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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Nkundabagenzi (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): I should like, on behalf of His Majesty the King, the Government and the people of Bhutan to extend to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński our warmest congratulations on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. In his capacity as Deputy Foreign Minister of his country he has already distinguished himself as a statesman of high calibre. We are confident that under his able guidance our discussions during succeeding months will be fruitful. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay my tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik of Indonesia, who guided the deliberations of this Assembly during the last session with such great distinction. To the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, I should like to pay a special compliment for his wise and dedicated leadership of this world body at a moment when it is faced with so many complex and crucial problems.

2. Bhutan became a Member of the United Nations last year. For several centuries we had followed a policy of self-imposed isolation to preserve our country's sovereignty and independence. While the policy was successful in achieving that objective, it left our country socially, economically and politically backward. The man primarily responsible for ending that policy and leading our country into the mainstream of the modern world was His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, who passed away recently at the young age of 44 years, following a heart attack. There have been extremely few monarchs in the history of the world who like him have been so selfless, enlightened and progressive. During the 20 years of his reign he introduced sweeping social, economic and political reforms which have changed the face of our country. Under his wise and inspiring leadership we have made significant progress on

the road to modernization. With the help of our friendly neighbour India we are building up the social and economic infrastructure of our country through a series of five-year plans, two of which have already been completed and a third was launched last year.

3. Our new King, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, is determined to follow in the footsteps of his great father. In the sphere of foreign policy, His Majesty has reaffirmed our commitment to the ideals of the United Nations Charter and to the policy of non-alignment and friendship with all countries. In the domestic sphere, His Majesty has pledged himself to work selflessly and with devotion to provide our people with a better, richer and fuller life.

4. The preceding year has been a momentous one. Although the world continues to face many serious problems, certain hopeful signs have begun to emerge. President Nixon's recent visits to China and the Soviet Union have for the first time after several decades unfolded opportunities which could usher in an era of real détente. My delegation welcomes this positive development and we hope that these new contacts which have been established between the leaders of the United States on the one hand and China and the Soviet Union on the other will contribute positively to bringing about real peace in the world. In the context of improved relations between the major Powers of the world, and in the context of the changes that are taking place in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and other parts of the world, we can now look forward to the coming years with hope and optimism.

5. For the first time in over two decades, signs of peace on the Indian subcontinent have begun to emerge. The possibility of a thaw in Indo-Pakistani relations is no longer a remote possibility but a possible reality which is within the grasp of the leaders of India and Pakistan. This affords the people of the subcontinent a real chance to live in peace and amity. We have noted with satisfaction the outcome of the recent summit meeting between the leaders of India and Pakistan, which has resulted in some significant progress being made towards a lasting and durable peace on the subcontinent. We are convinced that the leaders of both India and Pakistan desire genuine peace and it is the hope of my Government that the two countries will be able to work out satisfactory solutions to their problems without interference from outside.

6. Bhutan welcomes the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent sovereign nation. We extended our sympathy and support to the people of Bangladesh during their struggle for national liberation and we are happy today that we were one of the first to recognize the reality of Bangladesh—a reality which has now been recognized by

over 90 nations of the world. We wish the people of Bangladesh well and hope that they will be able to take their rightful place in this Assembly of nations without further delay.

7. The emergence of Bangladesh and the changes that are taking place on the Indian subcontinent have undoubtedly brought about new political equations in Asia. Bhutan is fully conscious of the far-reaching changes that are taking place in our part of the world and we are taking the necessary steps to adjust our attitudes and policies in the context of those changes. It is gratifying to note that our relations with our neighbour India continue to be most cordial and friendly. Our relations with India are based on equality and mutual trust and advantage, and we look forward to an era of still greater co-operation and friendship with India in the years to come.

8. My delegation considers the contacts which have recently been established between the leaders of South and North Korea as a positive factor leading to the restoration of peace and normalcy in that region, as a prelude to the eventual reunification of Korea. We welcome those positive developments and fully support the efforts of the people of both South and North Korea to establish durable peace in their country.

9. My delegation has read with great satisfaction the joint communiqué issued on 29 September 1972 by the Prime Ministers of Japan and China at the conclusion of Prime Minister Tanaka's visit to China. We welcome these high-level contacts and the decision which was taken to normalize relations between those two great Asian countries. Improved relations between Japan and China will undoubtedly be a positive factor in ensuring peace and stability in East Asia.

10. We have also noted with satisfaction the climate of détente in Europe and we welcome the agreements recently signed between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland. We also welcome the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971 and the contacts established between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic with a view to improving relations between them.

