaxation of tensions, as well as to thwart attempts at making use of détente for achieving narrow objectives? We rejoice at every sign which shows that even the most powerful great Powers, whose policies essentially affect the development of the process of détente, are beginning to realize, like the other States Members of the United Nations, where this negative trend in the development of the process of relaxation of international tensions is leading. It remains to be seen whether they are prepared to make the necessary effort, in the same manner as all the other countries, to act decisively in opening prospects for a positive development of détente, which also means a positive development of international relations as a whole. On this occasion also, we wish to express our profound belief that the process of easing international tensions cannot prove to be a lasting one, even in its present limited form, without the participation of all countries in solving crucial international issues and the extension of détente to all geographical regions and to all spheres of international relations.

83. I wish to draw attention, at this session of the General Assembly also, to the exceptionally important decisions of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held in Colombo last year.⁵ The present international situation has confirmed the correctness of the clear and resolute stands adopted by that Conference and the significance of the all-round active involvement of the non-aligned movement as an independent and ever more influential world factor in solving key international problems. The constant efforts exerted by the non-aligned countries since the Fifth Conference in Colombo to implement its decisions gradually, particularly by promoting mutual co-operation and launching initiatives

for strengthening broader international co-operation and solidarity, have produced palpable results and constitute a contribution to a positive development of international relations.

84. The non-aligned countries are encountering major problems and obstacles along this road. The problems with which non-aligned countries are faced today are, to a great extent, a legacy of colonial times or a consequence of profound national and social transformations, and are the concern of the broader international community. Differences of views and interests which periodically assume the character of conflicts between some non-aligned countries—which are currently most pronounced in Africa—are not a characteristic feature of the movement as a whole. The non-aligned countries have always surmounted differences and conflicts successfully when their common interests and their activities aimed at solving crucial international issues were involved. We are convinced that the current disputes between some non-aligned countries can be solved peacefully, in accordance with the principles of non-alignment, the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. Any attempt by other countries to make use of these disputes or to exacerbate them not only renders their solution more difficult but also creates crises of wider proportions. For that reason my country has consistently advocated the peaceful solution of the disputes which have arisen, or may arise in the future, and is most resolutely opposed to any outside interference by any other State.

85. We resolutely insist on the need to strengthen the solidarity and unity of non-aligned countries. We also believe that the strengthening of the solidarity of all developing countries belonging to the Group of 77 is of vital importance to all developing countries and also of decisive significance for the establishment of the new international economic order.

86. The unity and the influential role of non-aligned countries in international developments is an essential element of stability in the world and one of the most important factors for eliminating the threat of war and strengthening world peace and security. This should be remembered by all those who hope to undermine and disrupt the unity of non-aligned countries, and are actively engaged in efforts to achieve that end.

87. The struggle of non-aligned countries is today the most important factor for overcoming the division of the world into antagonistic military-political blocs, opposing the policy of division of the world into spheres of interest and influence, and strengthening the process of relaxation of international tensions as well as the transformation of this process into universal active and peaceful coexistence.

88. In this respect we are convinced that the importance and the role of the non-aligned movement will constantly grow in the forthcoming period and that its contribution to solving international problems will be ever greater. All influential international entities should realize that their co-operation and dialogue with the non-aligned is the only acceptable relationship with this great international movement, whose historical significance is increasingly recognized in the world.

⁵ See document A/31/197.

89. My country actively is participating in the efforts of the non-aligned countries to implement a number of important tasks arising out of the decisions and the action programme adopted by the Fifth Conference, and in the preparations for the ministerial conference of the non-aligned countries which will be held in Belgrade in 1978. As host to that Conference, Yugoslavia will make a maximum effort to contribute to the success of that important gathering in the spirit of continuity of the policy of non-alignment and in the interests of peace and security in the world and of the struggle to build new and more equitable international political relations and to establish the new international economic order.

90. In this context, the United Nations has already played an important role. It has achieved tangible results in identifying international issues and in determining priorities, principles and ways for solving these problems. However, the greatest weakness of the United Nations resides in the fact that it has not succeeded in ensuring respect for and implementation of its decisions by all the States Members of the world Organization. It is indispensable to start an open dialogue about this problem here within the framework of the United Nations and to arrive at adequate decisions.

91. The agenda of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly contains a large number of items. The number of outstanding international problems is constantly growing, but unfortunately very few questions have been solved successfully and removed from the agenda of the United Nations. I take great pleasure in reminding the Assembly that Yugoslavia, in conjunction with Italy and as a result of the Osimo agreements,⁶ has removed two questions from the agenda of the Security Council. This may serve as an example of how it is possible, with mutual efforts and goodwill, to solve a very complex question which had burdened relations between two neighbouring countries and had threatened stability, security and peace in Europe and, more broadly, in the world.

92. Acute focal-points of crisis in several regions of the globe are at the centre of attention during the current session of the General Assembly.

93. The situation in the Middle East is further complicated by the ever more aggressive policy of Israel. The most recent measures aimed at extending the scope of Israeli legislation to the territory of the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip and the establishment of new Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories are part of a continued action by Israel aimed at annexing occupied territories and this poses a direct threat to peace and security in the region and beyond. Besides, Israel continues to deny the national rights of the Palestinian people, whose generally recognized legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization, in spite of the ever more widely accepted fact that the key to the solution of the Middle East crisis lies precisely in the realization of these legitimate rights, including the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own independent State.

