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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

In the absence of the President, Mr. García Robles (Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first, it is my pleasure to welcome and to express my congratulations to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria, whose unanimous election enables us to count upon his abilities and long experience, which, though certainly not consonant with his youth, have been demonstrated in the exercise of high office since his noble country began its independent life.

2. I should also like to welcome Mr. Leopoldo Benites, whose presidency has elicited widespread approval. During an especially difficult period he once again demonstrated his even-handedness and diplomacy in the effective guidance of our deliberations.

3. Departing from my text, I should like to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Uruguay, our profound condolences concerning the tragedy which has afflicted our sister republic of Honduras, a tragedy and a distress which we feel as our own. The support and solidarity of the whole international community, not only of the States of Latin America but of the whole of the membership of this Organization and of all its organs, are necessary in order to alleviate the damage and the distress from which the people of that country are suffering and will continue to suffer in the future.

4. Again departing from my text, I should also like to express the pleasure of my country at the admission to membership in this Organization of three new Member States: Guinea-Bissau, to which this membership represents the culmination of a long struggle for independence; Bangladesh, which

has also been the scene of so much suffering; and Grenada, which is also joining this Assembly and, in this way, the family of Latin American countries.

5. At the beginning of this new session of the General Assembly as is usual we are offered a new opportunity for reflection. However, this time the required reflection is more urgent, more stern and at the same time more profound.

6. To the matters normally occupying our attention are added others which were not previously unknown to us, to be sure, but which emerge today with particular force, revealing deep maladjustments in the very essence of coexistence. So above and beyond the peculiar features of each specific problem we discover a close and increasingly acute interconnexion with other problems, a kind of common substance in the economic and political life of the world today. Hence, our efforts to solve specific problems frequently seem to be overwhelmed by the paucity of global solutions. There are no isolated questions, all questions are varying manifestations of the same problem, and we are compelled to seek the core of the problem underlying the different manifestations.

7. Thus, while immediate and evident conflicts occur and more tangible needs and problems arise, the disruption of the international economic system is already making itself felt. Simultaneously, the contours of the great questions of the future emerge intertwined with day-to-day business.

8. Uruguay therefore wishes to focus attention in this supreme world forum on this new perspective, so that the consideration of each specific item on our agenda will still be consistent with matters which are neither merely a backdrop nor an anticipation of the remote future, but are germane to the present problems of the international community.

9. My country advocates, therefore, that integrated perspective in which States Members of the United Nations can jointly formulate rules and co-ordinate courses of action for a new system of coexistence among nations to meet the current needs of most of our peoples. Otherwise solutions will deviate from their essential human objectives and may become mere dialectic exercises veering farther and farther away and never penetrating the core of the truly crucial questions.

10. It is with this idea of renewal that I mention the structure of the international economy. There is no doubt that the grave deficiencies and tensions of recent years, disguised at first, are now becoming manifest and turning into a vast crisis affecting currencies, trade, and production, and thereby the whole economy. The shock of the petroleum crisis now is spreading like an expanding shock wave

within the general disruption of the established economic order.

11. At the sixth special session of the General Assembly [2211th meeting] I had occasion to indicate, on behalf of my country, the need for far-reaching reform to get to the true root of the matter, taking it not simply as a technical problem to be solved by merely rearranging economic factors, but more importantly, as a political and social problem involving everyone. Hence, if this reform is not founded upon justice, only limited and unstable results will ensue and peace will be constantly endangered.

12. This leads me to refer to what my Government considers to be the crux of the matter. Indisputably, the recognition of the political equality of nations is a fundamental achievement of international law. It is equally undeniable that the same concept of equality cannot be projected into the economic sphere, where the degree of potential or development differs, without any doubt, with regard to each nation.

13. This reality must be contemplated in the building of new international economic structures and also in the simple readjustment of those that already exist. Any system that applies identical patterns to societies with differently developed economies will not be just, nor should the resources of the international community be channelled in disregard of existing differences.

14. Even when to a certain extent some of these concepts underlie rules now governing international co-operation for development, they are only marginal within the total context. The substance of economic relations remains intact, not corresponding to these realities. They must be acknowledged as guiding principles of the international economy as a whole, of its monetary, trade, finance and investment systems and in the conduct of large multinational corporations. The IMF, for example, must achieve the effective transfer of real resources to the developing countries. Until the rules treat societies which have already reached the post-industrial area and those which are struggling timidly to venture into the world of modern technology as equals, the international economy will be a source neither of development, nor of justice, nor of peace.

15. So true is this that today, although all countries are shaken by the same crisis, the strongest and most developed economies have within themselves the necessary reserves and resilience to respond to the threat, while the weaker nations suffer from the unabated onslaught of new events.

16. Energetic protest is called for when within the dramatic context of small and medium-sized countries such as Uruguay, the situation worsens because the more developed countries, in an attempt to safeguard their own prosperity, are imposing protectionist measures which drastically cut the exports of raw materials from the developing world, or use "dumping" to depress prices of these exports to intolerable levels.

17. It should be pointed out that such policies and practices, unjust and counter to recognized principles of international co-operation as they are, also run the risk of causing a dangerous trade confronta-

tion which could bring the entire world economy to a state of collapse.

18. Unfortunately, the solutions urgently demanded of the international community at the sixth special session last April have not been applied, as immediate, practical and workable machinery has not yet been put into operation. The entire effort of the General Assembly at that time and the acknowledged consensus that effective action should be taken have apparently become merely pious utterances on the part of our Organization and its agencies, without that obvious political decision having been translated into reality. I do understand the difficulties inherent in such broad action, but the magnitude and urgency of the task require an unprecedented effort. Similarly, my Government today reiterates its statement that the surplus resources generated by new prices must be channelled to the developing countries most deeply affected by the petroleum crisis, thus avoiding the paradoxical situation where these resources would primarily strengthen the more developed economies. I think that in keeping with the spirit demonstrated at that meeting, it will be possible to agree upon multilateral channels to guide this process without prejudice to direct support through trade and investment.

19. But it is not only purely material factors that motivate Uruguay to postulate the reform of the international economy as a central topic. Recently, in Bucharest, the World Population Conference dealt with an essentially human question touching upon rights intrinsic to our nature and our life. My country cannot accept the restriction, not to say the mutilation, of these rights and the moral and spiritual values they enshrine through the application of economic rules ensuring the prosperity only of some. As the delegation of Uruguay stated in Bucharest: "It is inadmissible that the possibility of population growth should be the exclusive right of those nations possessing a high degree of development". Instead, we have held that the physical basis for cultural and spiritual development must be established so that the sacred mission of transmitting life may be responsively exercised everywhere.

20. Without any doubt, this objective cannot be achieved as long as considerations such as those which doom large segments of mankind to hunger and a marginal existence persist, and while existing conditions denote the simultaneous presence of a crisis of excess and one of scarcity.

21. There is one fact more than any other that constitutes a serious indictment of the existing international order and our lack of the will to reform it: in order to safeguard the well-being of the few, the prices of staples as well as of luxury items must be so high that they elude the grasp of the many, and, inversely, an over-supply of these goods can ruin those that produce them.

22. All of that conspires to impede a rational and human organization of trade and production. Some years ago my country proposed in FAO the creation of a system with a real "food bank" in which the need for stable and remunerative prices as a fair return for productive effort would be reconciled with the needs of those who cannot buy such goods because they are so expensive but desperately re-

quire them in order to survive. I consider that it is an inescapable responsibility of the world economy to work in that direction, and my country now pledges its best efforts to that end.

23. Since the historic United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in 1972, another topic has been attracting increasing attention: the environment and the fate of the biosphere, mankind's present and future home.

24. Apart from the undoubted need to safeguard and restore our environment and to use it in a rational and far-sighted way, surely the economic and financial burden that this entails cannot be shared equally among all nations. Rather, it should weigh more heavily on the most developed nations, which unwittingly have done the most to cause the environment to deteriorate.

25. Just as access to life cannot be limited in order to protect the status of some, so the use and enjoyment of nature cannot be regulated to the almost exclusive benefit of an already developed segment of mankind.

26. In the same spirit, my country would like to refer to the new riches that are becoming increasingly available to the peoples.

27. We are pleased to note that an initial success was achieved in the long struggle of the Latin American countries to assert their rights over the seas adjacent to their coasts when the universal recognition of the maximum limitation of 200 miles emerged from the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, recently held at Caracas.

28. We also cherish the hope that soon the necessary agreements will be achieved in order to adapt the law of the sea to the realities of the contemporary world and to satisfy the requirements of the peoples, particularly in the developing countries.

29. We also wish to express our firm conviction that effective formulas can be agreed upon to implement the historic resolution in which it was solemnly declared that the sea-bed and ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction are the common heritage of mankind [resolution 2749 (XXV)].

30. My Government is well aware of the myriad difficulties to be overcome if far-reaching changes within such diverse fields are to be achieved, but we are also convinced that trying to effect these changes is the only way to deal with the very root of these problems. Only by such means can true solutions be found. Otherwise, we will be attacking only the superficial manifestations of the underlying problems. Therefore, although it seems mere speculation that, given the magnitude of the problem, it can be solved, this is the crucial task that faces us. If the challenge is to be met, imagination and daring must be mustered in this forum, whence political inspiration flows to others, and in all the other bodies of this great United Nations system.

31. One may well wonder if we will be able to devise—and even more important to implement—within a reasonably short period of time a new international economic order which will be both just and creative and which will have the basic features so

well known to our peoples, and especially our youth: freedom from any attempt to destroy the basic tenets of the economy but, rather, a human and equitable use of those tenets; a pattern implying no holding back of the more advanced or regression to lower levels but, rather, promoting those who have been left behind by giving them a fair share of the benefits of the highest civilization; extension beyond material goods to reach horizons of culture and spirit; integration of problems of population, food, environment and culture within a comprehensive framework in which countries are treated in accordance with their particular degree of development so that the economy will render truly equivalent results for its participants.

32. In the world political arena, there is an atmosphere of *détente* and a universal desire for peace is spreading. My country, in accordance with a tradition it has unswervingly maintained since its very inception, adheres to that spirit, not only in the external conduct of international affairs but also as a reflection of the very deepest convictions of the nation.

33. Nevertheless, *détente* does not seem to be sufficient to clear the air entirely.

34. The Indo-China peninsula is still bitterly racked by varying degrees of open warfare. It is unfortunate that the Viet Nam peace agreement¹ has not yet been fully complied with and that aggression in that Republic and in the Khmer Republic still persists. It is to be hoped that these circumstances will not be overlooked and that appropriate measures will be adopted to strengthen peace and bring an immediate end to the war which torments that region.

35. Cyprus has been shattered by a violent crisis, with painful consequences that my Government deplores. I believe that we the nations represented here without exception must unite solidly behind the people of the island and help to alleviate their suffering. We must also unite in support of the decisions of the Security Council and encourage international action to protect a Member State. The observance of United Nations agreements is essential for peace there and elsewhere, and Uruguay will always act in accordance with that principle.

