

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



13th
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 1 October 1976,
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE
(Sri Lanka).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Bwakira (Burundi),
Vice-President, took the floor.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KADUMA (United Republic of Tanzania): On behalf of the delegation of Tanzania, I would like to join my colleagues who have spoken before me in congratulating Ambassador Amerasinghe on his election to the important office of President of the General Assembly. This session could not be in better hands, for few diplomats can match his qualifications for the task. The post he currently occupies as President of the singularly important Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, where his performance has already won the admiration of those who closely follow it, is only one of the demonstrations of his high qualities of leadership in such important meetings. We are particularly happy to see him, a distinguished son of Sri Lanka—a country with which we maintain very close relations and in whose capital we were recently privileged to attend the historic Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries—occupying this important post. I am therefore confident that this session of the Assembly shall, under his able guidance, be crowned with success.

2. I wish also to express, on behalf of the Tanzania delegation, our appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, for the successful manner in which he conducted the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

3. May I also take this opportunity to welcome warmly the delegation of Seychelles, which has just joined the United Nations after its independence the middle of this year. At this juncture, it is fitting to put on record our profound concern and regret at the continued obstacles being placed in the way of the membership of the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam—two peace-loving States whose admission to our

Organization should have been a matter of course. Nonetheless, it is the sincere hope of the Tanzania delegation that both these States will take their rightful places in our Organization before the end of this session.

4. For the last five years, this Organization has been privileged to have as its Secretary-General a dedicated, diligent and capable statesman in the person of Mr. Kurt Waldheim. He has been a pillar of strength for our Organization in its search for solutions to the many outstanding complex international problems. Through his painstaking efforts, both in public and in private diplomatic initiatives, he has made an immense contribution to the cause of world peace and justice. Certainly, those of us who come from Africa can bear witness to this by pointing out that not only has Mr. Waldheim shown concern at Africa's plight, but he has physically shared this plight with us by attending all sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] since he came into office. In expressing our highest appreciation of his role, we should also like to reiterate our support for his continued outstanding services. There is no doubt these five years have been very trying years, when our Organization has faced some of its most serious challenges. Mr. Waldheim's performance during this period, in playing an imaginative and constructive role, whether in the quest for an equitable international economic order or in search of solutions to the many situations of conflict that bedevil our world, has enhanced the effectiveness and prestige of the United Nations.

5. Mankind boasts, and quite legitimately too, of possessing the superior power and capacity to influence and to transform not only his own behaviour and life style but also his environment and the forces of nature, either to the enrichment of his life or to his own detriment. Today, man has gone far beyond the stage of simply toiling for his bread and shelter. Through modern science and technology, man can now multiply the varieties of crops and livestock so as to add more quality to his diet. Even buildings are constructed no longer simply to protect man from a hostile climate but also to provide man with surroundings of scenic beauty. Indeed, man's accomplishments in other fields, such as the fantastic machines and computers which can do almost anything and everything for him, the lightning speed of communication which he has achieved, the conquest of many scourges of disease, the astounding space technology and unfurling of space mysteries, and many, many others baffle and stun man's own imagination.

6. Unfortunately, while this same man can take pride in these achievements, he is equally haunted by their inequitable distribution, for the stark truth is that the majority of mankind lives in abject poverty, and only a tiny percentage of humanity swims in luxury and glamour. Who in this

space age will accept the notion that the amenities which technology has produced are, for the time being, available to only a small section of the world's population to enjoy, but not to the overwhelming majority? How can it be understood that this same man, who has demonstrated a fantastic imagination to conquer nature, cannot help going on enslaving and exploiting his brother? How can anyone seriously rationalize the utilization of billions of dollars for the acquisition of more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, while abject squalor and misery continue to afflict the overwhelming percentage of the human race? How can we boast of being protectors of a free world, when so many live in servitude either as poor men in an independent country or both in poverty and under colonialism?

7. These are not only the increasingly critical and soul-searching questions of the masses of the world which we here represent today, but an exposure of the ironies of our time. The facts do not confirm that the situation that we are in is inevitable.

8. I, for one, believe that, when in 1945 we decided to adopt the United Nations Charter, we were solemnly resolving to do away with injustice, inequality and human degradation. Yet, 30 years later, the same evils continue to haunt human society, returning the succeeding generations to whom we promised a safer and better future to the threshold of pre-world-war days.

9. It is probably true that the most repulsive forms of systematic human defilement have been liquidated, if we are talking only of slavery and of the slave trade by which a human being was openly regarded as a chattel to be sold, bought and owned, and to toil and serve literally as a beast of burden for the master—another human being; or if by these forms of defilement we mean only such practices as those of nazism, a doctrine of genocide that brought a near holocaust to the world. Even then we can say that only if we mean thereby that these practices and their consequences were too obvious to the eye and too dramatic to our perception.

10. Colonialism and racism may not have set the whole world on fire. Yet, they are as dehumanizing to man as was slavery, the slave trade and nazism, for they impose the same agonies on their victims. Indeed, they pose the same threat to international peace and security. The names and the methods may be different, but the mischief is the same and must be understood and regarded for what it is, for human degradation does not cease to be human degradation simply when it is called by different names. The facts do not change for the simple reason that they happen in a subtle form, nor does human degradation cease to be wicked and morally condemnable only because, through some timidity or otherwise, we choose not to, or hesitate to, view it in the way it deserves to be regarded.

11. Let me now address myself to some of the specific areas of tension.

12. The Middle East remains an area of serious stress and strain. This continues to cast doubt on the seriousness of our purpose and the effectiveness of our Organization and its membership. There we are called upon to redress not

only the dispossession of a people of their national rights, but also the forcible occupation by a State of the territories of other States. Our efforts in searching for a just and lasting solution leave a great deal to be desired. The longer we avoid tackling the problem at its root-cause, namely, the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people on the basis of the principles of the Charter, the more time we allow for further complications to develop.

13. In reaffirming Tanzania's support for, and solidarity with, the Palestinian people in their struggle, we take note with satisfaction of the growing consciousness among the international community of their cause, as evidenced by the increasing recognition accorded to their authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. At the same time, we reiterate our call for the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied since June 1967. We consider these two elements, namely, the recognition of Palestinian national rights and the scrupulous observance of the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by force, together with the right of all States in the region to an independent existence, as indispensable elements for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

14. The continued conflict in Lebanon is also a source of great concern. It is our hope that that conflict will be speedily resolved and the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of that country be ensured.

15. It is most regrettable that last year saw no progress towards a just solution of the problem of Cyprus, notwithstanding the arduous efforts made by our Secretary-General. The threat to that island's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity has escalated rather than diminished. Intercommunal harmony and concord remain elusive. It is thus imperative that efforts be intensified to find a lasting solution of the conflict, thus ensuring the survival of, and respect for, the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

16. While the ending of the war in Indo-China and the post-war reconstruction processes that have been taking place in Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have ushered in a new and positive era in Asia, the situation in the Korean peninsula remains explosive. The international community has the right and obligation to do all within its power to promote justice and permanent peace in the area. That can be achieved only by the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command, thereby enabling the Korean people themselves to decide their destiny.

17. Coming nearer home, to Africa, I should like to point out my country's disappointment and concern at the continued occupation by France of the island of Mayotte. This is not only a serious violation of the United Nations Charter but also a vivid example of the unjust use of power.

18. This brings me to the question of decolonization in general and of southern Africa in particular. While I content myself by mentioning only in passing my country's appeal to the French Government to facilitate the independence of the so-called French Somaliland—Djibouti—and refrain from dwelling at length here on my country's concern over

the unsatisfactory evolution of the decolonization processes in Western Sahara and East Timor, I feel in duty bound to dwell at length on the problems in southern Africa. I do so, not because the decolonization of those Territories is any less important, but because of both my country's proximity to, and current involvement in, the issues of southern Africa, as well as because of the complexity of the situation there. I therefore feel that this august body is entitled to be left in no doubt of our stand in the matter.

19. Few countries, if any, have experienced the most barbaric form of human degradation as those in southern Africa. And it is a very sad commentary on the effectiveness of our Organization, or, to be more precise, on the will and determination of its Members that, despite all the repeated warnings and pleas of free Africa, despite the proclaimed recognition by all of us of the twin evils of colonialism and racism, that scourge continues to afflict millions of our fellow men. Thus, if it is a truism to observe that the focus of world attention is now on southern Africa, it is an equal truism that the confrontation taking place there has, to no small extent, been encouraged by the failure of our Organization to take decisive and timely action owing to the obstacles placed by some of its membership. Therefore, as we review the interest now being focused on southern Africa, it is relevant that we recognize that, but for the attitude of indifference adopted by some of the Western Powers to the plight of the dominated and oppressed peoples, combined more often than not with a degree of collaboration with the very forces of racism and colonialism, the crisis in southern Africa could have been averted and thousands of lives spared.

20. It is important to make this point, first, because the struggle against colonialism and racism in southern Africa has now reached a crucial phase and thus demands decisive action by the international community. Such action is possible only by the collective will of us all. Unless those Powers which have in the past ignored our pleas and appeals now join us to create the necessary conditions for the triumph of freedom, justice and majority rule in southern Africa, and thus reduce the sufferings and sacrifices which, as they must now be aware, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are fully prepared to endure so as to regain their freedom and human dignity, that noble goal shall be reached only after untold suffering by innocent people. It is not helpful for those Powers to continue expressing verbal outrage while in practice condoning and, indeed, aiding the forces of evil as represented by the racist minority régime.

21. That reflection is necessary for another equally important reason. This Organization was created essentially for the preservation of peace and security. It is therefore in duty bound to take appropriate measures not only to resolve outstanding conflicts but also to take such preventive measures as would avert potential crises.

22. The sad lesson of the southern African situation lies not only in the failure of the international community to take prompt action to halt a situation threatening international peace and security but also in the deliberate refusal by those very Powers which obstructed meaningful action to understand and recognize the gravity of the situation.

23. Fortunately, no one can accuse free Africa of failure to warn the international community of the growing crisis in southern Africa. African spokesmen at all levels, both in this Organization and in other forums, have repeatedly emphasized this point, even to the extent of being accused by some of our detractors and cynics of being obsessed by this problem. The warnings have been there; the appeals have been made. My own President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, in his address to the commemorative session of the General Assembly, on 15 October 1970, marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization, devoted his entire speech almost exclusively to this problem. Explaining the struggle of the people of southern Africa, President Nyerere, *inter alia*, pointed out:

"No one can say that the peoples of these Territories did not try to secure change—even some movement towards justice—by peaceful means. They tried political organization, trade union organization and tribal welfare organization. They tried petitioning their rulers and international organizations; they tried peaceful public rallies; they tried the publicizing of their wrongs through the press of the world. Indeed, perhaps they tried too long, and thus enabled the forces of oppression to strengthen themselves too much, before they finally recognized the situation for what it was. For all their efforts were met with increased oppression and an increase in the sufferings imposed upon them. But the position is now obvious. Efforts to achieve peaceful change towards justice from within the States of southern Africa have failed, and failed miserably.