94. By its most recent acts of colonization Israel endeavours to perpetuate the occupation of the territories of Arab countries, thereby violating the generally endorsed principles embodied in the United Nations resolutions on withdrawal from territories occupied in 1967. The United Nations should do everything to have Israel comply with its decisions; this means Israel's withdrawal from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories it occupied in 1967 and the realization of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. This alone can render possible a peaceful, lasting and just solution and guarantee the independence and security of all countries and peoples of the region, including those of Israel. For any such initiative, including the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, to be successful, it is essential that the Palestine Liberation Organization participate, without any conditions, as an equal partner of all the other participants at that Conference. All attempts designed to prevent the full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the Geneva Conference are fraught with danger. This illusion should be finally discarded by all those responsible for speedily finding a peaceful solution to the crisis in the Middle East.

95. From various quarters demands are being addressed to the Palestinians to recognize Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Yugoslavia voted in favour of those resolutions and gave them its support, because it felt that they embodied some essential elements for the solution of the crisis in the Middle East, the withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories occupied in 1967 being the most important among them. However, I believe that the vast majority of countries represented in this hall will agree that those two resolutions are not sufficient, since the national entity of the Palestinian people and its right to establish an independent State are not recognized by them. Therefore we believe that the Security Council should adopt a new resolution embodying these two key elements. Then the Council would have defined all the elements relevant to a lasting solution of the Middle East crisis and the appropriate action to be taken by it.

96. All those now involved in the search for a comprehensive solution of the Middle East crisis should take this into consideration and act accordingly if they really wish to speed up progress towards a peaceful and just solution of that crisis.

97. The Cyprus crisis is in the same geographical region. We are very concerned over the absence of any progress in solving the crisis in Cyprus, where ever more frequent attempts are being made to legalize the division by force of the sovereign State of Cyprus. Yugoslavia continues to believe that negotiations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities provide the only way conducive to a lasting solution—negotiations founded on full national equality and based on the generally adopted principles contained in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which require the preservation of the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. Our session should give a new impulse towards an accelerated search for a solution of this acute problem under the auspices of the United Nations.

⁶ Treaty on the Solution of Border Questions and related agreements, signed at Osimo (Ancona) on 10 November 1975.

98. For many years we have been absorbed in the problem of *apartheid* and racism in southern Africa, which directly threatens the independence of neighbouring countries and constitutes an acute international issue affecting peace and security in general. South Africa is engaged in permanent aggression against the Namibian people. Condemning such a practice, the United Nations should take resolute action to implement the decision on the accession of Namibia to independence in 1978 under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] in its capacity as the only legitimate representative of the people of Namibia.

99. The situation is also very disturbing owing to the unsolved problem of Southern Rhodesia. Ian Smith's racist régime continues to defy the demand of the international community that it hand over power to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe. It is intensifying its war effort in Southern Rhodesia and simultaneously, with the continuous help of South Africa, it is carrying out constant aggressive actions against Mozambique and other neighbouring countries.

100. The United Nations should offer effective support and assistance to the liberation movements—to *SWAPO* in Namibia, and to the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe—in their struggle for independence, as well as to the front-line countries in their fight against racism and *apartheid*. Any lasting solution must be based on full respect for the essential and legitimate interests of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Only within this framework is Yugoslavia ready to support anyone's efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of these questions.

101. The United Nations should also fully support the people of South Africa who are fighting against racist terror and for the liquidation of *apartheid*. The present situation in South Africa could be the source of a crisis of wider international dimensions.

102. According priority to southern Africa, the United Nations should on this occasion again renew its categorical demand for the liquidation of colonialism in the still remaining colonial enclaves wherever they may be. There are no so-called small unresolved colonial questions. What is involved is the equal right of all peoples under colonial rule to self-determination and independence.

103. A new crisis has recently flared up upon the Horn of Africa. The settlement of conflicts and outstanding problems in that region can in our opinion be achieved only by peaceful means on the basis of respect for the territorial integrity and independence of all the countries of the area and by ensuring their free social and economic development. Otherwise this latest conflict in Africa will benefit only those forces that are interested not in strengthening the independence of the African countries but in advancing their own interests and influence in Africa. My country believes that it is the duty of all the States Members of the United Nations to adhere most strictly to these principles. All those countries which act contrary to this are playing with fire which could set ablaze an armed conflict of wider proportions.

104. Although the Korean question is not on the agenda of this session it merits our full attention, because the

failure to solve it has broad negative consequences. Yugoslavia supports the policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea directed towards the peaceful and independent unification of the Korean people. Yugoslavia urges the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, the elimination of foreign military bases and the conclusion of a peace treaty which would establish conditions for the Korean people to achieve its national aim of peaceful unification. We believe that the United Nations should more resolutely support these efforts and prevent the legalization of the division of Korea.

105. The signing of the new Panama Canal treaties—which is the result of a persistent and long struggle by the people of Panama and of broad international solidarity, primarily of the Latin American and other non-aligned countries, as well as a result of the readiness of the Government of the United States of America to reach agreement—is an encouraging step towards achieving the effective sovereignty of Panama over the Canal Zone, which will also contribute to the struggle of the peoples of this continent for full political and economic emancipation. We have already congratulated the Governments of Panama and the United States of America on the successful conclusion of the negotiations and the agreement reached, whereby an important step has been made towards solving a long-lasting neuralgic issue.