36. Once again we have to refer to the tragic sufferings of the people of the Middle East. I should like to note with appreciation the bilateral action taken, the conversations initiated and the results achieved regarding extremely sensitive military and political aspects. None the less, I cannot pass over in silence the concern of my Government about the future of that long-suffering region. I think that the international community represented here could play a most important part if it were to create a world climate on the basis of principles widely acknowledged as workable. That is a way in which this complex question could be approached in all of its aspects.

37. It is clear that legally speaking military victory confers no rights, especially with regard to territory. Similarly, the community of nations recognizes the right of each nation in that region, and in all others, to live in peace within secure and recognized borders, enjoying sovereignty, integrity and independence.

38. All those directly concerned should, therefore, seek a way to ensure through negotiations and

other peaceful means, the full observance and implementation of those fundamental concepts of international law, which my Government unreservedly supports. A comprehensive study of this topic in all of its dimensions must include an essential chapter, in view of both its political and its human significance. I am referring here to the fate of the Palestinian people. My Government has no doubt that until a just solution is found for what the Security Council in paragraph 2 of resolution 242 (1967) calls "the refugee problem", any settlements designed to ensure peace will be merely temporary. With due regard, of course, for the steps taken elsewhere towards peace and while supporting the immediate measures the United Nations is taking to alleviate this distressing situation, my Government advocates more deep-rooted solutions which should encompass the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people and squarely confront the problem in its real political, social and, finally, human significance—all, of course, within the framework of comprehensive peace negotiations.

39. As an expression of our sincere concern for peace in the Middle East, I should like to renew the commitment announced by my delegation at the twenty-third session [1686th meeting] to support, within the framework of the Charter, a negotiated solution to ensure lasting peace in this region in full accordance with international law and all the imperatives of the question.

40. Under the general topic of international peace, I should like to express Uruguay's appreciation of the success achieved by the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression. This represents a positive step towards the clarifying of an important concept and also demonstrates a promising of understanding which suggests that more progress may be made in this connexion.

41. I am pleased to announce that my country supports with satisfaction the efforts made to establish a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. This attitude is consonant with our position in Latin America, where we are a party to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco).

42. For the same reason we deplore atomic weapon tests and explosions performed since last year by the various Powers in different parts of the world. The signature and ratification of Additional Protocol I to the Treaty of Tlatelolco will signify a positive step towards rectifying the situation. These explosions, which cause ecological damage and which continue, moreover, to cause tension, are contrary to *détente* and entail the continued spending of huge sums in an endeavour of no importance to mankind.

43. At the same time my country favours renewed efforts to achieve general disarmament. The negotiations to reduce the possibility of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union fall within this context. My country will also resolutely support the careful preparation of the World Disarmament Conference and any reaffirmation of already enunciated recommendations on nuclear testing and, most importantly, their speedy implementation, which is so long overdue.

44. As is Uruguay's custom, I should like to refer exclusively to the topics of decolonization and racial discrimination. Recent events have sparked the hope that more African people will soon gain independence. The outlook now looks bright and we hope that the optimism will be consolidated into fact in the full exercise of self-determination and freedom from foreign influence, as in Latin America. With regard to racial discrimination I renew today the support of Uruguay for measures adopted within the framework of the Charter so that mankind may become truly united.

45. This brief examination of some of the items of the agenda clearly shows that the policy of *détente* must be expanded and deepened so that its positive influence may extend to matters which today remain outside its scope. Uruguay will do anything within its power to work resolutely in this direction.

46. However, together with geographically localized political problems, the significance of other less well-defined problems of international peace and security must be recognized. I refer to terrorist acts and subversive movements, which are frequently interconnected. The entire world has been the witness of this phenomenon, which now respects no borders. The moment has perhaps come for the international community to realize what risks such activities entail. This motive does not derive from the diverse ideas frequently posited in an attempt to justify these acts, as ideological differences are quite normal in a world as diverse as ours. The fact is that civilization itself is threatened when a constant undercover war being waged by interrelated movements operating outside international law is provoked and tolerated. Paradoxically, as the risk of nuclear catastrophe, or even large-scale conventional war, diminishes, unease, tension and casualties of this new kind of warfare are on the increase. Thus, an unexpected situation may arise in which peace, so fervently sought in more conspicuous areas, may yet disappear.

47. My Government also considers that other steps should be taken to consolidate and strengthen peace. The atmosphere of *détente*, so fortunately apparent among the great Powers, must also create an atmosphere of security for other nations. Improved relations among these Powers is indeed not enough. It is imperative finally to eliminate distortions of international coexistence caused by power politics and ideological penetration. Only when non-intervention and self-determination become rules of conduct observed by all nations can peace be said to be truly at hand.

48. Uruguay once again pledges its commitment to this conduct as an indissoluble part of its national identity and reaffirms its will to co-operate with all international courses of action to ensure full respect for such conduct within the community of nations. Only in this way can peace and co-operation exist in our interdependent and pluralistic world.

49. Throughout our work we review and discuss many topics which demonstrate the complex and multifaceted world of today. As each topic is examined separately because of its specific features we must all regard them as independent entities. Nevertheless, all pose essentially the same question. What will be

the nature of international relations? Will law or force prevail? Will the world's economy serve justice or convenience? Will each nation freely develop its own identity or will this identity be imposed from without? Will the diversity of national solutions enhance international co-operation or hamper it? Will *détente* create a true respect for all? Once defences have been reduced, will undercover warfare and penetration become the agent of power to penetrate the small nations? Will terrorism and subversive warfare be given free reign in the world or will the community of nations thwart violence?

50. Uruguay has chosen a clear-cut path in keeping with the character of its people and the nature of its history. We are resolutely in support of the principles of justice, law, liberty and independence, and the right of each country to choose and follow its own model. We are working for international coexistence, with peace and co-operation as its hallmark. We reject terrorism and subversive violence; we remain open to the other nations of the world.

51. This fundamental definition of principle in international order is consistent with the political process of my country, which, together with a strong sense of national pride, maintains its solidarity with other countries. It fully respects all nations and demands no less for itself, without foreign influence or interference, which it neither accepts nor tolerates nor practises. In this way its institutions have been substantially transformed in order to enshrine the values recognized by the Uruguayan community as its national and popular objectives: independence, development and peace for the benefit of the human being. It is a process aiming at peace, construction and justice, without hatred or violence. Imbued with the spirit of understanding and solidarity, Uruguay will work in world affairs to promote mutual understanding and conciliation and mutual respect.

52. The international community must bring these already recognized principles to life. Equally urgent is the task of devising new principles for new situations: population, the biosphere, the riches of the sea and other unexploited regions; outer space, energy, spiritual and cultural matters; man's place in the technological universe and a new economic order.

53. May our efforts now solve the problems of today. May they serve to build a better tomorrow. We bear this responsibility to youth throughout the world. By that shall we be assessed.

54. Mr. VIGNES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government and the people of Argentina, I should like first of all solemnly to express in this august Assembly our most profound solidarity with our sister republic of Honduras and its people in these hours of trial and sorrow. The Government of Argentina has already taken the necessary steps to bring Honduras evidence of our moral support and of our specific material help in order to contribute with our means to the alleviation of so tragic a situation, which we all feel as if it were our own. On this very day, aircraft of our air force are leaving for that sister republic, carrying the first aid which we can offer in these hours of tribulation. We have also committed ourselves

to delivering 5,000 tons of wheat, or its equivalent in flour, to meet the first needs of the population which has been the victim of the catastrophe.

55. The President of the Republic of Argentina, Mrs. María Estela Martínez de Perón, has called the Ambassador of Honduras to Argentina to her office, so as to make available to our sister republic all the assistance that it may need. I trust that all countries represented here will also be mobilized so as to help the Republic of Honduras.

56. It is a most happy coincidence that as I address this General Assembly, our debates are now being guided by an illustrious representative of the great nation of Mexico, with which my country maintains the most cordial and brotherly ties of friendship.

57. The election which has conferred on Mr. Bouteflika the lofty position of President of this session of the General Assembly not only implies recognition of his personal qualifications and his ability as a representative of the great nation of Algeria but is also a tribute to the vigorous policy which that country has been developing with the non-aligned countries.

58. Thus, a personality of the third world is today responsible for guiding an Assembly which faces problems of vital interest to mankind. Among them we emphasize in particular the quest for means that will make it possible from many directions to approach that international understanding and that meeting of minds that we all desire and advocate. To extend the area of peace, to lessen the gulf between the developed and the developing countries and to bring dignity to man constitute the main challenges that the world must answer in order to achieve its objectives of understanding and unity.

59. At last year's session [2139th meeting] I emphasized that I was representing a people which by an overwhelming electoral majority had just definitely identified itself with the ideals of social justice, economic independence and political sovereignty. Since then, Argentina has made substantial headway along this course, consolidating its successes and adopting a far more positive political personality in the community of nations. In faith and serenity Argentina has whole-heartedly and without reserve embraced the cause of mankind, which is the real cause of the twentieth century, devoting its greatest efforts to the individual and collective well-being of the people. At the same time, it has maintained its historical traditions, which allow it the rather exceptional privilege in the world today of granting equal rights to all men throughout the world who wish to live in our land, without distinction of race or nationality.

60. In the past year, the Republic of Argentina suffered the great loss of its leader, Juan Perón. Great statesmen live on beyond their lifetime because their principles and their objectives remain in force, and it is my duty to emphasize here that those we inherited from General Perón have been deeply rooted in the hearts of the people of Argentina. His prophetic ideas transformed him into the precursor of universalism and of a "third position" which are today recognized as being essential means for international coexistence. His death deeply moved the

entire nation, but his thinking and his guidance constitute inalterable goals for the march of our Republic towards the future. And the people of Argentina firmly maintains the policy of international co-operation which he established and, in its relations with all the countries of the world, it ratifies his purpose of achieving a genuine international social justice. Among the ideas put forth in his message to the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which met in Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, he expressed total support for the cause of the countries of the third world, indicating the imperative need for a "change in social and productive structures, because incontinent luxury and waste cannot continue to be the basic motive force of any society".

61. These expressions and this ideology, of profound philosophical and humanist content, are the ones I wish to recall here with the utmost solemnity, reiterating the Argentine commitment of solidarity with the non-aligned countries. The future will see us still standing in their ranks and sympathizing with their aspirations. Nothing can better describe the attitudes of a numerous and outstanding group of countries—among which we are honoured to be—than their desire for truth and justice, their complete respect for the dignity of man and their rapid and decided march towards the liberation of their people. I therefore reiterate our position as expressed at the Algiers Conference in regard to the Political Declaration,² which recommends support for decolonization and the liberation of territories occupied by force, as well as in regard to the Economic Declaration³ which, together with the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation,⁴ is intended to enable the members of the group to develop with equality of opportunity with regard to the terms of trade with other countries of the world so that there will be a better and more just distribution of resources that will in turn contribute to greater harmony in international coexistence

62. The destiny of my country is today in the hands of Mrs. María Estela Martínez de Perón, who has the massive support of the citizens and of all the power factors of the nation, and she is energetically proceeding along the course set by General Perón, implementing the same ideas and seeking the attainment of identical objectives. The community of ideas and ideals between both ensure the historical continuity of Perón's thinking and the lasting character of his great design for Latin American integration, the inalterable validity of which I am pleased to reaffirm now.