11. These hopeful signs should not, however, blind us to the fact that the world is still not free from conflicts. In the Middle East little progress has been achieved towards a lasting peace. My delegation believes that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) provides the requisite framework within which a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem could be found, a solution which would take into account the just and legitimate aspirations of all concerned. We are convinced that this problem can be solved through peaceful means without resorting to force. It is the hope of my delegation that all concerned will work towards the peaceful solution of this tragic problem. In this connexion we have noted with satisfaction that Ambassador Jarring has resumed his mission to bring peace to the area. We wish him every success in his difficult task. It is equally the hope of my delegation that the conflict in Viet-Nam will come to an end soon and that the people of that war-torn land will be able to live once again in peace and harmony. The recent

decision to resume the peace talks in Paris is a welcome development in this regard and my delegation expresses the hope that its outcome will be fruitful.

12. During the past two years or so significant progress has been made in the field of disarmament. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union have resulted in a partial accord. My delegation welcomes the recently concluded treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States in that connexion.¹ My Government is totally committed to the concept of general and complete disarmament and would like this limited accord to be extended so as to encompass a wider area of general disarmament in all its aspects. It is in the same spirit that we welcome the agreement signed in Moscow during the visit of President Nixon relating to co-operation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes. My delegation will continue to watch with interest the proceedings of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, whose achievements, though limited so far, have not been insignificant. We consider it imperative for all nuclear Powers to fully participate in the deliberations of the Committee on Disarmament so that this forum could become more representative and effective. My delegation supports the proposal to convene, with adequate preparation, a world disarmament conference, with the participation of all countries of the world.

13. My delegation shares the concern of our Secretary-General and other Governments at the alarming increase that has taken place in terrorist activities in recent months. We firmly believe that any form of intimidation or terrorist activity ought to be condemned. We view with serious concern the increase in such activities in recent years and would support any move which would, through collective action, bring an end to this senseless violence which causes suffering to so many innocent individuals.

14. During the last General Assembly session my delegation supported the proposal to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. My Government is convinced that as a first step it may be desirable to declare such areas or zones as could be mutually agreed upon as areas or zones of peace. We note with regret, however, that little progress has been made so far in implementing the provisions of the General Assembly resolution on this subject [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. Being a hinterland State belonging to the Indian Ocean area, Bhutan is deeply interested to ensure that the Indian Ocean and the adjoining areas should be free from becoming an area of confrontation between the super-Powers.

15. Another area which constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security is colonialism and racism. In spite of several years of sustained efforts by the various United Nations agencies, Territories such as Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia and Namibia continue to be under foreign colonial occupation. My delegation is disappointed that very little progress has been made in accelerating the process of liberation of those colonial Territories. While my Government has noted with satisfaction the results of the efforts made by the Secre-

¹ Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

tary-General to establish contacts with the leaders of South Africa and Namibia with a view to bringing about the independence of that Territory, we are not very hopeful that the Government of South Africa will heed the voice of world public opinion. The recent decision of the Government of South Africa to agree to the appointment of the representative of the Secretary-General for Namibia, while a welcome development, should not blind us to the position South Africa has always taken on the question of Namibia. My delegation has also noted with regret that in spite of the pressure of world opinion the Government of South Africa continues to practise unabated its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. My delegation also views with concern the fact that no progress has been made to end the illegal white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia. We are of the view that the hands of the Secretary-General and of the United Nations must be strengthened so that the United Nations could act as an effective instrument for ending the evils of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

16. My Government, like the Governments of many other countries of the third world, was disappointed at the outcome of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD]. If one of the major causes of friction and tension in the world is to be eliminated, then we must make a determined effort to reduce the massive disparities which exist in the standards of living of the peoples of the developed and the developing countries. My delegation had hoped that the recently concluded session of UNCTAD would provide an answer to some of the principal causes underlying this ever-increasing gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world. It is, therefore, with a sense of deep disappointment that my delegation noted the very limited results achieved at the session. When the General Assembly adopted the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] there was hope that we might yet, through collective action, solve some of the problems of trade and development. The subsequent events have, however, belied those expectations. We hope that the United Nations will be able to provide the necessary impetus and the machinery to solve these problems, which are of crucial importance to the developing countries.

17. Although my Government could not participate in the recent United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June 1972, we have followed its deliberations with great interest. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the adoption of the Declaration by the Conference is one of the important landmarks in the history of the United Nations. While we realize that the problems of pollution and the environment cannot be solved overnight, the recent Conference has created the necessary awareness amongst the peoples and the nations of the world of the gravity of these problems. This in itself is a significant achievement, and I have no doubt that the continuing machinery of the Conference will take the necessary follow-up action in the matter.