106. A particular problem for the peace and security of the world is posed by the practice of interference in the internal affairs of other countries and pressure by increasingly varied and subtle methods and forms with the aim of undermining the economic development, the social and political stability and the national unity of independent countries. This so-called indirect aggression, which belongs to the category of so-called special warfare, is directed mainly towards the destabilization of certain non-aligned and other developing countries for the purpose of imposing new aspects of neo-colonialism and hegemony or to overthrow some legal Governments. The non-aligned countries have always accorded exceptional importance to the question of non-interference, having in mind that some of them are in fact the most frequent victims of the form of the use of force. At the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo this matter was given special attention and, on the initiative of the non-aligned countries, the thirty-first session of the General Assembly adopted a special resolution [*resolution 31/91*] dealing comprehensively with this acute cause of international instability. For this reason we fully support the initiative of Guyana on the adoption of a declaration on non-interference [*see A/32/164, sect. II*], which would be an important contribution to the codification of the principles on which equitable co-operation and democratic and stable relations among States should be built.

107. We have always believed disarmament to be one of the most important problems for which it is most urgent to find a solution. The decision to convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is an essential and timely action that expresses not only the readiness of the international community for the broadest involvement but also the need for concrete measures to halt the arms race and to begin a process conducive to general and complete disarmament under effective international

control. At the same time, it is an expression of an awareness that international peace and security in the present-day world cannot be permanently maintained on the balance of forces, military might and division into blocs. The special session will be the broadest and most representative international gathering, and will not only consider this question in principle, but will also adopt an appropriate programme of measures and ensure a greater role and fuller involvement of the United Nations in the process of disarmament—rightly so, as the negotiations on disarmament held so far have not, despite certain results, made possible substantive progress in the field of disarmament itself. We expect all countries, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, to make the necessary effort to enable the special session to achieve tangible results. So far the preparations reflect the determination of many countries to approach the negotiations in a new and more specific manner, as regards both the definition of principles and the adoption of specific disarmament measures.

108. Yugoslavia is consistent in its support of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, although it has already had an opportunity to criticize strongly, in various international forums, the failure to abide by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, especially by the most powerful nuclear Powers. Yugoslavia, however, rejects attempts by nuclear Powers to establish, under the pretext of halting the proliferation of nuclear armaments, a total monopoly on the transfer and use of nuclear technology and energy for peaceful purposes, which monopoly is a new threat to the sovereignty of all non-nuclear countries for which nuclear technology is indispensable for their economic and social development.

109. I therefore wish especially to emphasize the particular importance of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and technology and their introduction into the energy systems of the non-nuclear countries, primarily the developing countries. Instead of the fulfilment of existing obligations on the transfer of nuclear technology, a monopoly over the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes is being further strengthened, new obstacles are being created and attempts are being made to impose new obligations on the developing countries. There is therefore an urgent need to find international solutions for ensuring the free transfer of nuclear technology and its use in the interest of the accelerated development of the non-nuclear and, primarily, of the developing countries.

110. Since the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, when the foundations of the new international economic order were laid, intensive negotiations have taken place between the developing and the developed countries which, despite some progress in identifying the whole complexity of existing economic relations and the unequal position of the developing countries, have not produced the expected results.

111. The existing situation causes us serious concern, and the developing countries cannot accept it. The unsatisfactory results of the Paris Conference, which did not achieve the indispensable break-through in the sense of establishing the new international economic order, and the well-known outcome of the resumed thirty-first session of

the General Assembly, make it imperative to adopt at the current session such decisions as will lead within the shortest possible time to the concrete solution of a certain number of priority international economic problems. This applies, first and foremost, to the forthcoming negotiations both at this session of the General Assembly and within the framework of the UNCTAD on an integral programme for raw materials and for the establishment of the common fund, as well as on the problem of the foreign debts of developing countries, especially the least developed and hardest hit among them, and on the remaining most important international economic problems.

112. In this respect all the States Members of the United Nations should devote full attention to the declaration adopted by the Group of 77 [see A/32/244] developing countries at yesterday's meeting held at the level of ministers for foreign affairs. That declaration expresses the unanimous views and appraisals of developing countries concerning the present state of international economic relations.

113. The General Assembly at its current session should direct and stimulate negotiations and, in that sense, give priority to the consideration of these problems.

114. In a situation in which we are faced with uncertainty concerning the state of the world economy and the constant worsening of the position of the developing countries, it is high time that all the developed countries, regardless of their socio-economic systems or size, should show the necessary political will to become specifically involved and to contribute to the solution of the acute world economic problems, and thus to contribute by deeds to the establishment of the new international economic order. Yugoslavia believes that without such readiness on the part of all the developed countries it is impossible to achieve true co-operation between the developing and the developed countries, and all of us here in the United Nations consider that the only way to reach a speedy solution of crucial international economic problems.

115. It is clear to all of us that the establishment of the new international economic order is a long-term process, but it is certain that it can and must be built by common efforts and through co-operation. In this regard a special responsibility rests on the developed countries. The developing countries see in the new international economic order a way to solve the most important problems of the world economy as a whole, for which the basic prerequisite is the more rapid development of developing countries and an equitable position for them in international economic relations. An orientation toward co-operation would include a determination to act resolutely with a view to implementing the programmes and decisions adopted so far.

