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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Fischer (German Democratic Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. KODJO (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): As William Shakespeare said in Act I, scene 2, of *Julius Caesar*:

"Men at some time are masters of their fate:  
The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,  
But in ourselves, that we are underlings."

In speaking for the first time at the rostrum of this Assembly, you may forgive me, Mr. President, if immediately overlooking the emotion that binds me and the honour that I feel, and torn between the impertinence of the novice and the naïvete of the dreamer, I venture to allocate responsibilities in this immense debate which is agitating a world which is questioning itself.

2. But you will probably permit me before going any further to hail here the brother country of Seychelles which we welcome with considerable pleasure, and to address to Mr. Amerasinghe the warm congratulations of the Togolese delegation upon his brilliant election to the post of President of the thirty-first session of our Assembly. Mr. Amerasinghe's reputation of skilful diplomat because he was raised in the house, his great qualities of mind and heart, his competence and perfect knowledge of the difficult problems which our modern world is confronted with, are a guarantee for us of the harmonious unfolding of our debates, and of the success of our undertaking.

3. Coming from Sri Lanka, a smiling and hospitable country situated in a continent with age-old virtues of tolerance, wisdom and equanimity, he will beyond any doubt, lead the work of the thirty-first session to a successful conclusion. My delegation is likewise pleased to see Mr. Amerasinghe acceding to the post of President of

our session as he is one of the best sons of a country which has consistently and vigilantly set itself up as the primary defender of the interests of the third world. He may fully count upon the co-operation of my delegation in the fulfilment of the important tasks that have been entrusted to him.

4. The congratulations of the Togolese delegation are likewise addressed to the outgoing President, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, who with considerable mastery and competence was able to conduct also to a successful conclusion the work of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

5. Lastly, it is with pleasure that I fulfil one of the primary duties that I have assigned to myself as new Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Togolese Republic, that of paying a tribute on behalf of the President of the Togolese Republic, General Gnassingbé Eyadéma, of his Government and of his great party of the national union, the Rassemblement du peuple togolais, to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the remarkable work he has accomplished at the head of our Organization. And we would wish warmly to congratulate him for the persistent action that he has consistently taken and for the brilliant successes that he has achieved in the particularly difficult and delicate circumstances in which he had to carry them out. An indefatigable messenger of peace, a courageous defender of the fundamental principles of our Charter and in particular of the essential principle of the right to self-determination, the Secretary-General has given a positive impetus and a realistic direction to the events of a world in transition. My Government considers that Mr. Kurt Waldheim is greatly deserving in the eyes of the international community as a whole, and more specifically in the eyes of the developing countries for his courageous decisions and his appropriate interventions.

6. Lastly, I would certainly be remiss if I did not hail, on behalf of my Government and the people of Togo, the memory of chairman Mao Tsetung, who had led, by his efforts and dignity, the great and noble people of China towards development and well-being.

7. The numerous and complex problems which trouble our world and which affect the future of each one of our States, bring out once again the common nature of the destiny of our peoples and their inexorable interdependence. Accordingly, it is the duty of all Governments to seek clear solutions to these problems which guarantee the legitimate interest of all concerned, and this is an essential condition for the maintenance of international peace and security.

8. The world of today is dominated by anguish and fear: is this not a truism? The very survival of the human species beset with its own contradictions is clearly at stake: is this not another evident truth? That there should exist a world-wide series of problems today standing before us in the full glare of their brutality and their despair: who would deny this?

9. But that suddenly, beyond the gropings and oblique pathways, false processes and uncertain actions, there should appear a strong and clear will with a definite sense of direction and grandeur which tries to achieve a complete and radical mastery of the problems that arise, is by no means evident, and mankind therefore continues to stumble along toward an uncertain future. It is for us, however, within the framework of our Organization, which has been so badly criticized but which is so necessary, to raise hope and to shatter fear. It is for us to act in order to prevent the perverse effects which are corroding our dichotomous world, which is bogged down in unprecedented crisis—a political crisis, an economic crisis, a moral crisis and a social crisis, all these calamities having been made possible because the cardinal principles of the United Nations Charter have been lost sight of. And yet hope must be maintained to be able to dominate the apparent anathema that the present society seems to be under, if indeed we wish by our thinking and actions to benefit mankind.

10. It was written that the world has been suffering from a cancer, and that cancer is man. This is an accurate statement in one sense, but man has this fundamental and comforting ambivalence that he is both the sickness and the remedy. And it is around him and by him that our problems will be solved and our anguish dispelled. It is in this sense that I shall bring before you the views of the Togolese Government on the problems which are confronting our sorely tried mankind.

11. Most of the critical situations that the present world is facing are at an impasse, and the recent rays of hope that have appeared here and there cannot make us overlook the extent of the anguish and the gravity of problems which arise. This applies to respect for human rights and decolonization.

12. In Namibia the illegal occupation by the racist minority régime of South Africa persists in spite of the frequently expressed censure of the international community, just as the perfidious intention to violate the national unity and territorial integrity of this country by Balkanizing it through the establishment of false national homelands continues. We can do no less than condemn firmly this policy of division and continuous occupation and call for its immediate cessation, with the transfer of powers to the Namibian people under the direction of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO], the only authentic representative recognized by our Organization. The recent change noticed in this part of the world cannot make us overlook the fact that normally, at this very moment, Namibia should have already gained its independence and all other rights of a sovereign State.

13. Respect for man requires always, here as elsewhere, the primary duty that we insist upon the application of decisions taken earlier by our Organization.

14. In the Republic of South Africa the tragedy which was smouldering under the ashes for a long time has suddenly broken out into the open. By not meditating profoundly on the lessons of history, by not integrating in their conscience and in their acts the eloquent and flagrant facts involved, by attempting to ignore reality—the most elementary manifestation of which is that man is man regardless of the colour of his skin—the white minority, stubbornly entrenched upon the odious principle of *apartheid* and its accursed off-shoot “bantustanization” which deceives no one, and scornful of general reprobation, has unleashed an irreversible process having incalculable consequences. The revolt of the students and pupils and the strikes of the workers of the ghettos—clear manifestations of opposition to the defiling policy of racial segregation—are in turn repressed by bloody massacres, arbitrary arrests and summary sentences.

15. At a time when Mr. Vorster has embarked upon diplomatic negotiations on the future of Namibia and Zimbabwe, perhaps he should simply be reminded of the fact that the horror is on his own doorstep and that the liberation movements supported by the courageous people of Azania will vanquish, sooner or later, peacefully or otherwise, for the honour and the dignity of the black man, nay, of man!

16. In Zimbabwe, there is reason for hope. After years of stubborn struggle the populations and the liberation movements supported by peace-loving States, in particular those on the front line, to which deserved tribute must be paid, have driven the Ian Smith régime to its last line of defence. Today international diplomacy has taken up the question and seems to be trying to resolve a problem which was already half solved. For us there remains vigilance, a vigilance that must be maintained all the time, so that Africa should not be deprived of its victory, its very own victory. The liberation movements must maintain this unity, indeed their perseverance, so that tomorrow an independent and prosperous Zimbabwe may be built up in peace and concord.

17. An objective analysis of the problems which prevail in these three Territories leads us to affirm that the persistence in perversity that one sees there is encouraged by certain States Members of the United Nations which, as they place their selfish and immediate interests above their international obligations, are not applying the sanctions enacted by our Organization against the racist régimes of southern Africa. Indeed, as part of strengthened co-operation, these régimes have constantly received from these countries increased aid in the military, economic, commercial, financial, cultural and social fields. If it were not for this deliberately continued co-operation, the Republic of South Africa would have been unable to be in the first rank of the world's economic and military Powers, thereby becoming a perpetual threat to the front-line countries and to the African continent as a whole.

18. The international community is duty-bound fully to assume its responsibilities in the face of this explosive situation. It has the duty to help to bring back détente and to restore peace and security to this part of the world. This, in particular, requires the unequivocal condemnation of the racist régimes of southern Africa, the effective application

by all countries of the sanctions imposed upon those régimes, a strengthening of support and an increase in the aid to liberation movements. And here the Togolese delegation is pleased to hail warmly the courageous decision taken by the People's Republic of Mozambique to apply, unreservedly and at the cost of considerable sacrifices, the sanctions that have been imposed upon Rhodesia by our Organization.

19. In the case of the Territory of the Afars and the Issas we would invite the Administering Power to give unconditional and genuine independence to the people of this country which, like all others, is entitled to liberty, equality and fraternity.

20. The same holds true of the Comoros, where the national unity of this country must be respected by the return of the island of Mayotte to the original fold.

21. It is unfortunate to observe that in Western Sahara no progress has been recorded as far as the application of the principle of self-determination, solemnly adopted at our last session [*resolution 3458 A (XXX)*], is concerned. Quite the contrary: the situation has become more serious as a result of serious misunderstandings. There is no need to say that the international community must thwart this threat to peace and to security in this subregion of the African continent.

22. The same impasse that we referred to earlier characterizes in the same way the crises that are taking place in other parts of the world. Here as elsewhere it is as a result of failing to apply the principles of equity, solidarity, and even political courage, however painful it may be, that we now have to go through difficulties and suffering.

23. In the Middle East it has become obvious to the international community that a just and lasting peace is possible only if it is founded upon the withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories and upon the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and, in particular, its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State. As in the past my country will continue to give its total support to the Palestinian people in its long and heroic struggle. The same support likewise goes to the brother Arab countries which are sparing no effort to recover their occupied territories. We ask the international community once again to persevere in its efforts so that on the basis of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council, a just and equitable solution to the crisis should be found, as the *sine qua non* for the re-establishment of genuine peace in this region.

24. There is no need to cover one's face, throwing Noah's cloak over a situation which the Lebanese crisis barely covers. Under the ashes, deep below, trouble is brewing in the Middle East. We must have courage in order to tackle it and overcome it, for tomorrow it may be too late.

25. In Lebanon, indeed, a lethal civil war continues in the country, threatening the total extermination of a people which was formerly happy and prosperous. I should like to express here the great distress which my country feels before this devastating war, in which none of the factions in conflict has anything to gain.

26. We appeal to the belligerents to conclude an immediate cease-fire and to get together with a view to working out a solution which would take account of Lebanon's national unity, territorial integrity and independence.

27. Lebanon is suffering martyrdom in silence and virtually total helplessness. It is paying the price—and what price it is!—for the inability of the international community to perform radical surgery and to vanquish injustice.

28. In Cyprus we are witnessing an aggravation of the crisis which this country has been going through for a number of years as a result of outright foreign interference. Only the cessation of this unacceptable interference and a heightened awareness by the two Cypriot communities that they belong to the same nation will make it possible to open negotiations in accordance with resolutions 3219 (XXIX) of the General Assembly and 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) of the Security Council.

29. Lastly, my delegation cannot pass over in silence the disturbing problem of the divided Korean people and the increase in tension prevailing in this part of the world. In the opinion of my Government the resolution of the Korean tragedy resides in the withdrawal from South Korea of all foreign troops stationed there under the United Nations Command and the substitution for the armistice of a peace treaty between the parties concerned. It is only on this condition and at this price that it will be possible for the Korean people to succeed in achieving peaceful reunification in accordance with the North/South joint communiqué of 4 July 1972.<sup>1</sup>

30. Inequity and injustice cannot be used as a foundation for a solid and durable political order. We have constantly stated this and we have been proclaiming it ceaselessly. It will therefore be desirable for these vices to be banished from our Organization itself, namely, the United Nations, where the process of decolonization, which has been started here and there must continue. To decolonize the United Nations is to bring about the suppression and the abolition, pure and simple, of the right of veto. The right of veto, understandable 30 years ago, today is perfectly unjustified and in practice disastrous. The use made of it by nations having it opens the way to all sorts of anomalies, the most evident and most recent of which is the blocking of the admission to the United Nations of the sister Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

31. The courageous and valiant People's Republic of Angola, victorious and triumphant, and heroic and gallant Viet Nam have deserved better from the international community than a blunt rejection. Who would deny this.

32. Thus in the field of pure politics we come up against our own contradictions, incapable of mastering the forces which, like Prometheus or the sorcerer's apprentice, we unleash by our actions or, sometimes, by our deliberate refusal to act. And yet in the economic field great hopes have been engendered and great designs have been outlined.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

The world has embarked upon a fundamental re-examination of its structures under the pressure of events and the brutal eloquence of facts. It has become clear to all that, as has been said, upon the urgent transformation of the world economic structure, upon the awareness of the countries, depends the progress and the liberation of the great under-developed world, through collaboration based on solidarity, justice and respect for human rights, whereas, otherwise, they will be drawn along upon the path of conflict, violence and suffering, precisely for the purpose of ensuring respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

33. Thus, it is always man who is involved, here as elsewhere—man and his inalienable rights and, above all, his primary freedom, that which frees him from poverty, famine and ignorance. But what has the international community done in this respect?

34. Since the world has become aware of the dichotomy which prevails within it, the great gap which separates the rich North from the poor South and the dangers which may result from such a perilous situation, aggravated by an unprecedented economic crisis, the new international economic order has become a primary theme for reflection, if not an ardent stimulus to action.