18. During the last quarter of a century man has made remarkable strides in science and technology. Today we have the means to utilize this remarkable knowledge we have gained for the good of all mankind. Man is ready to explore the tremendous wealth of outer space and other

planets and of the seas and oceans. The resources of the sea have a tremendous potential if harnessed properly. My Government, therefore, welcomed the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and the Subsoil Thereof, Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, adopted by the General Assembly two years ago [resolution 2749 (XXV)]. We continue to support all measures aimed at declaring outer space and the sea-bed and ocean floor as the common heritage of all mankind, to be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes. My Government regards the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction as of great importance and will closely watch the outcome of the proposed conference on the law of the sea scheduled to be convened in 1973.

19. In conclusion, I should once again like to pledge my Government's continued support of the ideals and principles of the United Nations Charter. We pledge to work towards our common ideals and aspirations in the pursuit of peace. We are convinced that the United Nations remains one of the best hopes for mankind's survival. We shall not fail to contribute our modest bit in the strengthening of the United Nations so that this great Organization may continue to further the cause of world peace, progress and security.

20. Mr. HASSANE (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): At the time when I have the honour of addressing representatives of the nations of the world meeting together here, I take particular pleasure in conveying to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński my sincere and warm congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of our Assembly. That unanimous election on the part of the States Members of our Organization is no mere accident, but is due to his many statesman-like qualities and virtues as a servant of the international community.

21. Permit me also to pay a tribute to Mr. Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, who discharged with talent and wisdom the responsibilities which you now bear.

22. I should also like to express my admiration to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our Secretary-General, whose great qualities, sense of responsibility, determination to succeed and perseverance are obvious to everyone. I should like to extend to him my best wishes for his good health, happiness and complete success in his heavy tasks.

23. Mr. President, may I assure you of the unfailing co-operation of my country which, as a Member of the United Nations, shares the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Indeed, apart from observing the principles of the San Francisco Charter, my country makes it a fundamental rule of its foreign policy to foster understanding among all peoples of the world on the basis of absolute respect for human rights, equality of States and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

24. Loyal to the spirit of the United Nations Charter, the Government of the Republic of Chad has unceasingly expressed its indignation at the subjugation of the people of Africa who are still suffering under Portuguese barbarism

and under the *apartheid* régimes of Vorster and the rebel Ian Smith. Here and in the Organization of African Unity [OAU] my country strongly condemns the servitude of our African brothers, whom a handful of outsiders want to exploit for the sake of reactionary ideas which have been condemned by the world. The attitude of the Portuguese, of Vorster and of Ian Smith is an affront to mankind and has persisted far too long. The United Nations, guarantor of the fundamental principles of the Charter, should delay no longer in putting an end to this defiance by all appropriate means, because the very persistence of this situation is nothing but a flouting of the resolutions and recommendations of our Organization.

25. The OAU, of which my country is a founding member, is determined to bring about the total liberation of the continent from foreign domination. For our country this is the priority of priorities, namely, that the whole of Africa should recover the rights which have been taken from it. This is an urgent duty and we consider that it is a duty which must be discharged immediately. The assistance that it grants to recognized liberation movements reflects this determination to see the whole continent recover its dignity. The ninth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Rabat from 12 to 15 June 1972, was obvious proof of this, as were the previous Assemblies. However, the OAU does not at all want to act alone. It believes that it is its duty to provide a substantial contribution to the efforts of the universal Organization. Everyone is aware of the fact that the objectives and purposes of these two organizations coincide totally.

26. We must note that in other parts of the world there are persisting problems as burning as the ones that I have mentioned.

27. In the Middle East there is a period of respite at the moment because the situation of "no war, no peace" in which the peoples of that area live cannot satisfy our community. Is it possible to see here any kind of promising prospects for peace and harmony, or should we consider this rather as a mirage? Thus, in the face of this alternative, my Government thinks that it is the duty of the United Nations alone to act and to act quickly so as to prevent the loss of more and more human lives tomorrow, as yesterday, as a result of gunfire. The United Nations has already set out a basis for action with a view to a peaceful and equitable solution of the problem in that area. I have in mind particularly Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which includes relevant principles whose application offers guarantees of survival to each of the parties to the conflict. However that may be, my Government, reaffirming its attachment to the United Nations Charter and to that of the OAU, is categorically opposed to the acquisition and occupation of foreign territory by force.

28. The right of the people of Palestine to recover their national heritage has been recognized. In this regard, I should like to remind members, among other things, of the following: resolution 2535 B (XXIV), in which the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people; resolution 2672 C (XXV), in which the General Assembly recognized that the people of Palestine should be able to enjoy equal rights and the exercise of

their right to self-determination under the Charter; resolution 2649 (XXV), in which the General Assembly recognized the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination.

29. Those who with the complicity of certain great Powers are striving to maintain the *status quo* of the Palestinians and who trample underfoot the decisions of the international Organization are alone responsible for this crime against mankind.