116. Of no less importance is the start of the negotiations to work out a new international strategy for development. For this action the political framework is already embodied in the resolutions on the establishment of the new international economic order. However, it is essential that, having learned from the negative experience of the First and Second United Nations Development Decades, we keep in mind the fact that a new strategy should reflect to the fullest extent the relations of interdependence of all

Members of the international community and define precisely their role, obligations and contribution.

117. All these actions should be directed also towards the strengthening and development of the role of the United Nations, and especially of the General Assembly, as the most appropriate forum for the equitable participation of all countries in the solving of world economic problems. Unfortunately, the activity of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System has not produced the expected results. We urge that this very important work be brought to a successful conclusion as soon as possible, so that the system of the United Nations may be able to conduct effective negotiations to solve the most acute and long-term international economic problems.

118. In the social and humanitarian field, we attach particular importance to the successful outcome of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which would be one of the greatest contributions to respect for, and the advancement of, human rights and freedoms as a component part of the struggle for peace, emancipation and social progress. The continuing mass and brutal violations of those rights by colonial and racist régimes and other reactionary forces are a subject of legitimate interest on the part of the international community.

119. Human rights constitute a totality which, in addition to civil and political rights, include economic, social, national, cultural and other rights, and only their integral application ensures their full enjoyment. The realization of these rights is a long and complex historical process conditioned by many historical, social and developmental circumstances. Therefore, it goes without saying that today, too, we must conduct an open and constructive dialogue on the problem of human rights. It is clear that we must all exert great efforts over a long period in order to achieve the exercise of human rights in all their aspects, bearing in mind that this problem is an important element of peace and security in the world.

120. However, singling out some aspects of human rights and attaching absolute significance to them, using them for purposes of political pressure and to infringe the sovereignty of independent States, of bloc rivalries, and imposing one's own social model on others are not activities that will conduce to the actual promotion of those rights. Effective action for the advancement of human rights must be conducted primarily from the position of generally adopted international treaties and the necessity of the accession of the greatest possible number of States to numerous international documents and also their full implementation.

121. The question of ensuring the protection and advancement of the rights of minorities is one the international regulation of which would significantly contribute to the further promotion of human rights. Existing international instruments cover only partially the question of the position of minorities within the framework of the general regulation of human rights and the principle of non-discrimination.

122. Therefore, at the last session of the General Assembly my delegation called upon the United Nations to pay appropriate attention to this problem for the purpose of working out in more detail the obligations of States and adopting an international document devoted to the protection of the rights and the improvement of the position of minorities.⁷ In the meanwhile, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities has recommended to the Commission on Human Rights the elaboration of a draft declaration on minorities,⁸ which is a positive first step. A broad approach to this problem, which would ensure the protection both of minority groups and minority individuals, is all the more necessary in view of the constant confirmation of the fact that the regulation of this important question is of great importance to the promotion of co-operation and rapprochement among peoples and States, or, rather, that failure to respect those rights threatens peace and security in many regions of the world.

123. As host to the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was provided for in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference of 1975, Yugoslavia will act in favour of having the meeting adopt measures for the integral implementation of the Final Act, with the aim of strengthening co-operation and security in Europe and the Mediterranean.

124. I should like to call your attention to the global international importance of the problems of European security and co-operation. The majority of the countries of Europe, as well as the United States of America and Canada, belong to military-political blocs; by far the greatest quantity of armaments and armed forces is in that part of the world; the greatest economic, financial and technological power is concentrated in the hands of those countries. Merely these few obvious facts confirm the broad international importance of European security and co-operation, and thus also the importance of the follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

125. The Final Act of Helsinki provides a platform not only for détente but also for overcoming division into military-political blocs, and for the expanded implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the strengthening of security, the consolidation of peace and the promotion of equitable international co-operation in Europe and in all the world.

126. The countries participating in the follow-up meeting at Belgrade face the task of reaching a constructive agreement on the further strengthening of security and co-operation in Europe and elsewhere. At the same time, Yugoslavia has been exerting efforts towards making the European processes a component part of trends in the world that lead towards the strengthening of peace and security, bearing in mind the fact that Europe could make a much greater contribution to the solution of global questions, especially in the economic field. It is obvious that Europe cannot be an oasis of peace and prosperity, independent from developments in other parts of the world.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting, para. 302.*

⁸ See document E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.674.

127. I believe it is essential, at this session also, to draw attention to the problem of the Mediterranean and the increasingly imperative need to undertake the consideration of the situation in the Mediterranean, which is becoming more and more unfavourable, and to take steps—in the spirit of the decisions of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo, and of the position expressed in the resolution of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly on international security [resolution 31/92]—towards adopting appropriate decisions in the United Nations on the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and security. I should also like to inform the General Assembly that attention will be devoted to the problem of the situation in the Mediterranean at the Belgrade meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, with the participation, we hope, of non-European Mediterranean countries, with a view to adopting measures for applying the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act to the Mediterranean region as well.

128. There is no doubt that international relations have worsened in some important areas and that dangerous new situations of crisis have been created. We cannot reconcile ourselves to this state of affairs. The international community has the power to prevent negative developments; this is an expression not just of subjective desires but also of actual possibilities and needs. There has never been a greater number of countries engaged in the building of equitable international co-operation in the world, and, at the same time, there has never been greater awareness of the power of the international community. The priority questions of this session are concerned with the solution of crises and the elimination of focal-points of crisis, primarily in Africa and the Middle East, together with progress towards the adoption of genuine measures of disarmament and the solution of problems of prime importance to the establishment of the new international economic order. It is illusory to think that without progress along these main lines of international relations it is possible to ensure a relaxation of tensions and lasting peace and stability.

