

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**

THIRTIETH SESSION

Official Records



**2358th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 23 September 1975,  
 at 3.40 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> ):	
Speech by Mr. Mattila (Finland) .....	115
Speech by Mr. Miyazawa (Japan) .....	117
Speech by Mr. Callaghan (United Kingdom) .....	120
Speech by Mr. Andersson (Sweden) .....	123
Speech by Mr. Dennis (Liberia) .....	126
Speech by Mr. Thompson (Jamaica) .....	129

*President: Mr. Gaston THORN*  
 (Luxembourg).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MATTILA (Finland): Sir, I have the honour to congratulate you on behalf of the Finnish Government on your important election to the presidency. We greet you as an eminent European statesman who has contributed much to European reconciliation and to international co-operation in general.

2. The thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations gives us an opportunity to survey the full spectrum of our activities in order to understand better the value of the Organization in present-day international politics. An examination of the main trends in the development of the United Nations gives us confidence in the future. The Organization has been able to enlarge its membership, which now approaches universality. We very warmly welcome this trend: it makes the United Nations unique as a tool for international co-operation; it also improves conditions for the attainment of our primary goal: the harmonization of the interests of Member States in order to preserve world peace and security. In the process of creating these conditions, the United Nations certainly is the forum where Member States can promote their own national interests. At the same time, it offers a forum where we can test our own interests in relation to those of other Member States. Thus, after argumentation there has to be conciliation and compromise. The policies of détente and dialogue which are actively pursued by the United Nations should be seen as an acknowledgement on the part of Member States of our interdependence in an era of tremendous global problems.

3. The Finnish Government continues to give its full support to the United Nations in the efforts to achieve its important objectives. Today, more than ever, the world needs an Organization where the methods applied in the pursuit of political, economic and social harmony can be discussed and decided in the presence of all concerned. This can best guarantee

that the underlying realities of new global challenges are not neglected or underestimated. We fully agree with the Secretary-General that:

“... the principles of the Charter and the very existence of the Organization, whatever its practical short-comings, have provided an indispensable body of unifying ideas and a central point of contact in a period of rapid change. Despite all the unforeseen developments of the last 30 years, the Organization has shown a remarkable capacity to take on new tasks, to adjust to a changing world, and to meet new and unforeseen challenges within the . . . framework . . . [of] the Charter.” [A/10001/Add.1, sect. I.]

4. The Government of Finland from the very beginning has supported the initiative aimed at establishing a new international economic order. We are therefore happy that the first concerted effort of both developed and developing countries to translate the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3202 (S-VI)] into practical and meaningful realities was a success. The resolution on development and international economic co-operation adopted by the seventh special session [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] contains a number of elements which, when implemented, should be of real economic significance to the developing countries. The new approach to international commodity trade—the so-called integrated programme for commodities—contains several promising features. It should therefore be pursued with speed and resolve. Stable market conditions for commodities should, however, be complemented by diversification, increased industrialization and efficient marketing. This will generate the capital necessary for real improvement in developing countries. In addition, supporting measures must be available, at least in the short term. Food aid and massive support for increasing agricultural production and productivity are of paramount importance. So are measures in support of the transfer of scientific and technological know-how, as well as the efficient and unrestricted use of natural resources. All these questions were discussed at the seventh special session, which thus succeeded in focusing on the essential elements of intensified world economic and social development.

5. The most promising aspect of the special session might, however, ultimately be that it demonstrated a change in thinking and attitudes. There emerged a wider recognition of the need to set in motion a genuine process of change in international economic relations.

6. In the last few years, a number of important United Nations conferences on global issues have been convened. I am referring in particular to the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City in June and July 1975, and to the World

the major Powers. With the emergence of scores of new, independent States, world economic and political relations have become increasingly complex and interdependent. Throughout these three decades, as its membership has nearly tripled, the United Nations has undertaken enlarged responsibilities on behalf of mankind, becoming more vital than at its inception and, indeed, indispensable.

29. Through its role in overcoming various difficulties in the aftermath of the Second World War, the United Nations has firmly consolidated its function as the one universal Organization charged with the maintenance of world peace and security. It has facilitated the process of decolonization and has contributed significantly to the economic and social advancement of the developing countries. It has been a vital forum for the deliberation of economic and social questions and of issues in the field of human rights.

30. The United Nations has also made it possible for us to deal together, from a world-wide perspective, with specific problems which reflect our growing interdependence—problems, for example, related to international trade and economic development, the environment, natural resources and food.

31. The world has been transformed over the past 30 years, but the purposes and principles of the United Nations, as set forth in Articles 1 and 2 of its Charter, have lost none of their significance; on the contrary, they have become more relevant and more important. On this thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, we, the Members of the Organization, would do well to rededicate ourselves to those purposes and principles, governing our conduct accordingly.

32. One of the major developments of the past year was the termination of the prolonged war in Indo-China. I welcome the fact that the nations of Indo-China have now begun their postwar rehabilitation and are directing their energies and resources towards economic and social development. Restoration of stability in that area, and progress in development, will, I believe, help consolidate the foundations for peace in Asia.

33. In this new Asian environment, the maintenance of peace and stability on the Korean peninsula is essential. The fact that the United Nations has been directly involved with this problem for a quarter of a century demonstrates the extraordinary difficulty of achieving the peaceful unification of Korea. Our experience also indicates that, in seeking a solution to the Korean question, we must shun such abrupt changes as would create greater instability in the area. Rather, we should be guided by realism, proceeding in orderly stages towards the goal of peaceful unification. The draft resolution my Government is sponsoring at this session [*see A/10327, para. 10*] in the context of the discussion of the question of Korea calls for dialogue among the parties directly concerned for the purpose of working out appropriate arrangements whereby the United Nations Command can be dissolved without endangering peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. Our aim is to find solutions to the issues through dialogue rather than confrontation. I appeal to the General Assembly at this session to pursue a realistic approach to this problem so that

we may in time attain lasting peace on the Korean peninsula.

34. It has been most gratifying to learn of the agreement reached by Egypt and Israel for a new military disengagement in the Sinai peninsula. The fact that the negotiations persisted through many difficult phases and finally produced an agreement brightens our hope for still further progress towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The present agreement reflects the determination of the parties concerned to move towards peace and is also a tribute to the tireless efforts of Mr. Kissinger, the United States Secretary of State, as mediator. Japan offers its high praise to all those whose attitudes and efforts made this agreement possible.

35. Yet there is much more to be done. My Government strongly urges the countries concerned to maintain their momentum towards a peaceful settlement, specifically towards the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in accordance with Security Council resolution 338 (1973). The fundamental position of my Government is that the countries concerned should resolve the Middle Eastern problem through negotiations and that the following principles should be adhered to: first, the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible, and therefore Israeli armed forces should be withdrawn from all the territories occupied in the 1967 war; secondly, all parties concerned, including Israel, have the right to live in peace, and that right must be respected. Moreover, a just and lasting peace in the Middle East requires that the legitimate rights of the Palestinians be recognized and respected in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

36. My Government earnestly hopes for a settlement of the Middle East conflict in compliance with those principles so that a just and durable peace may at last come to the peoples of that region. Meanwhile, it goes without saying that Japan will continue to support humanitarian assistance to the refugees through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

37. The situation in southern Africa has undergone a remarkable change in the course of the past year. People's liberation movements in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, which have earned world-wide support, together with the decolonization policy of the Portuguese Government, have brought about the birth of a number of newly independent nations. The United Nations has played an extremely important role in this process. However, the prospects are far from bright for an early solution of the issues of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia or the question of *apartheid* in South Africa. The situation in Angola also continues unstable.

38. I believe that Members of the United Nations should multiply their efforts, both within and outside the Organization, in search of solutions for those political issues which still persist in southern Africa. In particular, Japan supports the countries concerned, and especially the neighbouring African States, in their persistent efforts to correct the wrongs of colonialism and racial discrimination, which Japan has consistently opposed. We also strongly urge the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the white minority régime of Southern Rhodesia to heed

the severity with which their policies are criticized by the international community and to bring about in their respective Territories the transformations which are essential to justice and tranquillity for all the peoples of southern Africa.

39. For 30 years the United Nations has provided a universal and continuing forum for world disarmament. Despite efforts exerted through this Organization, however, the number of nuclear-weapon States has been increasing, nuclear testing has continued, and the race in both nuclear and conventional armaments is unabated. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [*A/10001/Add.1*], the Secretary-General has pointed out the increasing danger of nuclear proliferation, and has called for greater efforts to reach agreement on truly effective disarmament measures. I concur wholly in this view.