63. The delegation of Argentina attends this great meeting at times which are particularly crucial for the future of the world. The combination of factors of economic and monetary tension, of generalized inflation, of the multiplicity of international political crises in various continents and the shortage and waste of natural resources, together with disease and hunger, the reduction in food reserves and the growing wave of violence throughout the world, have meant that, as our President has said, the times in which we live must be described as "the era of insecurity".

64. This disquieting picture appears paradoxical when we consider the high degree of technical and scientific development achieved by mankind. There are space trips and the breaking down of the atom; and still hunger, poor health and ignorance remain, whereas they should have been distant memories of superseded stages.

65. One of the solutions is clear: to unite our most determined efforts so as to achieve an equitable and just distribution of goods. If that is not rapidly achieved, tensions between human beings will increase in an accelerated manner and will increasingly acquire the apocalyptic shape of armed conflict.

66. The future demands special efforts from the United Nations, which must adopt the decisions which are indispensable to contributing to understanding among peoples and nations, to seeking the well-being of all and to avoiding the harmful predominance of some over others.

67. On the one hand, we have to review the problem of ensuring equity in the treatment of human beings in the world: of those who suffer serious poverty while there is infinite wealth; of the man with great spiritual worth, with great ideals and purposes, which all the religions and philosophies have emphasized, and of the man who is subjected to the physical limitations of the material world in which he has to live, and where frequently he is humiliated and subjected to deprivations of all kinds. Thus, rebellions are born, and sometimes they break out at odd times so that it becomes difficult to correlate them with their genuine causes. This diagnosis of the dramatic circumstances in which the world is living is, I believe, part of the conscience of all representatives, thus constituting a problem of responsibility towards others and towards ourselves.

68. On the other hand, the speed of change is such that we observe that neither persons, nor States, nor international organizations manage to keep up with an evolution which, because of the multiplicity of new discoveries and the growing interdependence among nations, creates a very dangerous delay between the adoption of decisions and their implementation. This then is yet another challenge which the United Nations faces.

69. It was Perón who was a true precursor of this universality which has today become a fact and who anticipated by almost two decades the problems that we now confront. He then stated the "third position". He clearly foresaw that a merciless dispute between the mighty would only contribute to a mass impoverishment of the world and, in particular, of the peoples who are today united under the principles and ideals of the "non-aligned".

70. The leader of the Argentine people said in February 1972:

"We believe that the time has come when all peoples and Governments of the world must become aware of the suicidal march of mankind through the pollution of the environment and the biosphere, and the waste of natural resources . . . It is no less serious that the social systems of waste of the technologically most advanced countries operate through the consumption of vast amounts of natural resources contributed by the third world."

And he added:

"All these problems are indissolubly linked to the relaxation of international tension and the extension of international co-operation.

"In the defence of their interests, countries must move towards regional integrations and action based on solidarity."

71. It is to solve these problems that we are meeting today. No one can allege that he has not at this stage heard the anxious appeals of the dispossessed. The calls for help must be heeded, without verbal demagoguery; with just and realistic action, with respect for all and with magnanimity, particularly for the humble, and fundamentally by becoming aware of the fact that the time has come when the peoples of the world must go through life in understanding and solidarity toward a common destiny of greatness; otherwise, through selfishness and intolerance they will fall into the abyss of pain and poverty.

72. At the recent sixth special session, the General Assembly dealt with some of the underlying causes of the ills of mankind. But some of the objectives set were not achieved. Natural resources are still being wasted; it is maintained that industrialized products are unattainable for the majority; the price and wage race continues, causing inflation which shakes the general economy; and protectionist trade retains its pernicious rigidity for the socio-economic situation of the world.

73. It has been repeated insistently—and it was proclaimed by the General Assembly at its sixth special session, in the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*—that it is necessary to facilitate the access of the developing countries to the markets of the developed by the gradual elimination of tariff barriers and other restrictive practices which hamper trade.

74. Only if the developing countries have a substantially greater share in international trade will it be possible to bring about a profound structural change and arrive at a just and permanent solution to present problems, thus consolidating a genuine process of development of our economies.

75. Those objectives have been rendered null. In this respect, a most significant example is provided by the measures taken since April last by the European Communities to limit the importation of beef, measures which culminated last June with the total cessation of beef importation until 1 November 1974. That decision, taken without consultation, jeopardizes agreements that are linked to the economies of the developing countries which export meat to that market.

76. Obviously, it may be argued that those measures are caused by internal difficulties in the sector, but they arise from production and marketing policies and mechanisms that are highly protectionist, that have notoriously unfavourable repercussions upon international trade and are certainly not in accord with the repeated declarations of the European Communities in various international forums in favour of greater freedom in world exchanges.

77. Peace, freedom, co-operation and friendship: those are big words which have been heard thousands of times in this Hall. Let us not again make the mistake of repeating them when they are devoid of practical content.

78. Time and space are already too limited. We pride ourselves on the honourable, albeit demanding, title of plenipotentiaries of mankind, which desires order, well-being and justice. Were this Organization to prove unable to perfect itself as a sound instrument to bring about the common well-being of peoples, its authority would be seriously jeopardized and hopes for understanding among States would suffer a hard blow.

79. The interests of Argentina are not isolated; all peoples are with us in our ideals—in particular, the peoples of the third world. Our fundamental objective must be peace. Nevertheless, that peace does not depend solely on the silence of arms among nations. It depends also upon whether human beings are satisfied with the circumstances in which they happen to live. That depends on security of feelings and brotherly assistance, on the balance between needs and resources; it depends on the access of all to food, education and health. Thus peace, as has been said many times by His Holiness the Pope, cannot be based upon selfishness, poverty or moral degradation, be it internationally or at the level of the individual contact of human beings in each organized community.

80. May I quote a statesman? He said, "If the strong try to impose their points of view, they will do so at the expense of justice and will bring about uprisings; if the weak resort to pressures, they will do so at the peril of world prosperity and bring about despair", and, "No nation or group of nations stands to gain anything by making claims in excess of the limits the economic growth of the world can bear."

81. That is a wise formula. But where will we find the just balance to apply it? Can we avoid the pressure of the strong? Can we do away with the despair of the weak, who constitute ever-growing multitudes and are afflicted by all kinds of needs? Important are the rules of the game we shall set so as to encourage what is best in human nature. And so the Republic of Argentina comes here once again with the greatest willingness to co-operate in the search for equitable but urgent formulas, ideals and practices which will respect the dignity of mankind and lead it to prosperity and confidence. We do not wish to yield to the temptation to make rhetorical allegations removed from the raw realities of the daily existence of millions of human beings. Accordingly, it is necessary that the spirit of co-operation become part of every conscience. We must respect each other's rights and share our efforts to achieve the progress and prosperity of the world.

82. Taking into account that supreme aspiration and the constant and growing preoccupation of the vast majority of mankind, my delegation once again pronounces itself decisively and firmly against any policy of *apartheid*, and we state in advance that Argentina will support the resolutions this Assembly will adopt definitively to eradicate such practices, which degrade the inalienable dignity of the human person.

83. New practical procedures must be added to those already adopted by the United Nations. Such developments as greater communications, communications by satellite and the inevitable coming together of the world means that what is happening elsewhere is felt to be happening to oneself. Any event that affects one region or country has a palpable and almost immediate effect even in the most remote continents. More than ever, the world is one unit—one unit of events and thoughts, one social and economic unit. We face an irresistible force of cohesion.

84. Let us, therefore, increase the effectiveness of the United Nations, which has won so much praise and rendered so much service as the only wise and viable mechanism so far developed for an exchange of views and for joint efforts by mankind.

85. To that end a first, and very efficient, method would be the strengthening of bonds between similar geographical zones. Here I believe it desirable to emphasize the ideals we pursue. We are applying a policy of co-operation and complementarity with neighbouring countries, because universality must logically start at the regional level.

86. It is fitting to emphasize here that "universality" means a total plurality of subjects or objects, each part acquiring its consistency in reference to the whole but without losing its sovereign individuality. That is the philosophical interpretation of the concept, and thus also we clarify the significance—primarily national, although with world-wide repercussions—of the doctrines we profess.

87. As a doctrine, we believe that to build a world society it is necessary to pass through a stage of continentalism. Countries must unite progressively on the basis of geographical neighbourhood. This is Argentina's vision for Latin America: one that is just, open, generous and above all sincere. At the national level, no one can find fulfilment in a country that has none. The same holds true at the continental level. We wish to work jointly so as to build Latin America within the concept of an organized community. Its triumph will be ours, and it will also be that of the brotherhood of the third world, and it will be the triumph of unity among all States.

88. The Republic of Argentina therefore wants to place its resources and its potential above all at the service of its sister republics of America, without in the least overlooking the brotherhood we profess towards all other nations and in particular towards the nations of the third world.

89. We must go on uniting our efforts so that the vast natural resources of our American continent may be exploited for the benefit of the peoples that inhabit that soil and also may contribute to alleviating the penury of food, commodities and industrial goods in other areas of the world.

90. In particular, Latin America is living through an era of integration sustained by great spiritual vigour. We have a common strength which comes to us from the beginning of our history rooted in our origins and our similarities of character. The Republic of Argentina takes pride in being part of a continent which has so many potentialities and whose peoples hold aloft the banner of their legit-

imate claims, claims which include such basic and natural rights as the right to be able to trade among themselves in accordance with complete national sovereignty, to keep their territories free from any intruder or invader and to apply their own laws to their own acts; a continent which affirms justice and respect for ideologies, a continent, finally, which shares heroes who are revered as a common heritage.

91. As Perón stated:

"Latin America belongs to the Latin Americans. We have lived a history. The history of the future will not forgive us if we fail to be faithful to our past . . . We Argentinians feel a strong Latin American conscience . . . We are firm advocates of an effective spiritual closeness for the peoples of America and reciprocal co-operation at the economic level. It is unacceptable that in the name of the interests of the continent anyone should interfere in our internal economy and external policies . . . In our Latin American continent many popular leaders are working for this brotherhood, and the results achieved so far are very rewarding."

92. Thus it is undoubted that the exercise of political sovereignty, whatever the historical circumstances, is not negotiable. This guiding principle multiplied in the national conscience of every Latin American country creates a total regional conscience, which accordingly is not negotiable either.