"As far as the peoples of southern Africa are concerned, therefore, the choice is now clear. They can acquiesce in their own humiliation and accept their position as third-class subjects of an alien ruling Power, or they can fight for their own manhood. They are now making that choice. And they are doing it for themselves. They are choosing future life at the cost of physical death and suffering for many.

"What free nation, or what free people, dares to tell the masses of South Africa, of Rhodesia, of Namibia and of the Portuguese colonies that they are wrong? Who is it that can tell these people that they should acquiesce in the daily humiliation of themselves and their children? Certainly the United Nations cannot do so, for this would be to deny the basic premise of human equality, and thus to deny the basis on which we meet here.

"No one who genuinely believes in human equality has the right to demand that the peoples of southern Africa should refrain from making war on racialism. But, if we used our strength in support of humanity, we could make their fighting unnecessary. For the United Nations—the nation States acting together—has the power to put such pressure on the States of southern Africa that change would have to come. It is a question of our will; it is a question of whether the preservation of peace by the removal of injustice is sufficiently important for us. If it is, we shall exert all pressures short of war. If it is not, then war will grow.

"Until now, we have not acted in support of our verbal condemnations of *apartheid* and colonialism. We have

given the peoples of southern Africa no hope of change. So they have begun to take up arms in their own defence—in defence of their manhood and their right to a life which is more than brutal existence.”¹

24. It is now six years since President Nyerere made that statement. In the course of that period important changes have taken place, thanks essentially to the armed struggle waged by the liberation movements in the area and actively supported by OAU and the friends of Africa all over the world. The last two years have particularly witnessed radical changes ushering in a new geopolitical situation in southern Africa by the extension of the frontiers of freedom through the liberation of Angola and Mozambique. Those victories by the freedom fighters have been scored in spite of the support which their oppressors continued to receive from some of their Western allies which clearly chose either completely to disregard or be indifferent to the many appeals made to them by free Africa.

25. The victories of the freedom fighters and free Africa have produced their own momentum. No longer has it been necessary to impress upon those cynical and doubtful few of Africa's determination to proceed at full speed ahead in supporting the liberation of the remaining parts of our continent. Yet, it is important to underscore that, even at the height of victory over Portuguese colonialism, Africa expressed its desire to obtain its objectives in southern Africa, if possible, through a negotiated settlement. Thus, active support was given to the Zimbabwe national liberation movement in its efforts to try once again to find a negotiated solution.

26. Those efforts were fully endorsed by OAU, which, at the ninth extraordinary session of its Council of Ministers, held in Dar es Salaam in April 1975, adopted the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa, which was subsequently endorsed by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Kampala later that year. On Zimbabwe, the OAU position was succinctly put:

“The OAU's objective in Zimbabwe is independence on the basis of majority rule. This can be achieved either peacefully or by violent means. Either way, Africa will lend its total support to the freedom fighters led by their nationalist movement—the African National Council. As long as the objective of majority rule before independence is not compromised, the OAU would support all efforts made by the Zimbabwe nationalists to win independence by peaceful means.”

27. It is a matter of record that those efforts of the Zimbabwe liberation movement, with the assistance of the front-line States and supported by OAU, were frustrated by the intransigence of the racist minority régime; hence, the historic decision to de-escalate the talking and escalate the armed struggle.

28. It is common knowledge that, since the beginning of this year, the Zimbabwe freedom fighters have intensified in earnest their armed struggle for the liberation of their motherland. Thousands of young Zimbabweans have been

and are involved in this struggle. Their heroic efforts, coupled with active African and international solidarity as exemplified by the courageous action of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique to impose total sanctions against the régime, have brought about a new situation in that Territory: the forces of freedom are on the offensive while the racist régime has been put on the defensive. No one in his right mind could possibly entertain any doubt as to the inevitability of the victory of the freedom fighters.

29. The relevant question now is not whether there should be war or a peaceful solution, for the peaceful settlement being talking about is a misnomer when in fact the war is going on. What is at issue is whether this war should be prolonged in order to attain the objective or whether the impact of the general insurrection of the Zimbabweans has now brought some sense to the illegal racist authorities in Salisbury and thus paved the way for shortening the war through the realization of the objective of majority rule.

30. It is imperative properly to understand this background in order to appraise the recent happenings in Zimbabwe correctly, for it would be idle to pretend that the momentum now generated towards a possible negotiated settlement would have been possible without the supreme sacrifices made by the freedom fighters and their unequivocal determination and commitment to pursue the armed struggle to final victory.

31. This, then, is the setting in which the recent initiative of the United States has to be viewed. In Lusaka, in April of this year, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made an important statement on southern Africa. Viewed in the context of a policy and actions which could only be described at best as indifferent and at worst as totally negative in regard to the struggle for majority rule in southern Africa, that statement by the United States, if put into concrete action, would represent an important departure. Indeed, Tanzania has always believed that if the full weight of American power were placed against South Africa in support of freedom and justice, peace in southern Africa would come sooner rather than later.

32. My Government, which has consistently maintained that it is the policies and actions of some of the major Western Powers, including the United States, which have helped to sustain and strengthen the racist minority régimes, could not but hope for the implementation of such a policy, which would only place the United States in a position of abiding by the many decisions and resolutions of the United Nations concerning that question. In expressing such a hope, our interest has been, is, and will continue to be, freedom and justice for our brothers in southern Africa. And there is no doubt in our mind that if the United States and other major Western Powers were to alter their hitherto erroneous policy of giving support and comfort to the racist minority régimes in southern Africa, if they were instead genuinely to work in support of Africa's and the United Nations' objective in southern Africa—namely, an end to the twin evils of colonialism and racism—then there would be prospects for reducing the magnitude and dimensions of the war now raging there. If, on the other hand, experience of the development in southern Africa has not yet brought home the necessary

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1867th meeting, paras. 44-48.

lessons, then we can only lament the increased suffering and bloodshed which are inevitable since the war must and will go on. And for us in Tanzania, as indeed for the rest of Africa, our position is clear. My President put it succinctly in his address to the General Assembly in 1970, when he said:

"For Africa there is no choice. We have to support the freedom fighters. Theirs is merely a continuation of the freedom struggle which has already resulted in 41"—now 47—"African nations being represented in this General Assembly. The national freedom and human equality for which these people are fighting are not only the same rights which the rest of Africa claimed and won. They are also the only basis on which free States of Africa exist."²

Clearly, therefore, the current efforts being made should be reviewed in this over-all framework of Africa's objectives.

33. In Zimbabwe, the objective has been and remains majority rule. Either the present warfare will be intensified until that objective has been achieved or a genuine negotiated settlement could now be obtained and the war thus shortened. In the light of the acceptance by the minority racist régime of majority rule as a condition of immediate independence, the Presidents of the five front-line States have called upon the United Kingdom to convene a constitutional conference, outside Rhodesia, for the purpose of working out the modalities for the transfer of power. In this connexion, we take note of the agreement by the United Kingdom to convene such a conference.

34. The liberation movement with its fighters will certainly ensure that such negotiations will result in the attainment of the objective for which they have been fighting and for which cause many of their compatriots have laid down their lives. We can only stress that the time for tricks or manoeuvres is long gone, for otherwise the struggle in all its dimensions will continue.

35. On Namibia, there is and there can be no room for confusion. This very Organization has determined and reiterated repeatedly that South Africa has no longer any Mandate over Namibia. The continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa is illegal and is in violation of the resolutions of the United Nations. South Africa's presence in that Territory is pure aggression against the Namibians and a provocation to all peace-loving nations and the United Nations. It is a military aggression. Like any other military aggression, it is a serious threat to international peace and security and must be viewed and dealt with as such. The Security Council has a clear responsibility to take the necessary measures under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter to remove that threat.

36. South Africa clearly remains defiant of the United Nations. Furthermore, its policies and actions demonstrate that it prefers the path of confrontation: confrontation with the United Nations as well as continued confrontation with the African peoples of that Territory who, led by their authentic and legitimate representative—the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]—are determined to continue the fight for their liberation. This Organization

has no option but to intensify its support of SWAPO. And for those who thought and may still think that South Africa could adopt a rational position on this question, the time has come for reflection. Either they join with the overwhelming majority of the Organization in taking collective action against those defiant and recalcitrant illegal usurpers or they obstruct such decisions and stand accused of aiding the oppressors of Namibians.

37. In South Africa itself, the moment of truth has come. The mass uprising, begun in Soweto and now a common phenomenon in many parts of South Africa, has totally shaken any myth that the *apartheid* minority régime of Pretoria could indefinitely hold on to the reins of rule by terror or could silence the oppressed people in South Africa. It has unequivocally cleared any lingering doubts as to the intense and explosive repulsion felt by the African people at Nazi policies disguised as *apartheid*.

38. We lament the loss of life which takes place in the process. This, however, is the expected response from the agitated racist minority régime. But the blood of those martyrs, among whom many are schoolchildren, is the fuel of the revolution. The patience of the African people of South Africa has been exhausted. If the Vorster régime takes any longer to realize the doom and inevitability of its end, a fire storm will develop to consume every remnant of *apartheid* and racial bigotry in South Africa.

39. That the racist minority régime in South Africa is fast heading for a collapse is clearly indicated both within and without South Africa and is sensed even by the Pretoria régime itself. The colonial situations which provided a buffer to South Africa's frontiers are either gone or fast crumbling, leaving exposed and a target the hideout of that remnant of Nazism. Inside South Africa itself, there is panic and mounting insecurity for the racists because they know too well that there will be no peace and security except through the total liquidation of *apartheid*.

40. In the confrontation that is now unfolding in South Africa, the attitude of those who have found it prudent to co-operate and collaborate with that régime will face its severest test. For the stark truth is that South Africa is surviving and is able to defy this Organization because of the support it is receiving from those countries that invest in and trade with South Africa. Besides, South Africa continues to receive military supplies from some Western countries. These actions are irreconcilable with their solemn pledge through the Charter. Those countries that give support to South Africa thus have a great responsibility. Will they, through their policies and actions, assist, or at least refrain from obstructing, the surging wave of human liberation, or will they choose to continue supporting, overtly or covertly, the *apartheid* régime and thus make themselves no less a target for wrath, indignation and outright opposition of the African people in South Africa and their supporters and allies both within and outside Africa?