35. Born of the unprecedented crisis which has shaken the world economy over the past few years and the solution of which has not yet been found, it is to be feared that the new economic order might only be an illusion, an ephemera, which the restoration of the situation in the rich countries might doom to failure.

36. Indeed, since the poor countries asked and obtained the convening of the sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which in May of 1974 adopted a historic resolution on the establishment of a new international economic order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] based upon equity, equality, sovereignty, interdependence and co-operation between all States and since the resolution of the seventh special session [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] which developed the conclusions of the sixth special session and has given a context for the application of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], since then little progress has been made towards the search for and promotion of a new, because more just and fraternal, world.

37. If inflation is being gradually mastered in particular in the "have" countries, and if expansion is again possible there, the developing countries are still subjected to the rigours of an extremely difficult situation. The problems of balances of payments are as critical in this area as before. The deficit in this field and for developing countries in 1975 (more than \$40 billion) would, according to certain estimates, rise to about \$112 billion by 1980 if the present trends were to continue. This is a difficult situation on the economic plane and on the monetary plane. The reform of the international monetary system is to be revised or simply cast anew. The machinery adopted for the adjustment of the exchange rate is iniquitous and defective. The expected co-operation by the central banks to ensure the stability of the system has never operated properly. The interests of the poor countries are more than ever neglected. Proof of this is

that the trust fund devised to ensure transfers of means of payment to the countries of the third world has its resources constantly decreased owing to the fluctuations in the price of gold as a result of the recent decisions of the International Monetary Fund. The trust fund—a futile successor of the mechanism linking special drawing rights and the resources for development requested by the poor countries—has not lasted long.

38. In the meantime the fifth replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association, which was to reach \$9 billion in the next period of three years, is very much behind while the capital of the World Bank is decreasing.

39. Therefore, bilateral and multilateral aid is winding down, whereas the countries of the world and particularly the richest ones are devoting \$300 billion on armaments.

40. It is in this context that we have to consider the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*] held in Nairobi in May of this year. On that occasion the developing countries presented a clear and realistic programme which they had agreed together at Manila.

41. The Togolese Government is firmly convinced that the integrated programme for commodities as proposed by the Group of 77 at the fourth session of UNCTAD at Nairobi, with as its central machinery the establishment of a common fund for the financing of buffer stocks, is the fundamental element of any solution to the problem of commodities. My Government supports without qualification the establishment of the common fund and is ready to contribute to it in accordance with the criteria that will be defined for this purpose.

42. The proposals decided by the poor countries at Nairobi also converged upon a point which has today become highly disquieting, that of the debt of the nations in the third world. The Togolese Government supports strongly the position of the developing countries regarding the cancellation of the public debt by the rich countries for the benefit of the least developed among the poor countries, and hopes that a moratorium will be studied in favour of the same countries with respect to the private debt.

43. In fact, at Nairobi the poor countries have clearly shown that they insisted in the name of their dignity as free men, that they were more in favour of justice and equity than in favour of charity or assistance, and these are the same goals which guide those among them who in our behalf are participating in the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which is called the North-South dialogue. At a time when everything seems to be bogged down, the North-South dialogue has brought about hope. May this hope materialize in a positive fashion, because wherever men of goodwill can help solve the problem of our times, dispel anguish and establish solidarity, boldness must be displayed in order that our humanity might be usefully served.

44. But who will fail to understand the impatience of our countries? We have awaited for a long time for solutions to

our common problems; we have long hoped that human solidarity would be a reality. Today we no longer wait; we act and we shall act on our own and for ourselves in order to establish a horizontal co-operation, a sort of southeast-southwest dialogue centred upon self-reliance, both individual and collective, for the genuine independence of our States, namely economic independence. But we shall do this while remaining open to dialogue, consultation and collaboration.

45. It is this faith which has constantly inspired the President of Togo General Gnassingbé Eyadéma, the apostle of fraternal co-operation between peoples. It is also this faith which has guided the States of the subregion of western Africa and established the Economic Community of West African States, breaking through the linguistic barriers which were a legacy of colonialization. The Economic Community of West African States will tomorrow be the profound foundation of the harmonious development of the countries of this part of the African continent.

46. Men are sometimes masters of their fate. Is this not comforting that we are not "determined" or "predestined," that we have indeed the choice, even that to conform to this precept of a political man who thought he knew well and who said that there is no serious problem so serious that an absence of a solution cannot resolve it. But can we do nothing when the freedom of the peoples is at hand, a freedom which can no longer be fed on ephemeral hopes? Are we going to remain inactive when we have to remain faithful to the history of humanity, which is nothing but the continued passage from the state of necessity to the state of freedom and therefore of dignity?

47. We shall succeed, because man is invincible and because a defeat "*caveant consules!*", would be catastrophic. We shall succeed because the stakes are fundamental, difficult but exalting. Is it not true that we are of the divine race and have the power to create? Therefore we can and shall hope.

48. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to express to Mr. Amerasinghe, on behalf of the Government of the State of Kuwait, heartfelt congratulations on his election to his high office. I should like to commend the high status he enjoys in international circles as a diplomat with wide experience and an outstanding reputation. The confidence the General Assembly has reposed in him is not only a recognition of his exceptional qualities but also a token of the international community's appreciation of the role Sri Lanka has played in international affairs. Many of us returned recently from the Colombo Conference<sup>2</sup> where we were able to admire the indomitable spirit and determination which characterize the efforts of his countrymen to uphold the principles of equality and justice among all nations. I should like also to pay a tribute to his predecessor Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for the able manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

49. Kuwait advocates respect for the principle of universality within the United Nations. We believe that any applicant that meets the requirements laid down in the Charter should be admitted without delay. In this respect, I would like to congratulate the Republic of Seychelles on its admission to the United Nations and at the same time express the hope that Viet Nam will be admitted very soon to this Organization, as it possesses all the qualifications set out in the Charter.

50. Kuwait highly commends the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations and to promote international peace and security. The Government of Kuwait welcomes the frequent visits of the Secretary-General to Member States to make direct contacts with their leaders and get some first-hand knowledge of their particular problems. Kuwait believes that the Secretary-General should take even greater initiatives to promote greater understanding and amity among nations. The limited powers assigned to him by the Charter have been largely expanded by the enabling resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The decisive factor, however, has been sincerity, dedication, and his constant efforts to mobilize States behind the principles enshrined in the Charter.

51. My Government would like particularly to commend the efforts of the United Nations to organize international assistance to provide relief in cases of natural disasters. Drought, floods and earthquakes have become a matter of frequent and regular occurrence in recent years; it must be a source of consolation to the innocent victims of such disasters to realize that they are not alone in their plight but can depend on the sympathy and material support of public-spirited people everywhere.

52. International relations have been alternating between dialogue and confrontation. A major dialogue has been taking place for years within the United Nations over questions of decolonization and *apartheid*. Though the process of decolonization has made rapid strides there has been little success in inducing racist countries to abandon their outmoded policies of *apartheid* which are a crime against humanity. The near universality which the United Nations has achieved is in itself a tangible proof that the cause of freedom and independence has been largely successful. However, the violent events which agitate South Africa, Namibia, and Rhodesia are further proof that peoples cannot remain patient forever when the international community fails to take adequate measures to redress their grievances.

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

53. The recent developments in South Africa attest to the fact that the will of the oppressed people in South Africa to resist the tyranny of *apartheid* cannot be suppressed. The uprising of the majority of the people of South Africa reveals the bankruptcy of the notion of the supremacy of one race over another. The continuation of the racist policy of South Africa is not only an act that degrades human dignity but constitutes a threat to the stability and security of the African continent in particular and the world in general. Kuwait salutes the people of South Africa for their



fearless resistance to the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and their struggle for equality. The question of Namibia is a test of the ability of the United Nations to prevail over South Africa to withdraw its troops from Namibia and allow the Namibians to determine their own destiny without outside interference. The Government of Kuwait believes that mandatory sanctions against South Africa should be applied if that Government persists in its refusal to abide by the rule of law.

54. The situation in Rhodesia also is very critical and fraught with danger. The white minority still dominates the majority and resorts more often than ever to force to terrorize the indigenous majority. In spite of recent developments in Rhodesia, the final aim should be the assumption of power by the African majority.

55. Kuwait whole-heartedly supports the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle against discrimination and oppression. The only remedy to the explosive situation in the southern part of Africa is the acceptance of majority rule and all the consequences that flow from it; that is an essential prerequisite for the restoration of normal conditions in that Territory.

56. The fabric of international security is very weak. Small countries do not feel they can escape from the evil designs of more powerful countries. There is nothing to curb the temptation of powerful countries to advance national interests through the use of force or to use military power to secure national objectives. The irrationality of the situation is revealed by the discrepancy between the action of the General Assembly and the apathy of the Security Council. The resolutions of the General Assembly reflect the determination of the peoples of the majority of Member States to eradicate the remnants of colonialism, create a more favourable political climate and establish a sound relationship between the developing and developed countries. The work of the Security Council has on the other hand been characterized by inaction and omission. Draft resolutions are constantly revised under pressure from the big Powers so that the final texts are lacking any authority or effectiveness. Frequent and irresponsible exercise of the veto by the big Powers has consistently prevented the Security Council from exercising a healthy influence in times of international crisis. The conduct of the Security Council has created great anomalies within the United Nations and in the conduct of international relations. During the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly in 1974 the contrast between the wishes of the majority within the Assembly and the minority in the Council was very vividly shown when, after a proposal to expel South Africa from the United Nations had been vetoed in the Council by some big Powers, a majority of the members of the Assembly upheld the rejection of the South African delegation's credentials and thus forced it to withdraw from the session.

57. The termination of the Mandate for South West Africa in 1966 was brought about by an Assembly resolution to establish a United Nations administration in Namibia [resolution 2145 (XXI)] which could not be implemented without action by the Security Council. Examples can be multiplied to show how the Security Council has not discharged the primary responsibility assigned to it by the

Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. Nothing can be more harmful to the United Nations than to have two of its main organs working at cross-purposes. The Security Council has failed in its duty to condemn defaulting States and to enforce compliance with the wishes of the international community.

58. No cause is dearer to the nations of the world than that of complete and general disarmament. It is a cause of great regret that disarmament negotiations are still being conducted in the form of a dialogue between the two super-Powers. The negotiations being conducted during the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] have so far failed to produce any real disarmament measures or impose any restrictions on the Soviet-American arms competition of a truly vital nature. They have merely transformed the arms race from one of quantity to one of quality. The major nuclear Powers have the capacity to destroy each other and the world. The small countries cannot be treated as curious bystanders. They have a vital stake in disarmament, which affects the well-being and survival of their peoples. Expenditures on armaments are diversions of resources that could better be employed in meeting social needs or coping with inflation.

59. My country has from the outset supported the call for convening a World Disarmament Conference as the proper forum in which the views of all nations, big or small, will be taken into consideration. The preliminary work for holding such a conference has shown that the prospects are not encouraging, at least in the near future. My Government would therefore endorse the proposal to convene a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament as being a more practical measure at the moment.

60. We have on many occasions welcomed détente between the two super-Powers. The least that détente can do is to preclude political competition among the super-Powers from spilling over into military conflict. However, détente has been hampered by the lack of progressive disarmament measures. Arms control can stabilize not only the military balance but also political relations which might otherwise be affected by uncertainties and suspicions concerning the intentions of the other side. Détente, however, as we have stated time and again, should in no way be used as a means of consolidating a big Power hegemony in international affairs or dividing the world into spheres of influence. The interests, needs, rights and aspirations of the developing and non-aligned countries are the pillars and mainstay of any international political order, and détente can only be seen as a necessary complement to this basic structure.

61. It is true that a halt in the arms race is a necessity in order to reduce the possibility of a military confrontation, but it is equally true that a halt in the arms race cannot be attained while uncertainty, colonialism, denial of peoples' right to freedom and foreign occupation prevail. The world of today is replete with such cases. In the Middle East the situation remains as explosive as ever. Over nine years have elapsed since Israel launched its aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan. The people of Palestine in the West Bank and Gaza have been subjected to the most abominable form of foreign rule. I should like to take this opportunity to pay them a warm tribute for their glorious struggle against Israeli oppression, which captured the attention of the

world. The Israeli authorities believe that through brute force they can breed in the Arab population of Palestine a feeling of fear, despair and submission. The Arab people in the occupied territories every day give fresh proof of their determination to resist oppression and to struggle for their civil and national rights. Like all other peoples they have a right to live in dignity and freedom. Israel has already built more than 50 Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories. Piles of resolutions of this Assembly as well as other organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council, are not only ignored by Israel but treated with contempt. Yet Israel still enjoys membership in this Organization, whose injunctions and decisions it flouts defiantly. Kuwait submits that this anomalous situation has to be corrected in order to uphold the tenets and the principles of the Charter. The world recognizes more than ever that peace in the Middle East will remain elusive and that all efforts to obtain it will founder so long as Israel persists in its refusal to withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied and as long as the people of Palestine suffer from the agony of displacement and the misery of the refugee camps.