93. The Republic of Argentina now as never before feels that its ties with its sister republics in Latin America are deep. We feel at one with the sufferings and the just claims of the peoples which constitute the third world, and we consider that we are thereby also serving the cause of all human beings who want union and not hatred, love and not division.

94. In referring to this need for understanding and justice, Argentina cannot fail to point out that without doubt the United Nations General Assembly expressed itself to that effect when it adopted resolution 3160 (XXVIII) urging that negotiations proceed without delay with the United Kingdom in regard to the Malvinas Islands.

95. Our country still has to bear the occupation of part of our territory by an extracontinental Power, a situation which is not in accordance with the direction and the ideals of the world today, and the Republic of Argentina considers that this continuing situation is inadmissible. It is true that, as my Government communicated to the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contacts do exist for resuming these negotiations. A solution, however, has not yet been reached, and I must accordingly reiterate here the unalterable sovereignty of Argentina over the territory of the Malvinas Islands and point out that this just claim will of necessity condition our international relations in any circumstances in which our right may be discussed.

96. As I said not long ago at the Atlanta Conference of the Organization of American States "The decision to achieve the final eradication of this anachronistic colonial situation is one which is shared by

all the people of Argentina, and their Government recognizes it as a mandate that cannot be renounced." I reiterate my confidence that, in seeking a solution, we shall be able to count on the necessary understanding and political decision of the present Government of the United Kingdom so as to put an end to this problem.

97. As proof of our concern in regard to the matters involved, I declare once again that the Republic of Argentina will do everything in its power to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Islands and to increase their well-being, thus enabling them to accede to the benefits and progress enjoyed by the people of Argentina. Therefore I am pleased to announce here that a few days ago I had the satisfaction of signing, together with the representative of the United Kingdom in Buenos Aires, separate notes in which an enlargement of the fuel plant installed by my Government on the Islands is envisaged as well as other measures intended to facilitate trade between the continental territory of Argentina and the Malvinas Islands.

98. We know that international policy is not a goal in itself but a means of contributing to the happiness of man and the greatness of States; but international policy is also a duty for Governments in order to fulfil the destiny of each people. From its very inception Argentina, in attaining political independence, placed everything it possessed at the service of the peoples of the continent. That has been our guideline. That is our objective for greatness, and under our present decisions both in the United Nations and in the inter-American system we shall continue to follow that historic mandate and achieve and strengthen hemispheric brotherhood.

99. I do not believe it would be idle to emphasize once again here the importance which the Republic of Argentina attaches to the principle of non-intervention. That principle, which has no limitations, must be applied without exception and must once and for all become a sacrosanct norm of the external policy of States. Only four years ago this very Assembly so decided in unequivocal provisions of resolutions 2625 (XXV) and 2627 (XXV).

100. As integral members of the Latin American community we are bound to express our satisfaction that a noble nation, albeit far removed from Latin America, has ensured the study by this Assembly of a legal political institution which was inherited from our own motherland, Spain, and which is typically Latin American. I refer to the item on diplomatic asylum, included in the agenda of this session at Australia's request [see A/9704]. Diplomatic asylum is but a humanitarian rule to give shelter to those who are persecuted for political and not criminal reasons. In Latin America asylum in diplomatic missions has been an unbroken tradition maintained by almost every Government at all times, even when there was no obligation to provide political asylum. Argentina signed the initial multilateral treaty at the Latin American level in Montevideo in 1889⁵ and has had the opportunity of applying its generous principles not only in America but in other hemispheres.

101. The seventh special session to be held in September 1975 in the two weeks preceding the

thirtieth session of the General Assembly acquires particular significance in the light of the results achieved since the sixth special session, on raw materials and development. Argentina shares the general feeling that the seventh special session must provide a unique opportunity for achieving the objectives incorporated in the Declaration [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] and the Programme of Action [resolution 3202 (S-VI)] on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, since the sixth special session was but a transcendental point of departure in a particularly dynamic process, the goal of which is the establishment of a new international economic order which will be more just and equitable. Possibly one of the means of achieving more practical results in the deliberations might consist in some change in the administrative structure of the United Nations to adapt it better to quick changes, particularly in the economic and social fields, so that the developing countries could be better represented in executive posts in that administrative structure.

102. On the other hand, the Republic of Argentina is keenly interested, in accordance with its governmental and political philosophy, in everything relating to the quality of life, because that is tied to the very future of mankind. We therefore pay particular attention to problems relating to natural resources and the environment, and we consider it timely for the United Nations to continue to deal with those far-reaching items with special emphasis.

103. In particular, my country is interested in those and other aspects which deserve further study and solution in this General Assembly. I am referring to "collective ecological security", that is to say the co-operation which must exist between States in order to maintain an equitable balance in regard to certain elements which cover or involve more than one country and action in solidarity when the acts of one Government might run counter to that concept. Thus, in principle, we might consider as being in contradiction with the collective ecological security of nations such acts which, to an extent that is not normal, disturb health conditions, the climate, their own or shared natural resources or the purity of waters that flow from one nation to another, or such measures as might affect the natural existence of forests, rivers, the fauna and flora of land, seas or rivers or those which could contaminate the atmosphere.

104. My country reaffirms the inalienable right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their own natural resources and wealth, whether they be removable or non-removable, living or non-living. That is a principle which we practise to the full, in particular as regards energy resources.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.

105. In accordance with the characteristics of shared natural resources for use and exploitation we seek the establishment of general and universal policies on the basis of recognition and reaffirmation of principles and practices which have been sanctioned by use, doctrine and international jurisprudence. Along that line of thinking the General Assembly established, in resolution 3129 (XXVIII), a mechanism for prior consultation and the exchange

of information, so that the exploration, exploitation and development of shared natural resources might be carried out in close co-operation between the parties concerned and in a rational manner so as to obtain optimum yields.

106. With regard to the results of the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, my Government deems them to have been positive. Undoubtedly, the international community has lent broad support to the maritime claims of the Latin American countries.

107. It is the hope of Argentina that agreement will be reached on a convention which will finally provide adequate political solutions to the difficult maritime and oceanic problems. In the first place, with the establishment of a territorial sea of 12 miles and an adjacent exclusive economic zone up to a distance of 200 miles, within which there would be freedom of navigation and overflight and freedom to place submarine cables, the coastal State would exercise sovereign rights in regard to fishing, the regulation and control of scientific research and the preservation of the marine environment.

108. That position prevailed at the Caracas session. We hope it will be strengthened in Geneva and finally enshrined in the future convention. And yet we believe it is fitting to warn of the dangers of some proposals which apparently recognize the 200-mile zone, but with so many conditions attached as to distort its essence. This claim by some great Powers, which cannot resign themselves to losing their privileges, is unacceptable to the developing countries.

109. Likewise, the Convention cannot affect the rights acquired by the coastal State over its continental shelf beyond the 200 miles since the continental shelf, in accordance with existing international law, constitutes the natural prolongation of its territory under the sea. In other words, no acceptable political solution can affect the sovereignty of the coastal State over its submerged territory, which extends to the external lower edge of the continental margin. My country hopes that this position will be finally accepted at the next session of the Conference, since this mechanism will prevent the renewal of international injustices on the sea—international injustices which have characterized the appropriation of natural resources on land.

110. It has been the purpose of the Government which I represent to intensify to the utmost the links of the Republic of Argentina with the other countries of the international community. The last decades have been witness to fundamental changes in the world community, with the inclusion of many nations which have emerged to independent life and the resurgence of others which, although having a glorious past, had been subject to long periods of subordination or isolation. To those States, which constitute a large part of the third world, the diplomatic activity of Argentina was specially directed so as to seek their presence when it had been absent and to strengthen it where it existed.

111. That policy was not due merely to a desire to create or to intensify relations. It was the response to a profound motivation, to a sincere and open

feeling of solidarity with the peoples of the third world.

112. At this difficult and complex stage of substantial and rapid alterations in relations among States, the need for close and frank co-operation is imperative for those who are not at the centre of power. In this way we prevent the fundamental decisions of world policy being adopted in our absence or without taking into account the interests of those who represent two thirds of mankind.

113. This act of solidarity of the Republic of Argentina has been made manifest in various international forums and has led to the recognition of new States and the establishment of diplomatic relations with numerous countries in every latitude. This is eloquent testimony of our will to expand our international panorama to the utmost and to create a constructive dialogue with all geographical and political entities, once and for all going beyond the ideological and partial schemes or omissions of the past.

114. The most recent event of this new approach of our foreign policy, which faithfully reflects the aspirations of the Argentine people, has been the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. We thus supplemented the first step which we took several months ago when the Government of Argentina recognized that new State in the midst of difficulties which still hampered its fully independent life. Today I am most happy to welcome among us that country whose struggle for emancipation evokes in our memory the emancipation battles of Latin American countries in different times and circumstances but with the inspiration of the same ideals of freedom and justice.

115. We sincerely hope that the process of liberation of the Portuguese colonies will continue at an accelerated rate. The policy implemented by the new Government of Portugal deserves our respect and we express the hope that other events will rapidly take place which will assist in ending once and for all vestiges of a colonialism which history has superseded.

116. Because of our proven anti-colonialist vocation, we add the voice of the Republic of Argentina to that of the Secretary-General, who, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9601/Add.1], emphasizes the positive and valuable aspects of the new policy of Portugal in regard to its former colonies. The change has a transcendental projection within the framework of the United Nations, whose constant struggle to eradicate those chronic situations of injustice had the active support of my country. Now our Organization must be the main channel whereby opinions and actions of the international community will be guided in this question.

117. We also welcome the other two new Members of the United Nations, Bangladesh and Grenada. With regard to the latter country, may I in particular mention the special satisfaction of the Government and people of Argentina at its admission; the Latin American group has gained a valuable representative which, together with the other English-speaking countries in the hemisphere, will help in increasing their over-all contribution to the

important questions that are before the Assembly at this session.

118. My words are a message of brotherhood towards all nations and they express in brief the feeling of the people of Argentina which, with its willingness to serve, endeavours to contribute with what is best in itself so that by achieving spiritual and material progress for every human being we will give effect to our aspiration to build a better world.

119. Mr. GROMYKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, I should like to congratulate you upon your election to the important post of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I should like to wish you success in the fulfilment of this important task. The unanimity with which you were elected once again demonstrates the respect which is enjoyed internationally by your country, the Algerian People's Democratic Republic.

120. No session of the General Assembly is the same as the previous one, nor is the world situation against the background of which they convene the same. This is particularly noticeable against the swiftly changing background of events in recent years. What does remain unchanged, however, is the criterion that the United Nations and each of its Members must be guided by at all times and in all things—namely, concern for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is against this fundamental criterion that the activities of the United Nations and the practical actions of States in the international arena should be measured.

121. With regard to the Soviet Union, we throw onto the scales of peace the entire influence of our State, the whole authority of our policy. This has always been the case and it will continue to be. Those who are earnestly seeking for ways to establish and consolidate peaceful relations and to settle disputed problems around the negotiating table can definitely count on the reliable co-operation of the Soviet Union.