41. It is our sincere hope that all of us will support the cause of the people of South Africa in action as we do in words. For what will finally help restore respect for our Organization, and, indeed, for its Member States, is not the beautiful rhetoric of solidarity with the oppressed people in

² *Ibid.*, para. 50.

South Africa that we have heard in this and other forums, but the concrete actions of our Governments. In this regard Tanzania hopes that all of us will commit ourselves before the end of this session not to recognize the Transkei or any other "bantustan" whose creation aims at the entrenchment and perpetuation of the *apartheid* system.

42. Finally, but not least important, I should like to turn to the question of international economic relations. In fact, in my country we consider this problem to be equal in importance to the problem of political independence *per se*, if not more important. For our survival as independent nations will ultimately very much depend on our survival as independent economic entities. Economic justice therefore lies at the heart of our second phase of the liberation struggle, which must continue.

Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) took the Chair.

43. The demand of the overwhelming majority of the members of the international community is to establish a new and equitable international economic order. This demand reached its full expression at the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, at which the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order were adopted [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. We, the developing countries, have expressed and demonstrated our willingness to enter into dialogue with the developed countries to ensure that the new international economic order we seek to establish will be acceptable and beneficial to all members of the international community. Our willingness to negotiate was clearly demonstrated at the seventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly and at the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*]. The developing countries are displaying the same spirit in the negotiations going on at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation and at other forums dealing with issues of development and international economic co-operation.

44. However, the slow pace at which these negotiations are taking place both at the Paris Conference and elsewhere clearly reveals that the spirit being displayed by the developing countries is not being reciprocated by certain developed countries whose major preoccupation is to resist change and maintain the *status quo* with its concomitant inequities.

45. Yesterday morning [*11th meeting*] the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka and current Chairman of the non-aligned movement very ably and in very clear terms stated the areas of redress that we in the developing countries seek in the new international economic order. I do not intend to repeat that message here. However, there is one aspect to which I feel I should address myself. This is in the field of international monetary reform.

46. For many years now since this debate was started in the International Monetary Fund [*IMF*], the developing countries have made pleas for the linking of the creation of the special drawing rights to the transfer of resources to the poor countries. This has been and continues to be in order to supplement the efforts currently being undertaken by

the other agencies, such as the International Development Association. Besides, such a link could easily be built into the compensatory programme of IMF, thus facilitating the indexing of prices for primary commodities, a proposal which so far has fallen on deaf ears in the rich countries. By so doing, not only would we improve the exchange-earnings capacity of the primary-producing countries but, above all, by giving additional liquidity to the poor countries, whose sources of intermediate and capital goods are the rich industrialized nations, we would facilitate the expansion of demand for the manufactured products of the latter and hence help to mop up the excess productive capacity that is at present a problem facing some of these countries. In other words, the industrialized countries would more equitably earn these special drawing rights through trade and, therefore, be able to increase their production and employment. Besides, through the price compensatory mechanism, the primary producers would also be able to improve their export earnings, since they would be remunerated under more equitable conditions.

47. My country finds it very difficult to accept that to make such a demand is asking too much. On the contrary, the refusal of the industrialized countries to accept these proposals is aimed at maintaining the present unjust system of most unequal exchange. It is for this reason that Tanzania would advocate the total rejection of the second amendment of the IMF rules, which only accentuates our plight.

48. We in the developing countries are not looking for charity. We want equity. Our plea is thus aimed at changing the present unfair system of trade to one under which all of us will be paid fairly for our sweat.

49. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): I should confess, Mr. President, that every year that I have approached this rostrum—and I have been doing so, off and on, for 31 years—I have felt increasingly like a defendant about to be asked why judgement should not be rendered against him. I submit that it is of primary importance that we should face up to the growing scepticism, cynicism and even hostility with which our deliberations are viewed by many, and I propose to address myself to this problem in the course of these remarks.

50. No doubt, Sir, you and the Secretary-General have shared this unease, and it was for that reason that I hesitated to offer you at this time the ritual congratulations upon your well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly this year. The controversies and confrontations that marked past sessions did not seem to provide favourable and happy auguries for your incumbency.

51. None the less, I avail myself of this traditional opportunity to extend to you my most cordial and sincere wishes for your success, and indeed to express my confidence that you will achieve it with the personal qualities of leadership which you have more than amply demonstrated in guiding the complicated negotiations on the law of the sea, as well as the devotion and dedication, displayed during your many years of service here, to the ideals and objectives of the United Nations.

52. Yet we would be less than honest with ourselves were we not to admit that our Organization is in crisis. That is a hackneyed way of putting it, and it would be even more commonplace to call it a crisis of confidence, even of self-confidence. But the fact is that many—too many—outside our Organization, and even inside it, have lost confidence in it. They no longer believe, as they once believed, in the United Nations, in the way in which it works, in its mission, in its relevance.

53. This scepticism is focused, above all, on this General Assembly, where it is claimed that a so-called automatic majority imposes its will without rhyme or reason, deaf to argument, contemptuous of compromise, coherent only in cant and prejudice, approving resolutions that cannot be realistically enforced, proclaiming objectives that cannot be reasonably achieved. What is more, it is charged that this majority is not a majority at all, but a conspiracy of wilful minorities, each pursuing its own selfish purpose or advantage, or coercing the real majority into a meaningless unity under threats of exclusion and isolation.

54. There is an easy way to dismiss these accusations. One can reply that the sceptics, critics and cynics come from some of the rich industrial Powers that have seen their own automatic majorities of the past dwindle and disappear, that are frustrated by the united political will of their former colonies and clients, and that fear the end of the old international economic order, whose inequitable privileges and advantages they are determined to defend and preserve.

55. I have said that that is an easy answer. I suggest that it may also be a superficial and even dangerous view: superficial, because it does not correspond to the realities of the world in which we live; and dangerous, because it invites division and confrontation. We are all going through an era of profound changes in international relations, and in a time of change the primordial need is for adjustment and acceptance of that adjustment.

56. Those of us who met in San Francisco in 1945 and who worked in and with the United Nations in the following two decades—personally, I have missed only about five sessions of the General Assembly—look back now and have reason to exclaim: "How the United Nations has changed!" And that is perhaps at the bottom of the disenchantment, even the shock, experienced by many of the present critics of the Organization and our General Assembly.

57. Of course the United Nations has changed. It has changed because the world has changed—changed in ways that the United Nations itself helped to bring about. It may be that some of the founding fathers at San Francisco sought or hoped to immobilize the patterns of power at the end of the Second World War, to—so to speak—stop the world at 1945. If so, such a hope was unfounded and doomed.

58. But speaking for myself, I must say that that was not my view or expectation when I helped to write the Charter in 1945. I have always had a kinetic view of the United Nations; I have always believed that the United Nations was and should be an instrument of change, that change was its mission: change in the old colonial empires, with the

emancipation of subject peoples; change in the structures of racial and sex discrimination; change in the inequitable economic relations between the suppliers of raw materials and the manufacturers of industrial goods; change in a world of unendurable division between rich and poor, starving and well fed, the princes and the potentates managing the future, and the wretched without a future.

59. Now the process of change has reached its critical point and, as in the past, it can best be judged in this General Assembly. If the balance of forces here is what it is, it is because that is what our world is like. We are out of Bretton Woods, thank God, and we have not remained asleep since Lake Success. We cannot keep the calendar at 1945.

60. That is what I should like the sceptics, critics and cynics to bear in mind when they pass judgement on the work and the workings of the General Assembly. Our task now, as—in my conception—it has always been, is to bring about a better world, and that means necessarily to change the world. Our task here is to voice the demand of the majority, a true majority, of the inhabitants of this earth, for a meaningful change in their lives, to seek and promote that change, to ease the essential adjustments to that change, not through recrimination and confrontation, but through the recognition and reconciliation of legitimate interests.

61. If we consider the world as it really is today, we shall, I submit, understand that in bringing about the change we covet the arbitrary imposition of the will of one side upon the other can lead us nowhere. The so-called automatic numerical majority in the General Assembly is in real terms matched by what a Spanish wit called the vast minority—the vast minority of wealth and power constituted by the industrial States. Indeed, they have nothing to fear but their own short-sightedness and selfishness.

62. Having said what I felt needed to be said, allow me now to undertake a brief review of the foreign policy of my Government. We in Manila too, and foremost among us our President Ferdinand E. Marcos, have for the past several years taken a hard look at the world as it really is, now in 1976, and not as it was in 1945.

63. Without fanfare we have in fact brought about a basic reorientation of our foreign policy as far-reaching in its implications for our foreign relations as those of our revolutionary new society are for our national development.

64. As recently as 1972 we had no diplomatic relations with a single socialist State. We have since quietly rectified that omission. Our establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China last year, and with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics last June, completed the normalization of our relations with the leading socialist countries.

65. At the same time, determined to maintain cordial relations with all friendly countries regardless of differences in ideology and social systems, we have steadily expanded our diplomatic links with developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America—most recently with our neigh-

bours Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam; with the Somali Democratic Republic, the Central African Republic and the Gabonese Republic, in Africa; and with Cuba and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas in Latin America.

66. To the newly admitted Republic of Seychelles we extend a warm welcome and the assurance of our readiness to develop amicable and mutually beneficial relations.

67. The fundamental reorientation of our foreign policy is reflected not only in its enlarged scope but also in its content and direction. We have been moving with deliberate speed towards non-alignment—non-alignment in its true sense—a course made possible by our disengagement from the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, which we have helped to phase out; by the review of our bilateral defence agreements with the United States, in which we have reaffirmed Philippine sovereignty over the military bases in our territory—we are seeking to reduce further the period of their occupancy and insisting on strict adherence to their defensive purpose; and by our establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the great majority of socialist States.

68. We have also consolidated our identification with the third world of developing countries by a series of significant initiatives including the hosting of the Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Manila last January and February and the personal participation of President Marcos at the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi last May. At that Conference, as the chosen spokesman of the Group of 77, President Marcos presented the Manila Declaration and Programme of Action³ embodying the Group's positions on the great issues pertaining to the new international economic order. He seized the opportunity to speak forcefully on the need for change. He said:

"The time has come for the dominant powers to renounce their desire for national advantage, to proclaim an end to all unequal relationships which the developing countries have had to accept as former possessions, protectorates or colonies . . . If the rich do not intervene to hasten the growth of the under-developed countries, they cannot hope to avoid being themselves caught under the weight of those whom they will not help."