62. There are two basic conditions for the establishment of peace in the Middle East: the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories under occupation and the exercise by the people of Palestine of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence, including the establishment of a homeland in Palestine. Without the fulfilment of these two basic and fundamental principles the Middle East will remain a hotbed of war and bloodshed and all the attendant dangers of a possible nuclear conflagration will continue. Kuwait believes that the international community must face its responsibility by invoking the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter relating to sanctions, the severance of diplomatic relations and collective condemnation of countries that have persistently violated the Charter and defied its principles and norms.

63. Kuwait supports the efforts made for the achievement of a just and equitable solution of the crisis of Cyprus on the basis of equality between the Greek and the Turkish communities and believes that these efforts should aim at the preservation of the independence and the territorial integrity of Cyprus and the continuation of its non-aligned character.

64. Kuwait believes that the problem of Korea should be resolved by peaceful means through a constructive dialogue between the parties concerned. Foreign troops should withdraw from the Korean peninsula and foreign Powers should desist from meddling in the domestic affairs of the people of Korea.

65. Kuwait supports the efforts made for the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations which proclaimed the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It is imperative that the riparian States should refrain from granting military and naval facilities to foreign Powers. The establishment of military bases in some islands of the Indian Ocean is by no means conducive to the relaxation of tension and the elimination of rivalry between major Powers in the Indian Ocean. Therefore, we are of the view that such bases should be disbanded and that the major

maritime users of this Ocean should respect its character as a zone of peace.

66. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is an endeavour designed to prevent conflict or even wars from arising between States whose rivalry is frequently based on unilateral declarations rather than on generally accepted norms of law. In the race for the control of the oceans and their vast resources there is a conflict between the ambitions of the State acting in its own self-interest and the common good. The main obstacles to the success of the Conference have so far been posed by the avarice of industrially advanced countries which wish to use their capital resources and technology to make a mockery of the common heritage of mankind and by some coastal States which wish to establish a creeping jurisdiction over increasingly larger parts of the oceans. Unilateral declarations by coastal States and unilateral action by industrially advanced countries to exploit the resources which belong to mankind as a whole can only lead to chaos and sow the seeds of further rivalries and conflicts. The only hope is in an international convention that will curb national ambitions and preserve the common heritage of mankind under a stable legal régime.

67. The North-South dialogue which has been going on in some form or other for the past two decades is a supreme test for the pattern of new relations to be established between the developed and developing countries. Developing countries will remember all too vividly their countries' experience of foreign domination and exploitation. The conduct of some developed countries shows that some of them still harbour some nostalgia for the lost days of domination over palm and pine. The disparities in the standards of living, know-how, productive capacity and bargaining power between the two groups have not only been responsible for their political rift; they have constituted some of the most forceful impediments to an orderly utilization of world resources for the benefit of present as well as future generations. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the Programme of Action designed to implement the Declaration [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] are the outcome of a dialogue that continued over two decades and was frequently marked by recrimination, disillusionment and a widening gap of hopes and expectations which finally culminated in the first collective attempt to establish a North-South partnership. The major pillars of the new order are sovereignty over natural resources, improved terms of trade for the raw-materials producers and increased transfer of resources to the developing countries. Once the Programme of Action has been agreed upon, why should it be difficult to agree on measures for its implementation? There are no defects either in the new order or the Programme of Action. It is the political will among the developed countries that is so desperately lacking. The Secretary-General summed up the situation very neatly in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization in this manner:

"Much of the necessary apparatus already exists both within and outside the United Nations system. But the mere apparatus is not enough to move things forward. The sails must be filled with the wind of political will and the desire of constructive change." [*A/31/1/Add.1, sect. XIV.*]

68. In spite of its imperfections, the United Nations constitutes the moral conscience of mankind. Because it is not a world government, the United Nations cannot function properly without the co-operation of its individual members. If we are to build a world based on justice and moral law, we shall do well to heed the conscience of mankind as exhibited by the overwhelming majority of the States of this world. The United Nations represents the only realistic point of departure for the sustained effort of succeeding generations. The vocation of our age is to give man a mastery of his own lot comparable to that which he has attained over the world of nature. If we achieve this, the prospects before mankind are infinite. The crux of the problem is world order, which is the fundamental condition without which things more inherently good in themselves cannot be achieved or maintained. The Charter of the United Nations is the political constitution of mankind. There is still a wide gap between promise and performance, between the hopes and pledges of 1945 and the frustrations of 1976. We have yet to make a reality of our determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person, to establish conditions under which justice and respect for obligations of treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained and to promote social progress and better conditions of life in larger freedom.

69. Prince Saud AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In the name of God the merciful and compassionate.

70. Mr. President, allow me from the outset of my statement to extend to you, in the name of the delegation of Saudi Arabia, our sincere congratulations on the occasion of your election as President of the General Assembly during its thirty-first session. There is no doubt that your election, Mr. President, is indeed an expression of esteem of your person and your attributes of experience, ability and wisdom in both the political and administrative fields. At the same time, your election signifies appreciation of your great country, Sri Lanka, which has always supported the ideals of the United Nations, and was the host State last August to the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. This is why we are optimistic that the session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will conclude its work with success. I should also like to thank your predecessor, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for having successfully presided over the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

71. I am also pleased, Mr. President, to welcome, in the name of my country, the newest Member State, namely, the Republic of Seychelles, to our Organization.

72. The chairmen of the delegations that preceded me have taken stock of the achievements of the United Nations during the course of last year and I see, in consequence, no reason to reiterate what has been stated in that regard.

73. The United Nations has reached its thirty-first year; and since its inception and until today, some important achievements have been realized in both the economic and social fields. Moreover, some success has been attained by

various specialized agencies. No doubt, any progress achieved by those agencies is considered a success for the United Nations itself, bearing in mind that any success we ourselves achieve depends in the first instance on constructive co-operation amongst Member States.

74. Were we to appraise the past and present of the United Nations, we would find that what I have related as achievements do not fulfil our aspirations either in the economic or the political fields. But this should not lead us to slip into the wilderness of despair, and consequently, be unable to eradicate poverty, sickness and hunger in a world whose masses look up to us to act and to build, and to spread benefits.

75. A review of our modest achievements last year in the economic field, and in the light of the problems placed on our agenda this session, is a cause for disappointment and does not call for optimism in the search for a new and balanced international economic order that may bring equity to all people and help them to enjoy prosperity and stability. No doubt the hopes of the developing countries in this respect depend first and foremost on co-operation between themselves and their sincere desire to improve their conditions and, secondly, on the co-operation of the industrial countries that have the material, technical and scientific means to contribute generously to vital plans in order to build a better world.

76. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, itself a developing country, bases its economy on Islamic concepts which respect individual ownership and economic freedom within the framework of social patronage and equal opportunity. These Islamic principles are reflected clearly in Saudi Arabia's economic policies in the international field; thus it supports the free enterprise system and refuses exploitation and compulsion in all their forms, and is therefore working diligently for a new international economic order which may bring about more equity and respect for the rights of both the developing and developed countries respectively, within a framework of understanding and co-operation.

77. It was on these concepts that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, together with its oil-exporting sister States, undertook to struggle against the intentional depression of oil prices. At the same time and in solidarity with the developing countries, Saudi Arabia supported the principle of understanding and negotiation to solve problems and to search for a just equilibrium on which to base the prices of raw materials and industrial goods, as well as the cost of the transfer of technology, in a spirit of constructive negotiations that were manifest during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly in 1974 and 1975. It also endeavoured to make sure that a spirit of co-operation existed during the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation between developing and developed countries and at the fourth session of UNCTAD held recently in Nairobi.

78. The eagerness of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to co-operate in international economic relations motivates it to support economic development in developing countries as part of its Islamic beliefs, for such development will pave the way for establishing a dynamic and balanced relationship between economic development and political stability



in the developing countries in particular, and in the world at large in general, because economic development lends political stability, which serves the dual purpose of our Charter, namely, peace and security.

79. The mutual dynamic relationship between economic development and political stability make it imperative that we work in co-operation, so as to provide political security for developing countries, which is an essential factor for their economic development.

80. This factor seems unattainable at present in view of the international struggle, although we were full of hope in regard to the declared policy of détente between the super-Powers.

81. This world of ours, which faces the challenges of backwardness, development and the desire to eradicate the roots of poverty, must enjoy the kind of détente whose effects may be felt by small States in order to protect their political stability and independence, thus indirectly, but more effectively, contributing to economic development on a global level.

82. In this context, the third-world countries welcomed détente between the super-Powers not only as a means of lessening political tension between those Powers but also as a means for finding appropriate grounds for fruitful co-operation between all countries, big and small alike.

83. We regret that we were not able to take the opportunity that presented itself for wider co-operation among States in the utilization of the resources of the sea-bed, and that the last session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was held in New York a few weeks ago, did not reach, in this connexion, any international agreement. Hence, we hope that the sixth session, which will convene next spring, will achieve effective and acceptable results.

84. The Seventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers<sup>3</sup> discussed the question of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa and the continued abhorrent practice of racism in the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

85. In conformity with the tenets of Islam and its lofty ideals, which do not discriminate among human beings on the basis of colour or any other basis and recognize the equality and the dignity and freedom of the human person, it was only natural that the Islamic Conference should adopt a resolution condemning *apartheid*, racial discrimination and similar ideologies and practices [see A/31/237, annex I, resolution 3/7-P].

86. My country welcomes the resolutions adopted by the United Nations against those racist régimes that have no regard for human morality and urges Member States to work for the implementation of these resolutions, which will indeed be a victory for mankind and his dignity, and for freedom in those parts of the world as well as everywhere.

87. For our part, we appreciate the praiseworthy efforts undertaken recently by both the United States and the United Kingdom in this respect; and we wish that these laudable efforts will be crowned with success for the benefit of the African continent.

88. It is natural that Islamic communities everywhere strive for and believe in equality and love between man and his fellow man, refusing the principles that call for discrimination in all its forms. That is why these communities look forward to obtaining their full rights under conditions of equality, justice, equal opportunity and human values that may allow them to raise their standards of living, to improve their conditions and to adhere to their principles so as to enjoy true human brotherhood.

89. The United Nations was founded to guarantee the safety of mankind from the scourge of war, and to maintain international peace and security.

90. Since 1947, Israel has striven to destroy this basic principle of the United Nations in the region of the Middle East, which has not known peace or security. Israel was founded in the region of the Middle East through aggression against Palestine and the Palestinian people in the absence of any reaction on the part of world opinion. For 28 years our Organization has been trying to find a solution for the Palestinian problem but to no avail, the reason being that our discussion of the problem has concentrated solely on finding a solution to the Palestinian problem as the problem of refugees rather than one of a people and a country.

91. When things became clear, we realized that the shortest way to correct matters is the road that brings justice and restores the rights of the indigenous people of Palestine.

92. The question is not that of Palestinian refugees; it is rather of the Palestinian people with a land, with property, with rights equal to those of other peoples.

93. Our comprehension of this fact had a positive effect in putting matters on the right track; and consequently the General Assembly in November 1974 adopted resolutions recognized by the international community represented in this august Assembly.

94. These resolutions recognized the Palestinian people and their inalienable rights to their homeland, their property and their self-determination and have given the right to their legal representatives to represent the Palestinian people in the United Nations and other international organizations.

95. If we intend to have peace on a permanent basis, such peace must emanate from the region; it could not be permanent if it is not based on justice which recognizes the rights of the Palestinian people.

96. Any peace based on force and aggression and on fait accompli is an imaginary peace that is bound to totter and disappear.

97. The intransigence of Israel, and its ceaseless efforts to obstruct all peace initiatives in order to gain time for

<sup>3</sup> Held at Istanbul from 12 to 15 May 1976.

achieving its purposes and designs, can only lead to more tension and to further complications of the question, and may lead to an exacerbation of the already explosive situation in the region.

98. What is patently clear is that all the present problems and the crisis besetting the Middle East are in the final analysis a side-effect of the Palestine question. And, here, may I cite the sad events in Lebanon which are a direct result of this question.

99. Furthermore, the wars and political and military conflicts witnessed by the region during the last 28 years and the occupation by Israel of Arab territories in the West Bank, Gaza, Sinai, Golan and other areas, is only the effect of not finding a solution to the original question and putting an end to the Israeli aggression in the region.

100. The continued Israeli occupation of these territories is an example—if indeed an example is sought—of its expansionist intentions, and its challenge to Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, as well as its total disregard for world public opinion and international law.

101. Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories is the *sine qua non*, because occupation runs contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and is the antithesis of peace and security in the region and in the world.

102. Israeli withdrawal is imperative as a first step on the road to solving the original question on whose resolution depends the future of peace in the region.

103. When Saudi Arabia, together with the majority of the international community, calls for withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, it puts in the forefront the Holy City of Jerusalem and other Islamic Holy Places in Palestine.

104. It is evident that the attainment of peace in the Middle East region makes it imperative to find a solution to the main question, namely the Palestine question, by recognizing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination in their own homeland and on their own soil. This requires more serious and urgent efforts so as to avoid the dangers inherent in procrastination.