129. Therefore it is essential to strengthen the role of the United Nations, which is the most suitable framework for the international community's efforts to solve international problems, and essential to prevent attempts to circumvent the world Organization or to push it into the background. We are, therefore, faced with the constant task of making the world Organization, with the participation of all its Members, more effective and ensuring the implementation of its decisions.

130. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I am very happy to convey to you my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly, which constitutes just recognition of your high qualities and of your profound experience in world affairs, as well as of the important role that your country plays in international life. The Greek delegation is particularly gratified by the fact that our two countries, which are linked by close ties of friendship, are sincerely collaborating, at both the international and the regional levels, for peace and co-operation among peoples.

131. I am also happy to express our deep appreciation for the lofty spirit and great competence shown by your

predecessor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, in guiding the work of the previous session of the General Assembly.

132. We welcome the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of Djibouti and of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We address our sincere wishes to the new Members, which, we are certain, will make a valuable contribution to the work of the United Nations.

133. Regarding the world situation and the current state of international relations, we cannot but subscribe to the analysis made by the Secretary-General in his report on the activities of our Organization [A/32/1]. This year, which has raised so many hopes, leaves us no closer to the solution of the great problems which preoccupy us. Whether it is the problem of the Middle East or of South Africa, or of Cyprus or even of the establishment of a new international economic order, we are still faced with persistent obstacles. The task this General Assembly is called upon to fulfil is to renew its efforts in favour of law and justice.

134. It is indeed not sufficient to record each year the deficiencies of our Organization and to deplore them in unison; we must show that we have the political and moral will to correct them in order to render the United Nations worthy of its mission. We must above all react against the erosion of the security system provided for by the Charter, and against the lack of respect by some for the decisions of the principal organs of the United Nations and particularly for the decisions of the Security Council. In fact we find ourselves, more and more, faced with the use of force or the threat of force in relations between States, while we note at the same time a tendency towards the adoption by the Security Council of anodyne resolutions "by consensus", which place offender and victim on an equal footing.

135. On the other hand, we are witnessing a terrifying recrudescence of the arms race, which is no longer limited to the great Powers but is spreading to all regions and to all the corners of the earth. This phenomenon results in an appalling waste of resources which, in turn, seriously obstructs economic progress and the well-being of peoples.

136. Consequently, it is important that we should strive for the success of the new efforts which are being made on the crucial question of disarmament.

137. It is in this context that Greece supports the convening of a special session of the General Assembly dedicated to disarmament and expresses the hope that this session will, with the active participation of all States, result in a programme of action entailing concrete measures with a view to general and complete disarmament.

138. For the same reasons we are in favour of the convening of a world conference on disarmament.

139. It is understood that disarmament should cover both nuclear and conventional armaments. It should also ensure the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons by providing guarantees to the non-nuclear countries as regards both their security and the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

140. I should now like to present the views of my Government on certain problems which are particularly pressing.

141. We continue to follow with great attention the development of the situation in the Middle East. For our part we feel that the time has come for a major effort towards peace in that tormented region.

142. It is therefore essential not to waste more time on procedural questions. In this connexion we appreciate the substantial steps which the Arab Governments principally concerned with the problem have taken in order to facilitate the convening of the Geneva Conference. As for the substance of the question, we adhere to the United Nations resolutions which, taken in their entirety, lay down the guidelines for a just and lasting solution. Such a solution must entail the evacuation of all Arab territories occupied since June 1967, on the basis of the principle that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible. It must also provide solid guarantees for respect for the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial integrity of all the States in the region. There can be no doubt that any negotiation must take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their aspiration for a national homeland.

143. The intense diplomatic activity and efforts made to solve the problems of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, as well as the focusing of international attention on what is going on in southern Africa, augur well for respect for human rights and for the application of the principle of government by majority rule.

144. Greece has constantly supported the principle of self-determination during the historical process of decolonization. It vigorously condemns *apartheid* and every other form of racial discrimination. We shall continue to give all our support to efforts aiming at ensuring respect for human dignity, equality, security and progress for all the peoples of that region, without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed.

145. Before dealing with the Cyprus problem, I wish to pay a tribute in this Assembly to the memory of Archbishop Makarios, the first President of the Republic of Cyprus. The deceased Chief of State dedicated his life to the idea of freedom and struggled for the independence of his country and for the preservation of its territorial integrity. He was one of the founders of the non-aligned movement, which plays an important role in our time.

146. The Greek Government has on many occasions expressed before the General Assembly and the Security Council its position regarding the evolution of the situation in Cyprus. At the time of the invasion of the island by the armed forces of Turkey, the Ankara Government pretended that it had acted in pursuance of the Treaty of Guarantee. Without entering into the examination of the legality—more than doubtful—of that action, it suffices to observe today that, after three full years have elapsed, the Turkish army is still present in the island in spite of all United Nations resolutions to the contrary. Moreover, far from having re-established the state of affairs provided for by the treaties, Turkey, by pursuing its aim to create a situation

which would suit it alone, avoids pronouncing itself on the elements of a solution. The United Nations Secretary-General has presided over six rounds of negotiations in Vienna without being able to announce the slightest progress. The Turkish-Cypriot negotiator has persistently taken refuge in an impenetrable negativism. It is characteristic of this attitude that the Turkish Cypriots have not to this day replied to the proposal of the Greek-Cypriot negotiator, dated 23 August, to resume the dialogue in Nicosia.