69. Earlier in Manila President Marcos had said in his opening address to the Group of 77 ministerial meeting:

"Power itself cannot be indefinitely monopolized; it should be shared progressively among nations if we are to inhabit a tranquil and orderly world . . . And unless there is an equitable sharing of the world's resources, it could not be a question of whether, but how soon, the ever-growing number of the world's poor would challenge the ever-diminishing number of the rich for the just sharing of those resources."

70. The Philippine commitment to the new international economic order, be it noted, goes beyond lip service. Out of

our modest resources the Philippines has pledged \$US 50 million to initiate the common fund for the integrated programme on commodities, one of the key-stones of the new international economic order. The Philippines has also subscribed to a common fund for the least developed countries with a contribution of \$US 500,000 over a three-year period.

71. These actions reflect our concept of the new international economic order as an edifice with three levels. At the national level each country should strive to put its own house in order, rectifying economic and social inequalities, ensuring a full share for every citizen in the benefits as well as the tasks of national development, improving the quality of life nationwide. This is precisely what in essence we have been doing for the past four years in our new society. We are, of course, doing this primarily for the benefit of our own people, but we are also hoping that our new society could become a microcosm of what the new international economic order should be on a global scale.

72. At the regional level we are hard at work in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] with our neighbours and associates Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. At an historic summit meeting in Bali last December the Heads of Government of the ASEAN countries resolved to co-operate in accelerating the economic development of the member countries. At the same time the foundation was laid for regional collaboration in selected industries.

73. We in ASEAN have our differences: religious differences, ethnic differences, differences in political and social systems. But we are united on some things which we consider important: to secure a better life for our peoples; to do everything we can, individually and collectively, to enhance the prospects for peace and to maintain the climate of freedom in our region; to support with our combined strength the concerted efforts of the third world to restructure the world economic order on the basis of justice and equality for all Members of the international community.

74. ASEAN is still misunderstood and sometimes maligned and misrepresented. This has not deterred us from extending the hand of friendship and peaceful collaboration to all our neighbours in South-East Asia.

75. To the great Powers, we say simply, "Please leave us alone". Kindly refrain from making South-East Asia an arena of your competing ambitions. All we want is to proceed unhampered with our own development. ASEAN is not an insignificant association. Its member nations, with a combined population of over 230 million people, inhabit an area strategically situated, rich in natural resources, potentially powerful. But our ambition is limited to seeing South-East Asia become a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. In his policy statement on the opening day of the general debate this year, Mr. Krishna Raj Aryal, Foreign Minister of Nepal, correctly described the ASEAN proposal towards this end as: "a constructive effort towards the strengthening of the peace, stability and development of the South-East Asian region" [5th meeting, para. 174]. We welcome with deep appreciation his statement that Nepal "fully and strongly support[s] this effort [ibid]."

³ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.

76. At the international level the paramount need is for what we may describe as economic decolonization and for the democratization of the world's antiquated and inequitable economic structure. This is the new imperative of our time. The goal would be, in effect, a decentralization of economic power, as well as a fairer and more balanced pattern of consumption and distribution.

77. The time is past when developed countries could isolate themselves from the problems of the developing countries. That time is past. Like it or not, we all belong to one world, which cannot be half-rich and half-poor, or, to be more precise, one-third rich and two-thirds poor. The alleviation of poverty is a shared and collective obligation of the world community.

78. So is the liquidation of the remaining pockets of that older and more blatant form of colonialism: the physical subjugation of one people by another. Nowhere is this duty more pressing today than in southern Africa, where rampant oppression and racism have provoked violent uprisings threatening the peace of the entire region. The remnants of colonial tyranny and exploitation have absolutely no place in the new world order now being built.

79. Through the years, the Philippines has consistently and uncompromisingly supported the righteous cause of the African peoples. We helped write the provision on self-determination in the United Nations Charter in 1945, and have since then faithfully espoused the right of all colonial countries and peoples to independence. With the progress of decolonization elsewhere, our profound concern with the attainment of this major United Nations goal has increasingly focused on Africa.

80. In the case of southern Africa, the Philippines has scrupulously implemented United Nations decisions, including the application of economic sanctions, the severance of diplomatic and consular relations, and even the observance of sanctions in the field of sports. We dare say that few can match, let alone surpass, that record.

81. In this context, we welcome the determined ongoing efforts to find peaceful solutions, acceptable to all concerned, to the explosive confrontations in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, and we earnestly and prayerfully hope that those efforts will succeed.

82. Care should be taken, however, to ensure that the formulas offered for transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe, or Southern Rhodesia, should conform to the legitimate demands of the African people. Proposed solutions should not be dictated by expediency or solely by considerations for the balance of power. They should first and foremost be just solutions, consonant with the Charter and with the expressed desires and aspirations of the African people.

83. In the case of Namibia, the right of its people to self-determination and independence should be upheld. The Philippines joins in the demand for the withdrawal by South Africa from Namibia to enable its people to achieve freedom and independence in accordance with relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

84. South Africa continues to be a symbol of the travesty of the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. By its continued repression of the black majority of South Africa, the white minority régime of that country stands condemned by world public opinion, and becomes subject to the provisions of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)], which came into force last July. Meanwhile, the struggle against *apartheid* through diplomatic, cultural, economic and other means should be steadfastly pursued.

85. I wish to speak now about two aspects of terrorism, and first, about nuclear terrorism. There is all too little separating the zealot from the nuclear trigger. Adequate safeguards have not been made available to protect nuclear reprocessing plants and transportation facilities. Since nuclear secrets are no longer secrets, the danger of nuclear terrorism increases with each passing day. It is no longer a science-fiction scenario to foresee a city held hostage and a nation rendered impotent by the threat of a nuclear explosion.

86. The second aspect of terrorism—and this I want to emphasize and to refer to now—is the taking of innocent hostages, which has become widespread in the hijacking of airliners. Stringent international measures can undoubtedly be directed toward the protection of the innocent, in addition to those which now exist under the terms of The Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, and the Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, and through the elaboration of the Standards and Practices Governing Airport Security and Aircraft Safety recommended by the International Civil Aviation Organization. The taking of innocent hostages is a heinous crime, and the Government of the Philippines, itself a victim of several aerial hijackings, will vigorously support the development of legal instruments and measures directed toward its inhibition and suppression. We now have before the Assembly the proposal of the Federal Republic of Germany [A/31/242].

87. I turn now to the vital question of disarmament. We share the general concern over the lack of progress in disarmament. The situation has, in fact, been deteriorating, as the Foreign Minister of Singapore, Mr. S. Rajaratnam, reminded us the other day in his thoughtful and thought-provoking policy statement [10th meeting]. I suggest that that statement be reread by the members of the General Assembly.

88. We are deeply disturbed by the continuing upward trend in the production, stockpiling and proliferation of armaments and particularly of the means for the production of nuclear armaments. The years go by, but not one plane or missile is dismantled except because of old age, to be replaced by new and ever more destructive models; and although we grow accustomed to their presence, they pose an ever greater threat to the survival of mankind.

89. The world has become increasingly alarmed—and rightly so—about the spread of the means to produce nuclear weaponry. But the threat inherent in the continued "horizontal proliferation" of nuclear capacity is not as

immediate as the continued “vertical proliferation” in the arms race among the nuclear Powers. Their failure to effect cutbacks in nuclear arms, or even cutbacks in ceilings for strategic nuclear systems, is a source of the gravest disappointment and alarm.

90. The wastage in resources that could otherwise be put to constructive uses is, indeed, staggering. As the Secretary-General has reminded us:

“Resources devoted to the arms race since the end of the Second World War have exceeded \$6,000 billion, which is roughly equivalent to the 1976 gross national product of the entire world”. [A/31/1/Add.1, sect. V].

That is tragic, indeed.

91. It is time, certainly, for an act of high statesmanship which can break the vicious circle of action and reaction now spiralling towards catastrophe. An announcement, for instance, ending all nuclear tests and placing a moratorium on peaceful nuclear explosions could break the present deadlock and set in motion the processes of successful negotiations. The renunciation of the most deadly chemical weapons—nerve gases—could also lead to successful negotiations, as a similar initiative did in the case of biological weapons, which are now banned from national arsenals and destroyed.

92. What, additionally, can the United Nations do? If a world disarmament conference cannot be held under appropriate United Nations auspices, the Philippines is prepared to support the proposal of the non-aligned group to hold a special session of the General Assembly in 1977, devoted to the problems of the arms race and disarmament.⁴ This is the very least we can do during the so-called Disarmament Decade, now fast running out.

93. The instrumentalities which we employ to reach decisions and agreements, and to carry out and implement their terms, must be adequate to the task. When I noted on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations⁵ that it had proved remarkably adaptable, and its founders unusually prescient, I also pointed out that the Organization was not adequate in all respects to the new requirements confronting it.

94. This realization was shared by others, and we are gratified that a large majority of Members now agree that a review of the structure of the United Nations, of its Charter and of possible improvements in both is, as I stated during the twenty-fifth anniversary session, “no longer deferable”. We welcomed the establishment by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session of an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations to consider the observations of Governments on needed changes in the United Nations Charter, specific proposals for enhancing the ability of the United Nations to achieve its purposes, and any other suggestions for the more effective functioning of the United Nations, whether or not they would require amendments to the Charter [resolution 3349 (XXIX)].

95. Upon the far-sighted initiative of the Government of Romania, this Committee has now become the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, and its membership has been increased a second time, to 47 [resolution 3499 (XXX)]. During its meetings this year, the Special Committee began its substantive work considering item by item the suggestions of members. Many valuable and innovative suggestions were made, and a number of members submitted working papers. We look forward to the renewal of the mandate of the Special Committee with very broad support, and to the continuation of its valuable work in the coming year.

96. We cannot, and will not, rest in this task until the United Nations is adequately equipped with the machinery and mechanisms it needs in the field of peace-keeping, the peaceful settlement of disputes, decision-making and the promotion and protection of human rights. Whatever the reasons for inaction on the part of its Members with regard to the major problems and tasks facing the United Nations, the excuse of the inadequacy of the world Organization must be removed once and for all by its improvement.

97. We have the responsibility to assure for present and future generations that the spaceship, earth, has an adequately instrumented guidance centre to direct it through the trying, yet creative, days that lie before us. And what is that global guidance centre, if not this United Nations?

98. I should like to conclude this statement with a brief tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose term of office ends in December this year. He has done an outstanding job at an extremely difficult time in the life of the United Nations—a time, as I have noted, of disenchantment and even of antagonism towards the Organization, and a time, moreover, of portentous change, marking a far-reaching shift in emphasis from political confrontations between great Powers to an economic dialogue between the rich and the poor nations which could shape the future of our world. As he has correctly observed:

“Although East-West problems persist in many fields, the North-South relationship is in one form or another increasingly the basic theme of our debates”. [A/31/1/Add.1, sect. II].