30. If we have thought it our duty to associate ourselves with the desire of the Secretary-General to include in the agenda of our session the burning problem of terrorism, it is because we wanted it to be discussed and we wanted to see the facts clearly. We condemn international terrorism in all its manifestations, but I want to be properly understood. We absolutely exclude any idea of using this as a way of calling into question the legitimate activities of African liberation movements recognized by the OAU. Nor can there be any question for us of trying to wrest from the Palestinians their absolute right, which has been recognized, to recover their lost territory.

31. We must clearly define at this session the term "international terrorism", and we must also look for its causes and try to find objective solutions that would satisfy everyone. But let us not delude ourselves. This is indeed a complex problem.

32. The President of the French Republic, in his press conference of 21 September last, said:

"Terrorism, to the extent that it affects everyone blindly, whether innocent or not, is something we condemn. But let us cherish no illusions; we shall not eliminate Palestinian terrorism if we do not find some solution to the Palestinian problem. You cannot eliminate a phenomenon of this kind if you do not resolve the deep-seated cause of the phenomenon."

33. If my delegation had noted any manoeuvre whatsoever designed to call into the question the activities of the valiant African freedom fighters recognized by the OAU, for example, then, of course, we would be obliged to reconsider our position. That is how I would like to explain the vote of the Chad delegation in favour of including on the agenda the item on international terrorism [item 92].

34. In South-East Asia bloody and murderous fighting is still going on and is destroying innocent and defenceless people. This annihilation has become a routine matter for the imperialist sadists, who for various reasons want to keep it going. In fact, these wars are no longer the exclusive affair of the parties directly concerned and confronting each other, but derive their causes from ideological intervention and a desire for hegemony. None of these reasons can meet with our approval, nor should they divert the attention of our Organization, for which no war can be a matter of routine but must always be a matter of urgent concern.

35. The United Nations must demand from those who are the founding Members, but who do not hesitate to bring the Organization into ridicule, the complete and immediate

cessation of the crimes which they have been committing for several years.

36. In the view of the Chad delegation, there are a few reasons that explain the persistence of world problems. Everywhere we see resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations that cannot be put into effect because it is not the will of any given Power in a given instance. Each Power is looking for its own victory outside the world Organization. Out of scorn for other States, all these Powers systematically trample underfoot our resolutions and recommendations, which are after all common solutions to common problems. Since it is so difficult for them to come to an agreement, their attempts to seek victory for themselves are vain and futile. That is why, in Africa, Portugal, Vorster and Ian Smith have not yet given way to our international Organization. That is why in the Middle East Security Council resolution 242 (1967) has so far remained unimplemented. That is why in South-East Asia, men, women and children continue to be incinerated every day.

37. We would also like to make some comments in the context of international economic development. There is one particular point I should like to make and this relates to the third session of UNCTAD, held in Santiago, Chile. At the opening of this session there was a feeling of hope. The poorer countries did indeed expect of it the adoption of a new concept of commercial solidarity in the international community. Our hope was based on the statements of the affluent countries, which we thought indicated their will finally to do something about the inequalities existing between them and the developing countries by undertaking to make a global effort to promote international trade and aid for development. But, unfortunately, nothing of the kind happened and there was only disappointment in store for us with regard to the conclusion of the Santiago Conference. Yet the Group of 77 developing countries had made the necessary arrangements to facilitate this global effort. But, in spite of all this, the regional and national selfishness of the developed countries won the day over international solidarity. Let us hope that at the fourth session of UNCTAD the understanding of the affluent countries will spare us the evils now being suffered by the countries of the third world.

38. Although many world problems remain outstanding, the Government of the Republic of Chad notes with satisfaction the climate of détente which is to be glimpsed on some horizons—renunciation of the use of force; limitation of the arms race; peaceful coexistence—demonstrated on the one hand by the visits of the President of the United States to Peking and Moscow, and on the other, by the entry into force of the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland, and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin. Those are facts which constitute the new kind of relationships which we are looking for between the peoples of the world and which have particularly marked the year 1972. That is not all. The year 1972 has witnessed a new trend in the relations between the two Korean Governments.

39.* The postponement at our previous session of a discussion of the question of Korea without any doubt contributed to the creation of a climate of eased tension

between these two parties, and, believe me, if it had been otherwise, we would certainly not be witnessing the results we witness today. That is why my delegation considers that this year again the United Nations should welcome and encourage the efforts of the Korean Governments by refraining from doing anything which might jeopardize their negotiations.

40. I would be failing in my duty if, in conclusion, in the absence of U Thant, our former Secretary-General, I were not to pay the tribute to him which he is entitled to expect of us for all that he did during the difficult years when he faced, so honourably, various burning problems of all dimensions. On behalf of the Head of State, the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. François Tombalbaye, Secretary-General of the Progressive Party of Chad, and on my own behalf, I would like to convey to him our very best wishes for very good health and happiness.

