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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Çağlayangil (Turkey),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The changes in the international situation, which have occurred in the first half of the 1970s, can, without exaggeration, be described as the start of a new phase in international development. We have witnessed the surmounting of numerous seemingly eternal road-blocks on the way to peace and good-neighbourly relations between countries and peoples. Détente resulted in creating the objective prerequisites for eliminating the threat of a nuclear war. Such evolution in international relations has been largely brought about by the active and constructive policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, which act in the international arena in close alliance and invincible unity.

2. We should first of all note the radical improvement of the political climate in Europe. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was signed just over a year ago, but its influence on all aspects of relations among European countries is evident even now.

3. Understanding of the fact that relations of friendly co-operation, based on equality and non-interference in internal affairs, are more desirable and fruitful than confrontation in an atmosphere of hostility, which recently reigned in Europe and all over the world, is something which is gaining more and more ground among States which take a serious approach to the implementation of the Helsinki agreements.

4. Processes of détente prevailing in the political climate have accelerated positive changes in various parts of the world. Noteworthy among them are the victory of the just cause of the peoples in Indo-China, the defeat of colonial-

ism and racism in several African countries such as Angola and Mozambique and others. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate, on behalf of our delegation, the Republic of Seychelles on its admission to the United Nations. At the same time, together with other countries, we strongly demand the immediate admission to the United Nations of a big new peace-loving State, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and of a young independent African State, the People's Republic of Angola.

5. We sincerely acclaim the positive changes in the international arena, but, at the same time, we realize the complexities and discrepancies in present world evolution. It would be wrong to ignore the fact that the arms race and the improvement of weapons of mass destruction continue at the same destructive rate as before. It would be unpardonable complacency to disregard the fact that the military-industrial complex, neo-Fascist and other reactionary forces are systematically attacking détente, which renders their existence senseless. V. V. Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, said the following on this score at the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine: "Those who are against the Soviets evidently mourn the past days of the 'cold war' and try to revive its sinister ghost at any cost."

6. Numerous mass media organs in the West and often some prominent figures toe the line of those forces. Such politicians make attempts at interfering in internal affairs of other countries, sometimes even in the affairs of their partners in military and political blocs.

7. Such actions, naturally, do not contribute to détente. Though the shoots of détente are taking root in the political fields, they are still young and vulnerable, and they should be ardently guarded against various weeds of the "cold war". Therefore, concrete steps of States aimed at the further relaxation of tensions, including steps which relate to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust among States, are of primary importance in this matter.

8. To protect such an atmosphere from pollution, it is necessary for peoples to have a better knowledge of one another, to respect one another's culture, historical traditions and the achievements of nations and, of course, to refrain from interfering in the affairs of other countries. This goal requires a resolute struggle against misinformation and elimination of vestiges of the "cold war", violence, racism and inhumanity. We believe that we must find common ground in the solution of sometimes very complicated international problems on the basis of political realism and that we must settle jointly complicated problems at the negotiating table.

9. Broad international co-operation is necessary, not only for strengthening peace, but also for an early solution of such problems as the elimination of illiteracy, as environmental protection, control of pollution of the atmosphere and the high seas, development and exploitation of new energy sources, prevention of natural calamities, prevention and treatment of the most dangerous diseases.

10. Every thread of mutually advantageous co-operation among States, woven into the texture of peaceful relations, strengthens the fabric of international peace and security and facilitates the achievement of agreements on problems of military détente. The majority of countries favour the policy of ensuring international peace and security, which was convincingly evident in the decisions adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo in August [see A/31/197].

11. Reflecting the unquenchable aspirations of the peoples for lasting peace and security, for a cessation of the arms race and for disarmament and détente, the World Congress of Peace Forces, held at Helsinki from 23 to 26 September 1976, strongly advocated these goals. This Congress, attended by more than 90 countries and 50 international organizations representing various political parties, governmental and non-governmental organizations, called upon the peoples of all countries not only to put an end to the arms race, but also to accelerate the attainment of general and complete disarmament, and also to support the idea of the conclusion of a world treaty of the non-use of force in international relations.

12. The memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament submitted by Mr. A. A. Gromyko, USSR Foreign Minister, for the consideration of the current session of the General Assembly [A/31/232], quite rightly draws the attention of all States and peoples to the central and urgent task facing humanity at present—to stop the material preparation for war. The memorandum convincingly showed that, during the nuclear missile era, the arms race is a formidable danger for the future of peoples of our planet. Despite its utter absurdity, the search for ways and means of gaining military superiority, which is the main preoccupation of aggressive military-political blocs, entails staggering expenditures of material resources. The following figures graphically demonstrate the rate of growth in military expenditures: whereas in 1949 the military appropriations of the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] totalled \$18 billion, in 1976 this sum reached \$170 billion. Conscious of obstacles in the road to the cessation of the arms race, we believe at the same time in the possibility and feasibility of overcoming the resistance of disarmament opponents, as is shown by steps taken in the field of the curtailment of the arms race in recent times, especially in the period when the present process of improving the political climate has set in.

13. It was precisely in the period that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2573 (XXII), annex] came into force, that the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction was prohibited in outer space as well as on the sea-bed and ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof, and that

the Convention on the prohibition of bacteriological weapons<sup>1</sup> was added to the operative international instruments.

14. It is worth emphasizing the importance for the consolidation of peace of the well-known agreements between the USSR and the United States of America on the prevention of nuclear war, on the limitation of strategic arms, as well as treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear tests and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

15. It is quite obvious that, because of the extremely dangerous nature of nuclear weapons, the cessation of the nuclear arms race, the reduction of nuclear weapons and their subsequent elimination are top priorities among disarmament measures, and the *sine qua non* for these measures is the participation of all nuclear Powers in their implementation.

16. A comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty has been an urgent necessity for a long time. The General Assembly of the United Nations has repeatedly spoken out in favour of the early and urgent solution of this problem. The treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, the draft of which was submitted by the Soviet Union at the last session of the General Assembly,<sup>2</sup> could become a concrete solution of this important problem. The unwillingness of certain nuclear States to participate in negotiations on the conclusion of such a treaty cannot be regarded otherwise than a refusal to contribute to the cessation of the nuclear arms race.

17. Of special significance among questions concerning the limitation of the arms race and disarmament is the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new weapons systems. We hope that the negotiations on this question within the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva with the participation of experts will, we hope, yield positive results in the near future and will lead to drafting an international document banning the development and manufacture of the most dangerous means of warfare.

18. We are happy to note the progress made in the drafting of the text of an international convention on the prohibition of action to influence the environment for military purposes. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has succeeded in overcoming difficulties it had and in coming to agreement on the draft of this important document [see A/31/27, annex I]. The General Assembly has good grounds for approving the convention at this session and for appealing to all States to become parties to it.

19. The problem of the prohibition of chemical weapons has long been awaiting a solution, although there are favourable conditions for its settlement. Since 1972, the

<sup>1</sup> Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction (resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex).

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 122, document A/10241.

Conference of the Committee on Disarmament had before it the draft of a corresponding convention submitted by the socialist countries. The understanding of 3 July 1974, between the USSR and the United States of America on a joint initiative concerning the prohibition, as a first step, of the most dangerous and lethal chemical means of warfare has not so far been implemented. We believe that the priority task of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament lies in stepping up its work in every way so as to achieve substantial progress in working out an agreement on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons.

20. The World Disarmament Conference has not yet been convened because of the opposition of a number of States, though it is quite evident that the problem of stopping the arms race and implementing substantial disarmament measures affects the interests of all countries and should therefore be considered and settled at the widest and most authoritative forum entrusted with corresponding powers.

21. A new Soviet proposal for the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations has been submitted for consideration at the current thirty-first session of the General Assembly [A/31/243]. This proposal is an integral part of the implementation of the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, proclaimed by the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its objective, as L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, is "to make the danger of war recede still further and to create favourable conditions for progress towards disarmament". Apart from stressing the importance of the principle of the non-use of force embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and numerous bilateral and multilateral treaties, the Soviet Union proposes that it should be made an effective law of present-day international life. The importance of such a treaty is enhanced by the fact that its participants must undertake to refrain from using all types of weapons, including nuclear weapons, for settling disputes among them, thus effectively preventing a thermonuclear war.