While effectively practising “quiet diplomacy”—he is a quiet man—to forestall violence in southern Africa, to maintain the precarious peace in Cyprus and in the Middle East, and to damp down dangerous tensions in other places, the Secretary-General has also performed invaluable service in facilitating the crucial dialogue on the new international economic order. The key office of Secretary-General could not have been placed in better hands during this time of historic change and transition. In our estimation, Secretary-General Waldheim deserves to be highly commended for a difficult job well done.

99. Mr. MACOVESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I should like to extend most cordial congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly. The unanimous confidence placed in you for presiding over our debates is warmly shared by the

⁴ See document A/31/197, annex I, para. 139.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1855th meeting.

Romanian delegation and is fully justified by your long association with United Nations activities, and by your well-known qualities as a statesman and a diplomat that were brilliantly confirmed during the complex negotiations for the democratization of the law of the sea over which you presided. To our esteem for you we add the bonds of friendship and co-operation so fortunately existing between Romania and your country, the Republic of Sri Lanka, in order to give full expression to our satisfaction with your presence at this high rostrum.

100. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the representative of a friendly nation, Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for the competence and effectiveness with which he directed the work of the thirtieth session.

101. May I also take this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the assurances of our high appreciation of his devotion to the cause of the United Nations and of his efforts to strengthen the United Nations' role in international life, efforts which we follow with keen interest and which we hope will be continued in the years to come.

102. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania is participating in this session of the General Assembly firmly determined to contribute to the settlement of the issues on the agenda, to the successful conclusion of the debates and to the raising of United Nations activity up to the legitimate hopes placed by the peoples in this Organization. The touchstone for the success of our endeavours is to what degree we shall be able to meet by deeds the imperative of our days: the building of a new international economic and political order which, based on new and democratic principles steeped in equity and justice, can truly guarantee the economic and social advancement of all nations.

103. The ferment stirred in the world arena by the ideas and objectives of a new international order, of a better and more just world, comes from the great revolutionary social and national changes that have been occurring throughout the world, from the ever stronger assertion of peoples' determination to decide their own fate, to secure their free and independent development and to live together in a climate of peace, security and co-operation. An important part in bringing about those changes has been played by the socialist countries, by their achievements in economic and social development and by the influence of socialism upon mankind's entire historical evolution. At the same time, the course of international life is strongly influenced by the policy of the newly independent States, which have freed themselves from colonial domination and are asserting themselves more and more firmly as distinct, free and independent nations. The combativeness of the broad masses everywhere in the world for a renewed society and for a policy of peace and international co-operation is also a factor of particular importance in the changes that have occurred in the world.

104. Those changes find expression in the unflinching determination of peoples to fight for the observance of their right to make decisions in their own country, to do away with the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist

policy of domination and exploitation and to build new relations among States. We see this happening wherever we look on this earth. The historic victories won by the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos against foreign interference and internal reaction, the successes scored by the national liberation movements that have brought the colonial system to the edge of its final eradication, the actions taken by the developing countries with a view to becoming masters of their national wealth and to using it in their own interests—all this is most telling evidence.

105. A significant moment in the assertion of the peoples' right to free and independent development and of the participation of all States in the world political life, on an equal footing, was marked by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which took place in Colombo last August. Considering that the non-aligned movement is an especially important factor in international life, the Romanian people welcomed with great satisfaction the Conference's decision to invite Romania to participate in the activities of the non-aligned countries.

106. As a result of the changes and transformations that have occurred in the world, a process of détente and co-operation has begun to take shape in international life. But that process is still only beginning; it is still fragile and not irreversible. There are still forces capable of endangering international peace and security. It is therefore more necessary now than ever before that all States and peoples intensify their endeavours to put an end to the old policy based on relations of subordination among States and peoples, on relations of paternalism, and on the logic of force and arbitrariness in international life. It is that policy that has engendered numerous confrontations and conflicts, and has created a profoundly unfair international division of labour, which has caused the great gaps existing between the development levels of different States.

107. The fulfilment of the peoples' aspirations for freedom and independence is inconsistent with the maintenance of the old order. Nowadays it is becoming ever clearer that, as President Nicolae Ceausescu has said:

“... the old domestic and international relations created by the capitalist régime and by imperialist policy no longer correspond to the present stage of development of society and no longer offer appropriate solutions to the complex issues confronting peoples and contemporary mankind as a whole.”

108. In our view, to set up a new international order means to undertake an innovating process of ending the outdated relations of domination and of building a new series of democratic relations among all States based upon the principles of international law. This implies the establishment of new, universally valid rules of conduct in inter-State relations which should, by ruling out the old inequities, open vast prospects for peaceful and freely accepted co-operation among partners having equal rights. The substance of those rules is the observance, in relations among all States, of the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equal rights, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, mutual benefit and non-use of force or the threat of force. Those are the pillars on which

new inter-State relations can be built. Some try to apply obsolete political doctrines to the new realities that are emerging, to revive in theory and practice the old tendencies to deny the basic role of a nation and of national independence as essential factors in the present historical stage of economic and social progress and in the maintenance of international peace and security, but the peoples cannot and will not accept such attempts. On the other hand, the principles that I have just mentioned are receiving ever wider recognition as the only ones capable of ensuring co-operation and understanding among States and a lasting peace throughout the world. But it is still necessary to bridge the gap between their theoretical acknowledgement and their observance in practice.

109. Socialist Romania has adopted those principles as the foundation of its relations with all States. This has been enshrined in my country's Constitution. Those principles represent the quintessence of our people's concept of the ethics that should govern international life. It is in this spirit that Romania has concluded treaties of friendship and co-operation, as well as joint declarations, at the level of Heads of State, with one third of the States Members of the United Nations. These documents are known to the General Assembly since almost all of them have been circulated as official documents of the United Nations. Thus an effective contribution has been made to the work of establishing new relations among States. At the present stage of international relations we think that those principles should be better defined and developed with the participation of all States and that their authority should be enhanced.

110. A basic factor in the construction of the new international order is disarmament and, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament, which is the vital requirement of mankind's future.

111. After years of lengthy discussions on disarmament within the United Nations as well as in other forums, the absence of tangible results in this field can be neither explained nor understood by the peoples. Without denying the contribution made by the few treaties concluded so far to the creation of a climate of understanding, we have to admit that they have by no means affected the bases of armaments. On the contrary, the reality is that during all those years the arms race, especially the nuclear one, has taken a dizzy rapid upward spiral extremely dangerous to the very existence of man on this planet and to all his achievements.

Mr. Montiel Argüello (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

112. The arms race not only seriously endangers the peace and security of the world but also does immense harm to the cause of development. It is quite clear that armaments have harmful economic and social consequences because they contribute to inflation, create artificial barriers to the transfer of technology and equipment and decrease the exchange of information and scientific knowledge.

113. At the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that the continuation of the arms race acts as a stimulating factor for the imperialist policy of force and *diktat*, of interference in the internal affairs of other peoples and of the

perpetuation of hotbeds of tension in various regions. Can we afford to accept the idea that weapons, including nuclear ones, will be continually improved and piled up in arsenals that have already surpassed the level of super-saturation, just for the sake of stockpiling and of achieving hypothetical balances on which to base the peace and security of peoples?

114. We think that stopping the arms race is the highest responsibility and greatest obligation of Governments and politicians to their own peoples and to the cause of civilization and progress. As President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized:

"...it would be an unforgivable mistake to give the peoples the illusion that they can live quietly and safely while more and more new stockpiles of destructive weapons are accumulated at an extremely rapid pace in the world. We must openly show the reality of the situation to the peoples and take action before it is too late to adopt resolute measures for stopping the arms race."

115. In the view of the Romanian delegation it is time to go beyond routine action and inertia and to strengthen the role of the United Nations and, above all, the role of the General Assembly, which should include disarmament issues among its essential concerns and proceed to a meaningful discussion of them and to the adoption of effective measures.

116. Starting from these considerations and desiring to contribute to getting the disarmament negotiations out of the present stalemate so as to make possible the adoption of measures that would finally lead to general and complete disarmament, the Romanian Government submitted to the previous session of the United Nations General Assembly an official document containing my country's position on the problems of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and on the establishment of a lasting peace in the world.⁶ In that document Romania proposed a set of measures concerning the following: the freezing and reduction of military budgets; the banning, gradual reduction and, in the long run, liquidation of nuclear armaments; the creation of nuclear-free zones of peace and co-operation; the adoption of partial and regional measures of disarmament and military disengagement; the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament; the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and of the General Assembly in the field of disarmament; the banning of war propaganda; and the mobilization of all forces of society to achieve disarmament.

117. Taking into account the ever increasing urgency of the problem of disarmament, I should like to reaffirm the importance which Romania attaches to the measures proposed in the above-mentioned document and, at the same time, to stress once more the necessity that all States should intensify their efforts with a view to taking effective disarmament measures, particularly in the field of nuclear disarmament. It is necessary that public opinion be widely informed—and here the United Nations can play a decisive role—of the present situation in the field of armaments, of

⁶ See document A/10123.

the consequences of the arms race, and of the measures to be taken for disarmament, since these problems in the last analysis affect the existence of every individual, the broad masses and the peoples. It is on this force and on the conscience of peoples that we must rely in our activities concerning disarmament. We consider that an appropriate method of starting a powerful process of disarmament would be the convening of a special session of the General Assembly specially devoted to disarmament issues. Such a session would offer a propitious framework for the involvement and participation of all States on an equal footing in the discussion and solution of this problem which is crucial for the contemporary world.

118. The urgency of the adoption of concrete measures with regard to disarmament and military disengagement appears particularly evident in view of the present situation in Europe. It is here that we find the largest concentration of military forces and the most powerful arsenal, including nuclear weapons, ever known in history. It is also here that the two military blocs confront each other. In our opinion, the process of building peace and security in Europe as well as throughout the world cannot take on durability and substance until the problems of disarmament and, above all, of nuclear disarmament are tackled in substance and with the clear determination to reach a basic settlement.

119. That is why we stress the need for determined action aimed at rapid and concrete measures of military disengagement and disarmament, at the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other States, at the dismantling of foreign military bases, as well as at the adoption of other similar steps, thus creating the necessary conditions for the simultaneous liquidation of the two military blocs—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact. The necessity of concluding agreements providing for adequate guarantees that will effectively lead to the outlawing of the use or threat of force is becoming ever stronger. The peoples will thus become more confident that they are not going to be the victims of any foreign aggression or interference, whatever form or pretext it might take.