41. My Head of State has made it clear, with regard to the question of China, that that vast country is a partner which cannot be ignored in the world system of peaceful coexistence because it is a Power whose responsibility it should be to ensure a balance of power in the world. Through the delegation of China in this hall, we greet the Chinese people and Government.

42. The resolutions adopted by our National Congress in Sarh, in April of last year, recommended that we adopt a policy of an opening up of international relations. This is a concrete manifestation of the constant efforts of President François Tombalbaye, Secretary-General of the Progressive Party of Chad and Head of State.

43. With all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries the Government of my country would like to maintain cordial relations based on mutual respect for the principles of the charter of the OAU and of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Trepczyński (Poland) took the Chair.

44. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): May I begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly. The historical ties between my country and Poland add to my satisfaction at seeing you presiding over this Assembly. We feel sure that your high qualities and wide experience will be a valuable asset to the success of our deliberations.

45. I wish also to express our appreciation and gratitude to our former President, Mr. Adam Malik, for the excellent job he did throughout his tenure of office. I am sure that this great Assembly will continue to benefit from his wisdom and experience.

46. This is the first occasion I have had to address the General Assembly since the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, assumed his high office. I have had the privilege of co-operating with him for many long years and I should like to convey my sincere appreciation of his outstanding performance of his task, which is dedicated to peace and to the attainment of the ideals of the United Nations. I wish him all success in his future endeavours.

47. I should like also to welcome Under-Secretary-General Morse and to wish him well in his new duties.

48. Our agenda is weighted as usual with items of crucial importance. Our world continues to be troubled by many centres of strife, conflict, instability and unhappiness. Many dangerous problems await speedy and just solutions. On the other hand, some recent developments lead us to believe that, for the first time since the end of the Second World War, we may well be on the threshold of a qualitatively different era of international relations. So before I elaborate on the prospects we can hope for, permit me to dwell briefly upon some of the major problems which confront us.

49. Although so many years have elapsed since the cease-fire in the Middle East, we note regretfully that the settlement which would end the plight of the peoples of this region is still to come. We maintain the view that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contains all the necessary elements for bringing about a just and durable solution of this problem. Having consistently supported Ambassador Jarring's mission, we observe with satisfaction the realistic and constructive attitude taken in this respect by some of the directly interested Arab States. We believe that this approach should not only be put to good use but should also be followed by the other parties to the conflict.

50. The establishment of a just and durable peace should naturally safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned. But we feel that such a peace cannot be founded on the acquisition of political or territorial advantages through the use or threat of force. We have always insisted that the status of Jerusalem, a holy city for three major religions of mankind, should not be changed by unilateral action.

51. As regards developments in the subcontinent, we think that the favourable atmosphere created at the Simla meeting between the leaders of Pakistan and India should be utilized for further agreements. The speedy restoration of peaceful conditions, stability and co-operation in the region will undoubtedly be in the interest of all concerned.

52. In this respect I should like to emphasize particularly the fact that the predicament of prisoners of war constitutes a great cause for concern. We believe that for political, legal and especially humanitarian considerations these prisoners of war should be repatriated as soon as possible, in accordance with the Geneva Conventions and with due regard to the United Nations resolutions.

53. The abhorrence with which Turkey views colonialism and racial discrimination is too well known to need stressing. Suffice it to say that my country was one of the sponsors of the historic Declaration on decolonization,² and occupies for the third time the office of President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

54. Today 28 million people still live under colonial rule. The worst cases of this anachronism continue to prevail in parts of the African continent, where no substantial

improvement has been recorded in the past year. The only exception to this tragic situation is the chain of rather hopeful developments in connexion with Namibia, such as the visit of the Secretary-General of the United Nations from 6 to 10 March 1972 and the appointment of his representative, on the recommendation of the Security Council in its resolution 319 (1972).

55. Turkey, which takes a great interest in the questions of Africa in general and in the problems of decolonization in particular, was pleased to receive this year the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, as well as a delegation representing the OAU under the chairmanship of Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. The exchange of views in Ankara served to illustrate once again the understanding which so happily exists between Turkey and the African countries.

56. The world community today is being wantonly and needlessly torn apart by a new form of violence. I refer to acts of international terrorism ranging from the hijacking of aircraft to the kidnapping and killing of innocent people. The frequency with which these events have been taking place in recent times and the tragic consequences they have brought about have created a general feeling of insecurity in the daily conditions of normal life and have proved that national actions to prevent them must be complemented by measures at the international level. Turkey favours all positive and sensible initiatives in this direction. However, in coping with this urgent problem and in order to be just and effective all care should be taken to ensure that acts of terrorism *per se* do not become the object of political exploitation one way or another. International political issues and criminal acts should be kept in their respective domains and dealt with accordingly.