22. The conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations would make a constructive and effective contribution to the struggle of peoples aimed at saving mankind from the scourge of war. The matter in question is not of limited regional nature but is a global action of world-wide significance.

23. Of course, the renunciation of the use of force in international relations in no way restricts the right of States to individual or collective self-defence against aggression and the elimination of its consequences, as provided for in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Similarly, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], their right to fight for national freedom and independence with all available means remains inviolable. Therefore, all who reject the policy of aggression, who oppose the suppression of peoples' struggle for freedom and independence by force, cannot but support this proposal which is so important for the strengthening of international peace. The continuing arms race hinders the strengthening of international security, contributes to the creation of new military hotbeds, and delays the elimination of armed conflicts.

24. The explosive situation still exists in the Middle East, where the solution of the problem based on the well-known resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly have long been undermined by Israel's persistence in her expansionist policy. Israel and the forces backing her are trying to sow discord among Arab States and to weaken the anti-imperialist front. There can be no real peace in this region while Israel continues the aggression, and while Palestinians are deprived of their homeland. The pernicious consequences of this situation are diverse, something which is demonstrated by the tragic developments in Lebanon. The situation in this region once again confirms the impossibility of any partial settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. The solution has to be provided for within a whole complex, and within the mechanism established especially for that purpose, namely, the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organizatio...

25. The interests of peace in the Mediterranean requires preserving the status of Cyprus as a unified, independent and sovereign non-aligned State, as well as an immediate and complete implementation of the decisions of the United Nations on Cyprus. A representative international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations would be the best forum for settling the Cyprus problem.

26. We demand the implementation of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice in Korea into a durable peace and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea [resolution 3390 (XXX)].

27. To this end it is necessary to withdraw all foreign troops from the territory of South Korea, thus creating conditions for a peaceful and democratic reunification of the country, without any foreign interference.

28. The cause of freedom and independence in Africa consistently encounters the opposition of the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The United Nations has repeatedly and decisively denounced the régimes of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, and it is only the political, economic and military support of these régimes by major Western Powers that for a certain time can help them escape complete collapse. One cannot but become apprehensive at the efforts, which have recently become so frequent, on the part of some protectors of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, to save the racist régimes from an inevitable defeat and to undermine the legitimate national liberation struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the indigenous population of South Africa for freedom and independence by means of diversionary manoeuvres. One may rest assured that the Governments and peoples of Africa will appraise "the efforts" of this kind at their true worth.

29. The oppressed peoples in southern Africa are demanding that independence be granted to them immediately. Any delay is an attempt on the part of the colonialists to retain their positions, and to find new forms of colonial oppression.

30. We are sure that the day is at hand when the genuine representatives of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa will join us in this hall.

31. The racism of Salisbury and the *apartheid* of South Africa are but a few examples of the fact that in those countries where exploitation and oppression exist, the violation of human rights is institutionalized into a State policy.

32. The Ukrainian SSR, guided by the immortal ideas of V. I. Lenin concerning the liberation of peoples from social and colonial oppression, proceeds from the fact that international co-operation in the field of human rights should be aimed primarily at the struggle against massive and brutal violations of human rights and freedoms, which are the results of the policy of colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and fascism.

33. All honourable people on earth must indignantly and decisively condemn the crimes against humanity committed by the bloody Fascist junta in Chile. The United Nations must forcefully demand the cessation of the flagrant violations of human rights and freedom in Chile, ensure the cessation of the cruel mistreatment of Chilean patriots and the immediate freeing of Luis Corvalán and of other democrats languishing in the junta's gaols.

34. The struggle for peace, the elimination of hotbeds of international tension and the development of normal relations among States, as well as the liquidation of colonialism and of all manifestations of racial discrimination, are therefore the most important prerequisites for the observance of human rights and freedoms.

35. It is the struggle against the most gross violations of human rights in Chile, in South Africa and in the Arab lands occupied by Israel that constitutes a fundamental means of deepening the co-operation among States in the promotion of respect for, and observance of, human rights. The peoples of the world should do their utmost to provide for everyone, everywhere, an opportunity to live without poverty and unemployment, so that everyone can enjoy the right to work, education, freedom from exploitation, racial discrimination and oppression, as well as an opportunity to benefit from the scientific and technical revolution and progress.

36. We, in the Ukrainian SSR, where all the activities of the Communist Party and the State show concern for promoting well-being and the free comprehensive development of all the members of our society, fully appreciate and understand the efforts of those States which are always striving genuinely and consistently to ensure human rights and to participate in international co-operation in this field.

37. However, we cannot but denounce the attempts of certain circles in Western countries to use the noble slogans about the protection of human rights to camouflage flagrant and continuous violations of these rights in their own countries and to slander socialism, to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, to undermine the national liberation movement of peoples and to discredit the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente.

38. Such a speculation on the problem of safeguarding human rights is utterly unacceptable and should be completely ruled out in the United Nations.

39. The ongoing changes in political relations, which have been made possible because of the relaxation of international tensions, have also had a favourable impact on the whole complex of economic links, thus facilitating the search for more effective ways of tackling the most urgent problems of our time, that is the unconditional and final rejection of the methods of imperialist policy in international economic relations.

40. A direct consequence of these political changes is the growing concern of the United Nations for social and economic problems of the developing countries, which are experiencing serious hardships because of the continuation of the policy of neo-colonialism and because of the lingering crises of capitalist economies.

41. The progressive decisions taken at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] marked the beginning of the fundamental revision of the whole system, inherited from the past, of inequitable international economic relations, which perpetuate inequality and exploitation of the developing countries. It is interesting to note that these documents are in effect a kind of a vote of "no confidence" in the ability of capitalism to ensure the development of new States. The documents have reflected the growing disillusionment of the developing countries in capitalism as a system which thwarts their efforts to put an end to their dependent position and economic backwardness.

42. Today in these countries, more than ever before, the problem of accelerated socio-economic progress is closely linked with the problem of choosing a course of development.

43. In this connexion we cannot help noticing the attempts which have been multiplying more recently on the part of representatives of certain countries at international forums to publicize in every way the capitalist pattern of development and to prove that the difficulties of the "third world" can be overcome only through a "market economy". They talk about "interdependence" among the advanced capitalist States and developing countries, which is being peddled as "a partnership" and "a meaningful dialogue" between them. We have recently heard similar talk in this conference hall, and, characteristically enough, in the speeches of those representatives whose countries are most sharply criticized for the existing neo-colonialist exploitation of the developing countries. The idea in those speeches is that the developing countries should seek to solve their problems by joining their efforts with those of private enterprises and international monopolies. The final goal of this so-called "partnership" is equally clear: to maintain the developing countries within the framework of world capitalist economy as "junior partners", but in fact as an object of exploitation, in order to use their resources to consolidate the world positions of capitalism in its struggle with socialism.

44. It is quite apparent that the ideological prescriptions of neo-colonialism are incompatible with the striving of the

developing countries towards genuine independence, and use of these prescriptions would lead to nowhere but to the revival of colonial relations and thus would become an obstacle to social and economic advancement.

45. Regarding the restructuring of international economic relations and the struggle for the relaxation of international tensions, disarmament and a lasting peace as an inseparable whole, we stand for the further promotion of the principles of equality, mutual benefit, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and respect for national sovereignty as a condition for the development of world economic ties and inter-State co-operation.

46. A world built upon these principles would be indivisible. The creation of this world is an important prerequisite for the advancement of mankind; it ensures the right of every nation to choose its own destiny freely, sovereignly and without outside interference. The thirty-first session of the General Assembly should devote its efforts to the creation of such a world.

47. Mr. CHAVAN (India): Let me begin by extending to the President my Government's warm congratulations on his unanimous election to be President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. We are happy indeed that this high office has been filled by his country this year, and that the choice has fallen on him in particular. It is a mark of international tribute to Sri Lanka and its noteworthy role in the United Nations. It is also yet another mark of recognition of his own wide experience and skill in conference diplomacy. We feel sure that the success of the thirty-first session is in safe hands.

48. I wish to place on record also our appreciation of the work of his distinguished predecessor, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, who under difficult circumstances maintained a high standard of leadership and objectivity.