40. The unanimous adoption of the Final Document of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*A/C.1/1068, annex I*] last May, aimed at consolidation of the régime established by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], should in my view be welcomed as one positive step forward in this direction. I should like to recall, however, that at that Conference many non-nuclear-weapon States, including Japan, emphasized a cardinal point: namely, that the nuclear-weapon States should exert more vigorous efforts in the future to achieve nuclear disarmament.

41. In this connexion, I should like to underscore our urgent appeal to the nuclear-weapon States to persist unwaveringly in their efforts to carry out measures for nuclear arms control and nuclear disarmament, including the new agreement now being negotiated between the United States and the Soviet Union in the context of their Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, and agreement on a comprehensive nuclear-test ban. At the same time, I wish to urge those nuclear-weapon States which have been conducting nuclear explosions outside the existing régime for disarmament, such as the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty and the non-proliferation Treaty, to join in the observance of these disarmament measures to add their weight to the efforts to achieve world disarmament.

42. It is necessary also to prevent further nuclear proliferation in the guise of nuclear testing for peaceful purposes. I urgently request that the current session of the General Assembly instruct the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and other appropriate international bodies to mobilize their expertise for the purpose of determining how the international community can control nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Every country should refrain from conducting such explosions until an effective and reasonable international régime for the peaceful application of nuclear explosions has been established.

43. The Government of Japan has submitted the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to the Diet for approval of its ratification. The Government of Japan will continue its efforts to ratify that Treaty at the earliest possible date so that we may participate in name as well as in fact in international efforts for nuclear non-proliferation.

44. International economic problems, including the basic problems of development, are today as crucial to us as the maintenance of world peace and security.

45. We expressed our basic position on these problems earlier this month during the seventh special session of the General Assembly. I welcome the fact that there emerged from that special session broad guidelines for our future course of action in these fields.

46. In recent years every country, including my own, has been suffering from recession, inflation and balance-of-payments difficulties. In particular, the economic difficulties of many developing countries have become critical. Japan fully understands the frustrations of these countries and supports their aspirations to greater economic security and development.

47. Raising the living standards of peoples in developing countries and promoting their economic and social development can only be achieved through concerted and well-co-ordinated actions among all of us. Together we must strenuously seek to prevent the world economy from contracting. Every country, whether developed or developing, has the obligation to contribute to better balanced and more equitable international economic relations. We must continue the constructive dialogue we began earlier this month, basing it on an objective and realistic appraisal of the world economic situation. Japan, encouraged by the spirit of dialogue and co-operation that prevailed at the recent special session, will continue to dedicate its energies to achieving concrete results at forthcoming conferences in this field, including the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

48. The problem of development should not be considered solely in terms of economics. We should also embrace the broad area of social development, indeed the whole range of activities which contribute to human fulfilment, deepening our creative understanding in all these fields. In this connexion, it is gratifying that the United Nations University, which opened recently in Tokyo, is now approaching full-scale operations, and will soon organize a network of scholars from all over the world to engage in research activities of benefit to all mankind. I sincerely hope the University will receive the active support of all States Members of this Organization.

49. Having stated Japan's position on a number of specific issues facing the United Nations today, I should like, on this thirtieth anniversary, to share with the Assembly our thoughts concerning the functioning of the United Nations, with a view to strengthening the Organization.

50. First, regarding universality of membership of the United Nations, starting with an original membership of 51 States, the United Nations has now grown to 141 States. In the process it has become an organization representative of virtually every race, religion and ideology in the world today. This representativeness has contributed to the Organization's fulfilment of its wide-ranging responsibilities under the Charter, and has greatly enhanced its effectiveness. I am convinced of the desirability of universality of membership so that the United Nations may continue to

function as a genuinely representative forum for international co-operation. For this purpose it is imperative that membership be open, and remain open, to all peace-loving States able and willing to carry out the obligations set forth in the Charter.

51. Secondly, regarding the decision-making process in the United Nations and the implementation of its decisions, with a membership of 141 States and the wide diversity of the tasks to be carried out, how can we hope to secure the co-operation of Member States in finding solutions to specific problems? And how can we actually implement our resolutions? These are not academic concerns; they are vital questions which affect the very *raison d'être* of the Organization. In the process of decision-making in the United Nations, the essence of international co-operation lies in the willingness of all concerned to search, in a spirit of dialogue and co-operation, for solutions which are both workable and mutually acceptable.

52. In that sense the recently concluded seventh special session was an encouraging experience. Thanks to the perseverance and the co-operative attitudes of Member States, that special session adopted by consensus a text [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] which embodied a number of important and extremely complex agreements. It is precisely such experiences that confirm our hopes for the future functioning of this Organization and for the constructive role that the United Nations alone can play in the years ahead.

53. Thirdly, I would mention the problem of how to cope with the ever-accumulating financial deficit. Deeply deploring a possible deterioration in the effective and smooth working of the United Nations as a result of such financial deficits, Japan took the lead last year in making a voluntary contribution. We hoped that our initiative would set the pattern for a once-and-for-all solution to that problem. Few countries followed suit, however, and no solution is yet in sight. I should like to take this opportunity to repeat our request to Member States, especially to those which are major contributors to the financing of the United Nations, to extend their constructive co-operation. Since the size of the regular budget of the Organization tends to increase year by year, with the expansion of fields of activity, it is essential that we attempt to achieve more efficient, cost-effective uses of the financial resources of the Organization.

54. I should like also to mention the importance of strengthening the functions of the United Nations by seeking improvements within the framework of the existing Charter, as well as through Charter review. It is Japan's hope that the review of the functioning of the United Nations, including a review of the Charter, initiated this year by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations, will lead to constructive results.

55. Japan, as an active Member of the United Nations, has renounced the option of becoming a military Power and has long since determined to entrust its peace and security to the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. That spirit of pacifism, in pursuit of international harmony, is the source of our policy of co-operation with the United Nations. That policy has been and will continue to be a fundamental commitment of Japan's foreign policy, since we consider the United Nations to be the core organ-

ization for perfecting international co-operation and achieving world peace.

56. In conclusion, on this occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, I wish to reaffirm, in the name of the Government and people of Japan, our determination to continue to work for international co-operation and the cause of peace. We shall adhere strictly to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We shall devote our redoubled efforts, in co-operation with all Member States, to strengthening this indispensable Organization and to making it an even more effective instrument for achieving the aspirations of this generation and fulfilling the best hopes and dreams we share of a better and more peaceful world for generations to come.

57. Mr. CALLAGHAN (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like to join my colleagues in saying how very pleased I am that we are meeting this year under your distinguished presidency. Those of us who have worked with you in the European Community know your qualities of wise judgment, combined with great insight and cool decision, and we are very glad that this year those qualities of yours are placed at the disposal of the United Nations. We look to your presidency because we believe it will strengthen the United Nations and we hope your term of office will add distinction to an already distinguished career and will do honour to Luxembourg.

58. Britain extends a welcome to the newly independent countries of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Papua New Guinea, which are this session assuming their places as full and equal Members of our Organization. To them I wish all success.

59. I should like too to thank our Secretary-General for his valuable and balanced report on the work of the Organization. The burdens on the Secretary-General grow no lighter, and I am glad that at this difficult time we have in that vital position a statesman of such proven diligence and dedication.

60. There is a certain resolute tenacity with which the major problems cling to the agenda of the General Assembly. They are a reminder of the limitations of the machinery of the United Nations in achieving a peaceful settlement of disputes unless the will is present to come to an agreement.

61. But the thirtieth year has not been barren: in fact, it has been a better than average year for the negotiators, as opposed to the war makers.

62. At the seventh special session and elsewhere, the Member nations have firmly committed themselves to try to bring about a world in which men and women will be made more equal through constructive policies of co-operation, rather than hurling threats and counterthreats at each other. The special session was an event of great significance, and I pledge that the United Kingdom will co-operate fully in the tasks ahead. While at this General Assembly we discuss the broad political questions that face us, my country will not forget the need to respond with urgency and a sense of justice to the manifest social and economic inequalities in the world today, despite the burdens that the world economic recession is imposing on the inhabitants of the advanced industrial countries. In

return we ask the oil-producing countries not to impose additional burdens on our economies, for what the world needs is a period of prolonged expansion. Despite our hopes, it is not yet certain that the expansion will endure, but it will certainly be set at risk if heavier burdens are thrust on to those more advanced countries which must be the pace setters.