122. For more than half a century our country has consistently pursued a policy of peace, a policy of rebuffing aggression and safeguarding the rights of peoples, as that policy was formulated by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. In present-day conditions too the struggle for peace means for us not just an abstract category but a matter of concrete efforts to give practical effect to the foreign policy guidelines laid down by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is the expression of the Soviet people's will for peace and uncompromising determination to make it stronger.

123. Implementation of the Congress's decisions—the Programme of Peace and Co-operation—has already yielded tangible results in the improvement of the international situation. This is clear to any impartial observer. It is equally clear that the current positive changes are to everyone's benefit. Indeed, if there is an area where the fundamental interests of all nations, without exception, do converge, that is the maintenance of peace.

124. The Soviet Union pursues its policies in close co-ordination with its allies and friends. The socialist community of States unites its participants in a common creative effort—the building of an advanced society which by its very nature rejects war. It is no accident that many major peace initiatives have been sponsored by the socialist countries. The session of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty last April reaffirmed their joint determination to fight for the triumph of the ideals of peace and the economic and social progress of the peoples.

125. The general state of world affairs is being moulded by a tremendous number of factors, ranging from political and military to national or even psychological factors. And it therefore hardly lends itself to one-dimensional assessment. But the main trend of international development arouses no doubts: it is *détente* and the desire for *détente* which are today the predominant features.

126. For the first time, international *détente* has gone beyond good wishes and verbal assurances. It is a term that has now found a place for itself in the political vocabulary precisely because it is backed by some very real content—the positive changes in reality itself. From the vantage point of recent years one can distinctly see how much has been done in this respect.

127. Through joint efforts by many States it has become possible to reduce the risk of armed conflict between the two social systems. But of special significance are the well-known agreements of 1972-1974 between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. This applies above all to the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War.⁶ The two major Powers undertook to make efforts to preclude entirely the risk of military conflict, including that involving nuclear weapons, between the Soviet Union and the United States, or between either of the parties and other States. At the same time, they agreed to refrain from the use of force against each other and against other countries in circumstances which may endanger international peace and security.

128. Not long ago there was bitter fighting in Indo-China, in the Middle East, and in South Asia. And these were not the only areas where events took a dangerous turn. Now several international conflicts have, to a certain extent, been channelled in the direction of political settlement.

129. It is well known that on more than one occasion tensions in Europe have risen to an alarming level. There were no military clashes, but if the total damage inflicted by the "cold war" and its tensions is estimated, it will prove enormous from all standpoints. Nowadays the political development of the European continent is ever more steadily taking a different course. Not only have acute problems of the territorial and political arrangements arising out of the Second World War been solved there, but also prospects for a safer, peaceful future for Europe have been opened up.

130. Alongside this there is another major asset of *détente*—the development of bilateral relations between States with different social systems. In the past too there were periods when it was impos-

sible to organize business-like co-operation between them. But the experience of decades has shown us that that was rather the exception than the rule. Now peaceful co-existence is increasingly becoming the law of contemporary life. And the very nature of these relations is changing in many ways as they become steeped in the spirit of peaceful co-operation.

131. Finally, it was precisely *détente* that put on the agenda the question of restructuring economic relations in the world. The point of this was to eliminate inequality and discrimination, and to ensure in practice the sovereign right of States to dispose of their natural resources. The sixth special session of the General Assembly called severely to task those who for centuries have been exploiting the labour and resources of others, and indicated ways of eliminating economic oppression. The Soviet Union supports the just demands of the developing countries.

132. On the whole, it can be stated with confidence that international events are now taking a course closer to peace. However, one should also see one other thing clearly: the movement towards peace does not always follow a straight line, and difficulties along this road will not necessarily decrease with each passing year. In a certain sense the problems which have to be dealt with today are not simpler but perhaps even more complicated than those of yesterday. And there is more to it than just objective causes.

133. In the final analysis, the solution of the accumulated problems is hampered by the deliberate opposition of those forces whose interests are associated with policies contrary to the policy of *détente*. A closer look will reveal behind each instance of aggravation—whether caused by encroachments on the freedom and independence of nations, by the stepping-up of the arms race, or by attempts to test the durability of existing international treaties—the overt or covert activities of those forces. And when at times you hear people say that *détente* is a purely temporary phenomenon or allege that it has exhausted itself, you can recognize without fail from what quarter these statements come.

134. The Soviet Union counters them with its own motto, which is not to slacken efforts to ensure that the healthy processes which have now been embarked upon should become irreversible and consolidated. As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid I. Brezhnev, stressed recently, "If you want peace, pursue a policy of peace and struggle for that policy". We are convinced that in our time the complete elimination of the threat of war is feasible—albeit not close at hand—provided active and persistent efforts are made to that end.

135. The fact that the world is still far from what the peoples would like it to be is demonstrated by the tragedy which has afflicted the Republic of Cyprus. Some may have the impression that this is an event of local significance. The Soviet Union takes a different view.

136. Before the eyes of the world the force of arms is being used ruthlessly to trample on the independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign Member State of the United Nations, a participant in the

non-aligned movement. The fact that this is a small country presents developments in a special light. Another hotbed of tension has appeared in the eastern Mediterranean, and unless urgent measures are taken no one can guarantee that the situation will not deteriorate even further.

137. From the very beginning the Soviet Union came out in defence of the inalienable rights of the State of Cyprus. It has been resolutely calling for an end to outside interference in the affairs of Cyprus, for the withdrawal of foreign troops from its soil, for the restoration of constitutional order, and for the Cypriots to be given a chance to decide their destiny for themselves. That is the only way radically to remove the tension. The demand that the Charter of the United Nations be observed should not be an empty phrase—as those responsible for events in Cyprus would like to see it. It must be complied with in the case of the Cyprus tragedy too.

138. The Cyprus problem must be brought out of the impasse resulting from attempts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to solve it *in camera*, in political darkness, and in the narrow interests of militarist circles. This purpose—that is, a just solution to the Cyprus problem—is promoted by the Soviet Union's proposal to convene an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations.⁷ The decisions of such a conference, adopted with the direct participation of representatives of the Republic of Cyprus and aimed at ensuring the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, could be effectively guaranteed by the States permanent members of the Security Council, for, under the Charter of the United Nations, it is precisely they who are entrusted with special responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

139. Indo-China is situated on the other side of the planet, and the situation there is different. But the underlying reasons why the guns are still firing and blood is still flowing in some parts of the region are the same as in Cyprus. It is all due to the stubborn reluctance of foreign-backed reactionary forces to respect the legitimate rights of the peoples.

140. To bring to a conclusion the political settlement in Viet Nam it is necessary, in the first place, to make the Saigon régime give up its military provocations and attempts to undermine the Paris agreements on Viet Nam. Strict observance of these agreements by all parties is an indispensable condition for the normalization of the situation. As for Cambodia, its problems must be solved by the Cambodians themselves, in accordance with their national interests and without any outside interference. The positive results of agreements reached in Laos should also be consolidated.

141. The comprehensive assistance and support given by the Soviet Union and other States of the Socialist community to the Vietnamese people have helped them to achieve victory in the long and heroic struggle against aggression. The Soviet Union will continue to support the Vietnamese people in peacetime too. The aspirations of the patriotic forces of Indo-China to freedom and independence will always be met with our understanding and solidarity.

142. For almost 30 years now the Middle East has been in a state of fever. Over this period wars have broken out there time and time again. In fact, the last one was only a year ago. This should be enough to convince anyone that the Middle East problem must be solved and solved justly, with the interests of all the peoples of the region being taken into account.

143. What does that imply? First of all, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all—I stress, from all—the Arab lands seized by them in 1967 and the assurance of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Otherwise there can be no stable peace in the Middle East. It does not need a prophet to foresee a new flare-up of hostilities if the Middle East settlement is reduced to half-measures, no matter how well advertised they may be.

144. There are increasing signs that Israel regards the disengagement of forces on Sinai and the Golan Heights not as the first step towards a general settlement—which is what it should be—but as a manoeuvre intended to freeze the situation. The clear unwillingness to leave the occupied Arab territories and, moreover, a desire to consolidate Israel's hold on them are quite evident. What other explanation can there be for the militarist intoxication which has again overcome Israel and for the attempts to exert military pressure on the Arab States? Unless this stops, the disengagement of troops may prove to be a mere regrouping of forces prior to a new clash.

145. The Soviet Union believes that there must be no delay in implementing measures leading to a political settlement in the Middle East, and this means prompt resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, the most appropriate forum for considering the Middle East problem in all its complex totality and for finding solutions satisfactory to the parties involved in the conflict. Naturally, this fully applies also to the Arab people of Palestine, whose representatives must take their rightful place at the conference.

146. We believe that the time has surely come to address ourselves earnestly to the problem of Palestine. A wider approach is required here, which would open the way to ensuring not only in words but in deeds the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and that is why we favoured including the question of Palestine on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly as a separate item.

147. There are some who try to represent the Soviet Union's position as one-sided and only serving the interests of the Arab States. Yes, indeed, we do support and will continue to support the legitimate demands of the Arabs. But it would be wrong to see only this particular aspect in our position. When we insist that territories acquired by force should not become a prize for aggression, the implications of our demand go well beyond the limits of the Middle East. It reflects intolerance of aggression in general. What this involves, therefore, is a major international principle and the question of consistency in policy.

148. Furthermore, the Soviet Union is in favour of Israel's existence and development as an independent sovereign State. We have said so many times

and we affirm it once again. Real, not illusory, progress towards a Middle East settlement will create prerequisites for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and all the States of the Middle East, including Israel.

149. The scope of the policy of peace and *détente* is broad. It is important not to lose momentum in any field and, above all, wherever serious work has already begun to build more stable relations between States on the basis of the observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

150. In this context, the Soviet Union attaches primary importance to the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. This is question number one in European political life today. An objective assessment of what has already been done at the Conference prompts the conclusion that, on the whole, the results are impressive.

151. Has anyone ever before succeeded in jointly elaborating practical standards of peaceful relations among States in Europe, in particular, on questions which have hitherto seemed insoluble? Until now nothing of this kind has been seen, at least on such a scale. Today, this work is proceeding successfully. Several important principles have been formulated in detail as specifically applicable to Europe. The arrival at generally acceptable decisions on them, on the basis of a reasonable balance of interests of the parties, is not a routine phenomenon. Not all the participants in the Conference rely, even in their bilateral relations, on such a solid foundation as the one which is now being laid for an all-European agreement.

152. It has also proved possible to reach agreement on a wide range of questions relating to co-operation among States in the most varied fields: from trade and economics to culture; from the protection of the environment to the extension of human contacts and exchanges of information. Experience has shown that such questions can be settled if they are viewed in direct proportion to the main problem of ensuring peace in Europe, and if the principle of non-interference in internal affairs is strictly adhered to.