147. It is common knowledge that one of the most important elements of an eventual solution is the territorial aspect of the problem. In a federal arrangement, it would be inadmissible for the 18 per cent minority to retain under its jurisdiction 40 per cent of the island's territory, occupied now by the Turkish army, which would perpetuate the problem of the 200,000 refugees in the south. And yet, very recently, when it was expected that a real effort towards peace would be undertaken, the Turkish Cypriots chose the moment to unleash the threat of colonizing the new city of Famagusta, which has remained sealed off and has symbolized Turkish acceptance of the principle of revision of the *status quo* imposed by force.

148. We all know that the Security Council has pronounced itself against such action.

149. It is not clear to what extent the Turkish Government supports these extreme positions of the Turkish-Cypriot leadership. One might say that in the presence of a strong Turkish army in Cyprus, the Turkish-Cypriot leadership are not able to act as they please. It is evident that if Ankara and the Turks of Cyprus do not adopt more reasonable and moderate positions in the immediate future, the few remaining hopes for a rapid solution will disappear. We believe that the General Assembly should once more express its determination to see the Cyprus problem settled without delay on the basis of the previous resolutions of the United Nations.

150. Greece, being in favour of the policy of détente, has done everything possible in order to improve and deepen its relations with all countries and particularly those of neighbouring regions. We are happy to say that the results have been very positive and in certain cases remarkable. Whenever disputes arise, we have always opted for peaceful means of settlement. This is precisely the case in our differences with Turkey, which are due to problems that have not been caused by Greece. In compliance with our obligations under the United Nations Charter, we are determined to resolve these problems by peaceful means and, naturally, within the framework of respect for the sovereign and legitimate rights of our country.

151. That is our contribution to détente and we hope that Turkey will do its share in order to avert all dangers to peace in this region.

152. In pursuit of this policy, Greece has actively participated in the preparatory meeting in Belgrade of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and we welcome the constructive results that have been obtained. We intend to continue this effort in co-operation with the countries signatory to the Helsinki Final Act in order to

seek additional measures likely to reinforce security and co-operation in Europe. We trust that the positive development of détente in Europe will have a favourable influence on co-operation and peace in the Mediterranean as well as in other regions in the world.

153. I would not like to conclude my intervention without referring to two major issues: the new economic order and the question of human rights.

154. Concerning the first one, we regret that the Conference on International Economic Co-operation has not had the success it deserved. May I be allowed to express, in this regard, the concern of my country for the economic problems of third-world countries, which for reasons beyond their will, have fallen considerably behind in the march toward development. We consider that it is indeed time to set in motion the process for the establishment of a new economic order and for the restructuring of international society on the basis of a more equitable sharing of resources. For we cannot hope for fruitful international co-operation or the prosperity of peoples so long as the present flagrant inequalities continue to exist.

155. In the area of human rights, I should like to recall that Greece, during the past sessions of the General Assembly, has taken a number of initiatives for the suppression of torture and other inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

156. We intend to persevere in this direction and we are ready to support firmly all efforts in the United Nations aiming at the progressive elimination of imperfections or deficiencies in the application of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We shall do so in the profound conviction that our Organization must never lose from sight its *raison d'être*, which is respect for the dignity and the progress of that unique being, man.

157. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should first like to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the high post of President of the General Assembly, and also to express our gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe, for his very fruitful activities.

158. I am particularly pleased to welcome the newly admitted Members of the United Nations, the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We are convinced that heroic Viet Nam, which has now taken its rightful place in our Organization, will make a valuable contribution to the work of the United Nations through its active and peaceful policies.

159. The thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly has convened on the eve of the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which is correctly described as the main event of the twentieth century.

160. And, true enough, the October Revolution not only became the turning-point in the history of Russia, but also marked the beginning of a new stage in the history of the world, a stage distinguished by a profound reconstruction of the old system of international relations. That Revolu-

tion created conditions for the promotion of a new type of international relations between truly free and equal States, on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, fraternal friendship and all-round co-operation and mutual assistance. It gave a powerful impetus to the process of self-awareness and the self-determination of colonial and dependent peoples, a process which, after the Second World War, and with the active support of the socialist countries, developed into an accelerated decolonization and radically changed the political geography of the world. The road travelled by the Soviet Union from the Decree of Peace in 1917 to the Programme for Peace in 1971 and 1976 is marked by one and the same consistent and fundamental policy aimed at strengthening world peace and security, putting an end to the arms race and achieving disarmament, respecting the sovereign rights of all States, not interfering in their internal affairs, extinguishing the hotbeds of colonialism and racism and bringing about the broad development of international co-operation. The basic principles of this policy find their full expression in the draft of the new Constitution of the USSR and will thus be embodied in the supreme law of the Soviet State.

161. It is because of this policy which has been pursued unswervingly and supported by all peace-loving forces in the world, that mankind has not experienced the horrors of a world war for more than 30 years and that international relations have gradually become free from anachronisms and recurrences of the cold war.