57. We agree with our Secretary-General when he says that the underlying situations which give rise to violence and terrorism should be considered simultaneously. While on this subject I should like to point out the emergence of a new kind of subversive terrorism directed from abroad and aimed at undermining the national independence, unity and territorial integrity of States. Yet we all know that under the Charter of our Organization each State has the right to choose freely its economic, social and political system and we cherish this freedom to determine our national affairs. It is all the more regrettable that the acts to which I refer are directed against countries which follow a policy of peace, *entente* and co-operation, abide faithfully by the Charter of the United Nations and practise tolerance and good will in their international relations. If we are sincere, as we should be, in our desire to strengthen international peace and security, to promote co-operation and concord and to develop further the climate of *détente*, the international community should not remain indifferent to those subversive acts, which are flagrant and dangerous violations of the Charter and the decisions of the General Assembly. It must never be forgotten that sincerity and good faith should not be just empty words but should always be truly respected in civilized intercourse among nations and that resort to double standards ultimately leads to chaos.

58. May I now turn to some of those hopeful developments which at least indicate that the international firmament is not entirely clouded. It is a source of satisfaction

² Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 1514 (XV)).

for us to see two great nations of the Asian continent, China and Japan, bridging the differences and inaugurating a new era in their relations. South and North Korea have initiated negotiations for peaceful unification. We earnestly hope that their efforts will be crowned with success. On the other hand, we welcome the talks which are going on between East and West Germany. We see in them a further contribution to the process of détente and expect that they will yield positive results in the near future. In the field of disarmament the SALT agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics³ constitutes a landmark. We are also on the eve of a conference which is to take up the disarmament question on a global basis. We believe that, in the preliminary work of preparation for this conference, not only the great military Powers but also States belonging to different regions and having special strategic positions should participate. Considering that such a conference may be a turning-point in human history, in mankind's age-old dream of peace, Turkey nourishes very high hopes for it and attaches great importance to its being held after the completion of all preparations necessary for its success.

59. Another forthcoming event of major importance for peace is the prospective conference on European security and co-operation. Turkey's attitude towards this conference is similar to its attitude towards the conference on disarmament. That is to say, Turkey welcomes it wholeheartedly; places great hopes in it; wishes to see it completely successful; and for that very reason wants full preparation.

60. As was stated by my delegation from this rostrum last year [*1954th meeting*], political agreements alone cannot meet all the requirements of security. They need to be complemented by a lowering of the level of the military forces which confront each other. It is this necessity that has bred the concept of mutual and balanced force reductions. As durable peace can only come about through real security, I would like to stress once again the undeniable and inescapable link between the military and political aspects of the forthcoming conference.

61. Now I wish to say a few words on the question of Cyprus, which is of direct interest to my country. It is known that on the basis of the suggestion of the Secretary-General, the intercommunal talks in Cyprus have been resumed in an enlarged form.⁴ Turkey has always been in favour of finding a peaceful and permanent solution for the Cyprus question based on the partnership of the two communities in the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the island, and in safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of the Turkish and Greek communities and the other parties concerned. It is in that hope that Turkey has accepted the proposal of the Secretary-General for the reactivation of the talks in their new form. All we wish now is that these talks arrive at a successful conclusion. In speaking about Cyprus, I take the opportunity to reiterate the deep appreciation of my

Government to all those who contribute to the peace-keeping effort in the island.

62. Up to now, I have touched upon some important problems occupying the international scene. I have tried to draw as impartial a picture as possible. But if I have cited both negative and positive factors with almost equal weight, this is not merely out of a concern for objectivity. The present situation in our world is indeed an extremely complex one, made up of quite contradictory elements. Yet, essentially, we seem to be facing two diverging paths, one leading to disaster and the other to hope. The only similarity which can be found in these two alternatives is that they are both of a cosmic dimension.

63. Although the problems of our times have roots which go deep into our past, it is nevertheless an inescapable fact that the onus of coping with them belongs to our generation. All our thinkers, leaders, statesmen, all our public figures with influence and authority, even all the rank-and-file people whose preferences and rejections make up popular opinion—in a word, all of us—are responsible for making the ultimate choice between the path of despair and the path of happiness. That is our historic task which, while it is tremendously difficult, ought to be considered also as a source of pride by all people of goodwill and dedication to the betterment of the human lot.

64. How, then, to make this vital choice between bifurcating paths? How to strive for peace, prosperity and happiness, avoiding all pitfalls which may well be dangerous enough to prove fatal for the entire human race? To answer those questions, we must have a general look at the fundamental aspirations of man, as well as at the successes and failures he has encountered in his endeavours. We can thus hope to trace some of the causes which lie behind his checkered record, and to think of ways and means which, seemingly modest at the outset, can eventually grow successfully if adopted in goodwill and used with patience.