120. In this context the Romanian delegation wishes to draw attention to the fact that lately, along with the intensification of the nuclear arms race, actions are being taken to prevent the peaceful uses of nuclear energy by countries which, having signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], have renounced the acquisition of these weapons. These actions demonstrate an unawareness of the provisions of the Treaty, which in article IV states that:

“Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so shall also co-operate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States Parties to the Treaty . . .”.

The measures and actions taken by a limited group of States in order to restrain and hinder the peaceful uses of atomic energy could undermine the very substance of the non-proliferation Treaty. It must be clear to everyone that the future of this Treaty is linked to respect for the right of

non-nuclear-weapon States to have access, without discrimination, to the widest possible exchanges of equipment, materials and scientific and technical information with a view to the peaceful use of nuclear energy. The future of the Treaty also depends just as much on the fulfilment of the obligations undertaken by the nuclear-weapon States to encourage and facilitate access to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy by non-nuclear States.

121. In my Government's opinion, any approach failing to take these considerations into account, any limitations, restrictions or disregard of the right to the peaceful use of atomic energy, will encourage States to reconsider their position on this Treaty.

122. European security and the establishment of new relations of trust and co-operation among all the States of the continent can only be a joint enterprise and the responsibility of all the countries of Europe. That is why we consider the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, based on the equal rights of the participants, as a historic event in European political life.

123. Although certain results have been achieved in the implementation of the Final Act adopted by the Conference, we have to admit that the hopes placed in the document signed at Helsinki by our peoples are still awaiting fulfilment. As we have pointed out, in Europe there are still unresolved complex and serious issues on whose settlement the peace, security, freedom and welfare of the peoples of the continent depend. We think that we should act with all the energy at our command in order to implement the documents of the Conference and to continue the multilateral process of achieving security and co-operation in Europe. Otherwise, the Final Act will remain a mere statement of good intentions such as Europe has already known in the course of time; and that would mean that no wisdom has been gained from the hard lessons European history has taught us more than once. Therefore, the meeting which is to take place in Belgrade in 1977 will have to give strong impetus to the execution of the measures and actions agreed upon in the Final Act and bring about new progress in the process of building up lasting security and co-operation among the participating countries. This will be highly beneficial for the cause of peace and co-operation of all peoples based on equality.

124. Within this process we attach particular importance to the establishment of new relations of co-operation and good-neighbourliness among the Balkan countries, with a view to transforming that zone, as well as other zones in Europe and in other continents, into a zone of peace and peaceful co-operation, which is part and parcel of European security.

125. The achievement of a new international order also requires determined endeavours for the liquidation of the sources of tension and animosity and for the extinction of hotbeds of conflict. Under present international circumstances, the attempts at settling these issues by force can only lead to new tension and conflict. That is why, in order to arrive at just settlements of disagreements among States, it is necessary to act in a spirit of high responsibility, through direct talks and negotiations among the parties concerned which should be based upon the observance of

the right to self-determination of each and every nation and on the observance of every people's independence. It is our firm belief that this is the only way to settle issues in the interest of each and every people and of the general cause of progress and peace.

126. In that spirit, we are of the opinion that there should be an intensification of the efforts to attain, in the shortest possible time, a fair and lasting peace in the Middle East. The essential components of an equitable solution which could bring about that peace are: Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the attainment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people—including their right to have their own independent State—and the guaranteeing of the independence and sovereignty of all the countries in the region.

127. We think that in Lebanon too peace can be restored only through negotiations. We declare ourselves to be in favour of the immediate cessation of fighting and the reaching of an understanding among the political and social forces in Lebanon that would ensure the integrity, unity and sovereignty of that State and would lead to the ruling out of any foreign interference in its internal affairs.

128. In Cyprus as well there is no other way for settling the situation except the political way, based on the maintenance of that State's independence and sovereignty and on the peaceful coexistence of the two communities. We place legitimate hope in the furthering of the dialogue between the two communities and in the role which such a dialogue might play as a means of restoring confidence among all the inhabitants of Cyprus.

129. In Korea the fragile armistice has to be replaced by a lasting peace. We think that the political initiatives and the constructive proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, if receptivity is shown towards them, could lead to that peace, to the fulfilment of the Korean people's vital aspirations to the peaceful, independent and democratic reunification of their homeland.

130. In the spirit of the aforementioned basic principles, Romania acts with perseverance, within the means at its disposal, to contribute to the extinction of all hotbeds of tension and to the settlement of all controversial issues by peaceful and political means.

131. The establishment of a new order in the world also requires the adoption of decisive measures aimed at securing the quick and final liberation of all peoples from any foreign oppression and the complete elimination of colonialism and its manifestations: racial discrimination and the policy of *apartheid*.

132. In that connexion, we actively support the struggle of the peoples in Namibia and Rhodesia, as well as in other Territories, to put an end to colonial domination. In the same spirit we firmly condemn also the bloody repressions engaged in by the racist régime in South Africa.

133. In our view, firm measures should be taken, within the framework of the United Nations, to give effective support to the national liberation movements in these Territories, especially since the General Assembly has

recognized those movements as the authentic representatives of their peoples. At the same time, we think that the General Assembly should establish precise deadlines, as early as possible—one or two years—during which the Powers still having colonial possessions or administering Territories which do not belong to them should create all the conditions necessary for the respective peoples to be able freely to exercise the right to decide their own destiny. The effective transfer of power or the recognition of the exercise of that right will have to be carried out, according to the circumstances, under the General Assembly's control or observation.

134. We deem it to be a duty of honour on the part of the United Nations and all States to take resolute action for the permanent liquidation of the colonialist policy and all forms of colonialism and domination, as well as for the rejection of any acts aimed at their revival.

135. On the economic plane, one of the foremost objectives of the new order is the promotion of the more rapid advancement of the under-developed countries, the elimination of under-development and the bridging of the great economic gaps among States. That is a *sine qua non* for real security and lasting peace throughout the world.

136. Of decisive importance for the liquidation of under-development and the bridging of gaps are the efforts made by all peoples, the mobilization of their entire material and human potential for the development of forces of production. Life itself and the experience of many peoples, including the Romanian people, bear witness to that fact. It is precisely in this way, by persevering work, by the pursuit of a policy of systematically allotting a large part of the national income to development, that the Romanian people have succeeded in scoring great achievements in economic and social development and in raising their living standard.

137. At the same time, international economic co-operation has an important part to play in assisting the endeavours of the developing countries to speed up their progress. The economically advanced countries that have exercised colonial domination have the moral duty now to make their contribution to the liquidation of under-development and to the narrowing of the gaps. It is also a great duty of honour for all countries to help accelerate the economic and social advancement of the under-developed States. The establishment of the new economic order designed to ensure the stability and harmonious development of the economy of the whole world is a common cause for all countries and peoples, and no one can avoid this imperative of history. This is an imperative necessity for the development of human society. Mankind can no longer advance in a situation where there are a small number of prosperous and rich countries and a large number of extremely poor countries.

138. Poverty and wealth, increasingly polarized, cannot coexist indefinitely. Such a state of affairs will lead unavoidably to instability, to explosive situations and to conflicts leaving serious repercussions for international peace and security. It is in the interest of all nations, including the advanced States, that the developing countries should receive ever greater help in building up their own industries, developing their economies more rapidly, render-

ing their national resources more fully profitable, and participating actively, on terms of complete equality, in the exchange of material and spiritual values.

139. An outstanding and highly responsible role is to be played in this connexion by the United Nations and its agencies. We have a positive assessment of the actions taken so far towards the establishment of the new economic order. In this connexion, we emphasize the importance we attach to the work of the recent fourth session of UNCTAD, recently held in Nairobi, which highlighted the determination and concern of the developing countries to unite their efforts in order to achieve just and equitable solutions for international economic problems, in the spirit of the programme adopted in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, a friendly country whose contribution to the formulation of the document is greatly appreciated. We deem it necessary that measures should be taken to ensure steadfast supervision of the implementation of the measures agreed upon. On the other hand, further and greater efforts should be made within the framework of the United Nations to finalize concrete programmes and determine means of practical action aimed at the attainment of the various objectives of the new economic order. We shall also have to envisage the most appropriate framework for the working out, with the participation of all States, of a unitary concept to guide the multilateral negotiations held to that end.

140. Wishing to contribute to the fulfilment of the requirements of the new international economic order, Romania, which is a socialist country and a member of the Group of 77, has both in the United Nations and in other international organizations presented a number of concrete proposals involving steps to be taken towards a gradual bridging of the great gaps between States, to the growth of international co-operation and to the establishment of new and fair relations between States. It is in the spirit of those proposals that we shall make an active contribution to the identification of the best ways and means of fulfilling the desired goals.

141. The establishment of a new international order, therefore, involves a large number of the aspects of international relations. It raises complex issues whose proper examination and settlement call for the co-operation and active contribution of all States on an equal footing. The natural framework for approaching and analyzing these questions is the United Nations, its organs and agencies.

142. For all these reasons, and as a matter of principle, an elementary requirement is the creation of appropriate conditions which would ensure the participation of all States in United Nations activities.

143. In this respect I should like to extend our greetings to the new Member of our Organization, the Republic of Seychelles, to which we address a cordial welcome and assurances of our entire co-operation. We warmly support the lawful desire of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as soon as possible to take its rightful seat in the United Nations. The admission of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations would be an act of justice towards the Vietnamese people, which has suffered greatly during its struggle for independence and national unity; it would also

be in the interests of international peace and understanding, and it would be in the interests of the Organization itself. We also express our hope that the right of the People's Republic of Angola to become a Member of this Organization will soon be unanimously recognized.

144. The universality of this Organization, which we favour, also has a qualitative aspect. It is in the general interest that problems directly concerning all peoples, progress and peace should be tackled and discussed within the United Nations, where each has his say, and not outside the Organization. It is here, and only here, that a consensus can be reached for their fair and equitable solution, which must be our common goal.

145. Undoubtedly it is necessary to improve the working style and methods of the Organization so as to make possible a quicker and more efficient examination of the issues before it. There is a need for improvement in the structure of the Organization, which should adequately reflect the great changes that have occurred in the world since the establishment of the United Nations, the growing role of the small and medium-sized countries and the developing and non-aligned countries which form the greatest part of the world and are directly interested in the fair settlement of international issues. Romania's proposals concerning the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in international life, submitted to the General Assembly in a document at the last session,⁷ were conceived precisely in that spirit.

146. We are happy that, thanks to the initiative of the Romanian Government in 1972, we have been able to contribute to the initiation of a process meant to strengthen the Organization. We believe that the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization has done useful work, but it is necessary for that Committee fully to carry out the mandate entrusted to it. In our opinion, it should make great efforts—possibly through a more precise mandate—so that it might become a real laboratory in which generally acceptable solutions and measures aimed at raising United Nations activities to a higher level could be prepared.