153. The Soviet Union is convinced that there is an opportunity to conclude the Conference at an early date by adopting weighty decisions in the interests of security in Europe. In saying this we not only properly appreciate the collective work that has already been done; we also proceed from the premise that solutions to the still outstanding problems can be found, if all the participants display the necessary political will and realism.

154. Naturally, it would not be right to expect the Conference to settle at one fell swoop all the questions accumulated over the long years of tension and mistrust. But it is equal to the task of achieving agreements on crucial problems which can determine a stable peaceful development in Europe for the foreseeable future. It will also be easier to tackle other outstanding issues in the atmosphere of *détente*.

155. The Soviet Union will continue to do everything to ensure the complete success of the Conference. We trust that our Western partners will

also take a constructive approach to this task. It is in the interests of the peoples of Europe, and not just of Europe alone, to work to bring nearer the day when agreements designed to legitimize peace and co-operation on the scale of an entire continent can be signed at the highest level.

156. It is also important to achieve results at the Vienna Talks on the Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. The key to this is strict observance by all of the rule of undiminished security for each side. Agreement on the questions under discussion would in practice supplement political *détente* in Europe with military *détente*.

157. The conversion into a practical proposition of the idea of consolidating peace in Asia through the joint efforts of States should not, in our opinion, be a matter for the distant future. No doubt, the situation there remains complex. There is no small number of trouble spots, conflicts and international disputes on the continent of Asia.

158. Political thought in Asia, too, is switching more and more to the search for ways of securing peace and stability. And surely this is demonstrated by the efforts of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to normalize relations on the Hindustan Peninsula, or by the idea of converting the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

159. We note with satisfaction the growing interest in the Soviet Union's initiative concerning the establishment of a collective security system in Asia. More and more States in Asia are supporting it. The Soviet-Indian Declaration signed as a result of the visit of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev to India in November 1973 contains important principles which can serve as a basis for the development of an effective system of relations between States in Asia.

160. The establishment of peace and co-operation in Asia meets the fundamental interests of all the Asian people. The achievement of this goal is a matter which concerns every country of that continent.

161. The agenda of this session includes an item which has a direct bearing on the improvement of the situation in Asia. This is the proposal by 34 States, including the Soviet Union, on the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations [A/9703 and Add.1-3]. The presence of those troops, which have now been there for more than two decades, represents a source of constant military and political tension in the Korean Peninsula. Their presence is still more inappropriate under present conditions when, on the initiative of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, efforts are being made to bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea.

162. If we analyse the reasons which have so often caused acute tensions in the world, and which even now frequently lead to dangerous situations, we shall easily see that in many cases this was the result of the armaments race. It is indeed a fact that immediately after the Second World War some States embarked upon a course of building up armaments and setting up military bases on foreign territories, thus making the creation of tensions and sabre-rattling their policy. It is a secret to no one that it

was precisely that policy of theirs which at times brought the world to a very dangerous brink.

163. How many speeches have been made on disarmament and the cessation of the arms race in the last 25 years? Probably no other problem has absorbed the attention of statesmen and public figures to such an extent in the post-war period. And this is understandable. Stable and lasting peace is incompatible with the arms race. They are antipodes. One cannot seriously think of eliminating the threat of war while at the same time increasing military budgets and endlessly building up armaments.

164. Facts must be faced. So far it has not proved possible to stop the arms race. Furthermore, today the arms race absorbs more money than ten or twenty years ago. It has been estimated that the world annually burns in the furnace of armaments over \$250,000 million. This is more than the entire national income of the developing States of Asia and Africa. One can only imagine what benefits these resources could yield if they were used for peaceful purposes, for development, to combat hunger, poverty and disease.

165. No Government—at least openly—declares that it favours the arms race. Nevertheless, arms are accumulating. For three months every year appeals to end the arms race are heard at the session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. But the arms race continues. Ever more and newer papers and resolutions on disarmament are filling the archives of the United Nations. But disarmament still does not manage to overcome its inertia. Conveyor belts keep on moving inexorably, turning out new consignments of destructive weapons.

166. And so a paradoxical situation develops. The peace movement has never had such momentum as it enjoys today, and never has the world produced such quantities of arms as it does today. On the one hand, there is the longing for peace on the part of hundreds of millions of people who realize the grim danger of the arms race, but, on the other hand, there is the increasing avalanche of armaments.

167. What is the matter? Maybe some forces which have got out of human control are at work? Certainly not. The reason is policy. And if it is policy, well, one may ask, whose policy?

168. If it all depended on the socialist countries, the arms race would have been eliminated long ago. No one has tabled more concrete proposals on disarmament than they. Ever since the non-aligned countries moved into the forefront of international affairs they too have been actively working in favour of disarmament. Voices of reason are to be heard in other countries too, and they resound with ever greater confidence both in parliaments and in broad public circles.

169. Military-industrial circles that profit from the arms race oppose its cessation. Those politicians who are linked with these circles have long since placed their narrow interests above the aspirations of the peoples. The influence of these circles has had a telling effect on all disarmament negotiations, including those in the General Assembly and the Security Council.

170. The arms race affects all States, even those not directly involved in it. All the peoples of the world live under one and the same roof. The risks posed by the unrestrained build-up of armaments are a danger to all. On the other hand, is there any country in the world whose economy is not affected, one way or another, by the burden of armaments? Everyone here could adduce numerous examples in confirmation of the correctness of this argument.

171. Furthermore, recently economic upheavals, which have been affecting many States, have increased in intensity and increasingly affect the material situation of people. Statesmen and economists are racking their brains over the causes underlying all this. But there is one undeniable conclusion that is borne out every day and every hour: the aggravation of economic problems is largely connected with the rising scale of the arms race and with soaring military expenditures.

172. But if the disarmament problem affects everyone, then the solution to the problem should be sought jointly by all States.

173. The main thing here is not just to mark time, hiding behind arguments about the complexity of the problem. If right now it cannot be solved at one stroke, solutions should be sought for individual aspects so that this should lead at least step by step to the ultimate goal of disarmament, and in effect, such an approach has already been tried out in recent years and has justified itself.

174. As positive changes make their way in the world, so objective prerequisites for finding real agreements in the sphere of disarmament improve. It is noteworthy that the largest number of agreements of this kind have been reached in the last few years. Although they do not reverse the arms race, they do curb it in a whole series of ways.

175. In one case, this takes the form of limiting further perfection of nuclear weapons and the creation of their new destructive models. The Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963, has been serving this end well for over a decade now.

176. The same objective is served by the Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States of 3 July 1974, whereby both countries have undertaken to stop, as of 31 March 1976, underground testing of nuclear weapons with the most powerful nuclear charges and also to limit underground nuclear test explosions in general. The Soviet Union will strive to see to it that the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests eventually becomes comprehensive and universal.

177. In another case, it takes the form of a limit on the territorial spread of armaments. Such is the purport of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which has proved its effectiveness. We are in favour of making full use of the possibilities inherent in that Treaty and of increasing the number of States parties to it. The objective is to make this Treaty universal.

178. A number of agreements exclude the sea-bed and the ocean floor, outer space and celestial bodies from the sphere of possible emplacement of nuclear

weapons. In accordance with an international agreement bacteriological weapons have been prohibited and eliminated from military arsenals, and prospects are emerging for the outlawing of another deadly means of warfare, namely, chemical weapons.

179. And what about the agreements on the limitation of strategic arms between the Soviet Union and the United States? I feel that there is no need to explain their unprecedented significance since they are designed to narrow the actual material basis of the nuclear-missile arms race. Quite recently these agreements have been supplemented by new important agreements. Last July, the Soviet Union and the United States decided further to limit their anti-ballistic missile systems and mapped out ways of achieving further limitation of strategic offensive arms in terms of both quality and quantity. The Soviet delegation in Geneva, where talks on these questions were resumed the other day, has firm instructions to seek their solution.

180. The supreme interests not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States but also of the peoples of the whole world require that the Soviet Union and the United States, possessing the colossal might of nuclear weapons, should make every effort to achieve appropriate understandings and agreements. We should like to express our gratification at the fact that this idea was clearly stated too from the rostrum of the General Assembly by President Ford of the United States [2234th meeting].

181. When two Powers voluntarily limit their military preparations, when they establish a ceiling above which they will not increase nuclear missile armaments, their actions, apart from anything else, must set a good example for others.

182. The Soviet Union will continue to work tirelessly to further the cause of disarmament in areas where this is possible; it will look for new fields where concrete results can be achieved through the joint efforts of States.

183. The Soviet Union took the initiative by proposing the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, as an important and urgent question, of item 103, entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health" [A/9702].

184. What is the motive for this? The achievements of scientific and technological progress have expanded the possibilities of influencing nature and the climate of the globe and, in a certain sense, of controlling the complex and powerful processes involved. Unfortunately, the latest discoveries can be used not only for creative, but also for military, purposes with extremely destructive consequences for mankind. These are not the conjectures of science fiction writers, but an actual threat that is assuming an ever more realistic shape. It is in the interests of all peoples to nip this threat in the bud.

185. The Soviet Union proposes that an international convention should be concluded which will outlaw the military use of the environment. Compliance with the provisions of such a convention, a draft of which we will submit [see A/C.1/L.675],

could be secured through the adoption by each State, in accordance with its constitutional processes, of appropriate measures to prohibit activities contrary to the convention and through consultations and co-operation among States, notably within the framework of the United Nations.

186. The conclusion of such a convention would prevent the emergence of new means of warfare and, at the same time, would facilitate the solution of a problem common to all mankind—the protection of the environment. We trust that all the participants in the Assembly will fully appreciate the universal significance of this important initiative and treat this proposal accordingly. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries as a whole seek to gain nothing from this. We have made this proposal because it is in the interests of all States, all peoples and the whole world.

187. In its attitude in the United Nations, the Soviet Union proceeds on the assumption that the Organization can and must play an important part in developing and consolidating the positive processes characteristic of the present-day world situation. We have quite a number of useful resolutions to our credit aimed at strengthening international peace. Now, everything depends on their being consistently implemented.

188. In this regard, I should like to refer especially to some resolutions adopted by the United Nations over the last two or three years by a large majority of votes. In the first place, I have in mind the one on the prohibition of the use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*]. This is an Assembly decision of fundamental importance. It must acquire binding force for all States and, in this regard, the Security Council has an important role.

189. One cannot say that the General Assembly resolution on the convening of a world disarmament conference [*resolution 2833 (XXVI)*] has not been followed up. An *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference [*resolution 3183 (XXVIII)*] has even been set up, in which, among other States, three nuclear Powers are participating. However, in fact, the question is not really being dealt with. It is time for the Committee to proceed, in close co-operation with the nuclear Powers, to prepare concrete recommendations on the practical aspects of the convocation of that conference. The boycotting of this important measure by several States is contrary to the clearly expressed desire of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. We regard it as a challenge to the world Organization.