49. It is customary for us to say a few words about our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. He has tried always to represent the United Nations as accurately as possible. He has reaffirmed his faith in the United Nations when it was most needed. His loyalty to the principles and purposes of the United Nations has been demonstrated on many an occasion, when a lesser man might have faltered. We wish him many more years of dedicated service to the United Nations.

50. We are glad to welcome Seychelles, our youngest Member. The attainment of its independence through peaceful constitutional means is a tribute to the maturity of its people and its leaders.

51. It is unfortunate that Viet Nam and Angola have not yet been admitted to the United Nations, despite their clear entitlement to membership. The peoples of these two countries have had to wage prolonged and bitter struggles for winning their national independence, and having won their birthright, their Governments have applied for admission to the United Nations. This is a remarkable manifestation of their belief that the best guarantee of their independence and future development lies in joining the United Nations. And yet, our doors remain closed to them for reasons that do not carry conviction. We feel sure

therefore that there will be a change of heart. We reaffirm our support for the admission of Viet Nam and Angola and we have every expectation that they will soon be seated among us.

52. An important recent event was the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo in August 1976. It was the largest ever of its kind and demonstrated that, despite their diversity, non-aligned countries are united in their struggle for freedom, equality and peace. The fact that most States on attaining independence from colonial rule have joined the non-aligned family is proof of the continued validity and importance of non-alignment. My Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, stated at the Colombo Conference that in a fast changing world non-alignment remains the bulwark of the ever-widening area of peace, a shelter against external pressures and a catalyst for a new world economic order based on equality and justice. The Action Programme for Economic Co-operation adopted by the Colombo Conference [A/31/197, annex III] is a significant achievement and provides a basis for further collective action.

53. The United Nations has now been in existence for 30 years and it has seen dramatic changes in the world. It has survived the years of the cold war and has entered a period of détente between the great Powers. It has managed to contain situations of active hostilities and in the process it has acquired useful experience in peace-keeping operations. Its membership has increased rapidly and the United Nations has become a hallmark of independence of countries that have liberated themselves from colonial rule.

54. The United Nations stands for the promise of peace, equality, justice and full opportunities for the common man everywhere. When one examines the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on a wide variety of subjects, one sees that a quiet revolution has been taking place during the last 20 years—a revolution in the realm of ideas about the quality of peace and the quality of life for all in the future.

55. On the one hand, the United Nations has been trying to cope with current problems and controversies. Sometimes these are issues that could be resolved outside the United Nations by the countries concerned. It is our belief that if the United Nations is to survive and grow into a co-operative organization equipped to deal with problems of the future, we should not unduly burden it with issues that lend themselves to solutions outside the United Nations in conformity with the principles of its Charter. After all, Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter stipulates that all Members shall settle their disputes themselves by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered.

56. On the other hand, there are other types of issues that concern a number of countries and they seem to need the healing hand of the United Nations. But the experience of dealing with even such issues indicates that in the final analysis it is necessary for the parties directly involved to sit together and negotiate practical and reasonable solutions to their mutual benefit. This is as true of the Cyprus question as it is of the Korean question or any other such question for that matter. We wish to draw attention to this basic fact

of life, because it is often forgotten in the early stage of most problems. As a consequence the credibility of the United Nations is placed under increasing strain.

57. Issues that directly pose a continued threat to international peace and security merit our attention as a matter of priority. The situation in the Middle East has been a source of grave anxiety. Another war in that region will affect all of us in one way or another. It will almost certainly plunge the peoples of that region into disasters of unprecedented magnitude. The continuing civil war in Lebanon makes us very sad, because of the heavy loss of life and destruction of property. It has also added a new dimension to an already complex situation.

58. There is no doubt that peace must come eventually to that troubled part of the world. The essential ingredients for a peace settlement have already been set out in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). In subsequent resolutions the United Nations has recognized the national rights of the Palestinian people and affirmed the vital importance of the exercise of those rights for the maintenance of peace in that region. The root of the problem of course is the continuing occupation of Arab lands and territories by Israel. Ways and means must be found for implementing the Security Council resolutions and a proper climate for their implementation should be quickly created by an early resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East.

59. The process of decolonization has maintained its momentum everywhere, except in southern Africa. We had hoped that after the withdrawal of Portuguese colonialism, white minority rule elsewhere in southern Africa would quickly yield to majority rule. But it would seem that our hopes were based on wrong premises. The national liberation movements have been left with no option but to resort to armed struggle. It is particularly sad that the peoples of southern Africa should have to make many more sacrifices before winning their freedom, because it is within the competence of the United Nations to prevent them by taking enforcement action.

60. In Zimbabwe the time is overdue for the introduction of majority rule. The question of a constitution, safeguards for minorities, etc. surely must follow the establishment of majority rule. Diplomatic efforts are being made by front-line African States and others to resolve the problem democratically and peacefully through negotiations. The régime of Ian Smith clearly has no basis in law or in the will of the people, and it must yield to majority rule without any delay, if further bloodshed is to be avoided. The United Kingdom, whose legal responsibility continues, could play a helpful role at the present juncture.

61. It is necessary to remind ourselves that the Territory of Namibia has international status and that South Africa's presence there is illegal. South Africa's open challenge to the authority of the United Nations has remained unanswered in effective terms. Almost every Member of this Organization agrees that steps should be taken to retrieve in practice what the United Nations legally holds in trust, which is the Territory of Namibia and the destiny of its people. But nothing has been done so far except to adopt recommendatory resolutions. Nothing could cause greater

harm to the credibility of the United Nations than its failure to assume in practice responsibility for what belongs to it in law. The implications of this should be squarely faced by those countries that support the legal position but are not prepared to enforce it. Here again, diplomacy seems to be at work to bring together representatives of the people of Namibia to discuss and agree upon the process towards their independence within a short period of time. The United Nations cannot afford to fail in Namibia, because the Members of this Organization have a collective legal responsibility for its independence.

62. The infamous policy of *apartheid*, which is the device employed by the white minority régime in South Africa to perpetuate its rule, has been roundly condemned by nearly all Members of the United Nations. That policy, racist in concept and rooted in slavery, contains within it the seeds of its own violent destruction. It is a flagrant violation of the concept of equality of human beings regardless of colour or race. We see already the beginnings of its end and we hope it will be peaceful. We extend our sympathies to the victims of racist oppression in Soweto and Cape Town.

63. We hope that the white rulers in South Africa, in order to avoid further loss of life and property, will give up the policy of *apartheid* and replace it with a forward-looking enlightened policy that will enable all persons, regardless of race or colour, to live together on a basis of complete equality. The intention of the white South African Government to grant so-called independence to Transkei and to create similar "bantustans" is no solution. It is nothing more than the logical extension of the policy of *apartheid* and is intended to create satellite black areas without any real independence. It will intensify racial discrimination rather than eliminate it, and it should be rejected by the United Nations.

64. Turning now to some other important problems, may I mention that while we have welcomed the state of *détente* in East-West relations, we have always stressed that efforts to consolidate and intensify *détente* should respond positively to the anxieties and aspirations of the rest of the world. This can best be done through meaningful disarmament measures, through implementing agreed measures for securing a rational and equitable new economic order, and through non-interference in the internal affairs of developing countries. It is only through such steps that *détente* can spread to all regions and create its own momentum for establishing mutually co-operative and beneficial relations between all States.

*Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) took the Chair.*

65. The frightful dilemma facing mankind today is the incredible accretion of enormous military power by a few countries and their seeming inability to de-escalate the arms race. They seem to be under a strange compulsion to race faster and faster in order to remain in the same position of parity. The price of this parity is reported to be of the order of \$US 300 billion per annum at present. Despite the astronomical waste involved in the diversion of vast resources for achieving the so-called balance of strategic power or mutual deterrence, war continues to remain a likely consequence. It is significant that the United States Secretary of State should have cautioned that any one of

the current regional crises could blossom into a larger conflict [11th meeting].