162. If we had to describe in general terms the period which has elapsed since last year's session of the General Assembly, we could say that the prevailing trend in the development of the international situation continues to be the relaxation of international tensions. The tangible impetus given to détente in Helsinki two years ago made it possible to promote further the cause of peace, not only in Europe, but in the whole world as well. The successes which have been achieved are considerable: political ties and confidence among States have been strengthened, ever more strength has been imparted to the material fabric of co-operation in the fields of the economy, science and technology and culture. Of course, the most important achievement remains that of having made the nightmare of a new world war more remote. At the same time, however, it should also be emphasized that certain influential reactionary forces have stepped up their efforts to slow down, to check and, in the final analysis, to torpedo the very process of détente. What is more, there have been some actions which have created the danger of returning the world to the days of the cold war.

163. One of the manifestations of these efforts is the launching of hostile and slanderous campaigns against the socialist countries. It is not difficult to understand that these campaigns are undertaken as a smoke-screen in order to conceal interference in internal affairs, in order to increase military budgets and to stockpile new armaments. The main obstacle which is now blocking the road to détente and threatening to impair its achievements is the continuing arms race. World peace cannot be achieved as long as the danger of a thermo-nuclear holocaust is not removed and as long as real measures are not taken in the field of disarmament. As Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

and President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria said recently:

“The main objective now is to make détente an irreversible process. This has not yet been done. Furthermore, the arms race, side by side with détente, is being whipped up, and I would say even more intensely. That is what is most dangerous for the world now. That is the main threat to world peace. Therefore the halting of the arms race is the immediate, fundamental and most urgent task.”

164. As is well known, the countries of the socialist community have put forward a constructive programme with new dimensions for co-operation among States, a programme which is aimed at broadening the scope of détente and supplementing it with measures in the military field.

165. The proposal addressed to the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe for the conclusion of a treaty whereby each would engage not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against the others is also in this spirit. Reaching an agreement on this question, as Leonid Ilich Brezhnev has pointed out, would provide new opportunities for curtailing conventional armaments in Europe, especially where their concentration is great.

166. Unfortunately, once again certain influential circles are still captives of the one-sided approach towards the initiatives of the socialist countries and have not reacted to them positively.

167. The countries of the socialist community have repeatedly stated that they do not lay claim to the monopoly as far as initiatives are concerned; they are prepared to consider any idea as long as it is genuinely aimed at stopping the arms race. Yet, instead of such ideas, we often hear general declarations which are at variance with and even sometimes completely contradict the actions taken by the respective Governments. It is impossible to fan hostility for other countries while at the same time talking about allegiance to détente, just as it is impossible to speed up the arms race and simultaneously to conduct successful negotiations on disarmament.

168. This peculiar dualism in the policies of certain States is fraught with great danger for peace. All those who bear responsibility for the policies of their countries and for the fate of world peace must become aware of this danger. Mankind, which is anxious to rid itself of the burden of armaments, needs no declarations of good intentions, but rather the pragmatic consideration of specific proposals for disarmament and the adoption of effective measures to this end, without any attempt to obtain unilateral military-strategic advantages.

169. The intention of beginning the production of the so-called neutron bomb and its inclusion in armaments has caused serious concern which has taken the form of a storm of indignation and forthright protest on the part of world public opinion. That intention can only be regarded as an attempt to impose a new round of the arms race upon nations, as a challenge to the climate of détente created with so much effort. It is not without point to recall,

however, that the arms race will bring no lasting advantages to those who initiate it. It will only place a further heavy burden upon the shoulders of the peoples and may in fact bring them yet another step closer to the danger which is the peril of human civilization.

170. We do believe that the voice of reason will prevail, so that the way may be paved towards sincere co-operation in order to put an end to the arms race and to move forward towards real disarmament. We are convinced that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly will provide an opportunity for agreement on a common, principled approach to disarmament, and will create favourable conditions for convening a world disarmament conference in the near future.

171. The most complex and the most important task continues to be that of putting an end to the arms race and curbing nuclear weapons both qualitatively and quantitatively.

172. An important step in this direction would be the total prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always held the view that this problem needs to be resolved as soon as possible. We attach great importance to the tripartite negotiations in Geneva. We support the constructive position taken by the Soviet Union, and we hope that the successful completion of these negotiations will create favourable conditions for progress towards disarmament and for a general improvement of the political atmosphere in the world.

173. Particularly topical in present conditions is the matter of the prohibition of the development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons. The Geneva negotiations must be speeded up in order to reach international agreement in this field.

174. Of considerable significance for the achievement of nuclear disarmament are those measures designed to strengthen the regime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is not difficult to imagine what would happen if the arsenals of the countries engaged in local conflicts, such as flare up in various parts of the planet from time to time, were to be stocked with nuclear weapons. This question becomes particularly acute in the light of the reports that the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa plans to manufacture nuclear weapons. The appearance of such a weapon in the hands of the present régime of Pretoria would create an immediate danger for all African States as well as for world peace and security. Swift and effective action by the United Nations is needed to avert this danger.

175. During the present session, the Bulgarian delegation will join its efforts with those of other delegations that are trying to adopt measures to accelerate the preparation of an agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons and also to achieve progress on other partial measures. The entire activity of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and outside it continues to be focused on reaching the ultimate goal, which is general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

176. The most vital task in the present-day international situation is undoubtedly that of strengthening détente, making irreversible the process of the relaxation of international tensions, and averting a nuclear conflict. Were mankind truly to resolve these problems, this last quarter of the twentieth century would be inscribed in gold in the history of our planet.