190. Through no fault of the Soviet Union, there is delay in the implementation of such a commonly useful enterprise as that of the reduction of the military budgets of the States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and the utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. This example belongs in the same category. This action would have a double effect: it would promote the limitation of the arms race and, at the same time, provide additional assistance to States that need it most. The

attitudes towards this proposal act as a kind of litmus paper revealing the intentions of States regarding acute present-day problems.

191. The further development of bilateral relations between States based on the principles of peaceful coexistence is a vast and far from exhausted reserve for deepening *détente*. On this basis our country is prepared to establish and expand not just normal but, where possible, friendly relations with all States sharing this approach. This has been and remains one of the most important lines of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

192. It is our desire to see the consolidation of all the positive results that have been achieved so far in our relations with leading capitalist States on the basis of fruitful efforts on both sides. We want to move ahead and make these relations stable. In this context, the statements by the new leaders of the United States, France and the Federal Republic of Germany about their intentions to continue to move towards *détente* and co-operation have been met in the Soviet Union with satisfaction.

193. Today economic, scientific and technological links assume an increasingly large role in relations between States with different social systems. If co-operation in these fields is built on respect for the principles of equality and non-interference, it will not only be mutually advantageous but will also promote the establishment of a material basis of sorts for durable peace and good neighbourliness.

194. We value highly the good and, in some instances, close relations which have been established between the Soviet Union and many developing countries. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have embarked upon the road of national independence and the consolidation of economic independence can continue to rely firmly on our support. We were in at the source of their struggle against colonialism, and at each and every stage of it we have supported and will continue to support the developing States in word and in deed. That is our line of principle, and we shall not deviate from it.

195. The solution of such complex and urgent problems as those of energy and food, which are attracting much attention, particularly in the United Nations, should also be sought on the path of peace and co-operation, of strict observance of the principles of equality and sovereignty, and of the right of States to dispose of their natural resources.

196. The number of young States Members of the United Nations has increased at this session of the General Assembly. We should like to express our particular satisfaction at the fact that the People's Republic of Bangladesh has become a full Member of the United Nations and that thus an end has been put to an injustice with regard to that major Asian State.

197. The Soviet Union, which was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, welcomes that State's admission to the United Nations with great satisfaction. The Soviet Union also welcomes the admission to the United Nations of the newly independent State of Grenada. Soon to come is the proclama-

tion of the national independence of Mozambique. The current attempts to frustrate the process of decolonization that has begun in that country must be most resolutely rebuffed. That of course applies equally and fully to Angola. That will, indeed, be the crowning moment of the armed phase of the struggle for national liberation of the former Portuguese colonies, and will provide even further evidence of the irresistible march of social progress.

198. The year that has passed since the Fascist *coup* in Chile has revealed the great depth of the tragedy that has befallen the Chilean people. But it has also demonstrated that endless terror and the suppression of elementary human rights cannot break the will of the people of Chile for a free and independent life. The bloody deeds of the junta are in glaring contradiction with the lofty human principles and purposes of the United Nations, and are a challenge to human honour and decency. It is no accident that the junta in fact remains in a state of international isolation.

199. The struggle for national independence and economic liberation and for the elimination of the vestiges of the colonial system has been scoring impressive victories in recent years. But that struggle is by no means ended. The manifestations of economic oppression and inequality and the fact that there are still dark blemishes of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination on earth cannot be tolerated. Until they disappear, the peace-loving States and the United Nations as a whole cannot slacken their efforts to eradicate them.

200. It is always necessary to identify the most topical issues among the great variety of problems posed by the course of world developments. At any given moment, the efforts of States striving to achieve the strengthening of peace should be concentrated precisely upon them. It is the opinion of the Soviet Union that some of the high-priority tasks of today are the following:

—to proceed in practical terms to a Cyprus settlement; stop the violence against that country and its people; secure respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of that State and, for those purposes, convene a representative international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations;

—to resume as a matter of urgency the work of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East to solve questions concerning the establishment of a just and durable peace in that area;

—to complete the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at an early date by adopting, at the highest level, decisions ensuring a peaceful future for Europe;

—to achieve specific agreements in the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, in the multilateral negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and in the Committee on Disarmament;

—to take measures to implement the decisions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly on strengthening the economic independence of developing States.

201. No one would venture to claim that the solution of all those problems, and of others to which we have drawn the attention of this Assembly, is an easy task. But their solution is necessary and feasible, and all States really interested in developing peaceful and reasonable forms of international intercourse should work towards that end. The Soviet Union will be unstinting in its efforts to promote the establishment of durable and lasting peace on earth.

202. Mr. CALLAGHAN (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I thank you for calling upon me at this late hour when the prospect of lunch must be so much more alluring than the thought of another indigestible speech. I can only undertake that I shall not be over-long or take too much of your time.

203. I must, however, begin by offering the congratulations of the United Kingdom to you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of the Assembly, especially as your country has played such a large and important role in the work of the Organization, and we are all looking forward to a period of constructive work under your guidance.

204. Like others who have spoken, we also welcome two new Members from the Commonwealth—Bangladesh and Grenada—as well as Guinea-Bissau, the latest country to achieve its independence.

205. This is the first time I have had the honour of addressing the Assembly—and I regret it will not be possible for me to stay after lunchtime. I must invoke the newcomer's privilege of making some remarks, with your permission, about our hopes and aspirations for this Organization.

206. I start by giving an assurance that it is the firm policy of my Government to give all possible support to the United Nations. We do so because we believe that this body is the best forum in which to come to grips with many of the daunting problems that face mankind.

207. It should not need an energy crisis, a population crisis, a raw-material crisis, to tell us that the world is shrinking and making us more interdependent. These are by now the *clichés* of our perorations; we no longer need to prove the point. Yet when action is needed we still do not behave as though we believe it. To say this implies no criticism of this Organization itself.

208. Too often we use the United Nations as a whipping-boy for our own inability to act in concert in response to a common problem. The weaknesses in international co-operation which exist today are not United Nations weaknesses. The responsibility rests with us, the Member nations, that have willed that the United Nations should work on the basis of the lowest common denominator of agreement between the Member States. This negative consensus—for that is what it is—sometimes means little more than a wafer-thin formula to paper over our differences without any real meeting of minds. Such a consensus cannot be construed as universal approval. Indeed, because it happens in this way, there are occasions when the words in which we express this negative consensus have no chance of being translated into action because the action proposed does not correspond with realities.

209. What we need in order to be able to act together is positive consensus: a determined effort to reach common ground and an equal determination to work together to overcome the political and economic threats to our peoples.

210. I do not underestimate the difficulties. Our interests are as varied as the nations we represent. But in the past, diverse nations have successfully sunk their differences and combined to face a common enemy. We face common enemies today: inflation, recession and poverty. Let us unite to defeat them.

211. But if we are to achieve this positive consensus for which I ask, we need not only sound policies; we need the attitude of mind expressed by the then Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Willy Brandt, when he spoke to this Assembly at the twenty-eighth session and said:

“... we have not come here to use the United Nations as a wailing-wall... or to make claims we know cannot be met here in any case. Rather have we come to assume our share in the responsibility for world affairs on the basis of our convictions and within the framework of our possibilities” [2128th meeting, para. 6].

It is in that spirit that the United Kingdom Government is determined to bring to this Assembly the political will to make a responsible contribution to solving the problems before us. This will be the evidence of our pledge of support.

212. Before I came here I took the precaution of reading the deliberations of the preceding session of the General Assembly. In many speeches then—as indeed is the case of speeches on this occasion—the recurring theme was the progress of *détente*. Mr. Kissinger referred then [2124th meeting] to a commonality of interests between the United States and the Soviet Union in establishing a broad web of constructive relationships. Mr. Gromyko said [2126th meeting]—and he referred to it again today—that we had achieved a shift from an extended period of tension in the world to business-like co-operation. He knows and the Soviet Union knows that since I assumed my present office it has been my firm desire that the United Kingdom should play a full and positive part in fostering such “business-like co-operation” in our bilateral contacts.

213. On the level of multilateral negotiations, the talks in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and about mutual and balanced force reductions have been moving, to put it politely, at a very slow pace. I hope we can shift both sets of talks into a higher gear so that we can report some positive results before this Assembly meets next.

214. The talks in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in particular are—given sufficient good will and understanding for the concerns and interests of all the participants—ripe for an early conclusion. We have always recognized that the talks on mutual and balanced force reductions would be much more complex and long-term. But our aim in both sets of negotiations should be the same, to achieve in Europe an order which would allow our people to live in security and co-opera-

tion and at the same time reduce the crippling burden of arms spending.

215. It would be a triumph indeed if Europe, which too often in this century has been the centre of inhumanity and senseless conflict, could set the pattern for a new order of international relations free of war and the threat of war. Fortunately, it is some years since the threat of war between East and West was a major preoccupation of the United Nations; but the complex of new and interrelated problems are in their different ways as serious a threat to us all.

216. This transfer of our attention has, of course, been brought about by massive and unprecedented increases in the price of oil. On the surface—but only on the surface—it might appear that there is a natural difference of interest between those countries which would like to see oil prices reduced and those which wish to keep them at their present levels or indeed to increase them. That is not so. It is in the interests of both producer and consumer alike that the prices of commodities and of manufactured goods should not chase each other upwards in a never-ending spiral.

217. In the meantime, even if, as we hope, prices will not remain at their present peak, we have to face the problem of how to adapt the world's monetary and economic systems to accommodate the vast oil revenues now accruing to certain countries—some of which cannot immediately absorb them.

218. The objective is clear and quite straightforward. It is to marry the revenue of the oil-producing countries with the technology of the developed countries, so that the increased production and world trade which would result from such a marriage would be used primarily to benefit the developing countries of the world which need them most. Our knowledge of international monetary mechanisms is sufficiently advanced to enable us to do this and to do it in a way that would be fair both to the oil-producing countries themselves and to those that need the resources. New techniques will be required, but it is by no means impossible to create them if there is the political will and an understanding of the problem.

219. The unprecedented world-wide economic boom of recent years led to higher commodity prices prior to the recent increases in world oil prices. In turn these higher prices for raw materials found their way into the price of manufactured goods, and the resulting inflation coincided with a period in which the Bretton Woods system for controlling international monetary relationships fell into disarray. Collective action is now urgent if we are to ensure that the large surplus oil funds are used constructively to maintain demand and the level of world trade, because inevitably the surpluses of the oil producers are matched by deficits on the part of the consumers.

220. In our view it will be an error which will have global consequences if the oil consumers try individually to eliminate their oil-induced deficits in advance of international agreement on the disposal and investment of the oil producers. That way lies general recession, increasing poverty and social unrest. The surplus must be taken into account.

221. My own Government's belief is that if countries eliminate too hastily that part of their deficit that arises from oil purchases, that will have a snow-ball effect and will add to the serious risks of world recession. So our hope is that all major oil-consuming countries will abjure beggar-my-neighbour policies.