105. Perhaps I do not need to stress the fact that any solution to a given problem will not be successful without the participation of the main party to the conflict. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, should be a party to any negotiations or dialogue that may be required to reach an equitable solution which may bring permanent peace to the area. It becomes of no consequence whether the solution is reached in Geneva or elsewhere. The place is of no importance. The important thing is the time factor, on whose utilization depends the future of peace and tranquillity in the region and in the world.

106. It is, therefore, important that the international community should control the Israeli entity, whose posi-

tion has been characterized by openly challenging justice, stability, security and peace.

107. How sad it is that man, who was able to ascend to the moon and who is now in a position to use inter-planetary space vehicles, is unable to exercise sufficient self-control in order to put an end to conflict raging between himself and his fellow man.

108. And how gratifying it would be for each one of us to look forward to a world in which freedom reigns, crowned by dignity, supported in a realm of justice and brotherhood full of love and goodwill.

109. We pray God Almighty to guide us all to the path of righteousness.

110. Mr. MINAH (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I would like to seize this opportunity to congratulate you on your election to the high office of the presidency of the thirty-first regular session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your dynamism and your dedication to the promotion of international understanding, as evidenced in your brilliant performance as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, reassures us that our deliberations during this session will be both meaningful and successful.

111. We also wish to commend your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for the statesmanlike manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly.

112. In the view of my delegation, this Organization owes a debt of deep gratitude and appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his continuing commitment to the work of the United Nations and his perseverance in the great and difficult search for international peace and security.

113. It gives me great pleasure to welcome most warmly our newest Member, the sister State of Seychelles as it takes its rightful place among the community of nations. We congratulate its Government and people on their achievement of independence and look forward to its full and fruitful participation in the common endeavour to create a better future for all mankind. It is our sincere hope that in the case of the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Security Council will squarely face its responsibilities and make appropriate recommendations to this Assembly which would enable those countries to take their rightful places among us in the not-too-distant future.

114. A short while ago, the relentless hand of fate snatched from the international community one of its most dynamic and distinguished leaders. I refer to the late Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the People's Republic of China. By his death, the People's Republic of China has been deprived of its founder and revered leader, and the rest of the world has lost the supreme proletarian of our time, whose primary concern was always for the freedom and dignity of oppressed peoples everywhere. We extend our heartfelt condolences to

the Government and people of the People's Republic of China as well as to the family of this monumental statesman. We feel sure that his life and work will continue to motivate the vast majority of humanity and serve as a continuing inspiration and hope to the underprivileged and oppressed masses.

115. Ten years ago, one of the greatest threats to world peace and security was tension between the super-Powers, which resulted in a senseless arms race and the grim possibility of nuclear holocaust. While this issue dominated the debates of the United Nations, other issues were relegated to the recesses of the deliberations of the world body, which thereby shelved the search for solutions to the economic, social and political problems of two thirds of mankind. Today these tensions have abated and the cold war has been replaced by the more humane and conciliatory concept of *détente*. With these developments, the focus of concern has visibly shifted to the relationship between the minority affluent North and the vast majority of the poverty-stricken South. These relationships go well beyond concern with simple economics and politics. They touch the vast majority of mankind struggling for freedom and survival, a struggle which has certainly been plagued by "frustrations" as the Secretary-General aptly mentioned in his report on the work of the Organization [A/31/1/Add.1].

116. We are happy to note, however, that since the last session of the General Assembly the international scene has undergone some salutary changes, which are no doubt due to the efforts of the much misrepresented third world. This is clearly evident in the strides made in decolonization and in the increasing momentum being gained by our own initiatives to establish a new international economic order. At the same time, there has been a stubborn resistance to progress on the part of some forces inimical to our interests. This is manifested in the most bizarre and barbarous forms of oppression in southern Africa as well as in the insensitivity of developed countries to the needs of the third world.

117. We remain concerned over the lingering colonial problems complicated by racism in southern Africa. Our scepticism could easily be excused on the basis of recent experience. We vividly recall that a little over a year ago, Vorster's Government promised the world that in less than six months there would be the most dramatic changes in Namibia.

118. A year has passed, and today what we are witnessing is intense repression and a desperate search for puppets who would willingly sell their birthright and put themselves at the service of international imperialism and South African *apartheid*. In the meantime the legitimate demands of the recognized representatives of Namibia, SWAPO, remain unheeded by the Vorster régime.

*Miss de la Maza (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

119. Perhaps South Africa has reasons for being so stubborn and impervious to reason. Facts have revealed that South Africa has decided to delay its withdrawal from Namibia as long as possible, in order to continue the

exploitation, not only of the mineral resources of that country, but also of the services of the African population, a regular source of cheap labour. My Government's commitment to Namibia's right to self-determination and independence remains unchanged. We therefore condemn South Africa's illegal occupation of that Territory, and again call for her total and immediate withdrawal from Namibia.

120. My Government continues to recognize SWAPO as the only legitimate representative of the people of Namibia devoted to the cause of self-determination and independence for that Territory. The recent stipulation of 1978 as the independence date for the Territory is totally unacceptable, because it merely seeks to provide time for South Africa to consolidate its stranglehold on the Territory and intensify its aggression against SWAPO.

121. In South Africa itself, the rising wave of brutality and inhumanity makes gruesome reading. We recall with abhorrence the recent incidents at Soweto and surrounding areas, characterized by the murder of school children, whose rude awakening to their inhuman conditions under *apartheid* was their only crime. Naturally, the victims of these atrocities have embarked on violent demonstrations which will continue until they are treated with equality and human dignity. In these circumstances, the situation in South Africa has clearly become a threat to international peace and security, which can be defused only by the abandonment of *apartheid*. It is our duty in this Assembly to strongly condemn the policy with all its horrible manifestations, and to appeal to each and every Member State to use every possible means to end this inhuman policy.

122. The illegal Smith régime in Zimbabwe, a subject of numerous debates in this Assembly, has suddenly realized that it has been the victim of self-deception. Events have brought home to them the bitter truth that time is not on their side. The freedom of the black majority in Zimbabwe can no longer be negotiated.

123. We are not unaware of the last-minute efforts that are being made from various quarters to avoid further bloodshed. We wish to emphasize, however, that similar initiatives have been taken before by African leaders without success, because of the intransigence and insincerity of Smith and Vorster. Indeed, it is not inopportune to recall the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa<sup>4</sup> and the Victoria Falls meeting sponsored by the great African leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda.

124. Given the circumstances surrounding the recent attempt at settlement of the problem of Zimbabwe and Namibia, we would like to express our sincere hope that no secret concessions have been made for which the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia might have to pay dearly in the long run.

125. Having thus stated our reservations, we would like to express our appreciation to the United States Government

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

for its peace efforts and hope that they will be crowned with lasting success, particularly in Namibia, for as far as Zimbabwe is concerned, we believe that victory is already in sight. We also hope that whatever happens, the United Nations, as the true and impartial guardian of the peace and security of the world, would be intimately involved in the settlement of these problems.

126. Meanwhile, as the liberation struggle continues, we must commend the courage of the Governments of Zambia and Mozambique, which, in solidarity with the liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe, have closed their frontiers to all traffic with Rhodesia. The price which they are paying is enormous. In making these sacrifices, and in coping with the consequent problems of their altruistic decisions, the support which these frontier States deserve from us must be given unreservedly. To this end, my Government urges all Members of this Organization, singly and collectively, to give every possible assistance to the front-line States that are suffering economic hardships as a result of sanctions imposed on their racist neighbours.

127. The Middle East continues to present a problem of grave dimensions. Israel continues to occupy Arab lands and, contemptuous of public outcry, is going ahead with its plans to build Jewish settlements on those lands. The continuing presence of Israel in the Arab territories it acquired by force, and its violation of the sacred rights of the Palestinian people must clearly be regarded as a grave threat to peace and security in that region. We advocate full compliance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), as we feel sure that a lasting solution can only be found through compliance with the provisions of these resolutions.

128. My delegation is also concerned about the growing relations between Israel and South Africa, which suggests the insensitivity of Israel to the sufferings of people under the oppressive yoke of *apartheid*. We hope that this is not the case.

129. While the war in Lebanon may have temporarily diverted attention from the real issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the situation in itself, in our view, is fraught with danger. The war is a tragic and pathetic ramification and side-effect of the Middle East question. Unless the parties concerned realize the urgency of a negotiated settlement, we are afraid there will be more Lebanons as a prelude to a general conflagration in which there will be no winners but only losers. We commend the Secretary-General's enormous efforts in trying to minimize the devastating effects of the civil war in Lebanon. My country is deeply committed to the difficult search for peace and security in every corner of the globe.

130. My delegation shares the concern of this world body for the return of peace to the Korean peninsula. Consistent with our policies of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, we are prepared to support any practical proposals aimed at establishing lasting peace in a spirit of mutual co-operation. In particular, the exchanges advocated in the North/South joint communiqué of 4 July 1972 and endorsed by the United Nations in 1973<sup>5</sup> should be

reactivated, as it provides a basis for communication and the ironing out of existing differences. The existing tensions can also be greatly eased by the conclusion of a non-aggression pact involving all the parties concerned. If such a pact were to replace the existing Armistice Agreement, it would significantly help to obliterate the lingering memories of the Korean War. We therefore appeal to all the parties concerned, through dialogue and accommodation, to create an atmosphere in which peace and eventual unification can be realized.

131. On the question of Cyprus, it is a matter of deep regret that one of the States Members of this Organization has, through the years, been experiencing various forms of interference which compromise its territorial integrity and independence. As a result of some of these outside influences, there has been a constant state of virtual belligerency. We therefore appeal to all concerned to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus by the withdrawal of all foreign troops from its territory. We are confident that, left to themselves, the people of Cyprus will be able to reconstruct a prosperous and peaceful future.

132. Since the end of the Second World War, and more especially in view of the destructive potential of nuclear armaments, the problem of disarmament has assumed increasing urgency for mankind. For us in the third world in particular, this problem constitutes one of the central themes in our programme, realizing as we do, that peace and stability are vital to the orderly pursuit of our development programmes. We realize also that no section of humanity is immune to the effects of a nuclear holocaust, or even the effects of conventional warfare. Thus, disarmament is no longer merely an aspect of détente and big-Power accommodation, but a problem of universal dimensions requiring universal concerted action for its solution.

133. My Government therefore fully supports the proposal for the convening of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly to be followed by a World Disarmament Conference, which will work out suitable arrangements to prohibit the use, threat of use, and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the destruction of existing stockpiles and the prohibition of all nuclear-weapons tests in all environments as well as the destruction of all chemical and bacteriological weapons.

134. Over the years the United Nations has certainly had some successes. Admittedly, it also has its record of failures, and one wonders to what extent these failures are the direct result of deficiencies inherent in the Charter has been recognized. My Government's position has been that, in view of the changes which have taken place in the international scene since the inception of the United Nations, the time has come to bring the Charter up to date and in line with new contemporary realities.

135. We note with appreciation the work already done in this regard by the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization and the proposals it has put forward for discussion. In particular, my Government wishes to see the voting system in the Security Council reviewed, with

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 24.

particular attention being paid to the power of the veto, which has so often been used to the detriment of the interests of the third world.

136. Again we have witnessed United Nations institutions responsible for development assistance in the developing countries go from one financial or liquidity crisis to another. This is particularly the case with that nerve centre of the United Nations development efforts in the third world—the United Nations Development Programme—which early this year suffered from a severe liquidity crisis that has led to the dislocation of priority development programmes in recipient countries like mine. The reasons for those crises are indeed obvious. Some are political; others are the result of what one would term “technocratic irrationality” found in some of the specialized agencies with their all-capable and all-knowledgeable technical programmes, which are, however, applied through the so-called “competent channels”—i.e. interest groups which, left on their own, can do nothing but reproduce the conditions creating the very development problems they are supposed to solve.

137. Another important institutional obstacle in the United Nations system can be traced to the fundamentally officious position assumed by some United Nations bodies which, when in the field, find themselves playing counterpoint to national governments, marginalizing civil societies and giving non-governmental organizations an almost ritual treatment. We believe that this is wrong and that any international organization should be committed to struggling alongside the people of the developing countries; it should not act as a vehicle for defending models to be imposed on the nations of the third world.

138. In the circumstances, the need for restructuring the United Nations system, especially its economic and social sectors, is more urgent now than ever. Although we share the views of the Secretary-General that such restructuring is, and I quote, “an infinitely complex subject” [see *A/31/1/Add.1, sect. X*], Sierra Leone is indeed proud to have been a part of this effort, for it is our conviction that the restructuring of the United Nations should begin by some kind of collective self-criticism. Such criticism should be founded on research and study of the variety of concrete experiences arising out of the new international economic order and the concept of interdependence.

139. Permit me now to make a few comments on the economic situation in the international community. Although a few dramatic events have taken place recently which had a tendency to tilt the balance of international economic relations in favour of the third world, a lot still remains to be done through concerted efforts if the present economic maladjustments that plague our international community are to be rectified.