63. In the weeks and months to come, my Government would like to see progress in the military and political fields of potential conflict.

64. In the Middle East, for the first time, there is a break in the ice. For the first time, Israel and one of its Arab neighbours have concluded an agreement which was not forced upon them by military constraints. For the first time they have jointly stated that the conflict between them shall not be resolved by force, but by peaceful means. I should like to express my admiration for the courage and statesmanship which President El-Sadat of Egypt and Mr. Rabin of Israel have shown in the negotiations which led up to the agreement. I should also like to congratulate the United States Government, and in particular President Ford and Mr. Kissinger, on their perseverance and their skilful diplomacy. I should like here to express our thankfulness that President Ford was spared yesterday, and to say that our thoughts are with Mrs. Ford, too. The agreement which Egypt and Israel have concluded is not only to their mutual benefit; it benefits the rest of the world as well.

65. The progress that has been made does not mean that peace is around the corner. It is not. The problems which still remain are much larger than those which have been solved. Chief of these is the problem of the Palestinians, which has not yet been touched. What, then, is the way forward? First, in our view, a complementary step on the Golan Heights must be achieved, and achieved soon, to provide the proof that the latest agreement was not an end in itself but part of a continuous process leading to a comprehensive settlement. The commitment to further negotiations that has been spelled out in this newest agreement must be fulfilled. Syria and the other Arab States need to be convinced of the benefits of peace and that will require a further negotiating round. Following that must come the central problem of the Palestinians and the future of the West Bank, and at this point we shall be attacking the problem of a comprehensive settlement, and for this task a comprehensive forum, such as Geneva provides, would seem to be required. But if all the parties show the same resolution, perseverance and, not least, the flexibility that were shown in the recent negotiations, I am convinced that an ultimate solution could be reached that would ensure security for the State of Israel and justice for the Arab people.

66. The dilemma which faces the parties in the Middle East is a familiar one. On the one hand, any attempt to reach a full settlement all at once is likely to founder because the gap between the positions of the two sides is too wide to be bridged. On the other hand, any partial resolution of the problems may appear to favour one side at the expense of the other in the stages before a full settlement is reached, and therefore arouses opposition.

67. The new agreement between Israel and Egypt is important, not only in its practical effects—though I would not wish to belittle them—as in its example. Israel and Egypt have demonstrated to others that mutually beneficial agreements can be reached in the Middle East without sacrificing the interests of either party.

68. As this agreement matures it will give the Israelis cause to believe that they can put trust in the word of Egypt; and the Egyptians—and after them others—will have cause to believe in the goodwill of Israel. This is the lesson and the real achievement of the recent negotiations. It provides a new foundation on which it should be possible to build, and a demonstration of the value of compromise.

69. We shall need a combination of methods. Problems on which partial steps can be taken should continue to be handled in that way. But the core of the problem, namely, the settlement of the Palestinian people, may well need a wider negotiation leading to a comprehensive solution. We know that it will be very difficult to achieve a peace which fulfils everyone's needs, but history has proved that peace is indivisible and the world cannot afford to settle for an incomplete solution.

70. As regards Cyprus, I note with regret that the talks that have been pursued intermittently during the last year between the parties have made very little progress despite the patient efforts of Mr. Waldheim, to whom we extend our grateful thanks. The British Government adheres to resolution 3212 (XXIX) and affirms that its implementation would assist the process of reaching a settlement. If a solution is to be acceptable to both sides it will require to deal with the settlement of the refugees, the constitutional relationships between the parts of the island, the powers of the central Government, and the nature and physical delimitation of whatever zones are agreed upon.

71. A solution based on such an agenda is difficult, but not impossible; but it does mean that a declaration of independence by any part of the island is ruled out. Such a declaration would perpetuate the conflict and result in continuing tension that could spread wider than the island itself. Therefore we call upon both sides to resume their discussions and to come forward with positive proposals for a solution.

72. Despite the lack of progress made so far in these direct talks, we are not convinced that any different forum is likely to be more successful. We wish to see the direct talks renewed, together with the continuing presence of a mediator to assist the parties. But in the end the main responsibility for success will rest with the Turkish and Greek Cypriots themselves.

73. On Namibia we share with the international community a deep concern that the inhabitants of the Territory as a whole should be given the opportunity to express their views freely on their political and constitutional future. All political groups must be allowed to take part peacefully in the process of self-determination, and above all there must be a real sense of urgency.

74. As a member of the Security Council, we have joined with France and the United States in making formal *démarches* to the South African Government.

We observe some signs that the South African Government is taking a new look at its policies towards Namibia, but it is clear that the movement is not taking place quickly enough. We look to South Africa to make clear and positive progress without delay.

75. For our own part, Britain has contributed to the United Nations Fund for Namibia, to the proposed Institute for Namibia at Lusaka, to a United Nations Children's Fund project for aid to Namibian refugees; and we are one of the largest contributors to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, which includes provision for scholarships for Namibians. We have also provided funds to enable the South West Africa People's Organization to send students to Britain for English-language training, which will enable other forms of educational assistance to be given. In Namibia, as elsewhere in southern Africa, we shall continue in co-operation with other countries to work for self-determination, justice, racial equality, independence and peace.

76. Turning to Rhodesia, I should like, first, to pay tribute to the efforts which the Presidents of Botswana, the United Republic of Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia have made during the last year in conjunction with the Prime Minister of South Africa to promote a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia. It is a matter for regret that so much effort has not met with greater success, though some progress has been made and a first meeting between the régime and the African National Congress at Victoria Falls did reach agreement on a number of points.

77. I see two prerequisites for further progress towards a negotiated solution. First, the Europeans, and particularly Mr. Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, should realize that to rely on disunity among their political opponents as a justification for postponing essential changes is to invite disaster—as history has frequently demonstrated. Second, there must be a clear and unified leadership on the African side; and that is something which the Congress itself must achieve.

78. We believe that agreement on the change to majority rule in Rhodesia is essential if peace is to be maintained in the area. If this is not achieved there will be a long slide into armed struggle and irreparable damage will be done to the country and to its neighbours.

79. To prevent such a disaster I call upon both sides to resume their discussions, and I urge the four Presidents and also the South African Government not to be discouraged by the difficulties which have arisen. I trust they will resume their efforts. We for our part remain ready to play our full part. Meanwhile, until a just settlement is achieved, the United Nations sanctions must continue to be applied effectively as one of the instruments for maintaining pressure on the illegal régime.

80. Now I turn to disarmament. The Secretary-General, in his report, has reminded us of our responsibility for disarmament. Every year the nations pile up more and more arms. Every year the arms bill grows larger. Every year the capacity for destruction more frightening. In some parts of the world such as the Middle East, competition for arms is never ceasing. Hardly any continent is exempt from the

pressure. No one who cares for the progress of the human race towards decent standards of living can help but be appalled at the enormous waste of resources on weapons of destruction. A number of countries, some of whom are among the poorest, are now spending as much as 10 per cent of their gross national product for military purposes. What a boost it could give to the world's hopes if all of us could agree to limit to a maximum of even 5 per cent the amount of our gross national product we allocate for defence. This would presuppose that countries would move step by step to such a figure and would need to enter into serious multilateral negotiations with one another for reductions in their military establishments. That is indeed what we are doing in the negotiations that are now beginning on force reductions in Central Europe. If these negotiations could be paralleled in other regions of the world it would be a hopeful beginning.

81. Probably the greatest potential risk that faces us is the nuclear danger. Of course, we welcome the steps that are being taken to control nuclear arms by the United States and the Soviet Union. We believe there should be no insuperable difficulties in bringing the arrangements made at Vladivostok to a successful conclusion. We look forward to a new strategic arms limitation agreement being signed before the end of this year. But that agreement, although important, does no more than put a brake on the present nuclear arms race. It is necessary to move onwards to an actual reduction in the number of nuclear weapons, and we ask both the United States and the Soviet Union to press to a successful conclusion the next round of talks on this subject that is due to take place in 1977.

82. The Soviet Government has put forward a proposed draft treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests [A/10241, annex]. The United Kingdom has consistently supported this goal. We wish the initiative well. However, I cannot fail to point out that it will require the adherence of all the nuclear-weapon States and provision for verification, and that so far it has not been possible to meet these conditions completely.

83. We should also examine with care the proposal made by the representative of the Soviet Union at the preceding meeting [A/10243, annex] in the document that was circulated among us.