177. That is why we warmly welcome and fully support the Soviet Union's proposal to include on the agenda of the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly, as a matter of urgency and great importance, the item entitled "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war" [A/32/242]. It is our belief that the draft declaration on the deepening and consolidation of international détente [*ibid.*, annex I] and also the draft resolution on the prevention of the danger of nuclear war [*ibid.*, annex II] will receive the support of all peace-loving States and will serve as a basis for further development in the process of easing international tensions. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will do its utmost towards the realization of those proposals.

178. An important role in this respect is being played by the growing acknowledgement of the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of force in relations among States. Although there are some who cannot conceive of the contemporary world without the use of force and are even convinced that its prohibition would almost create a vacuum in the international legal order, it becomes increasingly evident that the conclusion of a world treaty on this matter would greatly advance the process of détente.

179. It is really quite difficult to talk about a complete improvement in the international climate when in various parts of the world there occur armed clashes which threaten to spread and engulf new territories. Regardless of the specific pretexts and reasons that give rise to those conflicts, there is no doubt that they are the result of imperialist policies based on the old principle of "divide and rule", and that their common aim is to undermine progressive political régimes.

180. The situation in the Middle East continues to be explosive. The main reason for the stalemate in the settlement of that conflict is the position taken by Israel, which, supported by its allies, is trying to maintain its illegal occupation of the Arab territories, as is evidenced by the establishment of new Israeli settlements on those lands. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria remains convinced that genuine peace in the Middle East is possible only under the following conditions: the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967; the exercise of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to an independent State; and respect for the independence, existence and security of all the countries in the area. We believe that the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East should be reconvened, without any further procrastination, with the participation of all interested parties, including from the very outset, and with equal rights, the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

181. The situation in southern Africa, where the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia continue to keep the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa in colonial bondage, is one of the most acute problems now facing the United Nations and the international community.

182. Hitherto, the efforts for the final elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in Africa have run into stiff opposition not only on the part of the racist régimes but also on the part of some forces outside Africa which are helping those régimes. This is unequivocally confirmed by current attempts to distort the process of decolonization in order to preserve the positions of colonialism and imperialism in Africa.

183. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to give full support to the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe for the full and complete elimination of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

184. For us, the situation in Cyprus continues to be a source of concern. The People's Republic of Bulgaria unwaveringly supports the kind of solution of the Cyprus question that will guarantee the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus in the interests of the Cypriot people—the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots—and in the interests of peace and security.

185. The People's Republic of Bulgaria favours the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korean soil and the peaceful reunification of Korea without outside interference.

186. As we all know, one of the purposes of the United Nations Charter is to promote international co-operation in defence of fundamental human rights and freedoms. Under the pretext of fighting for the materialization of this noble objective, certain groups are trying to arrogate to themselves the right to impose their own moral values upon other countries and peoples, thus flagrantly interfering in their internal affairs. At the same time, those groups undermine the United Nations collective endeavour to cut short the most brutal and massive violations of human rights, such as those in southern Africa, in Chile and in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories since 1967.

187. The problems of economic development and the reconstruction of international economic relations are closely linked with the establishment of peace and security in the world. To carry out this reconstruction on a democratic basis and in order to eliminate all forms of discrimination and inequality, we must fulfil one of the important mandates of our times.

188. We support the just demands to find ways of overcoming the under-development and the grave economic situation of developing countries since we are fully aware that historic responsibility for this state of affairs rests with the former metropolitan Powers which have exploited those countries and which continue to amass enormous wealth within the framework of the international machinery which has been set up by them, and through unequal international economic relations.

189. In our relations with the developing countries, which are based on the principles of full equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and selfless aid, we are striving to the extent of our possibilities to assist their efforts to strengthen their political and economic independence, to consolidate their sovereignty over their natural resources, and to defend the fundamental interests of their own peoples.

190. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great significance to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, whose work has now entered its crucial stage. Considerable efforts and political good will will be needed, however, in order to bring the Conference to a successful end.

191. The question of the role of the United Nations and the ways to enhance its effectiveness has become recently the subject of increasing discussions. There are also attempts, under the guise of concern for the strengthening of the United Nations, to put forward concepts and views which if they were acted upon would yield the opposite result. In other words, they would result in undermining the foundations of the United Nations and its basic principles, and in weakening the international basis for peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems.

192. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue in the future to support all efforts to make the United Nations

more effective through strict observance of the purposes and principles of the Charter—a Charter which has stood the test of time—in order to make a better use of the possibilities contained in the Charter and to frustrate the attempts to have that document, as it were, “revised” and “perfected.”

193. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is fully aware of its responsibilities for peace and is therefore consistently implementing the provisions contained in the Final Act of Helsinki. We shall make all efforts at the forthcoming meeting in Belgrade to contribute to strengthening further peace and security in Europe, and to make this another link in the process of the ever-growing détente in the world. It is a happy fact that, as can be judged by the preparatory work, the majority of the participants are interested in a positive dialogue at the meeting.

194. To make universal peace durable and lasting, to ensure that détente has the go-ahead—these are the objectives which the People's Republic of Bulgaria is trying to achieve throughout its activity both inside and outside the United Nations. Along with the other countries belonging to the socialist community, we put forward constructive solutions in order to achieve these purposes, in order to achieve and realize the noble objectives and aims of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.