147. We are confident that the need for the democratization of the United Nations taking due account of the changes that have occurred in the contemporary world will be understood by all. By reflecting those changes and the fundamental objectives of present-day international life, the United Nations Charter will in its entire contents have to inspire and direct the process involved in the establishment of truly democratic and fair relations among States, the process of setting up a new international economic and political order. By acting along those lines the United Nations will be able to make a more substantial and efficient contribution to the consolidation of the new direction taken in international relations and to the creation of a climate of détente, co-operation and understanding among nations.

148. The United Nations has begun to have its own history. More than three decades have elapsed since its creation. But that is one more reason for us to ask ourselves

⁷ See document A/C.6/437.

over and over again unceasingly if we have done everything we should have done to justify the trust and the hope people have placed in this body. It is a forum in which we must not waste our time in sterile discussion but in which, on the contrary, we must focus our attention on analysing issues, on discovering the most appropriate solutions acceptable to all and on the means of putting into practice what has been decided upon here.

149. That question cannot be rhetorical. Our concrete activity should be its answer.

150. The Romanian delegation is confident that by combining our endeavours and by approaching the debates of this session in a highly responsible manner, we shall succeed in responding to the hopes of our peoples, the 4 billion human beings who wish to live in peace and co-operation.

151. We have to fulfil our duty towards them.

152. We have to do our utmost to build a better and fairer world.

153. Mr. FORLANI (Italy):⁸ In speaking for the first time from this rostrum in my new capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Italian Republic, I wish, on behalf of the Government of which I have the honour to be a part, to convey to Ambassador Amerasinghe warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly. I also wish to associate myself with the expressions of appreciation which have been voiced for the effective and impartial work of his predecessor, Mr. Thorn.

154. It is, in our opinion, particularly significant that such an eminent international personality has been chosen to discharge the highest responsibilities of the thirty-first session of this Assembly, the representative of a country known and appreciated for its active and incisive work in the cause of the strengthening of peace and the development of world co-operation.

155. This year, the Republic of Sri Lanka has rightly occupied the centre of world attention for the dignified and successful way it organized and acted as host for the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. My Government has followed carefully the work of that important meeting and has noted with great interest its conclusions,⁹ which were so significantly recalled yesterday by the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka [*11th meeting*].

156. In recent years world history has evolved more and more according to a single pattern in which all States, the various economic systems, and the prospects of progress and peace for all peoples of the world are united in interdependence.

157. Italy is convinced of the need, which was also stressed at the Colombo Conference, to achieve a new

international economic order which will allow every nation to follow the path of development most appropriate to its own requirements and traditions and to enjoy a fair share of the world process of the production and distribution of goods. This objective will be attained only in an economic system in which the basic problems of raw materials, trade, the indebtedness of the developing countries and the transfer of technology have been solved.

158. An essential component of this new international economic order is the development of the emerging countries. Italy, within the framework of the European Community, but also in its own right, intends to continue making every possible effort to ensure progress in this direction.

159. In particular, we intend to continue giving our financial and political support to the initiatives taken by the United Nations in favour of development. We support those programmes in the developing countries which are designed to promote the balanced development of the economy—that is, which not only promote the expansion of the industrial sector, but are also aimed at achieving a modern agricultural sector capable of ensuring self-sufficiency in food. Along these lines Italy has actively encouraged the establishment of the International Fund for Agricultural Development, has pledged a substantial contribution to its initial capital and has declared its readiness to act as host for the new agency.

160. Italy, in agreement with the other countries of the European Community, will continue to make an active and concrete contribution to the establishment of an equitable and stable system of international economic relations, working in the various appropriate forums, and primarily in UNCTAD and other United Nations bodies, as well as in the Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

161. The field of international economic relations is, in our opinion—and I want to stress this—one where the United Nations and its dependent bodies have an essential role to play, a role which we think should be strengthened, extended and deepened.

162. This spirit of open-mindedness and friendly co-operation with the developing countries has just been significantly reaffirmed by my Government on the occasion of the welcome visit to Rome of the Prime Minister of Angola, Mr. Lopo do Nascimento.

163. A condition which is necessary—though not in itself sufficient—to bring about the desirable strengthening of the role of the United Nations in this as in other fields of its work is the universality of the United Nations. Further progress has been made also this year towards the achievement of this goal with the admission of a new Member, the Republic of Seychelles, to which the Italian Government wishes, through me, to convey its warmest greetings, hoping at the same time that other countries, whose aspirations are well known, will soon be able to join the Organization.

164. Universality and the constructive participation of all will allow the United Nations to fulfil the task which the international community expects of it: the safeguarding of international peace and security. We all feel the need for a

⁸ Mr. Forlani spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

⁹ See document A/31/197.

greater participation of the Organization in the control and solution of the political, economic and military crises which arise and become chronic in various parts of the world around us. Only the United Nations, because of its universality, can represent and harmonize the aspirations and interests of all States and all peoples; only the United Nations system, which was originally established on the foundation of an ethical and legal system of civilized international coexistence and has grown in size and authority on that foundation, can achieve a peace not only based on the hard reality of the balance of power but also guaranteed by the certainty of law and by justice.

165. With these convictions, Italy intends to participate actively in the efforts now being made to bring about the strengthening of the United Nations and the increased rationalization of its machinery while at the same time, in a responsible manner, it will not disregard the need felt in certain respects for an updating of the Charter, including its terminology, so as to reflect changed realities.

166. This Assembly has already heard the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands [7th meeting]; the representative of the country now exercising the presidency of the European Community. I wish to recall everything that he has said in that capacity as the expression of the joint convictions of our nine European countries and also as the expression of our common feelings in the face of conflicts which involve—as in Lebanon—an intolerable burden of destruction and human suffering.

167. The Italian Government, Parliament and public opinion are deeply concerned at the tragic events which have brought mourning and ruin to a country to which Italy has been and remains linked by ancient ties of solidarity and friendship.

168. In Lebanon there has for too long continued a situation which is further undermining security in an already very troubled region and which involves obvious risks of repercussions on a larger scale which would be difficult to control. Also, in accord with the other countries of the European Community, we have done our utmost to encourage every initiative to secure a truce and to support all efforts to settle the crisis, particularly those undertaken by the League of Arab States. The process of the political settlement of this crisis can be started only if it is based on respect for the unity, integrity and independence of Lebanon, which, in our opinion, are essential for the establishment of a just and balanced peace in the Middle East.

169. We maintain that the United Nations must stimulate the efforts being made at the regional level and facilitate them as much as possible.

170. We wish to express our appreciation for the humanitarian work which the United Nations has been and is carrying out in Lebanon, particularly under the direction of Secretary-General Waldheim.

171. Italy, too, is participating in the humanitarian work of assistance and relief to the stricken peoples, but it is clear that the conscience of the international community

expects and desires a more determined initiative capable of bringing about a truce and the start of negotiations.

172. Now that President Sarkis has assumed the office of head of State, I wish to confirm Italy's hope that the convergence of views necessary to achieve a truce and the beginning of a process of détente and peace may be built up, in a new climate, around his person.

173. Notwithstanding the complexity of their origins, the tragic events in Lebanon are also linked to the failure to find a just and lasting solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In particular, the connexion between the general Middle East crisis and the Lebanese situation clearly reveals the crucial need to reach a just solution of the Palestinian problem. Without a definite prospect of finding such a solution, the spiral of mistrust and tension will only increase.

174. We must work urgently and with determination to promote a sincere acceptance of the negotiating option involving all the parties concerned and covering all the different aspects of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

175. To this end, Italy is convinced that the negotiating process must be aimed at a comprehensive peace settlement within the framework of the resolutions of the Security Council. This settlement should be sought through the application of the following principles: first, the withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied in June 1967 and the cessation of all those measures which, by consolidating the fait accompli of the occupation, are aimed in a direction opposite to the desirable one; secondly, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all the States of the region, including Israel, within secure, recognized and internationally guaranteed frontiers—precisely in order to meet this need in a concrete way, Italy, together with its partners in the European Community, may at an appropriate stage put forward suggestions for an effective system of international guarantees—and thirdly, recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, aiming at the establishment of their own State, national rights which must be translated into facts.

176. The events in Lebanon and the crisis in the Middle East are not the only sources of serious concern to be found in the eastern Mediterranean, a region of such vital importance for world peace. We continue, in fact, to be deeply preoccupied by the question of Cyprus because of the prolonged delay in the achievement of a negotiated settlement. Italy, in the context of the political co-operation of the member States of the European Community, is actively encouraging the good offices rendered for some time now in such an intelligent and constructive way by the Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, to whom I am glad to convey the deep-felt appreciation of the Italian Government. We earnestly hope that the talks between the two communities will be resumed as soon as possible and will rapidly bring about a just solution based on respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

177. Because of the traditional friendship which links us to both parties and because of the ties which unite us with them within the North Atlantic Alliance and through the

European Community, we are also seriously concerned at the differences which have arisen between Greece and Turkey and at the events in the Aegean. Italy fully supports the invitation recently addressed to them by the Security Council in its resolution 395 (1976) to resume negotiations and to seek a friendly settlement to their dispute, and, together with its partners in the European Community, stands available to facilitate every possible move in that direction.

178. The most recent and dramatic developments in southern Africa involve not only the defence of peace and security but also the realization of the principles of freedom, equality and justice on which the values of the international community and the Charter of the United Nations are based.

179. The people of Namibia, in spite of the resolutions of the United Nations, which is responsible for this Territory, have not yet been granted the opportunity to exercise their right to independence through a democratic process involving all the political forces of the country, including SWAPO, under the supervision of the United Nations.

180. In Rhodesia, the spiral of armed clashes runs the risk of leading to an armed conflict with neighbouring countries and may be stopped only with the acceptance of a peaceful transition of Zimbabwe to a system based on majority rule.

181. In South Africa, events have confirmed the collapse of the policy of *apartheid*, so often condemned by the United Nations, while tension is increasing throughout the country and prospects of achieving a just reorganization of interracial relations appear more and more difficult.

182. Together with the other countries of the European Community, Italy has expressed its support for the liberation of southern Africa from colonialism and racism. Italy supports the initiatives undertaken in co-operation with the front-line African countries in the search for peaceful solutions through which the genuine aspirations of the peoples concerned will be realized.