84. But even before we solve these problems a new danger is coming to view that I now wish to discuss. It arises from the overlap between the desire of certain countries to use nuclear material for civil purposes and the increasing risk that such material may be employed for military purposes. The metals uranium and plutonium are used not solely in nuclear reactors to produce power for civil purposes, for highly enriched uranium and plutonium can also be used to make nuclear weapons. Those who possess a nuclear reactor have already taken the first step to being able to produce a nuclear weapon. If they then move from that to the second step and acquire plants to enrich their uranium and to reprocess the fuels that have already been used in their nuclear reactors, then they will be a long way down the road to producing nuclear weapons. Up to the present, it is the nuclear-weapon States that alone possess such plants, namely, the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, France

and China. But other countries are now beginning to consider whether they, too, should order reprocessing and enriching plants. If and when they do so, and the plants are in working order, they will be able to produce weapons material at a rate which would enable several thousand nuclear weapons a year to be produced. To give a comparison, the present nuclear programmes will accumulate more than 1 million—1 million—kilograms of plutonium within the next 10 years; and by contrast, the bomb which fell on Nagasaki and created such havoc and such destruction was the equivalent of no more than about 10 kilograms. A million kilograms within the next 10 years—and 10 kilograms destroyed Nagasaki. The spread of these plants would enable the whole of mankind on this planet to destroy itself. Clearly, the statesmen of the world assembled here have a moral duty to act before it is too late.

85. The United Nations should concern itself with this problem immediately and add vigour and impetus to the work that is being done in the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA].

86. I put forward five points for consideration, to try to contain this problem. First, the Members of the United Nations should solemnly affirm that each and all of them will not convert nuclear materials from civil use to military use. Secondly, this solemn declaration should be reinforced by an agreement to accept a common system of international inspection through the IAEA. There should be one set of rules for all countries in the world. Thirdly, all civil nuclear materials and facilities should be brought within the common inspection system. Fourthly, the IAEA should assume responsibility for inspection of enrichment and processing plants, in addition to its present task of safeguarding nuclear reactors. Fifthly, the new set of common rules should be based on monitoring nuclear material and accounting for its use at all stages through the life of the fuel.

87. Britain intends to make a specific proposal along these lines to the IAEA. In this way we shall follow up the intentions of the recent conference on non-proliferation, although our proposals are not based on that Treaty and have a wider purpose. They are intended to give practical expression to the pledges that have already been made by many Governments that they will not convert nuclear material from civil to military purposes, and I hope that the General Assembly will give support to them.

88. Thirty years ago at the very first session of the General Assembly in London my great predecessor Ernest Bevin pledged that the British Government would use to the full every instrument created by the United Nations and give it its whole-hearted support. I was present when he made that speech. Looking back, I believe my country, as a permanent member of the Security Council during the whole of that period, has faithfully redeemed the pledge that Ernest Bevin gave. Now, today, I repeat that undertaking at a time when the potential dangers facing the world are at least as great as they were when the United Nations was founded. None of us expects the United Nations miraculously to solve all the world's problems. But patient effort, understanding of each other, a consciousness that we are all citizens of the same world, and that none of us can escape the consequences of

each other's actions—this, I believe, will enable mankind of all colours and all creeds to do as the founders of the United Nations did, and as our forefathers did, to rise to the challenge of our times.

89. Mr. ANDERSSON (Sweden): Mr. President, may I express to you the congratulations of the Government of Sweden on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Your experience and the distinction you have shown as Prime Minister of Luxembourg, and your gifts as an eminent statesman will be of great significance in this session. May I also express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Sweden's appreciation of his untiring efforts in promoting the ideals of the United Nations.

90. This autumn, the United Nations can look back on three decades of service to the cause of peace and international co-operation. This year, nearly three times as many nations are represented here in New York as at the first meeting in San Francisco. The United Nations' sphere of activity has constantly been expanded. The fundamental issue of a more equitable and rational distribution of the world's resources has become central to the work of the Organization.

91. The United Nations has furthered the security and well-being of all the peoples of the world. Co-operation here has been an important element in efforts to overcome grave conflicts. The Middle East, the Congo, Cyprus and Kashmir are but a few examples. For all its imperfections, this co-operation has none the less been necessary for maintaining international peace and security. International opinion has been articulated in this forum and this, no doubt, has helped in preserving world peace.

92. My compatriot, the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, once stated that the United Nations "had become the foremost platform and principal protector of interests for the many nations that feel strong as members of the international family but are weak in isolation." This is still true. We know that there are still a few rich and powerful countries that dominate this world—technologically and economically, politically and militarily. One of the important tasks of the United Nations is to impress upon those States the need to use their superior resources in a way that takes full account of the interests of weaker States. It is also important that these latter States not be made the losers through agreements concluded between the great Powers in the name of détente.

93. In today's international situation it should be in the interests of the great Powers to anchor their settlements in the United Nations, and in this way let all States share in decision-making and responsibility. The Secretary-General issues a warning in his report on the work of the Organization that, as important matters are decided outside the United Nations and over the heads of its Members, doubts will increase about the value of the United Nations as a guardian of peace. We share this concern.

94. More than 100 of the Member States now belong to the third world. Their problems quite naturally dominate the work of the Organization. The questions of health, hunger and unemployment, so vital to the majority of mankind, have now been given greater



weight. In the framework of this Organization demands for equitable relations between the poor and the rich countries have been formulated under the sign of a new economic world order. These questions might usefully be discussed also in other forums. But the Swedish Government considers it important that the work in this field also should in the future be pursued mainly under the auspices of the United Nations.

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

95. In a number of areas this Organization provides both an instrument for negotiations and a forum for the formulation of political guidelines. The seventh special session proved this point. Even if fundamental conflicts of interest remain, developed and developing countries negotiated in a spirit of co-operation. They agreed on a text, which will be the framework for our future efforts at agreement. Thus, the endeavours of the developing countries to eradicate poverty and to achieve greater economic independence, increased control over their own resources and a broader influence on decision-making on global economic issues have achieved new momentum. This is due not least to the solidarity among all the developing countries.

96. We in the industrialized part of the world must now go further in meeting the justified demands of the poor countries. In doing so we cannot be blind to the fact that a changed economic world order will have practical consequences for us in our own everyday life. Such consequences we must learn to accept. International solidarity demands it. Change, not *status quo*, is also in our own long-range interest. As long as injustice, exploitation and misery prevail for the majority of mankind there can be no future in peace and freedom.

97. If the United Nations is to play its legitimate, pre-eminent role, it must be fully representative of the entire international community. Sweden is convinced of the necessity for universality. The participation of all States, both large and small, and particularly of those that are embroiled in conflict, is essential if the United Nations is to make an effective contribution to international peace and security.

98. Efforts to keep out States that wish to be Members of the United Nations are regrettable. Therefore we must deplore the fact that a great-Power veto in the Security Council has prevented the two States in Viet Nam from being admitted as new Members of the United Nations. The Vietnamese people have been fighting for national independence for decades. They have been subjected to the terrible suffering of modern warfare. This year the people of Viet Nam have at last won peace and independence. It is high time that they also be represented in this world Organization.

99. We welcome the States which have become Members of the United Nations this year: Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. All three States were formerly under Portuguese colonial rule. Their long and arduous struggle for freedom and independence has at last resulted in a victory of historic significance. The will and the solidarity of the oppressed have proved their strength. The fact that

we now have these three new Member States in our midst is also due in no small measure to the prompt and consistent decolonization policy of the new Portuguese régime. This policy deserves the appreciation of the rest of the world.

100. Sweden has been a member of the Security Council for almost a year. During that time decisions have been made on the Cyprus issue, one result of which has been new negotiations. We appeal to the parties concerned to proceed on the road to compromise so that the people in that much afflicted country may finally return to peaceful, normal life, while preserving the independence and territorial integrity of the island.

101. In the Middle East a new interim agreement has been concluded between Israel and Egypt. We have greeted that agreement with satisfaction in the hope that it may constitute a step on the road to lasting peace in the area. Such peace cannot, however, be established until all parties concerned have reached a comprehensive settlement in accordance with all the provisions contained in the resolutions of the Security Council, and taking into account also the legitimate interests of the Palestine Arabs and their justified demands for national self-determination. It is therefore of great importance that the momentum for peaceful change is used for further negotiations. The Security Council should prolong the mandate of the peace-keeping forces in Sinai, which play an important role in reducing the risk of armed conflicts.