66. The rest of the world cannot remain insensitive to this prospect. It seems unlikely that there will be significant progress in social reform and economic development in developing countries as long as world military expenditure continues to grow at the present rate. My delegation has been among the foremost to propose a variety of disarmament measures since 1950 but it is regrettable that little progress has been made. The need for a world disarmament conference has become increasingly urgent. It might be useful by way of preparation to have a special session of the General Assembly to be devoted exclusively to disarmament. If we can have world conferences on space, atomic energy, environment, human settlements, trade and development, and so on, there is even greater reason and greater urgency for organizing a world conference on disarmament.

67. Several speakers have referred to the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. India has consistently supported efforts in the direction of achieving nuclear disarmament. We are surprised that attempts are continuously being made to confuse the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons with the legitimate right of all Member States to engage themselves in programmes involving peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We reject the thesis that access to the benefits of nuclear energy should be limited only to a few nations, or that only some countries can be trusted to behave in a responsible manner in embarking upon and implementing programmes in the area of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

68. The initiative of the USSR in proposing a treaty on non-use of force in international relations is a positive step and deserves the most careful consideration by the General Assembly. It is in fact an attempt to elaborate the principle already enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter that all members shall refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations.

69. Another initiative of the USSR, which is of direct interest to us, is the statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union the other day that his country did not have "any intention of building any military bases in the Indian Ocean" [7th meeting, para. 185] and that it was "prepared, together with other Powers, to seek ways of reducing on a reciprocal basis the military activities of non-coastal States in the Indian Ocean and the regions directly adjacent thereto" [ibid., para. 186]. This is a welcome statement. We trust that it will be reciprocated by other great Powers so that existing foreign military bases such as Diego Garcia are eliminated and the Declaration of the General Assembly that the Indian Ocean shall be a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] can become a reality.

70. India attaches great importance to the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. While it has succeeded in evolving a consensus on many important issues, the search for a consensus is still continuing on the remaining issues like the system of exploitation of the international sea-bed area and its resources which are the common heritage of mankind. The developing countries, which have suffered from the consequences of colonial domination and the arbitrary opera-

tions of an unjust economic order, cannot be deprived of their legitimate share in the vast sea-bed resources by technologically advanced countries unilaterally exploiting these resources.

71. I should like to say a few words about a problem that has been recently plaguing many countries and affecting the lives of all travellers. It is the pernicious practice of making hostages of innocent persons for political or other reasons. I feel sure that this practice deserves to be condemned by all States in the strongest terms. But what is more important is that we should all do something more to put an end to it. The initiative taken by the Federal Republic of Germany to propose an international convention against the taking of hostages [A/31/242] is timely. The terms of such a convention should be so drafted as to secure the widest possible support.

72. In our part of the world, India has been pursuing a deliberate policy of normalizing and improving relations with all its neighbours. We intend to continue to persist in developing good neighbourly relations with all.

73. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan referred the other day [8th meeting] to the so-called dispute relating to Jammu and Kashmir, which is an integral part of India. He also referred to the resolutions of the Security Council of 1948 and 1949. Those resolutions were not implemented at that time because Pakistan did not fulfil certain essential pre-conditions that had been laid down in them. As a consequence the resolutions became obsolete and this was repeatedly made clear to the Security Council. In our opinion it is now entirely unrealistic to hark back to those resolutions. The Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972, however, provides a practical and realistic basis for overcoming all impediments to friendly and co-operative relations between India and Pakistan. The implementation of that Agreement has already resulted in a large measure of normalization of relations in several fields. It is our intention to persist in this process because we believe that it can lead to stability and durable peace in the subcontinent.

74. With Bangladesh we wish to develop, on a basis of equality, close and friendly relations to our mutual benefit. Unfortunately Bangladesh has chosen to bring before this General Assembly certain misconceived allegations concerning the equitable sharing of the waters of the river Ganga during the lean period of the dry season every year. My delegation expressed our views on this issue when the question of the inclusion of the item came up before the General Assembly [4th meeting]. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate our firm belief that the discussion of this question in the United Nations will only serve to complicate the situation and impede bilateral negotiations.

75. I should like to turn now to the struggle in the United Nations for a square deal for developing countries—a struggle that has already entered its second decade with no promise or even hope of an early solution. The grievances and expectations of developing countries have been clearly set out in previous sessions of the General Assembly and in various other conferences. But we still seem to be convening one conference after another for no ostensible reason other than to repeat and reaffirm earlier resolutions. Developing countries find themselves in a state of political

independence in an economic environment over which they have little control and which they have inherited through historical circumstances. They are in the grip of forces manipulated by developed countries largely for their own benefit. Such a situation is likely to lead to the permanent impoverishment of developing countries, while developed countries continue to prosper at the expense of others. This state of affairs is both immoral and intolerable. Decisions already taken and measures agreed on at earlier conferences should be speedily implemented through constructive negotiations.

76. The indebtedness of developing countries has exceeded \$US 150 billion with repayments increasing every year. Developing countries now face the dilemma of either not paying their debts, or suspending altogether the process and tempo of their national development. This problem can be resolved only if the international community as a whole draws up mutually agreed norms for affording realistic and immediate relief to debtor countries. Even a 5 per cent reduction in the military budgets of developed countries could facilitate the transfer of much needed resources and open for two thirds of mankind vast opportunities for development.

77. The survival of mankind in all its many splendoured diversity depends on planned expansion of areas of equitable interdependence. My Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi observed recently at the Colombo Conference of non-aligned countries:

“The community of nations should jointly and peacefully achieve that elusive equation between global production and consumption that yields the right share for each nation. Patchwork remedies are no substitute for genuine reform. We need a global perspective plan that would relate resources to human needs and provide a system of early warning of imbalances and disasters. Improved terms of trade and credit, easier access to markets and better value for raw materials and industrial goods are all essential to secure greater equity in the distribution of benefits.”

78. To that end we need to evolve a global ethic, a code of conduct and a set of principles for managing interdependence for the purpose of sustaining economic development. We need also the sort of interdependence among nation States that preserves their sovereignty, transcends political ideologies, harmonizes the actions of States for common ends, strengthens the weak and prevents their exploitation by the strong, prohibits policies which beggar one's neighbour and envisages an equal share in decision-making.

79. Recognition of this mutuality of interests and of the need to rearrange the present economic system on a more equitable basis should influence the attitudes of the affluent countries in such a manner that their people respond readily and positively to the modest national objectives of developing countries. Unfortunately, the response of the developed countries so far indicates a certain wavering of political will to meet the full dimension of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the present situation, as evidenced by the slow progress made by the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation. Perhaps fear of the unknown future, or reluctance to

reduce wasteful consumption, is at the root of their inadequate response.

80. Surely, they must realize that there can be no freezing of the *status quo* of dependence between the developed and developing countries. The present situation must inevitably evolve into a new order of equitable interdependence and mutual benefit. Self-serving short-term remedies will not meet the long-term requirements of the present situation. So far as the developing countries are concerned, they should be prepared to safeguard their own interests through a higher level of individual and collective self-reliance as well as mutual co-operation.

81. The strength of the developing countries rests, of course, entirely on their own unity and their sense of purpose. Theirs is not the strength that comes from numbers alone but rather from the shared awareness that they form the backbone of peace-loving nations. They represent not only the majority of the nation States of the world but also the majority of the world's population. Their aspirations therefore acquire a special meaning for mankind's future, for they represent the hard core of suffering humanity. Their collective position should make an appropriate impact on the attitudes of developed countries and their peoples.

82. As the United Nations enters the fourth decade of its existence, I would like to recall in conclusion the words of our former Prime Minister and leader Jawaharlal Nehru, who said on the first day of our independence: “Peace is said to be indivisible; so is prosperity, and so also is disaster in a world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.”

83. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Mr. President, I should like on behalf of the Albanian delegation to express to you our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at this session.

84. During the period that has passed since the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations many events have taken place in the world which bear witness to the continuing aggravation of contradictions and confrontation which exists between peace-loving people on the one hand and imperialism and the forces of reaction on the other.

85. Peace-loving countries and peoples are continually aware of the fact that it is only with a resolute struggle that they can defend their freedom, independence and sovereign rights. They are strongly opposed to imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In various parts of the world the people who are suffering from imperialist exploitation, colonial oppression and racial discrimination are fighting for national and social liberation. The determination of sovereign States to strengthen their political and economic independence and to ensure their free and independent development has increased. The developing countries are making their voices heard ever more courageously on the important problems of our time. International solidarity is increasing among those countries who are fighting for freedom, among those countries who are victims of aggression and are constantly threatened by the

policies of hegemony of the two super-Powers and the forces of reaction.