65. With the hindsight provided by a long history, and with the increased awareness caused by the exacerbation of the problems, mainly because of the discrepancy between the great technical advance, on the one hand, and the relative lack of success in the conduct of international affairs, on the other, the attainment of man's aspirations is not only more urgent but also more evident today than ever. Man aspires to peace. He seeks it more sincerely and more fervently than he ever sought the glory of the battlefields. He seeks real security, the kind of security which is both the prerequisite and the fruit of peace. He knows that neither freedom nor co-operation can flourish in a climate of strife. He is now at last aware that he is his brother's keeper and he must indeed love his neighbour.

66. Man aspires to prosperity. He realizes that his most basic needs will risk going unsatisfied unless his labour is put to full profit through general, even world-wide, co-operation. He hopes to find in this co-operation a means of achieving a fairer pattern of distribution of the wealth produced among nations. He understands the importance of a sound social order, just as he sees the role that economic development plays in shaping it.

67. And, lastly, man aspires to a more hospitable environment to live in. He begins to heed the solemn warning of

³ Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10401, para. 79.

nature. He grasps the grim fact that world resources are neither inexhaustible nor proof against deadly deterioration. In fact, there is no denying that this planet of ours can, through our carelessness, become an almost unsuitable place for human survival. On the other hand, if not subjected to wanton destruction, it can at the same time preserve its pristine beauties and adorn itself by man-made wonders. Technological advances, which ought to be a source of well-being and happiness, will be a threat to our very existence if not achieved with a sense of responsibility.

68. Those being mankind's most outstanding goals, how far has he advanced towards them up to now? To belittle the distance covered in the course of long centuries of civilization would be tantamount to disparaging the creative ability of the human mind. Man's achievements are indeed impressive. But are they, in their actual shape, capable of satisfying his ever-growing needs? We have already stated that man's past record in this connexion has been an uneven one, marked by failures as well as by successes. The problems confronting us today, such as overpopulation, food shortages, lack of adequate education and health facilities, our near helplessness in the face of natural calamities, and the absence of an atmosphere of trust and security, bear witness to these failures.

69. However, it seems to us that through our failures and successes we have accomplished one important task: we have aroused a common consciousness among all the peoples of the problems which beset us. We believe the time is ripe now to make use of this common consciousness, and the best instrument we have for this purpose is the United Nations.

70. One feature of international relations is the process of détente. We welcome this development as it increases our hopes for a durable peace. However, up to the present, détente has been far from reaching a completely satisfactory level, both in scope and in solidity.

71. In spite of the inauguration of an atmosphere of détente we are still experiencing strife, conflict and hostility. A genuine détente on a global scale is bound to be an unfulfilled wish of the peoples of the world as long as this state of affairs remains unchanged. Conditions obtaining in international relations being what they are, it will of course be, to say the least, unrealistic to hope for an immediate elimination of political conflicts. They are too deep-rooted to be conjured away immediately or easily.

72. But does this mean that we are utterly powerless to do anything whatsoever in this domain here and now? If, as I said, we are unable to do away speedily with the conflicts themselves, is it not within our power to check the crises they engender? Can we not find some means to take away their acuteness? Would it be too much to contemplate a kind of freeze for some types of political conflicts for limited periods of time? Recalling the United Nations noteworthy accomplishments through the declaration of the Decades in the fields of disarmament as well as of economic development, would it not be within the grasp of this Assembly to declare, for example, a "decade of political conciliation" and devise the means of promoting it? Could we not systematize and concert all individual and

collective past efforts within this Organization to such a noble task? Could we not translate such a spirit of conciliation into a system of effective co-ordination of all the various political, economic and social efforts?

73. Such an approach to some types of international conflicts would not only enable us to benefit from the healing effects of time but would also enable our Organization through the systematization of its efforts to speed up their settlement.

74. In saying this, I am not making any formal proposal but rather submitting these views for meditation and consideration.

75. I must also emphasize that my remarks have no bearing on conflicts resulting from colonialism and the forceful occupation of foreign territories. We cannot expect either a subjected people or freedom-loving countries to tolerate colonial rule for any length of time. Neither can we tolerate violations of fundamental human rights in contravention of solemnly undertaken international agreements. The same applies to the case of lands wrenched away by brutal force.

76. Problems created by such causes demand not only our Organization's urgent and undivided attention, but also its uncompromising action.

77. To conclude, I should like to underline one outstanding feature that seems to characterize our times, namely, that man's inner revolution, his expectations, in short, man's consciousness has now reached a level of development that clearly outstrips what his political, social and economic environment can provide for him. There is a new individual consciousness—whether a man be rich or poor, strong or weak, developed or undeveloped—the quality and magnitude of which have been unparalleled in any previous era of human history.