140. My delegation is concerned over the fact that the recent meeting of the fifth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea did not make any remarkable progress. The developed countries, desirous of maintaining their traditional economic power, are anxious to obtain guarantees of unrestricted access to the mineral wealth of the sea-bed. The developing countries, on the other hand, apprehensive of economic monopolies and

the systematic erosion of their interests, have consistently called for the exploitation and distribution of the resources of the sea-bed on the basis of equity, bearing in mind the present imbalance in the world economic structure. It is hoped that in the next session, there would be a greater effort towards compromise so that a draft treaty on the Law of the Sea would finally emerge.

141. Meanwhile, Member States should exercise restraint and refrain from embarking on unilateral exploitation of the sea-bed before a final draft treaty is universally concluded.

142. With the beginning of the North-South dialogue a year or so ago and the establishment of the new international economic order, it can be reasonably assumed that the era of recriminations and confrontation is passing and being replaced by interdependence and self-reliance. More important still is the widespread acceptance of the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States, in which the economic philosophy of the developing world is so eloquently articulated.

143. As a small country, Sierra Leone has contributed and continues to contribute to the translation of the new international economic order into reality by strengthening regional, subregional and interregional co-operation with countries whose present socio-economic structures are similar to its own. We are convinced that these efforts would, in the final analysis, make the new order a turning-point in the history of international relations and transform the entire economic structure of the world. For us, the new economic order holds the prospect of major progress towards the realization of the economic and social aspirations of the vast dispossessed majority of mankind. Until recently, these millions could not hope for anything but the perpetuation of the traditional relations of dependency which locked them firmly in the selfish stranglehold of the industrial nations and their transnational corporations.

144. Based on these convictions, the developing countries have deployed considerable efforts to translate the concepts and principles of the new economic order into reality: from the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Manila culminating in the declaration of Manila,<sup>6</sup> the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo, the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi to the Group of 77's recent Conference on Economic Co-operation Among Developing Countries in Mexico City. The philosophy behind these efforts is clear and simple: it is that any meaningful advancement by the developing countries must start with the removal of the root-causes of under-development.

145. No one can ignore the overwhelming debt-servicing and balance-of-payments pressures that have crippled some of our economies over the last few years. In 1972 the debt of non-oil-producing countries was only \$15 billion. In 1976 it has soared to \$120 billion.

146. The real rate of growth of the poorest countries, which before the oil crisis was 2 per cent, is now minus 0.8

<sup>6</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.



per cent when allowance is made for population growth of 2.8 per cent. Indeed, the shrinking quantum of resources being transferred from the developed to the developing countries has combined with these pressures and many others, with which we are all too familiar, to decelerate the pace of our development and the growth of our economies. The eradication of these ills is the noble task in which we have called upon the industrialized countries to participate. Unfortunately, the response which they have made to the appeals of the third world in forums like UNCTAD in Nairobi and the North-South dialogue in Paris, gives little hope of success as some of the promises, agreements and compromises reached during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly are still to be honoured.

147. We are told, of course, that if the international monetary system can be reformed in the right direction, many of these problems will automatically disappear and the First and Second United Nations Development Decades will suddenly become meaningful and productive.

148. We see our salvation, however, as the result of a many-sided effort involving individual endeavour, regional co-operation and global collaboration. We have pursued our individual and regional efforts with some consistency and reasonable success. In the latter area in particular, the growing contribution of the Mano River Union to the mutual development of Liberia and Sierra Leone and the emergency of the Economic Community of West African States give ample evidence of this. It is at the global level that results appear most disappointing because of a lack of goodwill on the part of those who are in a position to contribute most significantly.

149. The developed countries emphasize the importance of foreign aid (particularly food), the transfer of technology, international private investment, increased agricultural and food production, enhanced trade opportunities and rapid industrial growth. But they are, with notable exceptions, reluctant to accept the 0.7 per cent aid target suggested for the Second Development Decade, and they shy away from the question of debt moratoriums. All these are traditional prescriptions calculated and insisted upon in order to maintain the old system and to frustrate any meaningful change. They voice their opposition to the integrated programme for commodities and the establishment of a common fund for buffer stocks, and consider any idea of the indexation of prices as "absolute anathema". Consequently, the interest of the developing countries and the much-talked-of principle of interdependence are coldly cast aside.

150. What the developing countries are seeking is the protection of the purchasing power of export earnings, the negotiation of commodity agreements, the formulation of the general principles of a pricing policy for commodity exports, compensatory financing schemes and buffer-stock arrangements—in short, greater stability in commodity prices and rising incomes.

151. These demands of the developing countries are just and reasonable. But this notwithstanding, we find varied opposition from the consumer nations. One group of developed nations opposes international commodity agreements to bolster prices as "a matter of principle" and are

willing to go only as far as stabilizing foreign-exchange earnings through compensatory financing schemes; a second group is only prepared and willing to enter joint commodity pacts designed to reduce price seesaws and to guarantee a floor price; still a third group is willing to enter such pacts only on the condition that a ceiling based on so-called natural market forces is also agreed upon at the outset.

152. For the developing countries, there is nothing more frustrating than these diversionary tactics.

153. I hope it has been amply demonstrated that one year after the proclamation of the new international economic order, the aspirations of the peoples of the third world are still far from being realized. Instead, conscious efforts are being made by the industrialized world to turn back the hands of time. There is hardly any sign whatever that concrete results are likely to emerge from the new international economic order, and certainly the main proponents of the old order—the developed countries—are doing all in their power to maintain that order intact. If the United Nations is to continue to have meaning and relevance, the new international economic order would demand a reversal of this trend.

154. In conclusion, Mr. President, let me recall that in the interdependent world of today, all our destinies are inextricably intertwined. There is only one humanity and we must survive or sink together.

155. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I should like to offer my congratulations to Mr. Amerasinghe upon his election as President of this Assembly. This is a tribute to his great personal qualities, as well as a recognition of his many services to the ideal of international co-operation and of his experience and his talents.

156. It is also with pleasure that we greet the admission to the United Nations of a new Member—the Republic of Seychelles, which has just acceded to independence within the framework of the historic process of decolonization. Its admission reinforces the concept of universality of our Organization. We wish to express to the new Member our most heartfelt congratulations and our most sincere wishes for the happiness and prosperity of its people.

157. The introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations deserves the special attention of the General Assembly, and is a measure of the lofty and dedicated spirit with which Mr. Waldheim carries out his functions. The comments and observations of the Secretary-General are distinguished by their realism. It is all too true, indeed, that 30 years after the formation of the United Nations, we are still in a period of transition marked by the erosion of the rules upon which the present system is based. We are witnessing a resurgence of anachronistic chauvinism and a relapse towards a stage where might makes right and where there is a lack of respect for the resolutions of the principal bodies of the United Nations and especially of the Security Council.

158. The system of international security provided for by the authors of the Charter, still remains to be set up. If, in

our nuclear age, holocaust was avoided, it is nevertheless also true that a feeling of insecurity weighs upon the peoples of the world. Thus, in spite of the doubts and hesitations that the concept of détente can give rise to, our peoples have no other choice than to hope that it will take root and that it will gradually lead to the elimination of fear and anguish. That is why the policy of détente should not serve as a screen for the pursuit of particular interests. It should sincerely strive towards a better future, a future of co-operation between all the peoples of the world, because we cannot contemplate the selective application of détente, just as there cannot be any selective application of the concept of freedom.

159. In European terms, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, was designed, as is known, to reduce tensions and promote a climate of détente in Europe. Considerable steps have been made since then towards the strengthening of peace and the expansion of economic and cultural exchanges to the benefit of all our peoples in Europe. Next year, at Belgrade, the signatory countries will have occasion to review the progress made since the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki, and to study the measures to be taken for the total application of the principles adopted by the Conference and for the strengthening of co-operation on the multilateral plane.

160. Greece has made its contribution to this effort, particularly since the principles stated in the Final Act are those of the United Nations Charter. We have made efforts to promote bilaterally and, so far as possible, multilaterally as well, progress which would be in step with the implementation of the various chapters of the Final Act. Our bilateral relations with our neighbours to the north have seen a new resurgence. Multilaterally, we have convened in January of this year a meeting of government experts on economic and technical co-operation between Balkan countries. We hope that this initiative will have constructive consequences for the greater benefit of the peoples of the region. We remain convinced that, parallel to the efforts which are designed to promote bilateral relations between Balkan countries, their multilateral co-operation is equally desirable, where favourable and realistic conditions for it exist.

161. Also, by common agreement with countries of the European Community, we have commenced procedures aimed at the adherence of Greece to the European Community. It is quite natural that the Greek people, animated by the European ideal, should wish to take part in the construction of the united Europe of the future, a Europe freed of the antagonisms of the past and going towards its destiny as a factor of peace and co-operation.

162. As to our relations with the Arab countries, with which so many ties bind us, they are becoming closer in all sectors, and this gives me an opportunity to stress once again that the position of Greece on the problem of the Middle East is based on the principles of the Charter and first and foremost upon the principle of self-determination, as well as upon the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly. This policy is not dictated by circumstances; it is based upon immutable principles, the primacy of law over lawlessness, the right of

all peoples to an identity of their own and of all States to a peaceful life behind inviolable frontiers.

163. It follows, therefore, that we are against the acquisition of territory by force and therefore we are in favour of the evacuation of all the occupied Arab territories. We also consider that any solution to the problem of the near Middle East must take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

164. As to the immediate future, we strongly hope that the tragedy which the friendly Lebanese people is living through will come to an end and that peace will return to this tormented country.

165. In Africa we are following with the greatest interest on the one hand the substantial progress of the countries which, once having acquired independence, are now trying to consolidate it, and on the other hand the evolution of the situation in southern Africa.

166. In this latter region the problems are of such complexity and gravity and give rise to such passions that they deserve a special place in our deliberations.

167. We have always vigorously condemned *apartheid* and all other forms of racial discrimination and we support all efforts to ensure that human dignity, equality, security, and progress for all might prevail in this region. The blood which has flowed these last months was not only a call for our compassion; the danger of an escalation is too real not to cause the gravest concern. The time has come for radical solutions. Namibia should accede to independence and the people of Southern Rhodesia should be given the great benefit of the democratic principle of government by majority.

168. And now I should like to deal with our relations with our neighbour to the east—Turkey.

169. The General Assembly is only too aware of the fact that at the time when Greece, two years ago, was restoring its democratic institution, Cyprus was invaded by the armed forces of one of the Powers despite the fact that that Power had guaranteed its independence and its territorial integrity. The fact that to this day the situation in the island remains unchanged underlies the crisis that prevails in our region.

170. In turning to bilateral problems I did not intend to go into them in detail, but the statement made the day before yesterday before this Assembly by my Turkish colleague [8th meeting] obliges me to refer to some of his assertions if only to rectify certain errors of interpretation and certain omissions which have slipped into his presentation.

171. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Çağlayangil, has dwelt, in particular, on the remilitarization of the Greek islands of the Aegean and on the question of the continental shelf and emphasized that in both cases it was the attitude of Greece that caused the present tension. As for the islands, he invoked existing treaties, but what he did not mention was that these treaties do not require Greece to abandon its natural right to the defence

of its national territory. What he failed to say is that the elementary defensive measures taken on some of these islands were adopted after the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey in violation of the United Nations Charter.

172. Well before the strengthening of the defence of the island, Turkey had systematically proceeded to the establishment of a landing-force, which is essentially a force of aggression, and it has used this force, with the results that we all know, against Cyprus, thereby posing a constant threat to the security of the Greek islands.

173. My Turkish colleague has made reference to the threat to the security of Turkey by the defensive measures adopted by Greece in the Aegean Sea. He said that the militarization of the islands is "a serious threat to the security of Turkey" [8th meeting, para. 221].

174. This statement is contradicted by the statement of the Prime Minister of Turkey who, in an interview reported in the newspaper *Le Monde* of May 1975, affirmed that the Turks do not fear that the Greeks, by strengthening their islands will be able to invade Turkey. Mr. Demirel was right.

175. With regard to the continental shelf the Turkish Minister laid stress on two points: first of all he asserted that the Aegean Sea is a sea where only Turkey and Greece have coastlines, and therefore, he said, this was a "common sea" [ibid., para. 223].

176. This theory will surely surprise the members of the international community. The idea of the Aegean Sea as being the common sea of Greece and Turkey runs counter to the principle—one as old as the world and still valid—that no one can dispose of what he does not own. This is a sea which, beyond the territorial waters of the coastal countries, is a free sea governed by the international status of the high seas. The Aegean Sea is open to international shipping, and other Powers are interested in having it remain an open sea and would certainly oppose the idea that the Aegean should be a Greekian-Turkish lake.

177. My distinguished colleague then set himself up as an international legislator to tell us that the legal arguments of Greece concerning the continental shelf are not valid and that the law of the sea had to be tailored to suit Turkey. To hear him speak, what was important was population. Here also we have a new theory which will certainly not be appreciated by States which are less populated than their neighbours.

178. I think that we owe it to ourselves and to this Assembly to remain aware of the seriousness and gravity of the situation when we discuss the problems affecting the destinies of our people.