86. However, in spite of the important victories of sovereign peoples and States and the successive defeats of the imperialist forces and other forces of reaction, the situation in the world remains explosive and complicated. Many dangers pose a threat to the peoples, world peace and general security. A number of important international problems have not yet been solved. There are still crises and sources of tension in various areas, and new conflicts are added to old ones. Many countries and peoples are still victims of foreign political, economic and military domination, of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation and the ferocious forms of racial discrimination and brutal interference in their internal affairs. The economic and financial crises of the capitalist countries dominated by the new revisionist *bourgeoisie* are increasing. The burden of this crisis is very great on the workers of many countries who are directly concerned, and this is especially true in many developing countries. The aggravation of this crisis is accompanied by a continuing aggravation of the political, economic and military contradictions at the international level, and they create serious possible sources of war, aggression and major conflagration.

87. The primary source of all the dangers which threaten the people of the world and cause tension and insecurity in the world is the hegemonist aggressive policies of American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists. The development of events, the complicated situation in Europe and the Middle East, the tragedy in Lebanon, the crimes perpetrated against the Palestinian people, the tense situation in Cyprus and the growth of tension in the Mediterranean and conflicts and quarrels in Africa and other parts of the world show that the two imperialist super-Powers are constantly intensifying their rivalry to dominate the world, to preserve their zones of influence and to maintain areas where there are now sovereign States. The United States and the Soviet Union are trying to camouflage their policies of war and aggression, their methods of violence and blackmail by making a great deal of demagogic noise about "détente", about their "good intentions", about their "efforts" to contribute to the settlement of world problems, to contribute to the establishment of peace and general security and so forth. The two super-Powers speak a good deal about disarmament, about the reduction of military forces. They have much to say about the farce of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, about the Vienna talks and about many other proposals from conferences and international meetings devoted to these subjects. At the same time, though, they obstinately pursue the unbridled armaments race. They increase their arsenals. They perfect their weapons, outrageously increase their military budgets and cover the world with their naval fleets and air forces, their military bases and their troops. The Soviet Union and the United States have become the largest purveyors of weapons that history has known. They have sold colossal quantities of weapons to suck the blood of the peoples of the world and to encourage other countries to wage war; at the same time, they do not hesitate to produce for themselves new modern weapons to preserve their superiority in this area and to implement their policies of aggression and hegemony.

88. There is no continent or zone in the world where the two imperialist super-Powers have not made their presence

felt. There is no conflict nor source of difficulty that they are not involved in. There is no important international problem where they do not try to play the role of arbiter and impose their will.

89. Many fine phrases have been devoted to the results of the conference on so-called European security, and that in spite of the hesitations and scepticism of the participating countries. Those results have been considered as the "beginning of a new period of peace in Europe". Life has shown, though, that the first anniversary of that conference has been celebrated without glory. As could be expected, what had been signed at the conference has remained on paper; nothing, in fact, has been implemented. Nothing has been put into effect, because everything had been worked out disregarding European reality.

90. In Europe after Helsinki the dangers for national independence and the security of the European peoples have not decreased but in fact have increased. Insecurity has increased. The military bases of the two super-Powers and the aggressive military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact have remained intact. Each of the two super-Powers, claiming that there is a need to defend itself against the other and to maintain balance, has redoubled its efforts to create new bases to strengthen its aggressive bloc, and at the same time they have endeavoured to enlist other States. The military manoeuvres of NATO and the Warsaw Pact have become more frequent and more threatening. The military manoeuvres of the imperialist Powers have always been a prelude to aggression. It is pure illusion and even a dangerous one to think that it is enough to implement the Helsinki decisions on the prior announcement of these manoeuvres and the sending of observers for the danger to be reduced and for there to be no longer any danger of war and aggression.

91. There is no need for us to dwell on this undeniable truth, that the demagogic noise of the two super-Powers on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is nothing but an attempt to subjugate the European people, to lull them to sleep, to create further possibilities for imposing their will in Europe. Even before the ink on the Helsinki documents had dried the two super-Powers once again proclaimed their reactionary doctrines of dividing Europe into zones of influence.

92. The position of the People's Republic of Albania on the question of European security is well known. The Albanian delegation wishes once again to stress that genuine peace and security in Europe cannot be brought about unless there is effective action to do away with the dangers for the people of Europe of the aggressive policies of the two super-Powers and to modify the existing situation in that continent. Firstly, that requires the liquidation of the aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It requires the withdrawal of American and Soviet troops from the territories of European countries, the dismantling of all the military bases of the two super-Powers, a ban on their military manoeuvres near the borders of sovereign European countries and the departure of war fleets from the Mediterranean. Any illusions regarding the value of the decisions adopted in Helsinki, far from serving the cause of European peace and security, will be taken advantage of by the two super-Powers to the detriment of the vital interests of the peoples of Europe.

93. The two super-Powers and other reactionary forces have also striven to exploit propaganda about détente and the documents and the spirit of the Conference on European security as a means of making people forget a number of questions that have been awaiting a solution since the end of the Second World War and to deny the right of the European peoples to demand a settlement of these questions.

94. The Federal Republic of Germany, *inter alia*, is trying to take advantage of this situation. Using the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union it is trying to assert itself as a Power of the first rank in Europe. The support and constant encouragement that it gets from the United States and the repeated concessions from the socio-imperialist Soviet Union have only served to encourage revanchist tendencies in the Federal Republic of Germany. The successive Governments of this country have intensified from year to year their efforts to have the Federal Republic of Germany go down in history without having discharged its obligations as a conquered country in the Second World War after the crushing of Hitler's nazism by the peoples of the anti-Fascist coalition.

95. The Government of Albania on a number of occasions in many documents has clearly defined its views on this question and three years ago we stated our views on this question in the General Assembly when the two German States were accepted as Members of the United Nations.<sup>3</sup> The delegation of Albania believes that it is necessary once again to say that the Federal Republic of Germany has major obligations and great debts to the Albanian people for its innumerable barbaric crimes and the damage and devastation caused by the Nazis in Albania during the Second World War.

96. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania recently made a request to the Federal Republic of Germany for war reparations. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has not taken any measures to satisfy the rights of the People's Republic of Albania regarding the question of war reparations but has put forward justifications which are completely unfounded to deny us our rights. That is an attitude which is hostile toward our people and which reminds us of the cruelty and killing of German Nazis during the Second World War in Albania. By pursuing this course of action the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is only assuming an even heavier responsibility.

97. The People's Republic of Albania will never give up its legitimate claims, which cannot be denied and which are permanent. On no pretext can the Federal Republic of Germany avoid its responsibilities and be freed of its obligations. The Albanian delegation declares that the only just and acceptable way to settle this problem is for the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to reconsider its position and to begin to pay Albania the war reparations which are our due.

98. The considerable increase in the intensification of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union for the expansion of hegemony in the Mediterranean makes the

situation particularly tense in that part of the world. This year the two super-Powers have in an unprecedented manner increased their war fleets with new aircraft carriers and cruisers, with nuclear submarines and a number of major troop-carrying vessels. The new provocative and threatening manoeuvres of these fleets throughout the Mediterranean bear witness to the policies of blackmail which the two super-Powers have been pursuing to frighten and break the will of the peoples of the Mediterranean countries. High-ranking admirals and military men of the two super-Powers have visited a number of the Mediterranean countries, and American and Soviet war vessels under the cover of friendly visits have been entering and leaving a number of ports in the Mediterranean and have tried to remain at anchor as long as possible. And those ports have practically become permanent bases for mooring and resupply. Today there can be no illusions about why the two super-Powers' fleets are in the waters and ports of the Mediterranean and what their designs there are. The just action taken this year by the Egyptian Government, which drove from the ports of Egypt the war vessels of the Soviet social-imperialists, once again confirms that the war fleets of the two super-Powers, even when they arrive in a country allegedly to bring assistance and with friendly purposes, become a constant danger for the freedom and independence of the countries where they are found and other neighbouring countries.