102. With regard to southern Africa, the Security Council has not been able to agree on further measures against South Africa's *apartheid* policy and that country's unlawful occupation of Namibia after its refusal to meet the demands of the Council. In the Swedish view, the Council should increase the pressure on the Government in Pretoria. We are of the opinion that the situation constitutes a threat to the peace within the meaning of the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and that therefore sanctions are justified. Accordingly, when the Security Council dealt with the question of Namibia we voted in favour of the proposal for a compulsory weapons embargo.

103. Racial segregation in South Africa is one of the most striking examples of how human rights are still being disregarded and trampled underfoot in many parts of the world. Another particularly distressing example is the grave violation of fundamental human rights in Chile under the present dictatorship. The refusal of the military junta to admit a study group from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights reveals that their rule cannot stand up to investigation. This month, two years after the overthrow of the popularly elected President Allende, people throughout the world are demonstrating their wrath at the oppression in Chile and their solidarity with its victims. The mobilization of international opinion against the rule of terror by the junta must not abate.

104. But also in other countries, under less scrutiny in the United Nations, people are being deprived of their fundamental rights. The international community must react against all forms of oppression and terror, wherever they take place. The struggle against torture and inhumane treatment, one of the items on our agenda, must this year make real headway. The United



Nations must continue to work for the abolition of capital punishment in all countries. We are constantly being reminded of the necessity of this task.

105. Moreover, let me emphasize the deplorable lack of respect for political dissidents, of which we receive daily evidence. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights endorses the right of every human being to hold whatever opinions he wishes, to express whatever thoughts he wishes, without interference. None the less, people are being thrown into prison in a great many countries, their only crime being that they have expressed inconvenient thoughts. Amnesty International is an organization that deserves much credit for the way in which it has focused the attention of the world on the fate of many of these people. In Sweden's view, the United Nations has an important task in this field.

106. Condemnation of this kind of persecution is not unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Respect for human rights is essential to friendly relations and co-operation between States. This principle has been endorsed in the document signed at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at Helsinki this summer. That Conference has shown that the situation in Europe has been further stabilized and that concrete co-operation between States can be developed in spite of differences in ideology and social systems. The fact that a continent whose internal conflicts have led to world war twice in this century has embarked on such co-operation is in the interest not only of the participating countries but of the world as a whole. We know that further progress on this road depends on the continued efforts at détente between the big Powers.

107. I would like to emphasize that the contacts and co-operation between the European and North American States must not be isolated from the global context, must not be regarded as co-operation for the mutual benefit of these countries alone. Increased political and economic co-operation between the leading industrialized countries designed only to further their own interests would consolidate the inequitable distribution of power and resources. Following the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the participating States should be able to shoulder greater responsibility for peace and equity between all the peoples of the world.

108. International solidarity goes hand-in-hand with solidarity at home. A foreign policy pursued in the spirit of solidarity is furthered by a national policy that also has solidarity as one of its corner-stones. Social and economic security, equality between men and women, the participation of all citizens in decisions affecting their daily lives—at work and in society as a whole—are reforms that create social cohesion. But they also promote solidarity between nations.

109. It would not be right for me to conclude these remarks without drawing attention to the area where, in our view, the United Nations has made least progress. I refer to the field of disarmament.

110. When the United Nations was founded, in the shadow of the Second World War, one of its fundamental aims was to promote international peace and security by disarmament. So far, no decisive steps have been taken to reach this goal. Despite the inten-

sive negotiations of the past decade, no real disarmament has been achieved. Military arsenals are still at a very high level. In some countries they continue to grow.

111. The military balance of terror can perhaps at present be described as a kind of guarantee for peace. But in the long run, it is no reliable foundation for a peaceful world order. The high level of mutual military preparedness and the huge arsenals of arms can themselves constitute risks of incidents and clashes. If we are serious when we speak of a climate of political détente, then we should also pay greater attention to the opportunities for real disarmament which this very situation may afford. It is also obvious that if the process of political détente is to last and deepen, it must be sustained by measures aimed at reducing standing forces and, most importantly, at initiating genuine disarmament.

112. In a closely related area—international humanitarian law—it appears that some progress is within reach. I am thinking of new rules concerning the protection of the civilian population during armed conflicts, as well as prohibition or limitation of the use of certain particularly cruel weapons. We believe that the prohibition of employing such weapons, based on humanitarian motives, may also in certain cases be a first step towards real disarmament in the form of bans on production and proliferation.

113. Thirty years ago, the very first nuclear charge was exploded. Since then the world's arsenal of nuclear weapons has been constantly growing. For a long time, it has been large enough to wipe out our entire civilization. In addition, arsenals of conventional weapons have reached levels that were quite inconceivable at the end of the Second World War. While the risk of a devastating war has thus increased, enormous human and material resources have been swallowed up that could have been used for effective economic and social policies for the well-being of our peoples.

114. To attain results in the field of disarmament, a heavy responsibility rests primarily on the two nuclear super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. We welcome the ongoing efforts made by these States to limit the most destructive weapons by means of bilateral talks. But, at the same time, we have to note that these talks have so far made no contribution to real disarmament. On the contrary, some agreements reached actually permit rearmament up to certain levels.

115. By voluntarily refraining from procuring nuclear weapons, many non-nuclear States have demonstrated their belief that it is still possible to raise an effective barrier against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Putting an effective stop to proliferation depends on several conditions. One is that the peaceful use of nuclear energy—everywhere, and thus also in the nuclear-weapon States—is subjected to as efficient measures of international control as possible. Another is that the States which have not done so now adhere to the non-proliferation Treaty. But most important of all is that the two leading great Powers as a matter of urgency make definite commitments in the nuclear disarmament field. Particularly, I wish to emphasize the urgent necessity of a complete ban of all nuclear-weapon tests. Sweden has long been

working to achieve an agreement in this field and will continue to do so. In 1971 we submitted in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament a draft treaty aimed at achieving a complete test ban. This question will have a prominent place on the agenda of this Assembly, a fact which we welcome.

116. The main responsibility for achieving real disarmament lies with the super Powers. But it is the duty of all States and of the entire international community to press for energetic endeavours to this end and to contribute to the success of such efforts. Only in that way can we build a safer future for mankind. We welcome the emphasis that the Secretary-General puts on the compelling need for disarmament in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization. We support the suggestion that the United Nations should be enabled to play a more prominent role in the efforts to make real progress towards a world free from fear.

117. Mr. DENNIS (Liberia): It is for me a source of great pleasure to extend to the President, on behalf of the Liberian delegation, sincere congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly. Luxembourg, as a founding Member of this global Organization for peace, has been fully engaged in the unceasing international effort to translate the ideals of the Charter into living reality within the framework of a world community exposed to the constancy, inevitability and necessity of change. From an extraordinarily brilliant and remarkable career, he brings to this high office a wealth of experience and an accumulation of knowledge not easily matched. As he discharges his responsibilities, he can be assured of the full support of the Liberian delegation.

118. Permit me to take this opportunity also to extend to his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, an outstanding son of Africa, heartfelt appreciation for the very able and highly effective manner in which he presided over the work of the twenty-ninth regular session as well as the seventh special session.

119. We commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the very efficient manner in which he continues to conduct the affairs of the Secretariat and his untiring efforts in the interest of international peace and security and the promotion of multilateral co-operation.

120. After a protracted period of bitter and self-sacrificial struggle for emancipation from the yoke of colonialist domination, Liberia is once again overjoyed and proud to welcome into the United Nations and into the comity of free nations another group of African States, this time the State of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique. As the earlier victories over colonialism and oppression were valuable assets to these new Member States during their struggle, so their victories can only serve to reinforce the will and harden the resolve of those of our common human family still subjected to the indignities of colonialism, racist minority rule and *apartheid*.

121. In welcoming these three new States into the United Nations we look forward to the complete

liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in Africa with the impending independence of Angola later this year. We sincerely hope and trust that, in the supreme interest of the great nation of Angola which must have its independence fully restored, the political leaders of that territory will, in the sacred African tradition, resolve their differences and not allow the disruptive influence of external forces to continue to undermine the noble objectives of self-determination and independence.