179. On one point, however, we agree with Turkey, namely, that on the eve of negotiations which we are trying to conduct we must not embark upon any unilateral actions which would be incompatible with Security Council resolution 395 (1976) and which could undermine mutual confidence. Since Greece has not engaged in actions of this kind I hope that Turkey will follow its own advice.

180. I have already mentioned Cyprus. This is a problem which the United Nations has been dealing with at several

levels. The General Assembly and the Security Council have already sketched out, by means of successive resolutions, the major lines of a just and equitable solution. The Secretary-General has employed all his efforts and skill to ensure the success of the talks between the communities. Unfortunately, as Mr. Waldheim observes in the introduction to his report, no progress towards a settlement has been accomplished so far. The Turks continue to occupy 40 per cent of the territory of the Republic. Thousands of Greek Cypriots—one third of the population—are living as refugees far from their homes, deprived of their property and despoiled of their goods. Other refugees, expelled from the occupied area, have fled to the south. The large-scale systematic colonization of the north by Turkish nationals is continuing. The new settlers are establishing themselves on the properties of the Greek refugees in violation of the most elementary rules of human rights. In these circumstances one can realize why the Turkish Cypriot side refuses to help negotiations by submitting concrete proposals concerning the territorial aspect of the problem and is considering new *faits accomplis*, encouraged perhaps by the saying "*beati possidentes*". When the General Assembly examines this problem once again it will, I am sure, wish to consider the comments of the Secretary-General, who emphasizes that this problem has implications far beyond the immediate area concerned and involves the delicate balance of relations between a number of other States. It is for that reason, Mr. Waldheim tells us, that this problem, like that of the Middle East, occupies such a prominent place on the agenda of the Organization of which we are all Members and that the effort to find peaceful solutions must be persisted in at all costs [A/31/1/Add.1, sect. III]. We are convinced that this solution can be found and the principles stated this morning by the Secretary of State of the United States [11th meeting] have certainly engaged our attention.

181. It is not possible to conclude an objective analysis of the role of our Organization without recognizing the very important contribution of the United Nations in the fields of decolonization, the progress of the developing countries, the establishment of a new international economic order, respect for human rights and so on.

182. In the field of human rights we ourselves have taken certain action at the thirtieth session and we shall support any measures which will strengthen the protection of human rights.

183. Among the activities of the United Nations on a world-wide scale, I would wish to refer to the setting up of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which has entered, after its recent work, into a decisive phase. Important difficulties remain, but no one questions the fact that this Conference must ultimately draw up concrete rules for the law of the sea. In order to do this, it is essential that the final text contain specific rules which will not give rise to contradictory interpretations, because the progress of technology, as it opens up great possibilities for the development and economic progress of States, has at the same time created delicate situations which may degenerate into inter-State conflicts without the presence of positive and concrete law. It is equally necessary to indicate the mandatory international authorities who will resolve any disputes in the interests of international peace and security.

184. Another great design on a world-wide scale to which our Organization has been called upon to make its contribution is the establishment of a new economic order based upon the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States and on the Programme of Action elaborated at the sixth special session and on the results of the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

185. It is also necessary to emphasize the importance of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, known also as the "North-South dialogue" which is attributable to a French initiative, as well as the fourth session of UNCTAD which took place in Nairobi. Lastly, it is significant that the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo has devoted a great part of its work to the problem of the establishment of the new economic order.

186. This activity reflects more than a growing awareness of the great economic and social problems which have to be resolved in order to raise the standard of living of the poorer countries and thereby to ensure world-wide political and economic stability. It is evidence of the will of all of us to give these problems concrete, fair and practical responses within the framework of the interdependence of nations.

187. The problems that we shall have to deal with before achieving this objective are great and varied. But we shall know how to resolve them if we are determined to put an end to the wretched poverty which persists in various parts of the world.

188. As far as Greece is concerned, it has always been in favour of the establishment of a more equitable economic order and it will give its support to any initiative aimed at achieving the aspirations of the peoples of developing countries, because it is difficult to claim progress as long as crying inequalities subsist between countries of the world and as long as human beings are deprived of the necessary minimum to an extent which affects human dignity and degrades our civilization.

189. Mr. PESANTES GARCIA (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It gives me particular pleasure to convey to the President, Mr. Amerasinghe; through you, Madam President, the greetings and cordial congratulations of the Government of Ecuador on his well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-first session. His distinguished career in international affairs, his experience and knowledge are a sure guarantee that the accomplishment of the honourable and delicate task which the Members of the United Nations have decided to trust to him will bring about the desired results.

190. I wish likewise to pay a tribute to Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, who presided over the thirtieth session of the General Assembly with tact and efficiency which deserve the gratitude of all.

191. I wish to convey also my country's condolences to the People's Republic of China on the occasion of the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung, an extraordinary leader of peoples who was of great historical significance in our century.

192. I should also like to convey my most cordial welcome to the new independent State of Seychelles, whose admission brings our Organization closer to the ideal of universality. At the same time I congratulate the United Kingdom on fulfilling its pledge to carry out the process of the granting of independence to this new country. With reference to the admission of other members, it is my hope that the veto will not be used to prevent the complete application of the principle of universality, to which Ecuador attributes a fundamental importance in the implementation of the lofty purposes of the world Organization.

193. We are participating in the world forum with faith in the ideals of the United Nations, the realization of whose principles continues to be the major commitment of our generation in response to the challenge of national and international tensions, injustice and inequalities. We wish to strengthen this instrument in the sphere of international co-operation in order to achieve the well-being of all peoples and we deem it essential that the United Nations should take vigorous measures wherever its action may be required to settle situations likely to endanger peace. In the circumstances of interdependence characterizing the world in which we live, the Organization is the instrument which can be used in the broad sphere of immediate action with respect to all endeavours aimed at the common goal of promoting the well-being of the greatest number of people. For that reason we consider that world action on the broadest scale to promote international co-operation and peace should be channelled through the United Nations. To relegate the world Organization to a marginal position would be to weaken it.

194. At the same time, we are aware that the prospects and purposes of the United Nations of today are different from those of 1945. Today the activities of the United Nations are much broader and more complex with respect to the increasing and almost complete universality of the Organization; the concerns attendant upon the peaceful uses of outer space; the conservation and rational use of the resources of the planet and preservation of the environment as the heritage of mankind; the demographic question and the disturbing equation between population and availability of food, the shortage of which constitutes a potential force of conflict and other problems resulting from the inequality between rich countries and poor countries entailing unsatisfactory trade relations and situations of dependence which must be settled without delay if we all wish to live in a world of peace.

195. Naturally, any solution must be achieved in a manner consonant with man's status as an intelligent being, by dialogue, understanding and consensus and not by the unacceptable methods of terrorism which we reject as an affront to every country, every ideology and every civilized human group.

196. To maintain international peace and security it is necessary to make a decisive attack on the factors which threaten them. This is the fundamental point. Nevertheless, we attribute very special importance to disarmament and we stress the need for disarmament of the spirit in order to open the way to a genuine will to understanding, as called for by the Charter. Upholding these purposes, Ecuador will always be ready to give its support to any initiative in this field.

197. If political peace is a truce, lasting peace requires a just international organization which will secure a better life for all peoples. It is not logical that countries should continue to invest enormous resources to increase their arsenals of every kind. There is a cry which arises from within the United Nations: the clamour for peace. Responding to that appeal, the Government of Ecuador will welcome any proposal for the prohibition of new weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapon tests.

198. My country takes this opportunity to express the hope that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament will continue to give impetus to negotiations with a view to reaching early agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stock-piling of any chemical weapons and the destruction of those already in existence. I address a special appeal to the Soviet Union to adhere to Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, because Ecuador is convinced that, for the maximum effectiveness of any treaty establishing a zone free from such means of destruction, the co-operation of the nuclear-weapon States is necessary.

199. The United Nations must make itself heard wherever human rights are violated; wherever acts of genocide or torture are committed or human lives are sacrificed; wherever populations are displaced; wherever it is sought to interpose curtains of silence and oppression. I wish to reiterate that the Government of Ecuador will lend its support to the exercise of human rights in every country, without any selective criteria. With regard to this matter there can be no preferential policies under which some cases are deliberately ignored and attention is drawn only to violations of human rights in others.

200. Racial discrimination is contrary to the most elementary human feeling and legal concepts and the Ecuadorian Government and people repudiate it.

201. We have been following with concern the situation in Southern Rhodesia, which has so far made it impossible to satisfy the aspirations of the Zimbabwe people. Ecuador firmly believes that it is necessary to continue working with zeal, decisiveness and imagination to find ways and means of enabling the just aspirations of that people to become a reality. We believe that it is important to continue the efforts which appear to be furthering progress at this time, with a view to a negotiated and orderly transition to government by the majority within a short period of time.

202. The question of Namibia will brook no further delay. The United Nations undertook a firm commitment to bring that Territory and its people to total and complete independence. Therefore Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 should be implemented without any reservation by South Africa. Otherwise, the Council should, in accordance with the Charter, adopt the measures which may be appropriate in the circumstances. This is the last opportunity to solve the problem of Namibia by just and peaceful means; it is a question which cannot satisfactorily be solved if the interests of the Namibian people continue to be ignored.

203. Ecuador condemns the killings and acts of violence which have occurred in South Africa and rejects the

practice of *apartheid*, which runs counter to all the purposes and principles of the Organization and violates the solemn commitment entered into by all its Member States to ensure universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction of race.

204. My country is concerned about the situation in Cyprus and deems it imperative to make progress towards an agreed settlement. It is our hope that the negotiations which both communities are continuing to carry on under the sponsorship of the Secretary-General will be brought to the successful conclusion which we all desire so that all Cypriots may live together in peace. We are appreciative of the function which continues to be carried out by the peace force sent by the United Nations in maintaining calm and performing humanitarian tasks pending the conclusion of an agreement.

205. With reference to the situation in the Middle East, I feel it essential that all the peoples of the region, with which my country maintains sincere relations of friendship, should continue making every effort to reach a peaceful understanding. We must recognize that the situation in that area entails a serious threat to world peace and that an over-all solution of the problem, within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, is required.

206. Ecuador reaffirms its position on this matter: it rejects and condemns territorial conquests achieved by force; it cannot accept the occupation of territories either as a means of exerting pressure on an adversary or for the purpose of demanding negotiations or with the intention of refusing to return those territories until an agreement has been signed. It recognizes the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to their national self-determination, sovereignty and independence; but it also considers that the State of Israel, which was created precisely by the United Nations, has the right to its existence. The Ecuadorian Government expresses once again its hope that the parties involved in this conflict can find the way to a just and lasting peace within safe, recognized and guaranteed frontiers.

207. The deplorable events in Lebanon have caused consternation in my country, and it is our hope that the violence will cease and harmony and peaceful co-operation among all sectors of that progressive nation will be re-established.

208. Another topic of deep concern is that relating to Korea and we trust that the parties concerned will renew their efforts to promote a rapprochement and frank and cordial negotiations.

209. The world today is fortunately experiencing a phase of relative *détente* in which the great Powers have begun to make reciprocal concessions in their desire to ensure world peace. Efforts must therefore be made to take advantage of this favourable climate and to seek to eliminate once and for all the problems affecting international coexistence.

210. In Latin America, problems which compromise solidarity and endanger the peace and development of the region persist—problems deriving from the arrogance of



certain countries or involving territorial considerations or vestiges of colonialism which we would like to see eliminated quickly and permanently. First of all, I refer to the problem which affects my own country, which, basing itself on its historical and legal titles and the geopolitical need for harmonious development of the region, reaffirms its right of sovereignty in the Amazon River. Ecuador reiterates in this august Assembly its fervent desire that this question, as well as the others which affect inter-American concord, should find an early and just solution in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. Other important cases include the so-called Canal Zone of Panama, the question of Belize and the Malvin Islands, and problems such as the land-locked situation of Bolivia.

211. The philosophy followed by the Government of Ecuador in its national and international policy is identified with the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, setting forth the new world consensus and the new task which must be carried out by the United Nations as an organization and by each one of its Members in particular, especially in so far as it is aimed at guaranteeing present and future generations' economic and social development on a basis of peace and justice.

212. Within that universal context, Ecuador is part of the developing world. It is one of the Latin American countries which together represent Western civilization within the group.

213. It is a sign of the times we live in that Ecuador is also a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], in accordance with the exercise of the right to freedom of association arising from its sovereignty and the defence of its natural resources.

214. In the regional context, Ecuador is a member of the oldest international system, the inter-American system, and is fully honouring its commitments in that system. In due course, Ecuador, identifying itself with the other countries of Latin America, sponsored the establishment of the Latin American Economic System, and it also hopes that the Latin American Free Trade Association will be strengthened, together with any other mechanism for regional or subregional integration and development which affects us, such as the Andean Group, which we whole-heartedly support.