99. The Mediterranean belongs to the Mediterranean countries, and the people of those countries want that sea to become a zone of peace and tranquillity. The Government of Albania has stated its view publicly that to achieve that goal it is necessary for each Mediterranean country resolutely to oppose the aggressive policies of the United States and the Soviet Union. The countries where those two super-Powers have established their military bases must see to it that they are liquidated and that no port facilities are given to American and Soviet fleets. Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian people, has stated:

"No pretext is valid when it is used to make it possible for the fleets of the two super-Powers not only to have permanent bases but also to moor, to make repairs and to obtain supplies. That is very dangerous not only for the countries making those concessions but also for their neighbours. We cannot agree with anyone regarding those practices."

The visits of American and Soviet war vessels in the ports of the Mediterranean are in no way friendly visits. They are but an expression of gunboat diplomacy. What kind of friendship is it when the so-called friend comes to you armed to the teeth with guns and weapons and ready to open fire?

100. Nor is there peace and tranquillity in the Balkan peninsula, and that is due primarily to the policies of hegemony of the United States and the Soviet Union in that part of the world. Those countries have sought to interfere in the internal affairs of the Balkan countries. They have tried to cause conflict there and to pit the people of that part of the world against each other. That situation gives rise to legitimate concern on the part of the Balkan peoples. The higher interests and lofty aspirations of those peoples who wish to be free and sovereign people

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2119th meeting.

living in peace and with friendly relations require that there should be resolute opposition to interference in the internal affairs on the part of the two super-Powers, which must not be allowed to trouble the waters of the Balkans and to use one Balkan country as a beach-head and as a tool for their policies of aggression.

101. The People's Republic of Albania has been consistently pursuing a policy of good-neighbourliness with countries near ours and we have not spared any effort to contribute to genuine peace and stability in the Balkans. Through our concrete actions we have shown that we have not permitted and indeed will never permit the peoples of neighbouring countries and other Balkan peoples to be the victims of any wrongs on our territory.

102. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania appreciates all sincere efforts to bring about understanding and co-operation of a genuine kind in the Balkans and, on the basis of the present situation in the Balkans, we have openly expressed our views on what course of action should be followed precisely in order to bring about that comprehension and co-operation. Our view basically is that at the present time it is through the development of relations among the countries of the Balkans by bilateral means and within the spirit of a policy of good-neighbourliness that the aspirations of the peoples of this peninsula can best be met.

103. A just settlement of the problem of Cyprus is of particular importance for peace and stability in the Balkans and in neighbouring areas. The Albanian Government has always been in favour of the existence of a free and independent State of Cyprus. We have always supported respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity and a settlement of the problem of Cyprus by the two communities of the island, who should live in harmony and understanding. We are opposed to any intervention on the part of the imperialist Powers in the internal affairs of Cyprus and we are opposed to the plans and intrigues of the United States and the Soviet Union to exploit the question of Cyprus for their own policies of hegemony.

104. The events which have taken place this year in the Middle East have had the effect of aggravating and further complicating the already explosive and dangerous situation in that part of the world as a result of the imperialist Zionist aggression against the Arab people. The events that have taken place there confirm once again that the two super-Powers and Israeli Zionists have never abandoned and indeed never will abandon their hostile plans against the Arab countries. At present one may see particularly clearly that American diplomacy and "step-by-step" diplomacy there and the demagoguery of the Soviet socialist-imperialists at the Geneva Conference, the hypocritical smiles and promises of friendship on the part of the two super-Powers toward the Arab countries have been nothing but a smoke-screen to camouflage their rivalry in the Middle East, to cover up their efforts to undermine the positions of others and to plot intrigue against the Arab peoples.

105. The clearest example of the harmful consequences of their deeds is today the tragedy in Lebanon. The fratricidal war which has been raging for the past few months in

Lebanon and has caused many human victims and incalculable material damage is not the result of the special political and social conditions in the country but is indeed the work of the two imperialist super-Powers and Israel. They have provoked and have indeed cultivated the armed conflict in Lebanon in order to destroy the liberation movement of the Palestinian people and to liquidate the Palestinian question, to divide the Arab people, to bring about war among them and to prevent them from uniting their forces on the main war front to liberate the lands held by the Israeli Zionists and to drive the two super-Powers from the Middle East. The Israeli Zionists are indeed pleased to see the camps of the Palestinians and the cities and towns of Lebanon becoming battlefields for the Arabs and with their typical arrogance they have not failed to threaten the Arab people with new aggression and to undertake themselves acts of aggression and terrorism in the very heart of Africa thousands of kilometres away.

106. It is not the first time that the Palestinian people have been the object of odious attacks and machinations on the part of imperialist Zionist and Arab reactionary enemies who wish to deny their rights, leaving them without a homeland for ever. But the Palestinian people are withstanding these difficulties and they will not be deterred from their struggle for their rights, nor will they ever fall into the traps that have been laid for them. The just cause of the Palestinian people is one that has been supported and upheld by all the peace-loving peoples of the entire world, who condemn those who would subject them through arms or drive a knife into their backs.

107. As they fan the flames in Lebanon the two imperialist super-Powers are also intensifying their efforts to cause conflict and contradictions among other Arab States, to create difficulties and internal difficulties in one country and then in another according to the theory "divide and conquer".

108. In the face of all these dangers the Arab people now fully realize that their unity must be strengthened and that they must fight with resolution for the restoration of their national rights. The Albanian people strongly support, as indeed they always have done, the just struggle of their Arab brothers and they condemn the Zionist imperialist aggression and all hostile activities and plots against the Palestinian people.

109. The year 1976 has also marked the intensification of rivalry among the two super-Powers in Africa. Their intervention in the internal affairs of the sovereign States of Africa, intrigues to sow the seeds of discord and undermine African unity, have had the effect of aggravating certain conflicts and sources of tension. They tried to cover up their activities with demagoguery and noisy promises. The high officials of the American administration who have been travelling throughout Africa in all directions and who are planning to pursue their ill-fated "step-by-step diplomacy" in that part of the world too, swear that the United States will put pressure on the racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria. But it is well known that they are the most ardent defenders of those racist régimes and that they are the enemies of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Azania and Zimbabwe against racial discrimination, *apartheid*, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Soviet

social imperialists for their part have posed as the "natural allies" of the liberation movements and of the independent African countries and have promised "assistance". They have offered "advisers" and "specialists", in order politically, economically and even militarily to penetrate in the largest possible number of African countries.

110. The African peoples from their long experience and their long struggle for freedom and independence against imperialism and colonialism are familiar with the flattery and promises of the imperialist Powers. They have had many opportunities to understand the designs of the neo-colonialists and the super-Powers on the African continent. The Albanian people welcome and support the liberation struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia. They are convinced that the peoples in the sovereign States of Africa will fight resolutely against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism and are convinced that they will defend their national interests and that they will resolve the problems which are of concern to their continent.

111. The Korean peninsula has been and remains a source of tension and a threat to peace and stability in the Far East as a result of the aggressive policies of the American imperialists which have long been pursued against the Korean people, as a result of the maintenance of American occupying troops in South Korea and the provocation and warlike action of the United States and their puppets in Seoul against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The United States, acting against the will and legitimate aspirations of the people of Korea, continues to undermine a possible just settlement of the Korean problem. It has done its utmost to prevent the reunification of the nation of Korea in a single State and to pursue its "two Koreas" plan.

112. The Albanian people and their Government denounce the aggressive policies of American imperialism against the Korean people and denounce their provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They support the just demands of the Korean people that American troops should be withdrawn from South Korea and that the so-called United Nations Command in Korea should be dissolved, and the right of the Korean people to the independent reunification of the country without foreign interference.