222. Of course, the question then arises. How are we going to finance such deficits? The world has been fortunate so far. The existing market mechanisms have borne the main burden. There have been bilateral deals between oil producers and deficit countries. But some countries, both in the developing and in the industrialized categories, cannot raise funds on the markets; and even if they could they would be unable to pay the present high interest rates. Not enough has been done to help them.

223. The Managing Director of IMF has raised over \$3,000 million for the so-called oil facility. It is working well; but it is a small first step when it is measured against the magnitude of the problem. Other funds, from cheaper sources, are also needed quickly, to help those countries whose economies have been hardest hit by the rise in oil prices.

224. The Secretary-General made a prompt appeal for contributions to his emergency operation to help the hardest hit, and the European Community has offered to contribute up to \$500 million. I hope that contribution will be made quickly and that other potential donors will act so that we can get this emergency operation off the ground while we work out and negotiate the longer-term arrangements which are necessary. Such arrangements, I emphasize again, will need to be on a much bigger scale than anything we have contemplated so far.

225. The United Kingdom will continue to urge co-operative action to fight both recession and inflation. We do so because we believe that international action is as necessary as domestic action to avoid the twin evils of unemployment and soaring prices for our people.

226. It is clear to us that the well-being of our people depends more than ever before on the actions of other countries as well as our own. So the message which this Assembly should send to the world is really the old one yet again: we must live together as good neighbours, making certain that in putting our own houses in order we do not make life harder for others; we must live as good neighbours in the sense that we are alive to the plight of those countries which have suffered most from recent development and are taking action to help them.

227. If the present world economic and energy problems present this Assembly with great difficulties—as they do—elsewhere, in the political sphere, I agree that some prospects are brighter. I have already referred to the steady, if sedate, progress of *détente*. In Western Europe we have had the immense satisfaction of seeing democracy and human rights restored to Greece and Portugal, two of the oldest and most respected nations of our continent. Nor have the consequences of this been confined to Europe. The events in Portugal have had a momentous impact on the continent of Africa, with the decision by the new Portuguese Government to grant independence to its African colonies.

228. I pay a tribute to the statesmanship of all the leaders concerned who negotiated quickly and smoothly the settlements in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. We have all had the pleasure of welcoming Guinea-Bissau to this session as a full Member of the United Nations. An event of equal significance has taken place in Mozambique, where the new Provisional Government has been sworn in. We warmly welcome the Lusaka Agreement between the Government of Portugal and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [*FRELIMO*]. I believe that Agreement gives much hope for the future, and my Government looks forward to the day when we shall welcome an independent Mozambique and in due course Angola as members of the family of the United Nations.

229. We are naturally considering how these developments will influence events in Rhodesia, where Britain still has an outstanding responsibility. The situation in that country has not yet been brought satisfactorily under control. The British Government is pursuing faithfully the policy of sanctions against the Rhodesian régime. We shall adhere to that policy. There can be no satisfactory settlement without the agreement of the African people who live in Rhodesia. It seems to us that the developments in Mozambique introduce new realities into this situation, and we are actively examining all the possibilities. My Government will seek to take advantage of any opportunity to achieve a settlement which is in accordance with the needs and wishes of all the people of Rhodesia.

230. Likewise in the Middle East there have been some welcome developments. I join in the admiration we all feel for the great energy displayed by the United States Secretary of State in achieving the present measure of disengagement. But the lesson from the past—and here I agree with what was said by the previous speaker—is that if we let the momentum for peace slacken and drift into stalemate, that is the surest guarantee of another war. Negotiating is like riding a bicycle: if you stop pedalling you fall off. That is the lesson we have to learn.

231. My visit to the region earlier this year convinced me that we were in a period of opportunity for a settlement of this problem. The opportunity is still there. It will involve compromise, but there are men of stature in all the countries involved who could reach an agreement which would give peace, security and justice to all the people of the area, and we shall support the next round of talks to achieve those ends.

232. Now I turn to the question of Cyprus. While progress was being made in Europe, in Africa and in the Middle East, a slow-burning fuse exploded this summer in the island of Cyprus. It was a further reminder, if we needed it, that conflict is inevitable if long-standing grievances are left uncorrected and neglected. But conflict is equally inevitable if one set of grievances is removed only to be replaced by others of equal intensity. That is what I fear may happen in Cyprus. That is what we are working to avoid.

233. I pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring and constructive work throughout this

crisis. It was a privilege for Britain to work so closely with the United Nations throughout this period.

234. I pay a tribute too, as I am sure we all do, to the work of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, and particularly to those gallant young men from Austria, from Canada and from Denmark, as well as from my own country, who gave their lives in the cause of peace while serving in the United Nations Force.

235. The actions of my own Government have been determined throughout by our desire to respond to the request by the United Nations as expressed in Security Council resolution 353 (1974) and in later resolutions. In the welter of argument that has existed between other States and the accusations that have been thrown at NATO, the British purpose has been to serve the interests of the people of Cyprus—all of them—and we shall continue to be ready to put ourselves at their disposal and at the disposal of this Organization in order to help if required.

236. The 1960 Treaty of Guarantee and the 1960 Constitution have both been shown to have substantial weaknesses. The problem therefore is how are they to be adapted in order to give long-term peace and stability to the people of the island? That can only come from a settlement that is manifestly just and that appears so to those concerned.

237. It is hopeful that both Greece and Turkey have reaffirmed their commitment to a sovereign and independent Cyprus—an opinion that we also share. Long-term peace in the area depends on there being no partition and no *enosis*, and against that background it would be best if the people themselves who live in the island played a major part in determining their own future. So we welcome the beginning of talks between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktaş, even though these talks have been largely restricted so far to humanitarian issues. We hope that the talks can soon be widened to cover the political issues that remain to be resolved.

238. So far, as will be clear already to this Assembly, there is no agreement on the central question as to whether there should be a federal system in the Republic. Until that question is answered it is not possible to proceed to further questions, such as the limit of the areas that would exist under communal administration or the powers of the central government and of the autonomous regions respectively. Nor would it be possible to proceed to another important question which still has to be tackled: the reduction and withdrawal of armed forces and armaments and other war material from the island. Because of the wide differences which exist between the parties on these questions, progress in our view towards a settlement can best be made for the moment by the continuation and encouragement of the talks between Mr. Denktaş and Mr. Clerides, who represent the people whose future is at stake.

239. The British Government for its part would be ready to assist at a later stage if and when it was deemed helpful. But I agree with those who have said already that the plight of the refugees is even more immediate, and urgent action is needed to alleviate their hardship before winter sets in. Britain has already responded to the need both by the prac-

tical things we have done, by using our presence in the island and by contributing, in addition, the sums of £500,000 to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and £50,000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

240. On the question of the British Sovereign Base areas, I have taken note, Sir, of what you as President had to say [2233rd meeting, para. 46], but I add that at any rate at the moment those bases have not been regarded by any of the parties to the dispute as part of the Republic of Cyprus. Whatever view some may take of them, they proved a haven of peace for Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike during the worst of the fighting and thousands from both communities thankfully took refuge in them. The bases have been used to keep open essential international communications with the island at a time when the only major airport there, at Nicosia, has been out of use; and through these bases, and only through them, could have flowed the substantial and significant quantity of relief supplies.

241. We opened up the bases to all refugees to respond to a real humanitarian need. We have been ready and glad to supply food, shelter and medicine without discrimination. These refugees should not now be used as a political club with which to beat us in order to get a particular solution. It would serve their interests best—that is those of the refugees themselves—if their future could be solved as a result of the discussion of the refugee question as a whole in the future talks that are to take place between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktaş. We hope for a constructive debate on this whole issue in the Assembly.

242. I listened with interest to the proposals of Mr. Gromyko. We will consider them objectively—all of them—as well as all other proposals that are made in the course of this debate. We shall be ready to play our full part in bringing peace and security to the people of the Republic.

243. The last 12 months have not removed any of the world's trouble spots from the list of threats to peace. The Middle East, Cyprus, Viet Nam are all sadly with us.

244. While we can welcome the gradual progress of the super-Powers in agreeing on some degree of arms control, even this has been offset by the new threats of nuclear proliferation. If this threat is not to become a reality there is a need to widen and increase the self-denying ordinances laid upon us for the preservation of world peace. That peace, however imperfectly, has been preserved and the work of this Organization has contributed to that end and continues to be mankind's best hope. But, as Willy Brandt reminded us so eloquently last year—and I am proud to quote his words again:

“Where hunger prevails, there can be no peace in the long run . . . Where a man's very existence is threatened for want of basic daily needs, it is not permissible to speak of security.” [2128th meeting, para. 38]

245. We live in a world where peace, politics, economics are all becoming more and more closely interrelated. Many of the speeches in this debate have already illustrated and will continue to illustrate

the need of the industrialized Western world for raw materials and commodities from the developing countries and the need of the developing countries for Western technology. The people of the Indian subcontinent need the grain crops of North America and Europe if they are to survive. Whether men and women in the developed world are to have work during this current winter will depend to a high degree on the continuation of the flow of oil from the Middle East.

246. I suggest to you, Mr. President, and to the representatives here assembled, that from all these wants comes a need to look at our institutions again—not the Charter itself. I do not refer to that—but to those bodies within the United Nations family and outside it, to see if they are reflecting and matching up to the growing interdependence of the world. Most of them were established in the post-war world in very different circumstances.

247. I should like to see a study made of those institutions dealing primarily with economic and monetary affairs to see where they overlap, where there are gaps between them, whether indeed we need some body that can take a more over-all view than is taken at the present time. If we come to such a conclusion, then we should remake the organizations in a better shape. But I add what is obvious, that institutions however perfect cannot in themselves provide the answer unless there is the political will, and it is here that we shall put it to that test.

248. When President Ford addressed this Assembly on 18 September [2234th meeting], he challenged us to join in forging a new framework of international co-operation. My Government gladly responds to that challenge. We do so, among other reasons, because we believe it will help us to survive a searching

period when our domestic institutions will be put to the test, as never before.

249. Many Governments may—no, will—have to ask their people for sacrifices in the light of the world's economic storms that are sweeping over us at the present time. The British people are certainly not exempt from the blast. But as a Government we believe we shall unite our own people in the United Kingdom for the tasks ahead if we create a more equal and a more just society where those with the broadest backs are asked to carry the heaviest burdens. Such policies, no matter how successful in Britain, would be as ashes if we did not apply those same principles to the world at large.

250. Four hundred years ago an English poet, John Donne, wrote, "Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankind". Those words ring down the centuries. They are the watchword for us to lead humanity in peace and in dignity into the twenty-first century.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973.

² A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵ Pan American Union, *Inter-American Treaties and Conventions on Asylum and Extradition*, Treaty Series 34 (OAS Official Records, OEA/Ser.X/17).

⁶ Signed in Moscow on 22 June 1973.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.