122. We are gathered here at this regular session, which significantly marks the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of our great Organization, to deliberate on the agenda items before us, and profoundly to ponder the crises which beset our world as well as to formulate in togetherness solutions for the serious attitudinal and structural ills of contemporary international society. For in the end, whether we discuss a particular political problem in a given region of the world, or whether we address ourselves to the problems of human welfare—poverty, population, food, fuel, status of women, natural resources, industrialization, environment and better trade and monetary arrangements—a *sine qua non* for genuine progress in all of these and other areas is national recognition of the changing realities and necessities of international relations, national willingness to respond to these changes and a collective preparedness to readjust international machinery for the implementation of the genuine collective will.

123. The Secretary-General with perspicacity and perceptiveness diagnosed the source, or, shall I say, sources, of the problems which confront the international community when he observed in the introduction to his annual report that:

“The evolution of the post-war world—including the introduction of nuclear weapons, the establishment of regional military pacts, the accelerated pace of decolonization, the extraordinary advances of applied science and technology, dramatic increases in population and the emergence of a large group of independent developing nations—has created a new geopolitical structure in the past 30 years. Thus the basis of power, both political and economic, in the world as a whole, has changed radically in a way which could not be foreseen at San Francisco.” [A/10001/Add.1, sect. I.]

124. In measured response to this development there is a need, an urgent need, that we readjust our attitudes towards one another as free, sovereign and independent States if we are fully to comprehend the magnitude of our problems and carry out a timely revision of our structures for co-operation as we seek genuine collective solutions in a continuing and unaltered commitment to the high and lofty principles enshrined in that great Charter for peace and hope of the United Nations.

125. Because political independence is meaningless without economic emancipation, the developing countries have sought to complement the East-West contacts and consultations with an authentic and realistic North-South dialogue in order to make of the United Nations not only an organ for international peace and security, but also the guardian against the horrors of a peace void of hope. For we have come to realize, in today's world, that the victory of peace

is truly won, in the last analysis, by a victory for international progress.

126. Meanwhile, encroaching upon that path to progress is the unsettling mass of stagnant export markets and declining terms of trade. Bearing heavily upon our peoples and nations are the cumulative weights of gross undervaluation of human and natural resources down throughout the centuries, of mounting inflation and lingering recession, of excessive debt obligations, and of abysmal smallness of capital transfers to our developing economies. Most regretably upon this our one world has been placed the burdens of egotistical concepts and inadequate institutions.

127. At the United Nations today we are being challenged anew to refine that strategy and activate that blue-print for the total liberation of mankind. Too long have our development plans been suddenly short-circuited. Too long have our economies been managed from afar. Too long has the cruelty of starvation been inflicted upon helpless peoples. Too long have the destructive forces of grinding poverty shattered for us the prospect of a future hopeful and wholesome.

128. The Liberian delegation is heartened to discern that the burden of the centuries can truly be shared in the future. It can be shared through a collective preparedness to translate the limited, yet unanimous, agreements of the seventh special session into courses of action designed to create an international economic order characterized by greater equity and justice. It can be collectively borne by more meaningful multilateral trade and capital transfer arrangements. It can be shared if determined steps are taken in today's world to bring modern technology to subsistence agriculture and urban environment. And it can be shared by a determined will of interdependent reliance or creative co-alliance among all nations—creative, not in the sense of group enhancement; creative, not in the mood of growing apprehension. For the world may quite too easily pass from national awareness into a new era of regional or group provincialism. What we truly need instead are adequate mechanisms which would structure the dynamics of the global purse and institutions, so that they responsively and effectively link those who achieve with those who are deprived, across the human family.

129. Thus we are of the view that the future task of development can be made a lot easier if a common code of conduct were to govern the behaviour of transnational corporations and if a multilateral approach were adopted to enhance agricultural production and other collective ventures for increased food supplies and worth-while development projects. We sincerely hope that we have reached the beginning of this collective approach in the decisions of the seventh special session. We believe that co-operation among third-world nations would both motivate and ensure co-operation between developed and developing nations to restructure the institutions and revise the modalities for that inevitably better world of tomorrow.

130. And so let us with courage and resoluteness move ahead to implement the decisions at which we in solidarity arrived during the recent special session, making certain that they do not remain only a part of

the massive accumulation of stored-away United Nations documents, but instead aid the growing accumulation of international goodwill, understanding and co-operation.

131. My Government stands ever ready to make its contribution towards helping to ensure that the spirit of mutual accommodation that has characterized our dialogue so far will be sustained in continuing negotiations as we move towards realization of the new international economic order.

132. Peace and security have always been related to the economic and social advancement of any people, whether they be assembled in a national State or form a part of the world community. And so if we speak with a degree of optimism about prospects for improving the world's economic situation we must do so not without a full appreciation of the interacting political forces of the day and time in which we live.

133. The contemporary international scene reveals that the process of détente, as recently manifested at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held at Helsinki, happily bears out for all humanity the comforting assurance that tension among the major Powers will continue to be eased and the likelihood of nuclear confrontation will be considerably lessened. Consistent with this development, we consider the two proposals made by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, this morning before this Assembly [2357th meeting], which have just been referred to by Mr. Callaghan, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, one banning the further development and manufacture of new types and systems of armaments of mass destruction and the second concerning the cessation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests and conclusion of a treaty designed to achieve a comprehensive test ban, as both most constructive and timely, warranting the support of all States Members of this Organization and, indeed, of peace-loving peoples the world over. The spirit of those proposals would appear to be compatible with the United States views on disarmament and nuclear proliferation as expressed by Mr. Kissinger, United States Secretary of State, when he addressed this Assembly yesterday [2355th meeting].

134. While we welcome all genuine efforts to promote international *entente*, we believe that there should be an extension of this process to other troubled centres of our one world. For while the origin of the last global conflict was in Europe and there lingers on a preoccupation with European or Western security, there is the very real possibility that in view of the proliferation of nuclear and conventional weapons and the continuing and festering tensions, notably in the Middle East and southern Africa, a conflict of global proportions could easily begin in these and other areas if selective détente does not yield to a veritable global relaxation of tension.

135. Liberia welcomes the significant and positive changes that have taken place since the last session and has been heartened by the humane responsiveness to the challenges of constructive change in our world society reflective of the realities of shifting power relationships. The President of Liberia, Mr. William

R. Tolbert Jr., echoed this encouraging development when he recently declared that:

“In this imbalanced world, a new socio-political force is constantly and progressively gaining ground at every turn. Whether it is Cambodia in the Far East, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe in Africa, Cuba in the Americas or Portugal in Europe, there is emerging a trend which augurs well for world peace and may God grant that this be brought about at no distant time.”

136. Initiatives to move from a “no war, no peace” situation in the Middle East fall naturally into this catalogue of welcome developments. As we have indicated in the past, we repeat today that Liberia can only support a policy in that troubled region designed to bring lasting, not ephemeral, peace, ensuring for all of the peoples of the area, including both the Palestinians and the Israelis, their right to justice, security and a national State.

137. Exclusive reliance on force of arms and a posture of intransigence in negotiation cannot be the way to achieve this objective. Since 1948 we have all seen the tragic demonstration of the failure of this approach. Instead, no effort must be spared to replace reliance on force by genuine negotiation with a view to replacing the climate of fear, mistrust and hatred by tolerance, understanding and co-operation.

138. To state it succinctly, Liberia supports the view that two essential conditions for a lasting and durable peace in the Middle East are Israeli withdrawal from all territories acquired since June 1967 and the exercise by the Palestinian people of all their national rights.

139. Consistent with our overriding interest in peace in this region, we applaud the untiring efforts of all the parties and those who have contributed to the recent Sinai interim agreement. While, understandably, the agreement so painfully achieved is indeed very limited when set alongside the monumental problems of Palestinian rights, illegal territorial occupation and Israeli security, we believe that it embodies the potential for effectively forging ahead to immediate and broader diplomatic initiatives in the interest of a just, lasting and enduring peace.

140. But as we celebrate these happy, even if limited, achievements and look with eager anticipation to other victories of human liberty and fulfilment, we are still faced with forces bent on subverting international goodwill and endangering world peace and security. Such is the case with southern Africa and other pockets of colonialism and oppression. Let me share with you some thoughts of my President, Mr. Tolbert, on the problem of southern Africa:

“... We have drawn a line between the present situation as it exists and the future conditions that will prevail there. The difference is that while the existing state of affairs can and will be changed, racial equality, social justice and African majority rule are inevitable for the future in southern Africa as elsewhere on the continent.”

The President went on to say:

“Whether we communicate directly with the South African Government in an effort to occasion an immediate peaceful change; or whether we

consistently and unrelentingly give moral and material assistance to African liberation movements, or whether we join in concerted action at the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, we remain adamant in our determination to work positively for the total and absolute liberation of the whole of Africa.”