113. The Albanian people welcome the success of the developing countries and peoples in their struggle to put an end to the plundering and exploitation of the two super-Powers and other imperialist Powers. We support the just demands of those countries that the existing system of exploitation in international economic and trade relations should be changed. We support their efforts to strengthen their political and economic independence and their measures to establish their own control and national sovereignty over their natural wealth and natural resources and we support their free and independent development. Naturally the imperialist Powers are not very pleased with the demands of the developing countries. Time has shown that they obstinately sabotage the efforts of those countries and that they bring pressure to bear and use blackmail in the form of assistance and credits to preserve their position and their ability to plunder and exploit others throughout the

world. But the peoples of the world will fight against imperialist exploitation and oppression. They will continually strengthen their mutual co-operation, unity and solidarity. The just struggle of the democratic and progressive sovereign peoples and States of the world for their defence and freedom, independence and sovereignty is supported by the People's Republic of China, a powerful socialist State and a resolute fighter against the aggressive policies of hegemony of the two imperialist super-Powers.

114. The year 1976 is a year that has been filled with events of political, social and economic importance for the People's Republic of Albania. The Seventh Congress of the Labour Party of Albania, which will be held in November and which coincides with the celebration of another great event, the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Labour Party of Albania, will draw up the balance-sheet of the success achieved in building socialism in all fields in Albania and will open up still greater prospects for the future of the Albanian people.

115. The fifth five-year plan, 1971-1975, has been an important stride forward in the building of socialist society in Albania. There has been great success in strengthening the material and technical base of socialism and we are continually raising the living standards of the working masses and strengthening the defence of our country. Our country's economy is on a sound, solid basis and we know neither stagnation nor crises. During the fifth five-year plan the social product, the national income and industrial production and agricultural production and investment have increased two or three times faster than the population. Industrial production in 1975 was 52 per cent higher than in 1970. Agricultural production increased 33 per cent, investments for development in the economy increased 53 per cent. During the same period the national income increased 38 per cent. The real *per capita* income in cities increased 8 per cent and in the countryside 20.3 per cent.

116. The sixth five-year plan for the period 1976-1980 will represent a new phase of economic and cultural progress. During that period it is planned that there will be an industrial production increase of about 41-44 per cent, an agricultural production increase of about 37-40 per cent and an investment increase of 35-38 per cent. National income will show an increase of 38-40 per cent, whereas real *per capita* income will show an increase of 11-14 per cent.

117. The debate among the masses for a new constitution for the socialist People's Republic of Albania has created a new and exciting atmosphere. This document is of particular importance to the present and future of the people of Albania, and it reflects the major victories and radical transformations of a political and economic and social nature which have taken place in socialist Albania under the aegis of the Labour Party of Albania and under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha and establishes a new foundation for continuing and irresistible progress along the path of socialism.

118. The draft for the new constitution reflects the principles of the foreign policy of Albania, which are the policies of a free and independent socialist State serving the

interests of the people and building socialism in Albania, serving the interests of people and international peace and security. The draft constitution clearly establishes that the socialist People's Republic of Albania follows a policy of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance with the socialist States on the basis of Marxist-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are for peace and relations of good-neighbourliness with all States on the basis of equality, respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and mutual advantage. We are firmly opposed to any form of imperialist aggression, to all forms of colonial exploitation, hegemony and *diktat*. We are opposed to all forms of national oppression and racial discrimination. On the basis of the principle of the full exercise of national sovereignty, the draft constitution places a ban on the establishment of foreign military bases and forces on the territory of Albania.

119. In conclusion, the delegation of Albania declares that, once again at this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, we will spare no effort to make a modest contribution to the consideration of the various items on the agenda.

120. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic): Mr. President, please accept my congratulations on your election to your responsible office. We see your mandate also as recognition of Sri Lanka's role in the United Nations and in the group of non-aligned countries. Your country received great acknowledgement recently as host to the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, whose constructive activity we value.

121. I also wish to extend best wishes and words of appreciation to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim for his successful and untiring work.

122. We cordially welcome the Republic of Seychelles as a newly admitted member of the United Nations.

123. The German Democratic Republic notes with satisfaction that political détente continues gaining momentum as the decisive trend in international affairs. Peaceful co-operation for mutual benefit is an objective for which there is growing commitment. In Europe, the Conference on Security and Co-operation has had a sensible effect on the relationship between the States and peoples.

124. In Asia, the endeavour to achieve greater security has increased in strength due to the successful liberation struggle of the peoples, above all those of Indo-China. Further strongholds of colonialism collapsed during the last year. The people of Angola have liberated themselves. The struggle for equitable international economic relations is unfolding very dynamically.

125. At the same time, there remain many problems to be solved. The arms race is jeopardizing détente. Serious and armed conflicts are threatening security and peace. In southern Africa, colonialist and racist oppression is raging. Most aggressive forces are even trying to push mankind back to cold war. Therefore, those are well advised who value duly, but without illusion, what has been achieved on the road of détente. Let me express my conviction that the

United Nations will make its contribution towards strengthening peace and security as provided for by its Charter, which is, now as before, a tried and tested document.

126. At the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in May this year, General Secretary Erich Honecker of the Party's Central Committee reaffirmed the effort of our country for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and in the world. He expressed himself categorically in favour of the extension and stabilization of the results achieved in the pursuit of the policy of peaceful coexistence and for supplementing political détente by measures of military détente.

127. The German Democratic Republic allies itself with all those who strive to liberate mankind forever from the scourge of war. War must no longer be a means of settling international issues.

*Mr. Cissoko (Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

128. Profound changes in the world have created conditions for excluding aggression and the use of force forever from the relations between States. A world treaty on the non-use of force is now imperative. Single-minded action to implement this Soviet proposal would be highly appropriate to extend détente to the world as a whole.

129. Such a significant move would have a beneficial effect on the international atmosphere as well as on the solution of questions of disarmament, both conventional and nuclear. As a matter of course, the renunciation of force would in no way impair the inalienable right of peoples to resist national suppression and exploitation and to fight for, and achieve, the exercise of their right to self-determination. In addition, it would render imperialist aggression and intervention much more difficult and would help to eliminate them finally.

130. This initiative has really historic dimensions. Rulers of past times postulated *jus ad bellum*. The Great October Socialist Revolution abolished it with the Decree on Peace and, as a result of the Second World War, the peoples fighting against fascism compelled its universal banning. And now the noble task is to make non-use of force in international relations an inviolable, sacred law.

131. In his report to the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, stated that the annual arms spending already amounted to approximately \$300 billion.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, this total has largely been exceeded. Immense intellectual and material resources are employed for the development and perfection of weapons and weapon systems and are withheld from the solution of pressing economic and social problems.

132. Those to whom the arms race is a source of maximum profit go to any length to burden their peoples with ever greater arms expenditures. Mendaciously they seek to justify their policy of strength with an alleged "threat from the East". But it is a notorious fact that the fiercest anti-Communist attacks are launched whenever greater funds are demanded for armament.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 1A, p. 4.

133. Moreover—and everybody knows—all proposals for arms limitation and disarmament that are now under discussion in the United Nations were made by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, other socialist States, and developing countries.

134. Proceedings in the General Assembly, its competent Committees and in the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, and the negotiations in Vienna indicate who is willing to proceed to drawing up international agreements and who is obstructing.

135. The state of the disarmament negotiations is not satisfactory. Yet we do not share the purposive pessimism of various circles. Given the requisite political will of all sides, practical steps towards arms limitation and disarmament will be immediately possible. For example, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has proved its viability, not least because a hundred States by now have acceded to it. It remains the aim of the German Democratic Republic to strengthen the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons along the lines of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference in May 1975.<sup>5</sup> Nuclear weapons must be totally removed from the war arsenals. A complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests is no doubt another step towards this end. We deem it imperative that last year's resolution [*resolution 3466 (XXX)*] be not only reaffirmed but that all States be called on to co-operate in an active way. We welcome the text of a convention on the prohibition of the misuse of the human environment for military purposes which the Geneva Committee on Disarmament has prepared and which is before this General Assembly for approval [*see A/31/27, annex I*]. We will vote for it. The talks of experts in the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on the prohibition of the development and production of new weapons of mass destruction and systems of such weapons can expedite the preparation of a relevant agreement. These activities should be continued with priority. Like the majority of States, we also consider that arms limitation and disarmament should be discussed at a world conference. The special session of the United Nations which the non-aligned countries proposed at their Conference in Colombo could gain importance for that. The German Democratic Republic hopes for regulations covering the transfer of nuclear material, equipment or technologies for peaceful purposes. They will have to exclude any misuse. To ensure an even more effective application of the principles of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons it would be good to work out and agree regulations to this effect without delay.