215. We note with particular interest the progress made by the United Nations system in the economic and social fields. At the international level, we should support the promotion of imports and exports on more just terms of trade and transport. To that end, we also believe that the time has come to move towards greater coherence in development plans, for, despite the fact that those plans at present constitute a stage of internal organization, they still form an anarchic and at times contradictory framework when viewed in an international context. Accordingly, we have supported every undertaking and study designed to generate productive and adequate employment in the rural, urban and semi-urban sectors. We are also concerned at the fact that during the first half of the Second United Nations Development Decade attainments fell very far short of the established targets, as reflected mainly in the fact that little or no progress was made in the spheres of trade and the

transfer of financial resources to the developing countries. The lack of real progress in the implementation of the International Development Strategy and the upheaval in economic relations in recent years, which have had serious repercussions in the developing countries, led the international community to recognize the need to establish a more just economic order that would make it possible to attain development objectives through the elimination of the poverty, misery and hunger affecting the majority of mankind, which has been relegated to a life unworthy of human beings.

216. The most recent sessions of the General Assembly have afforded the developing countries the opportunity to demonstrate their political will and their desire for effective co-operation in bringing about significant progress in measures to promote the balanced development of all countries. Nevertheless, they have encountered intransigent positions which, during the current year, have eroded the progress of negotiations designed to translate into reality the measures identified by the resolutions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, and by the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, such as machinery to accelerate the establishment of the new economic order.

217. Regrettably, it can be seen from the results obtained thus far in the negotiations conducted within the United Nations and in other fora between developed and developing countries that, following the adoption at the seventh special session of the resolution on development and international economic co-operation [resolution 3362 (S-VII)], no significant complementary measures had been decided upon; accordingly, industrialized States should be urged effectively to co-operate in attaining the objectives established by the United Nations.

218. Ecuador hopes that the important initiatives of the North-South Conference held in Paris<sup>7</sup> will bear fruit and that an understanding spirit of co-operation on the part of the industrialized countries will prevail to that end.

219. The Government of Ecuador views with particular interest the new commitment on the part of the United Nations to protect the environment and, in particular, trusts that significant progress will be made in the multi-lateral financing of housing and in the improvement of human settlements, for which purpose the plan of action adopted at the international Conference at Vancouver<sup>8</sup> constitutes an important and commendable contribution.

220. We are following with keen interest the work of the United Nations on the important question of the analysis of the practices of transnational corporations which have such a severe impact on the weakest countries in particular, and we believe that opportunities for contacts and discussions on these subjects should be widened to cover all constructive aspects and bring about the improvements which the world situation demands. To that end, the Commission on Transnational Corporations, the functioning of which

<sup>7</sup> Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

<sup>8</sup> See *Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Vancouver, 31 May-11 June 1976* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.7).

marks significant progress for the United Nations system, must be strengthened.

221. The United Nations Development Programme is the executing arm of economic and social policy in the transfer of technology and is actually the Organization's most substantial presence in the developing world. We are pleased that the Programme has overcome its financial difficulties and is progressing under dedicated and effective leadership. We believe that the role of the resident representatives should be strengthened even more than is recommended in the Consensus,<sup>9</sup> as suggested in the report entitled *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation*,<sup>10</sup> and in order to avoid a proliferation of funds and services which should be provided by a unified and co-ordinated system in each country.

222. In view of the alarming breadth of the gap between the most developed and the least advanced countries, we believe that emphasis should be placed on the transfer of technology as a process which can lead to a reduction of tensions and shortages. Our universities, institutes and laboratories are prepared to co-operate in the international effort to augment existing scientific and technological capacities, and we hope that progress will be made at both the regional and international levels in the various preparatory meetings for the United Nations conference on science and technology for development, to be held in 1979. In particular, we will support concrete measures for the application of science and technology to bring about the establishment of a new international economic order which fully utilizes scientific potential in solving key national, regional and world problems.

223. In this connexion, we view with interest and will support the United Nations conference on technical co-operation among developing countries, to be held within the next few years in Buenos Aires, for we believe that the time is ripe in the Latin American region for the sharing of experiences and solutions in this interdependent world of ours, in which every country has something to learn and something to teach.

224. All these topics have a bearing on the important proposals made by the developing countries at the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi, the full import of which we hope will be taken into account. In that connexion, we wish to underscore our support for the establishment of a fund for commodities stocks designed to stabilize the export earnings of the developing countries.

225. Ecuador has been in the forefront of international efforts to defend the sovereignty of States over their territorial sea and their marine resources, the inalienable heritage of our present and future generations. Since it signed the 1952 Santiago Declaration,<sup>11</sup> which transformed thinking on the territorial sea, it has followed a long and encouraging course of evolution. For many years, we have

been waging an unequal struggle, together with the countries of the South Pacific, against the major fishing Powers, which are determined to deny our sovereignty within the territorial sea.

226. With regard to the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, Ecuador maintains that the *res nullius* stage should be superseded by recognition of the principle that the natural resources of the sea-bed are the common heritage of mankind. That principle must be given practical effect and its dynamic and appropriate juridical development must be promoted so as to ensure the attainment of the essential objectives of benefiting all peoples in real and equitable terms, especially those of the developing countries. Ecuador maintains the position that the international régime and machinery must have adequate and exclusive powers of supervision with regard to the exploration and exploitation of those resources.

227. My country has been defending its well-known territorialist position without prejudice to efforts aimed at strengthening the rights of the coastal State in the so-called economic zone, so that with this strengthening of rights, the sovereignty of the coastal State, which Ecuador proclaims over the whole area as far as the 200-mile limit, will be guaranteed.

228. Our country, like many other developing countries, is especially concerned to ensure the formulation of a new convention on the law of the sea—which should have an appropriate structure and should be as comprehensive as possible—as the sole guarantee of the rights of the developing countries over living and non-living marine resources. The new convention must reflect the just position of the developing countries, whose basic concept—that of the sovereignty of the coastal State over all resources in its waters up to a distance of 200 miles—is finding increased acceptance in the international community. The proper protection of those resources must be guaranteed for the benefit of the developing peoples.

229. The time has now come to put forward a new claim inherent in the sovereignty of States, with respect to a natural resource that has recently been explored and has enormous potential for use in our planet: the synchronous geostationary orbit. We agree with other countries which, like ours, are directly concerned, as to the pressing need to establish a legal order with respect to this matter so as to ensure the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, for which a specific international conference is desirable. This subject especially affects Ecuador and about 10 countries in the equatorial region of the globe. Objects such as radio-communications stations belonging to countries or transnational corporations should not be placed in that orbit without account being taken of the sovereignty of the countries situated thereunder. In addition, that part of the geostationary orbit used over marine spaces not subject to national jurisdiction should be considered a common heritage of mankind and should be used by the latter in accordance with the principles governing the sea-bed and the ocean floor adopted by the General Assembly in 1970 [resolution 2749 (XXV)]. While the international consideration of this question proceeds, it is necessary to ensure that all available technical information concerning instru-

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 1, resolution 1530 (XLIX), annex.*

<sup>10</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.7.

<sup>11</sup> Declaration on the Maritime Zone. See *Yearbook of the International Law Commission, 1956*, vol. I (United Nations publication, Sales No. 1956.V.3, vol. I), 362nd meeting, para. 35.

ments placed in orbit above such areas should be immediately brought to the attention of the countries of the region.

230. Ecuador is dedicated to peace, liberty and social justice; it believes in the combined will to take joint action for constructive purposes in the interest of the coexistence of all nations. We are convinced of the oneness of the human condition and of the common destiny which we must pursue in harmony and in a constant rapprochement of countries and regions, since the cause of humanity must remain above considerations relating to the circumstantial differences of development, of income and of philosophical conceptions of the State.

231. The capacity of man's intelligence applied to scientific and technological development has made it possible to land and control instruments at a distance of 500 million kilometres from our planet—a great achievement in the history of our time and one on which we can congratulate ourselves. Yet in the social sphere, in both the theory and the practice of national and international coexistence progress is dangerously slow.

232. We gather in this world forum with a hope of finding solutions, with a will to co-operate and with a very clear awareness that we may be wasting the last opportunities to solve the major issues affecting all our peoples.

233. A new world order on land and on the seas is a challenge to the intelligence of our species, and the possibility of achieving it is at hand if only we in the United Nations devote ourselves to the task, making a reality, before it is too late, of the common destiny of all of those on this planet.

234. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): A number of representatives have asked for the floor in their exercise of their right of reply. Members will recall that the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting decided that the statements made in exercise of rights of reply shall be limited to 10 minutes.

235. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): Madam President, I ask for the floor for a brief clarification concerning the intervention made last night [10th meeting] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Comoros. As it was late, I am afraid that it was not properly realized that the French delegation had immediately asked for the floor in order to be heard. I thank you, Madam President, for having been good enough to give me an opportunity to speak today and to say what we were not able to say on the spur of the moment.

236. I shall limit my statement to two points. First of all, on the procedural question, it was decided by the General Committee of our Assembly and by the Assembly itself that the Mayotte affair would be studied at the plenary meetings of the present session. Although this decision was adopted in spite of our position, my delegation will participate in the debate and it will then open the files on the matter. It will do so without any reticence out of a desire to dispel any possible misunderstandings. We expect that the Comorian delegation will, for its part, wish to avoid any exaggerations that could harm the atmosphere in

which it is desirable to keep exchanges of views to a minimum.

237. My second very brief point is the following. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Comoros has asked what important reasons underlay the present position of France. The reasons have solely but specifically to do with the interpretation that is to be given to the principle of self-determination. These reasons cannot be underestimated and I think deserve attention. Here or elsewhere, the French authorities will have no difficulties either in explaining the problems that have arisen between France and the Republic of the Comoros or in describing their efforts to reach mutually acceptable solutions.

238. Mr. NOEL (Papua New Guinea): I wish to refer to the statement delivered by the representative of Benin during the general debate yesterday and in particular to the issue of decolonization. Here the representative of Benin said and I quote: "the peoples of Western Sahara, of East Timor, of Papua New Guinea and of South Moluccas have been treacherously deprived of their right to self-determination and independence" [10th meeting, para. 342]. I merely wish to take this opportunity to clarify the point that Papua New Guinea is no longer under a colonial régime. We attained independence on 16 September 1975 from Australia and subsequently were admitted to the United Nations as a Member on 10 October of the same year. In actual fact, this is the second time that Papua New Guinea has participated as a sovereign State in the General Assembly of the United Nations. I therefore trust that the above claim made by the representative of Benin that Papua New Guinea was not yet independent was in fact an error rather than a statement with any serious connotations attached to it. For further information my country has a Permanent Mission to the United Nations located at this address: 801 Second Avenue (between 42nd and 43rd Streets) New York.

239. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I have asked to be allowed to speak in order to make a few remarks concerning the inaccuracies and distortions contained in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Greece. The Greek Foreign Minister has said, in his statement, that when Greece was in the process of re-establishing its democratic institutions, Cyprus was invaded by a guarantor Power, meaning evidently Turkey. If one follows this time sequence laid down by the Foreign Minister of Greece then one should reach the conclusion that it was the Government of Mr. Karamanlis which carried out the coup in Cyprus. This, of course, is not correct. The coup in Cyprus was carried out by the military junta in Athens and it collapsed as a result of the Turkish intervention in Cyprus. I am just making this point to relieve the Karamanlis Government of a serious stigma.

240. What the Greek Foreign Minister has said about the demilitarization of the islands is most surprising. He said that the treaties which regulate the status of demilitarization of the islands do not in any way stipulate that Greece should abandon its natural right of defence. The text of the treaties speak for themselves. Article 13 of the Lausanne Peace Treaty states that no naval base and no fortification will be established in the islands of Mytilene, Chios, Samos and Nikaria and that the Greek military forces in the said islands will be limited to the normal contingent called up

for military service, which can be trained on the spot, as well as to a force of gendarmerie and police in proportion to the force of gendarmerie and police existing in the whole of the Greek territory.<sup>12</sup> Article 14 of the peace treaty signed between Italy and the allied Governments, which gave Greece sovereignty over the Dodecanese islands, stipulates that these islands shall be and remain demilitarized.<sup>13</sup>

241. The Greek Foreign Minister also said that defensive measures on the islands had been taken after Turkey's intervention in Cyprus. This is absolutely contrary to the reality of the facts. Indeed, the military measures in the islands had begun much earlier, even as early as 1964. The Greek Foreign Minister has quoted the words of the Prime Minister of Turkey in the wrong context. What Prime Minister Demirel's statement implied was that Turkey was taking the legitimate defensive measures to prevent a Greek invasion. His words cannot imply that the militarization of the islands is not a menace to Turkey. The Greek Foreign Minister, in referring to what my Minister has said about the Aegean Sea being a common sea between Turkey and Greece, has made just a *jeu de mots*. There is no doubt that it is not our intention to make of the Aegean Sea a Turkish/Greek lake. The word "common" used by our Minister was merely in the context of the continental shelf and in the sense that the two countries should respect their mutual rights and interests. The idea of making an exclusive lake of the Aegean is a peculiarly Greek idea. As an illustration I would like to quote the Greek Defence Minister Mr. Averof, who said on 9 January 1975, "Things are different when they concern the Aegean, which is our sea. There, when the need is felt, our policy will be aggressive and our victory complete".