141. With respect to Namibia, Liberia has always maintained and continues to stand resolute on its contention that the people of that international Territory must, without compromise, attain their inalienable rights to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity. As I had cause to indicate before the Security Council in early June, when the question of Namibia was being debated, my Government continues to hold the view that there must be democratic elections in Namibia under the auspices of the United Nations with little delay, and the world community must with greater effectiveness concertedly exert efforts to ensure that the Government of South Africa withdraws from Namibia, granting unto the people of that Territory their legitimate right independently to determine their own future.

142. A constitutional settlement in Zimbabwe continues to remain illusory, primarily because the norms of injustice and oppression in that Territory have not yet ceded place to civility and reason. Based on the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa,<sup>2</sup> Liberia's policy is highly supportive of negotiations with no compromise whatsoever on the principle of majority rule. In order that the negotiations result in meaningful agreement, all leaders of the African National Congress, the legitimate representatives of the great Zimbabwean people, must take part free from any molestation.

143. We applaud the laudable contributions already made by Zambian President, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, and other African leaders in helping to pave the way towards a negotiated settlement. We want to entertain the hope that the rebel leader Ian Smith will before long recognize that the solution to the problem of Zimbabwe can be none other than an acceptance of the principle of majority rule and the establishment of a truly multiracial society.

144. Liberia will continue to struggle until the inhuman system of *apartheid* in South Africa is completely relegated to the past, the dustbin of history, where it rightfully belongs. For Liberia, bantustans are no homelands for Africans; their homeland can consist of nothing less than free and equitable access to the entire territory of South Africa determined on the basis of democratic principles in an atmosphere where the master-servant attitude of yesteryear is completely destroyed and replaced by a more sane attitude of tolerance and respect for fundamental human rights.

145. While Liberia has welcomed the rather halting efforts at negotiation and conciliation in certain parts of the region of southern Africa, we wish to make it unmistakably clear that we do not believe that the African majorities of this area will at any time be lulled into a situation of interminable negotiations. Their objectives of self-determination and independence with the destruction of all systems of racism and oppression remain firm as they retain the option

of resorting to the armed struggle to restore their inalienable and imprescriptable rights.

146. Liberia continues to give a literal interpretation to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) which makes all dependent Territories authentic candidates for independence. As we welcome the State of Papua New Guinea into the society of free nations, we appeal especially to States Members of this Organization which still fall into the categories of colonial Powers or Administering Authorities in this most enlightened age of human civilization to hasten the process of their withdrawal so that the blessings of freedom may at last come to the entire family of man.

147. At the onset of this intervention, I spoke of certain attitudinal and structural ills which plague our world community and which demand a sense of urgency if we were truly to overcome the crises of our time. Observations were made of the radical changes in the basis of power since the creation of the United Nations which led to the diffusion of political power in the decades of the 1950s and the 1960s, and are now being, we hope, accompanied by a diffusion of economic power. These developments leave international relations unsettled, but we are not thereby faced with difficulties devoid of opportunities.

148. Thus, in the midst of our political and economic crises, we are being challenged, all of us challenged, to renew our commitments to those immutable and timeless principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This challenge does not alone require working for active peace and security, but also avoidance of the prospects of a peace that knows no hope; this challenge does not only demand seriously working towards narrowing the gap between the endowed and the deprived, so that we do not solely succeed in avoiding a global holocaust—as indeed we have since 1945—but also that we, with that rare combination of realism and justice, may move towards the elimination of the hotbeds of tension in the Middle East, in southern Africa, in Cyprus, in the Korean peninsula and in other parts of our one world.

149. During this thirtieth anniversary of the founding of this great Organization, we, the peoples of the United Nations, are called upon to do no less if we must continue to consider ourselves as rational beings capable of managing our affairs and regulating our destiny, rather than leaving all either in dangerous, short-sighted and superstitious resignation to chance or to an unrepresentative consensus, whatever its source.

150. We therefore appeal to all—the politically powerful, both old and new, as well as the politically weak; the economically privileged, both old and new, as well as the economically disadvantaged—to spare no effort in enhancing and strengthening the growing disposition at conciliation, consultation and collaboration, and to work actively for the early birth of a genuine world community in which we can all practice tolerance and live co-operatively together in peace with one another as good neighbours. Because our fate on this planet is intertwined and interlinked in an infinite number of ways, we have no viable alternative to this course of action.

151. In like words as those just spoken by Mr. Callaghan, I, too, feel confident that mankind will rise to this challenge.

152. Mr. THOMPSON (Jamaica): Let me begin by expressing, on behalf of the Government and people of Jamaica, our congratulations to the President on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Because of achievements as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, we expect that under his leadership, this session of the General Assembly will continue the momentum which was generated within the United Nations under the leadership of his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria. To Mr. Bouteflika I offer my congratulations and thanks on a job well done during what can be truly described as one of the most eventful years in the history of the United Nations.

153. We wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and the staff on the Secretariat for the continued invaluable assistance we have received in our efforts, which will benefit a great portion of mankind through the maintenance of peace and the application of social and economic justice.

154. Three newly independent nations—the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique—have now become Members of this Organization, and Jamaica extends to them a sincere welcome. We look forward to the forthcoming membership of Papua New Guinea in the United Nations.

155. The past year has been one of profound change in international, political and economic affairs, and this session gives us an opportunity to ask the question, "Where are we, and where do we go from here?" In addressing ourselves to that question, let us first look at the United Nations system.

156. The United Nations, which is becoming truly representative of all the peoples of the world, reflects the conscience of mankind. Today, when travel, communications and the media link all the peoples of the world, more effective dissemination of information on the work of the United Nations could buttress its foundation of universal support and worldwide co-operative action. Already the United Nations has earned the world's respect in its own impartial corporate personality. It has earned that respect by its direct impact on individual men and women of the world.

157. It is because of that direct connexion between the United Nations and the peoples and the need to strengthen that link that I am going to pose the following questions, through you, Mr. President, to the peoples of the world.

"Here at the United Nations we deal with vital issues affecting mankind, such as war, peace, hunger, human rights and a host of development problems. In respect of those issues, what do you, as citizens of Member countries of the United Nations, know of the policies and positions advanced here by your representatives in your name? To what extent do those policies and positions truly represent your attitudes and feelings?"

“The greatest strength of the United Nations must be in its broad-based acceptance by the peoples of the world and not merely by statesmen representing their countries. Mr. Average Citizen, do you know and approve the fact that while the advanced countries of the world spend between \$250,000 million and \$275,000 million per annum in military expenditure, only \$11,000 million is being spent on official development assistance? Do you know and approve that, while you, through your representatives in this Assembly, are speaking of easing international tensions to usher in an atmosphere of peace and prosperity, and while you may be sending tractors to help in planting food for the hungry, you are also sending sophisticated weapons to murder the weak?” It is difficult to say which we deplore the more: the dilemma of the poor nations that purchase swords instead of the ploughshares that they need, or the guilt of those merchant nations that deal in death by the massive sales of armaments.

158. The major Powers, which share the responsibility for international peace and economic well-being, at the same time manufacture, sell and ship missiles, tanks and guns, sometimes to both sides in an international conflict. The media are replete with pictures of suffering orphans of war and the endless line of distraught refugees whose fields have been defoliated by the modern instruments of war, and those Powers are selling them guns instead of implements for reconstruction. To people who need homes, food and medicine they sell tanks, guns and missiles. A gun has but one use. It cannot build a school or a home; it cannot plough the land for food. It can only kill and destroy.

159. The trafficking in arms is not limited to areas of overt conflict. It becomes even more clandestine in nature when used for subversion, against the exercise of full sovereignty by States in pursuit of political, social and economic policies which do not find favour with interfering interests. This is of particular importance to developing countries, which are implementing programmes for the structural transformation of their societies and which therefore run the risks of internal disturbances fomented by external forces.

160. Does the ordinary citizen know that after wholesale devastation by war, when the victims offer their hands in forgiveness and attempt to join the United Nations as a haven of peace, those most responsible for the devastation refuse to accept that gesture, by denying them membership?

161. I agree without reservation with the words of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kissinger, that: “A world in which the survival of nations is at the mercy of a few would spell oppression and injustice and fear.” [2355th meeting, para. 73.] All small nations know that; they believe it, with fear and trembling.