183. In particular, Italy, together with the other countries of the European Community, has followed with favour and expectation the efforts being made by Secretary of State Kissinger and the African leaders. Accordingly, the Italian Government expresses its appreciation and support for the British Government's intention to convene a conference to lay out the ground for the creation of a provisional Government in Rhodesia.

184. The crises that I have mentioned are certainly the major causes of tension which today threaten international peace and security since the long war in Indo-China was finally brought to an end.

185. In that region, a patient work of reconstruction is in progress and the Italian Government, mindful of the mourning and sacrifices that this conflict has entailed, shares the hope that a national reconciliation will allow all available energies to be channelled towards objectives of progress and civilization.

186. The recent incidents which have taken place in Korea and the tension prevailing there provide a clear confirma-

tion of the urgent need for a resumption of the dialogue and a normalization of relations between the two States of the peninsula.

187. To defend peace not only in those areas where it is today directly threatened but also in regions where the presence of large military forces confronting each other is a constant source of concern, there is no other path but the progressive and balanced reduction of these forces. Italy intends to make its own active contribution to this goal in all appropriate international forums.

188. We are therefore taking part with conviction in the Vienna negotiations for the mutual and balanced reduction of the forces in central Europe, and we are looking forward with confidence and expectation to the steps which we hope the major nuclear Powers will take along the path traced out by the first agreements for the limitation of strategic weapons and by the subsequent understandings reached at Vladivostok.

189. Moreover, we cannot conceal our disappointment at the limited progress so far achieved in the field of reductions of atomic weapons, in spite of the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. Everything, or nearly everything, still remains to be accomplished in this respect; and Italy, which has signed, ratified and implemented that Treaty and expects the other signatories to do the same, is fully aware of this situation.

190. Italy is, furthermore, continuing to be actively engaged in Geneva in the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. This is still considered by us the main forum for disarmament negotiations, whether on nuclear or conventional weapons. Its work, however, I must stress, can go forward only to the extent that the States participating in it have a real desire to make progress. In this respect, we cannot refrain from emphasizing that the summer session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has produced certain important new elements which could be further developed. We cite among others the new proposals for the prohibition of chemical weapons, the substantial and positive beginning which has been made by the seismic experts in their meetings on the control of nuclear explosions and the progress achieved with regard to environmental war, with the elaboration of a draft convention on that subject.

191. It is, however, not the intention of the Italian Government to confine its action to the negotiations within the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. It is indeed our intention to offer an active contribution to the achievement of concrete progress towards new operational agreements wherever possible. But disarmament is merely an element—at the same time, one of the causes and the effect—of détente in East-West relations.

192. Certainly, in accordance with the spirit and commitment of all the signatories of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, détente must continue to inspire East-West relations; but, if it is to be maintained and consolidated, détente must be given new dimensions and must be nurtured with more ambitious ideals. It is not enough merely to create better

conditions for the development of substantial economic, commercial, technical and scientific links between the countries of the two areas in the Northern Hemisphere. Détente must progressively and effectively remove the causes of conflict and confrontation—a confrontation which, anyhow, the European conscience has always considered a violent, painful and undesirable tearing apart of its own historical and cultural fabric.

193. In this spirit, and in anticipation of the conference to be held next year in Belgrade to review the status of the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, Italy insists on the balanced fulfilment of the Final Act in all its parts, particularly the part concerning the free circulation of individuals and ideas.

194. I believe that what I have said gives a fair idea of the basic guidelines of Italy's foreign policy. It is a policy of dialogue, open discussion and co-operation. But it is also a policy of principles based on respect for and affirmation of the rights of States and the fundamental freedoms of their citizens.

195. Inspired by those principles, we are operating not only in the broad framework of bilateral relations but also on a series of different levels which are none the less interdependent: the European Community, the Atlantic Alliance and the United Nations.

196. It is a policy whose general aspects are well known; its basic choices date back many years and on them there exists a full measure of agreement in our national Parliament, among our political forces and throughout our country.

197. The design of the European Union remains a fundamental political choice which we wish to confirm and develop. This process has now entered upon a new phase involving deeper commitment as a result of the decision taken by the Heads of State and Government of the nine members of the European Community to elect the European Parliament on the basis of universal and direct suffrage. We have thus created the pre-conditions for the more vigorous participation of our peoples in the programme for the unification of Europe of which they must be the protagonists.

198. The European Community is not, in our view, a political area sufficient unto itself and closed within itself. On the contrary, we conceive it as a new reality better suited to the needs of international co-operation and equilibrium, capable of enriching and improving the dialogue with other regions and of making a more substantial and comprehensive contribution to the peace and progress of peoples.

199. This prospect does not undermine the full validity of our participation in the Atlantic Alliance. During the last 30 years the Atlantic Alliance has been a decisive factor for equilibrium and peace in Europe and has encouraged the gradual process of détente, which has led to the improvement of relations between East and West. We are convinced that the role of the Alliance is still essential for the maintenance of peace and for the preservation of a balance which will allow further possibilities of co-operation be-

tween peoples and between different régimes and institutional systems.

200. With those neighbouring countries which are not members of the European Community or of the Atlantic Alliance Italy maintains constructive relations of friendship and is seeking every opportunity for co-operation.

201. We maintain relations of friendship and co-operation with all the countries of the Mediterranean area, to which we are linked by historical, cultural and economic ties which date back centuries, and we wish to make these relations even closer and more fruitful.

202. In the same spirit and in full respect for the autonomy of others, Italy intends to develop co-operative relations on a basis of effective equality with all other countries, both near and far.

203. Aware of the objective limitations inherent in this national dimension of modern States, Italy confirms its full commitment to the United Nations, its firm determination to contribute to the work of the Organization in favour of peace, security and international co-operation, disarmament and détente, the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke, the abolition of racial discrimination, and economic and social development based on equilibrium and justice.

204. Confronted with the seriousness of the phenomenon of terrorism and with the recent increase in some of its most heinous manifestations, Italy maintains that the United Nations is in duty bound to make a valid contribution to the solution of that problem also. We therefore regard as timely the proposal announced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany for the elaboration within the United Nations of a draft convention against the taking of hostages [A/31/242].

205. We attach particular importance to action in defence of human rights and human freedoms, and we hope that the Commission on Human Rights will be raised to the status of a constitutional organ of the United Nations with the parallel establishment of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Every possible increase in the responsibilities of the United Nations in that field will have our support and we shall continue in every forum to protest against and to condemn all violations of human freedom and dignity wherever they occur and whoever commits them—in Africa as in Latin America, in Asia as in Europe.

206. In this spirit and inspired by these principles, Italy is taking part in the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly.

207. The agenda before us is vast and complex and comprises questions of great importance for the peaceful and orderly development of international relations.

208. In the coming weeks we shall examine and discuss these questions in a constructive spirit and with the mutual respect which, I am certain, under the President's eminent guidance, will always characterize our debates.

209. I can assure the President that my delegation and I will spare no effort to ensure that the results we shall

achieve will enable the thirty-first session to be considered as an important stage in the life and work of the United Nations.

210. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before adjourning this meeting, I should like to inform representatives that the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Peru and Ecuador have asked to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

211. In conformity with the decision adopted by the General Assembly at its 4th meeting, rights of reply must be exercised at the end of the afternoon meeting. However, since the Foreign Ministers of Peru and Ecuador must leave New York this afternoon, I should like to ask representatives whether they have any objections to hearing those representatives this morning. As there is no objection, I shall call on them. Before doing so, I should like to recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th meeting, also decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply would be limited to 10 minutes.

212. Mr. DE LA PUENTE RADBILL (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Peru considers it timely to make a brief comment with reference to a passage in the statement made here yesterday afternoon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, the text of which is as follows:

"In Latin America, problems which compromise solidarity and endanger the peace and development of the region persist—problems deriving from the arrogance of certain countries or involving territorial considerations or vestiges of colonialism which we would like to see eliminated quickly and permanently. First of all, I refer to the problem which affects my own country, which, basing itself on its historical and legal titles and the geopolitical need for the harmonious development of the region, reaffirms its right of sovereignty in the Amazon River." [12th meeting, para. 210.]

213. In this regard, I must mention that my country has embarked on a clear policy of co-operation with the Latin American countries towards the peaceful development of its peoples and the necessary harmony which must prevail in relations among sister countries. That policy applies particularly in the case of the sister Republic of Ecuador. In recent years we have established with that Republic important forms of co-operation and dialogue, which, in our view, have yielded very positive results to the benefit of both countries.

214. This common policy has opened for both peoples broad prospects of joint action and integration which Peru wishes to maintain and strengthen. But that firm decision on the part of my country is formulated with regard to both States within the standards of the protocol subscribed to in Rio de Janeiro in 1942¹⁰ and approved by both

States in accordance with their constitutional procedures, the validity of which has been assessed by the guarantors of that international instrument.

215. Finally, I must add that the true problem which exists in the geographic area to which I have referred and to which we must devote our attention arises out of a lack of adequate integration of efforts and action for the joint development of our peoples and aspiration towards a future of peace and harmony which Peru desires and to which it wishes to devote all the efforts of its people and all its resources.

216. Mr. PESANTES GARCÍA (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): If a country is unable to comply with its elementary duty to face its own problems, how much less can it have a voice worthy of being heard with regard to problems affecting other regions of the world?

217. It would be a serious mistake, for the cause of the integration and the harmonious progress of development which the history and geography of Latin America demand, to remain silent in this international forum with regard to this basic question and to confine ourselves only to old secret matters which have been superseded at a time when public opinion among all peoples wishes to share openly in the process of defining their destinies.

218. Ecuador understood the statement made yesterday by the Foreign Minister of Peru [11th meeting] as a clear and encouraging prospect for the future and as the reflection of a pragmatic and progressive way of thinking with regard to international coexistence and was gratified at that statement.

219. The representative of Peru has stated that his country has no territorial difficulties, and Ecuador would like to say the same thing.

220. Since we are passing through an era of reality in the last quarter of the twentieth century, we must state things clearly and faithfully if we wish to work towards solutions.

221. The facts and statistics given by the Foreign Minister of Peru reminded us of a regrettable page in the history of our Americas and has confirmed the existence of the problem. But Ecuador does not wish to live on the basis of recriminations. My country wishes rather to repeat in a constructive and fraternal spirit its readiness to search for solutions to the problem that we have with our neighbour, since it hinders the development which is so necessary for the utilization of our resources and the improvement of our marginal populations, precisely in order to attain the social justice mentioned in the excellent statement made in the general debate of this session of the General Assembly by the Foreign Minister of Peru, my long-time friend, José de la Puente Radbill.

¹⁰ Protocol of Peace, Friendship, and Boundaries between Peru and Ecuador, signed at Rio de Janeiro on 29 January 1942.