242. The Foreign Minister of Greece has also contested my Minister's interpretation of Security Council resolution 395 (1976) and the recent decision of the International Court of Justice.<sup>14</sup> At this late hour it is certainly not my intention to open a new debate on the substance of these questions, which have been amply dealt with on previous occasions. Therefore, without elaborating on the position of my Government on these issues, I would like to refer to the recent decisions of the two international organs, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice, on the Aegean question.

243. On 10 August the Greek Government asked for a meeting of the Security Council. In his opening statement on the Greek request for an urgent meeting of the Council Mr. Bitsios stated, *inter alia*:

"My intention is to denounce the activities of Turkey which jeopardize peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean and to ask the Council to call upon Turkey to cease them.

...

"The question that the Security Council will have to decide is whether these activities are provocative and

<sup>12</sup> See League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 21 and 23.

<sup>13</sup> See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49, No. 747, p. 134.

<sup>14</sup> *Aegean Sea Continental Shelf, Interim Protection, Order of 11 September 1976*, I.C.J. Reports 1976, p. 3.

constitute a danger to peace. For us, the areas where Sismik-I is operating are not contested. They are part of the Greek continental shelf.

...

"This is the reason why it is necessary that [Turkey] should now hear from the Security Council that it must suspend its provocative acts. The United Nations was not in time to stop the tragedy of Cyprus. It can now prevent a new tragedy in the Aegean. It is in this hope that Greece brings the matter before the Security Council."<sup>15</sup>

244. When the Foreign Minister of Turkey addressed the Council the next day, he stated:

"The Greek Government ... is ... making the unbelievable allegation that Turkey is violating the sovereign rights of Greece on the continental shelf in the Aegean. This allegation is obviously based on the hypothesis that the continental shelf of the Aegean wholly and entirely belongs to Greece. In point of fact, since both countries have conflicting claims over the Aegean continental shelf, no unilateral assertion by Greece, no military intimidation and no attempt to confuse world opinion will confer upon Greece the sovereignty over the regions that it claims. Until the continental shelf is defined and delimited, the respective claims of Turkey and Greece are equally valid and this question can only be settled through negotiation."<sup>16</sup>

245. I should like now to quote the operative part of resolution 395 (1976) adopted by the Council on 25 August, after two weeks of laborious and exhausting consultations:

"*Appeals* to the Governments of Greece and Turkey to exercise the utmost restraint in the present situation;

"*Urges* the Governments of Greece and Turkey to do everything in their power to reduce the present tensions in the area so that the negotiating process may be facilitated;

"*Calls on* the Governments of Greece and Turkey to resume direct negotiations over their differences and appeals to them to do everything within their power to ensure that these result in mutually acceptable solutions;

"*Invites* the Governments of Greece and Turkey in this respect to continue to take into account the contributions that appropriate judicial means, in particular the International Court of Justice, are qualified to make to the settlement of any remaining legal differences which they may identify in connexion with their present dispute."

246. It would be redundant to interpret resolution 395 (1976); it speaks for itself. The Greek contention has not been accepted by the Security Council. By a simultaneous move the Greek Government unilaterally applied to

<sup>15</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year*, 1949th meeting.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1950th meeting.

the International Court of Justice to take a decision on interim measures to stop the activities of a civilian Turkish ship conducting research and exploration in the Aegean.

247. The Court in its decision on the Greek request for interim measures has decided that the circumstances, as they now present themselves to the Court, are not such as to require the exercise of its power under Article 41 of its Statute to indicate any interim measures of protection. The decision of the Court which I have just summarized is unambiguously clear, and it also speaks for itself. The Greek demands for interim measures are hence proved to be without any juridical validity.

248. The Greek Foreign Minister, to our astonishment, took issue also with what my Foreign Minister stated on the demographic element in the question of the Aegean continental shelf. Mr. Çağlayangil had referred to the fact that compared to a few hundred thousand Greeks living in the Aegean Islands, 10 million Turks live along the Aegean coast whose prosperity is closely linked with the potential of the Aegean continental shelf. He did so to illustrate three points: how unjust the Greek claim to monopoly of power in the Aegean is; the extent of Turkish interest involved in the Aegean; and finally that an equitable settlement should be sought. It is indeed astonishing that the Foreign Minister of Greece would challenge such a reasonable approach based on facts.

249. I just would like to say again that the policies of Greece in the Aegean and in Cyprus provide ample evidence of its goals of aggrandizement and expansionism. Mr. Panayiotis-Lambrias, one of the chief advisers to Prime Minister Karamanlis, in an interview with a correspondent of *The New York Times* which appeared on 29 August 1976, stated that for centuries the main Greek ideology was the "*megalidea*", the great idea, of recapturing all lands which in classical times were inhabited by Greeks, and that it has been shattered only by the Cyprus crisis two years ago. This is a curious statement. For the Greeks had always asserted earlier that the "*megalidea*" was dead in 1923 when Turkey and Greece made peace, yet this ambition has proved to be a very lively corpse to have survived 51 years after its death. . . .

250. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I remind the speaker that at the 4th plenary meeting of the General Assembly it was decided that 10 minutes would be given for rights of reply. He has used his 10 minutes, so may I request him to end.

251. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I shall not reply to what the Foreign Minister of Greece has said on the Cyprus question because I want to spare the Assembly another right of reply and an exchange of arguments at this late hour.

252. Mr. MZE (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): In reply to the statement just made by the representative of France, I wish to make it clear here that the delegation of the Comoros maintains the spirit and contents of its statement and intends to withdraw nothing of what it has said. At the 10th meeting, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State of the Comoros has put a certain number of questions here to which the representative of France should

reply without any ambiguity. For the time being, we do not intend to reopen either the dossier or the debate which will come before this Assembly in due course. I wish to reaffirm here that the people of Comoros and their Government do not recognize any legitimacy to the French presence on the Comorian island of Mayotte and that this is simply the result of the deliberate action taken by the Government of France.

253. Mr. PAFOULIAS (Greece): My distinguished colleague from Turkey has again distorted the words of my Foreign Minister or at least the meaning. We all know very well that the Turkish landing in Cyprus occurred on 20 July and the junta collapsed on 23 July. Legality and peace should have been restored to Cyprus. Instead, we all know that Turkey made a disastrous, catastrophic attack on Cyprus again on 14 August 1974. All the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly speak loudly about this, so it is not necessary to play with words. The Cyprus drama is too great to try to cover it with such witticism.

254. As regards the alleged militarization of the Greek islands, it should be pointed out to the General Assembly that the restrictions provided for under article 13 of the Lausanne Treaty aim at, and I quote, "the maintenance of peace", and they can under no circumstances be construed as meaning that the maintenance of peace is a unilateral obligation of Greece, and that the purpose of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, as well as of the Paris Treaty of 1947, was to place the island at the mercy of Turkey and to facilitate Turkish expansionism. This may well be the Turkish view, but as such would be contrary to the fundamental provisions of the Charter of the United Nations as well as to the provisions of the Treaties themselves which bind Turkey equally. Turkey and not Greece is violating the treaties and the Charter of the United Nations by threatening and menacing the security of the islands and consequently peace and security in the area. The elementary defence measures taken by Greece fall well within Article 51 of the Charter and the letter and spirit of the Treaties of Lausanne and Paris.

255. The Greek Foreign Minister, in his intervention before the Security Council on 13 August 1976, read exact quotations from declarations or statements made on several occasions by Turkish members of Government and other high officials or military leaders, which contain direct threats and menaces against the Greek islands. This evidence was never contradicted by the Turkish side. There is no need for me to repeat them to the General Assembly at this hour. They are on record. But in order to demonstrate how baseless and unfounded is the Turkish contention that the so-called remilitarization of the islands constitutes a serious threat to the security of Turkey, I will quote again a Turkish source: General Sunalp, Commander of the Fourth Army of the Aegean, in a statement to the newspaper *Politica* of Istanbul dated 19 August 1976, said that the Aegean Army had a considerable striking force and placed the strength of this army at 123,000 men—I repeat, 123,000 men—which is larger than the total numerical strength of the Greek land forces. The strength of this army which is supported by a large fleet of landing craft shows quite clearly that not Turkey but the islands are the victims of the threat in flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 4,



of the Charter and of the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act.

256. It is a fact that we would not like here to have misunderstandings and confusions like the one that it was attempted to introduce by the term "common sea". The fact that Greece and Turkey are two countries bordering on the Aegean does not mean that the continental shelf of the Aegean is common to these two countries. Nowhere in the world has this been the case. Such a notion is, to say the least, novel and not recognized by existing treaties or by the single negotiating text on the law of the sea. The fact that Greece and Turkey are coastal States of the Aegean simply points to the necessity of delimiting their respective areas of the continental shelf appertaining to each other, and this is what the matter is all about. Instead of trying to fog the issues, Turkey would do much better to follow the international rules and the practice of the States in this connexion.

257. I do not think I have to deal at length with the question of demography, as the General Assembly knows full well what it really means when placed in the context of the relations between neighbouring countries. The theories of vital space, of demography and of like considerations are unfortunately exactly those that led to the tragic sequence of events 30 years ago, the repetition of which our Charter seeks to prevent. It is sad that such theories should be heard again before this august body. Now, as regards Security Council resolution 395 (1976) and the order of the International Court of Justice, I would not have replied since I did not hear my Foreign Minister saying anything of the sort. I do not know from where Ambassador Türkmen took this passage that he considers to be a quotation. Anyway, to hear him one would think that the Security Council convened just to have I do not know what kind of an opportunity simply to meet. Paragraph 1 of resolution 395 (1976) says: "Appeals to the Governments of Greece and Turkey to observe the utmost restraint in the present situation". Obviously the Security Council should have in mind something to recommend restraint and no matter how this can be distorted, it clearly indicates the activities by Sismik-I. Everybody knows this; the Security Council did not meet just to have a discussion on some abstract question; it usually does not do that. The same is true of the meaning of paragraph 2; therefore, I do not think that it is necessary to dwell very much on the meaning of the Security Council resolution 395 (1976).

258. As regards the order of the International Court of Justice, it has 42 paragraphs, it is very complex and this is not the time—nor the place—to dwell very much upon it, but I would say this: that if the International Court of Justice did not take the measures that Greece asked for, it was because Greece chose to come to the Security Council in the search of peace, and coming here and using the peaceful procedures of the Charter certainly cannot be construed against the one who has tried to apply them. Therefore, I think that the criticism made by Ambassador Türkmen is out of place. I do not think that what my distinguished colleague said has really added very much to what we know, or in any way refuted what my Foreign Minister has said.

259. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): I did not intend to take the floor again, but as I said a few minutes ago sometimes this is useful to dispel any misunderstanding. I said that my delegation would take part in the debate on item 125. This means to say, obviously, that it will respond to the questions raised yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Comoros. As obviously more than 10 minutes will be necessary to do this I do not see how I could be called upon to respond now because I would run the risk of violating the rules of procedure of our Assembly. I think that my colleague from the Comoros will obviously understand this point.

260. Nor will I seek to say the last word in this brief discussion and take up too much of our Assembly's time. Allow me, quite simply, to express my concern with the idea that my colleague from the Comoros, in the statement that he has just made, has put forward. He spoke of a deliberate will on the part of my Government to separate the island of Mayotte from the state of the Comoros. There again, I will have the opportunity of explaining and demonstrating that in this case there is absolutely no deliberate will on the part of the Government of France.

261. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I just want to make two brief points regarding the statement of the distinguished Ambassador of Greece.

262. It is deeply regrettable that the distinguished Ambassador of Greece chose to interfere in the domestic affairs of Turkey when he tried in vain to defend Greece's flagrant violations of its international commitments by militarizing the eastern Aegean islands. It is purely an internal affair of Turkey—or, for that matter, of any country—to determine the size and deployment of its armed forces, but Greece in full freedom signed international treaties which oblige it to respect the demilitarized status of the eastern Aegean islands.

263. Now, the second point I want to make is the following: the distinguished Permanent Representative of Greece has spoken again of the reference by my Minister to the demographic factor and has seen in this reference a reminiscence of the political theories of vital space. I think he would have done much better to avoid such a reference. The record of the Turkish Republic since it was founded is clear. Turkey has never embarked upon an aggressive policy and has respected the territorial integrity of all countries. I cannot say the same for Greece. Greece's history since 1923 has been marred by many Fascist theories, so I think that the Greeks should be more careful in attributing to others the intentions that their own Government had from time to time.

264. Now, it is, of course, ridiculous to say that, because we have stated that there are 20 million Turks on the Aegean coast of Turkey and only a few hundred thousand in the islands, this is tantamount to putting forward a political claim in the Aegean. I think the Greeks believe that the Turkish Government thinks in the same terms as the Greek Government does, because the Greek Government has followed the policy of an accession of the island of Cyprus on the basis that the majority of the population

there is Greek. Well, we are not the Greek Government and we have not put forward this demographic element in order to justify such an expansionist policy. We have mentioned this fact only in the economic context, just to point out the

need for an equitable sharing of the resources of the continental shelf.

*The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.*