136. Somewhat over a year ago the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was signed by 33 European countries as well as by the United States of America and Canada. Already now we may say that this has ushered in a change in the relations between the European States having different social systems and marked out a broad field for multifaceted, mutually beneficial co-operation. To develop it fully will no doubt require the active co-operation of all signatory States in keeping with the spirit and letter of the document.

<sup>5</sup> Final Declaration of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. See document A/C.1/1068, annex I.

137. It will be to nobody's advantage to question again the European post-war order which was documented and sealed in the Final Act, and to present before the highest body of the United Nations a creation of fancy that has nothing to do with reality. It is common knowledge that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany are two sovereign States independent of each other. Their membership in the United Nations is eloquent evidence of this. In free self-determination, the people of the German Democratic Republic has forever decided for socialism and adherence to the community of socialist States. The western frontier of the German Democratic Republic separates two States that belong to entirely different social systems and alliances. Security of States is and remains, first and foremost, security of their frontiers. To ensure them reliably is an equal obligation for all sides prescribed by the Final Act of Helsinki. Nobody can be discharged from this responsibility. Whoever attempts to deny the international character of this frontier, thus providing irresponsible cover for provocations at this frontier, should bear this in mind.

138. Only a policy renouncing all arrogation and respecting realities is in accordance with the purposes and tasks of the world organization.

139. As a socialist State, the German Democratic Republic wants to pursue its peaceful construction work in tranquility and security. It does everything to translate the document of Helsinki into reality, to make it the basis for the conduct of bilateral relations with other signatory States and to implement it multilaterally. On the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and with a view to peace and security, my country maintains mutually beneficial relations with countries having other social systems. We participate in the negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Remarkable progress could certainly have been made there, were all parties prepared to respect in practice undiminished security for all participants. It has been uncontested for a long time that multilateral arrangements ought to be found concerning problems of energy, environmental protection and transport on our continent. Now the appropriate political conditions do exist. We are in favour of convening all-European conferences for this purpose.

140. The German Democratic Republic notes with gratification a growth of endeavours to strengthen regional security in Asia. It values lasting, good-neighbourly relations between the States as an important prerequisite for converting Asia into a continent of peace and co-operation, and it welcomes what has been accomplished along these lines on the Indian subcontinent.

141. The founding of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has an extremely favourable effect on co-operation among the States of the region. Hence we expressly demand the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. Viet Nam's equal membership would not only accord with the Charter, it would indeed enhance the authority of the world organization.

142. We express our solidarity with the demand, which was recently supported by the Colombo Conference, that foreign troops along with their nuclear weapons be with-

drawn from South Korea. The German Democratic Republic considers the implementation of the relevant resolution of the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly [resolution 3390 (XXX)] to be imperative. A task of great urgency is the removal of imperialist military bases in various regions of the world. Their mere existence threatens peace, particularly in the regions concerned. We support those States which want a zone of peace to be established in the area of the Indian Ocean, and which consequently call for the dismantling of foreign military bases.

143. The German Democratic Republic expresses its deep concern about the aggravating situation in the Middle East. We share the view expressed by many States that, in the interest of international security, a political settlement of this problem is necessary and, we believe, possible.

144. The pre-condition is Israel's complete withdrawal from all territories occupied since 1967, the fulfilment of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to establish a State of its own, the establishment of international guarantees for the security and for the inviolability of the frontiers of all States in the Middle East, as well as assurances for the right to independent existence and development.

145. The clashes and bloodshed in Lebanon are a direct consequence of the unsettled Middle East conflict. The resulting dangers necessitate an immediate end to these clashes without outside interference and with safeguards for Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It must not be permitted that the hard-hit Arab people of Palestine suffer further harm. The German Democratic Republic wishes the United Nations to take action to ensure the overdue reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. Any delay will make a comprehensive political settlement more difficult, favour the aggressor and his backers who have ignored the essential demands of the United Nations since 1967.

146. Likewise, the resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus should be implemented. Their purpose is to ensure, at long last, peace and sovereignty for this non-aligned State.

147. In Africa, the struggle for the liquidation of the remaining strongholds of colonial exploitation and racist suppression has grown in strength. Denying the right of peoples to self-determination in southern Africa affects security, both regional and international. South Africa has become a source of war. Increasing domestic terrorism combines with constant aggression against free African States.

148. But regardless of repeated condemnation of the racist régimes by the Security Council of the United Nations, certain circles, only too well known to the world, are continuing their political, military and economic collaboration with the Vorster régime, and are even dangerously extending it to the nuclear field.

149. In the name of the people of the German Democratic Republic, we protest against the bloody outrages in South Africa against a people that wants, at long last, to be free

and to determine its fate for itself. My country will also in the future display solidarity with and render assistance to the efforts of the forces of national liberation. The last strongholds of colonialism and racism will collapse. The peoples do not accept being deprived any longer of their right to self-determination.

150. We stand firmly by the side of the free African States in defending and strengthening their hard won independence. Our solidarity is with the People's Republic of Angola with which the German Democratic Republic is linked by fraternal bonds. We strongly support Angola's legitimate right to membership in the United Nations.

151. The total elimination of colonialism and racism is at the same time the condition for many millions of people to exercise their human rights. The United Nations has a remarkable record in this regard. Its Charter declares peace and the right of peoples to self-determination the Organization's main concerns. On the basis of respect for equal rights and sovereignty, the precept of non-interference, and the right to self-determination, it strives for a state of stability and welfare for all peoples. This is the frame where the international protection of human rights belongs. And with this in mind the United Nations has defined the elimination of massive violations of human rights as an area of international co-operation.

152. But certain circles are eager, under pretexts that are only too transparent, to change the instrument for the protection of humanity as embodied by the Charter of the United Nations into the contrary. They seek to establish so-called supra-national institutions. The intention is always the same: to pave the way for interference in the affairs of other States and to call into question their personal and territorial sovereignty. But it is on record to what an appalling extent these very circles, contrary to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations, support the régime of *apartheid* in South Africa in the political, economic, scientific, technological, financial, and even military, fields.

153. Nobody can, for instance, relieve a State of its responsibility for all of its citizens to enjoy their right to work and education and to live in secure social conditions, for men and women to be assured of equal rights in all spheres of public life, for so-called guest workers not to be subjected to any discrimination and for nobody to be exposed to political witch-hunting and to be barred from certain types of employment.

154. We exercise solidarity with the peoples in southern Africa in the struggle for their national self-determination. We vigorously urge the restoration of human rights which are being violated on a massive scale by reactionary and Fascist régimes. In Chile, thousands of upright persons have vanished without a trace behind prison walls and in concentration camps. The world has a right to know about their fate. We demand the immediate release of Luis Corvalán and the other political prisoners.

155. There can be no doubt that one of the areas of world-wide co-operation vital to mankind is the development of marine resources. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, to which the German

Democratic Republic is a party, is called upon to work out regulations acceptable to all sides for a rational use of the riches of the sea. The German Democratic Republic expresses its willingness to co-operate in mutual accord with all the States participating in the Conference in order to achieve this aim.

156. Owing to changes in international life and the degree of present political détente, many peoples have been able in the last few decades to win their political independence. Now they are striving for economic independence and the elimination of all forms of neo-colonialist exploitation.

157. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States as well as a number of other important international decisions are, not least, a reflection of the fact that the Asian, African and Latin American countries have become an important and active force in shaping truly equitable international economic relations.

158. The German Democratic Republic concurs with the statement of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries that one of the major needs of the present time is to change international

economic relations. They are to be placed on an equal and mutually beneficial footing, free from racial discrimination and colonialist or neo-colonialist exploitation.

159. The States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance support the developing countries in their struggle for economic independence.

160. To the German Democratic Republic, détente and development are not incompatible alternatives but interdependent sides of the process towards human progress which is palpably taking place in today's world.

161. The representatives at this session of the United Nations General Assembly have busy months before them. Our delegation expects the thirty-first session to make an important contribution towards the preservation of peace and towards equal co-operation of all States and peoples on the basis of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the world Organization. May I assure you that the delegation of the German Democratic Republic will co-operate constructively with all delegations to attain these goals.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*