162. Cyprus is but one example of the tragedy of interference and oppression of the weak by the strong. Belize is another example, and I note with joy that the United States has offered to stand ready to assist in the settlement of regional disputes.

163. In Belize we have a good example of stagnation—indeed, more: a festering sore of discontent. We must

not accept a stalemate there, even as we reject it in the case of Cyprus. We must keep up the momentum for peace, and we call upon the Powers, especially the influential Powers of Latin America, to remove Belize from its intolerable position. It is now on the threshold of independence, yet unable to accept that freedom which is offered to it as of right because it fears annexation.

164. One question I wish to ask is this: Why do some trouble-spots, like the Middle East or Cyprus, attract the attention of the great Powers, with massive interference, while the interests of the peoples of Belize and southern Africa seem to pass unnoticed as far as positive action is concerned? As a representative of a small country I must confess to great confusion here as to whether the concern of the great Powers is to protect the rights of people or to secure the rights to property. I am confused as to whether détente means here that the great Powers, ideologically poles apart, have together adopted the same policy of inaction in cases like those of Belize and southern Africa.

165. Why is it that, although for years the United Nations has been reviewing the trouble-spots of the world, where the security of the world is threatened, millions of dollars have been spent on the conflict in the Middle East and not a cent has been spent by any of the great military hegemonies to restore justice to the millions of blacks in southern Africa, including those in Namibia and Zimbabwe? Is that another question of “kith and kin”? Yet many consistently pay lip-service in the United Nations to the concepts of universality and the indivisibility of justice.

166. My country joins in congratulating the leaders of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique on their courage and unselfishness in their efforts to establish justice in southern Africa by all means.

167. Regarding the Middle East, any action which halts the unnecessary sacrifice of human lives is a step in the right direction, and is welcomed. While we welcome the genuine efforts made towards the achievement of peace in the Middle East, my delegation expresses the firm belief that for a lasting peace a fair and permanent settlement of the just claims of the Palestinian people must be made.

168. I have commented on some of the major current political issues which affect the lives of millions of people throughout the world. An event of considerable political and economic significance occurred during 1975, a very short time ago; that is, the seventh special session of the General Assembly. Undoubtedly, much discussion will take place during this session about the results of that one. However, in my delegation's opinion it is still too early to make a full assessment; but I will say that the earlier session marked the beginning of a process, and its results will require careful and sober evaluation. It is true to say that it was an advance to have proceeded without acrimony or violent confrontation. It was a success to have had countries of vast ideological and economic differences seated together in deep and long consultation. However, the reservations expressed by some delegations have cast doubt on the value of what may have been achieved. Nevertheless, developing countries have set out to make fundamental changes in the



international economic system, and we are determined to continue this process.

169. It is also encouraging to see that those voices that had ominously spoken about the decline of the United Nations have been converted to a new note of optimism and the question I ask is: Have they become admirers because the United Nations has changed, or have they changed their tune because the United Nations has so far failed to effect a real change? The special session, however, did show that the General Assembly of the United Nations is still the only international forum which acts as a final repository of hope for mankind, and that in the words of a representative of a Member State, "the system works".

170. A few months ago, at Kingston, Jamaica, a conference was held by the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth of nations. This body, ranging alphabetically from Australia to Zambia, comprises some 25 per cent of the Governments of the world. Represented there were the millions of India, as well as the more modest numbers from Barbados. The great leaders from varying backgrounds, bound together by that particular mystique of the Commonwealth, met under Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica, himself a symbol of the possibilities of change; and there they set an example to the world of how free men in a free association can unite in the quest to establish social justice and extend it to the poor of the world, regardless of colour, creed or political persuasion.

171. Let me turn for one moment to the ongoing Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. There have been expressions of dissatisfaction at the rate of progress. This is understandable because the problems are so numerous and complex, and also because there is a real danger that unnecessary delay may cause States to make unilateral and precipitate declarations against the moratorium and against the spirit of the convention itself. My delegation, however, sees some signs of hope: from new ideas, such as a concern for the less-developed countries, including the land-locked, island-developing and others; identification of the treasures of the ocean beyond national jurisdiction as the common heritage of mankind; and deliberate efforts at adjusting the existing economic imbalances.

172. My delegation believes that there has been evidence of deliberate and unnecessary delay by some of the great maritime hegemonies which are not yet prepared to concede these economic adjustments during the negotiations. It seems they would rather preserve a system that retains an advantage for the more technologically advanced.

173. When we consider that the immense wealth, both mineral and organic, of the sea and ocean bed means for some countries not merely an improvement in the quality of life but survival itself, the Assembly will, I am sure, share my hope that the same speed and application manifested during this past seventh special session will be applied to the next session of the Conference on the law of the sea and bring it to its final phase.

174. With so many experts and specialists, there can be no excuse to the peoples of the world for this issue drowning in the sea of indecision.

175. In the midst of all these considerations, we must not lose sight of the central core of our endeavours, which is the pressing need for the fullest mobilization of the human resources of developing countries. In this connexion our women must be brought fully into the mainstream of economic, political and social life, contributing as vital elements to the process of development and benefiting equally from that process. This is the imperative of healthy national growth; it is the imperative of social justice. For this reason, Jamaica welcomes the designation of this year by the United Nations as International Women's Year. It has given added inspiration to our national efforts in this area. We have accelerated all of our policies and programmes during the course of the past 12 months in the fields of education and skill training; maternal and child health; legislation ensuring a minimum wage to all workers, male and female; equal pay for equal work; social legislation relating to the status of the child and the unmarried mother; and the establishment of a women's bureau in the office of our Prime Minister. These are all instruments which we have developed this year for the more effective elimination of any discrimination or inequalities which inhibit our women from full participation in national life. No nation can afford to be without the contribution of its women in the search for international peace and equity.

176. The central theme of all developmental policies, whether at the international, regional or national levels, must be the improvement of the quality of life for all the peoples of the world. The Government of Jamaica is particularly gratified by the adoption earlier this year of the Plan and Programme of Operations for the United Nations Habitat and Human Settlements Foundation, which in effect has set the stage for the Foundation to become operational. It is imperative that Human Settlements policies designed to bring about such an improvement be evolved without delay in order that the basic human needs for housing, which continues to assume critical proportions, may be tackled at both national and international levels. Jamaica has participated actively in the work of the Preparatory Committee for the forthcoming Habitat Conference to be held at Vancouver in 1976; and in addition we attended the regional conference recently held in Caracas, Venezuela. It is our expectation that the Human Settlements Conference will mobilize international awareness to the enormity and the urgency of the problem.

177. The international community faces a tremendous task not only in the field of integrated social and economic development, but also in the political arena. This is essential for the implementation of the former. It is clear that substantial restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system must take place in order to make it more responsive to the requirements of the international community, and in particular in the implementation of the new international economic order. My delegation notes with satisfaction the establishment by the General Assembly at its seventh special session of an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System. However, restructuring of the system will not bear the expected fruit if the necessary political will does not exist for the implementation of the new order. This political will can be achieved only

through influencing the mind of "the man in the street". In this regard, all member countries must play their part. In addition, the communications-information media has a crucial role in re-educating the people.

178. In conclusion, I wish to endorse the statement made by our previous President, Mr. Bouteflika, on this subject. He said:

"Because of its vast facilities and the size of its readership, even in our countries, the Western press, in my view, bears an even greater responsibility in this area. It can—and unfortunately it has to some extent done so—attempt to counteract the present course of events in the world and take the easy way out of flattering the ego of the wealthy and seeing nothing but ingratitude and incomprehension in the behaviour of the poor. It can also—and this is precisely where the greatness of its vocation lies—help the mass of its readership to become aware of the real problems of the world and the danger concealed behind an all-too-complacent prosperity to enable it to gauge the magnitude of the suffering all around it."<sup>3</sup>

179. It is because we believe in the United Nations and reaffirm our full support that we have directed our thoughts, through you, Mr. President, to the peoples of the world.

180. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have now heard the last speaker listed for

this afternoon. The delegation of the United Kingdom has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. Members will recall that the General Assembly, at its 2353rd plenary meeting, decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom in exercise of his right of reply.

181. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): I wish to comment briefly on the statement we heard this morning from the Foreign Minister of Argentina [2357th meeting].

182. My Government has no doubt as to its sovereignty over the Falkland Islands and reserves the right to comment more fully in due course, should that prove necessary.

*The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.*

---

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1881st meeting, para. 10.

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

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2350th meeting, para. 72.