78. This imbalanced relationship between man and his total environment carries the seeds of both promise and calamity for our future. When countries all over the world are striving through individual efforts or, as in the case of regional and global organizations, through collective efforts to meet the challenge of our age, the problems of the political environment cannot be abandoned to haphazard and non-systemized solutions, in isolation from the social and economic environment of man. At a time of common destiny for all nations, problems facing man must be boldly taken up in their totality, for if they are not, we may suffer the loss of man's accomplishments. That is why I felt compelled to call upon this august Assembly to ponder deeply in respect of the political problems singled out, the choices we now face between hope and disaster, between promise and despair, between consolation and conflict. The implication is clear. There is no place for a mentality of *status quo* in the archaic sense. It is a change towards the satisfaction of human aspirations that is needed, but must this change be disorderly, destructive, disruptive and even deadly or, in our efforts for a better world to live in, can we not act intelligently and with a sense of responsibility and with imagination?

79. I believe it is through this attentive, wise and patient action of the United Nations that we can best hope to see great Atatürk's life-long dream of "peace at home and peace in the world" come true for the benefit of all mankind.

80. I wish all success for the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

81. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): I am happy, Sir, to express to you the warm congratulations of the Ivory Coast delegation upon your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session.

82. At the same time I take great pleasure in expressing our gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik, who presided with the authority and competence we all recognize here over the deliberations of the previous session of the General Assembly.

83. I should also like to take this opportunity to repeat to Mr. Kurt Waldheim our warm congratulations on his appointment to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations. I should like to assure him that in the performance of his important and delicate task he can always count on the support and understanding of the Government of the Ivory Coast.

84. The last eight months have been marked by intensive activity in the most widely varied fields. If we cannot but deplore the absence of positive results, both in terms of development and in peace in regions of conflict, we are obliged to recognize, however, that a new wind has been blowing on the international political scene.

85. The journeys of President Nixon to the People's Republic of China, of President Bhutto to Simla, of Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka to Peking and of Chancellor Brandt to Moscow and East Germany are the most marked features of the change which has occurred in international relations. Similarly, the ratification of the Soviet-German and Polish-German agreements, the moves towards rapprochement between the two Koreas and the striking manifestation of reconciliation and solidarity which marked the ninth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in Rabat, show that a climate of international détente is reigning.

86. This climate of détente, which our Secretary-General quite rightly has described as "a historical development of the highest importance" [A/8701/Add.1, p. 1], has been made possible because responsible men, like President Nixon and President Bhutto, Chancellor Brandt and distinguished Heads of State of Africa and Asia, have chosen, without inhibition, to have recourse to dialogue in order to resolve delicate situations which seemed insoluble. The results achieved demonstrate once again that the policy of dialogue, which engenders tolerance and understanding—understanding which facilitates coexistence, the last stage of the process of exchange which is a true golden rule for a world which wishes to survive—remains the most effective, the most humane and the most reasonable method of resolving differences.

87. In his message to the nation on 7 August last, the Head of State of the Ivory Coast, President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, stated:

"One of these hopes—and you are aware, my dear friends, how much I cherish it—is that of seeing dialogue, something which the Ivory Coast has always indefatigably championed, becoming finally the uncontested and general rule in our world, so that in order to prevent and to resolve conflicts of all kinds, hate, fanaticism and blind violence can give way to a spirit of co-operation which would be sincere and very widely shared."

But Heaven knows the extent to which fanaticism and violence have given us, and alas are still giving us, distressing examples of their pernicious effects.

88. On the world chess-board the Middle East has become an important piece in the fluctuating, equivocal and doubtful policy of the Member States, in particular the great Powers. The extremes of yesterday no longer exist, but the situation remains dangerous and explosive. For more than 20 years, at each of our sessions, the parties to this conflict have been vetting and scrutinizing our slightest gestures and every word we utter. Our Assembly is finally awake to the mass of innocent deaths resulting from acts of violence and repression, which are tragic episodes in a strategic war which reminds us—if there is any need of this—of the existence and the persistence of a kind of slow-motion war. Our reaction is then to vote for one more resolution, with the easy conscience of a good craftsman doing a good job. But the reality is painful; it is no piece of fiction. We are plunged into a tragic atmosphere resulting from a refusal to undertake dialogue. And thus the time has come when the disappearance of hope leaves us nothing more than shattered dreams and impotent resentments. Yes, indeed, the time has come when men, feeling themselves abandoned, isolated, betrayed and hunted, have no further recourse but irrational violence.

89. We must recognize that in this tragedy the conduct of the United Nations has been far from being exemplary. Now, things happen quickly and politics tolerates only success. Are we to continue to display such an extreme of impotence? We do not think so. We believe that we must seek to determine the causes of our failure in order to bear them in mind when advocating more realistic approaches to the problems of this region, whose essential elements are the occupied territories, the refugees and the state of belligerence. Solutions are possible if we make up our minds to rid ourselves of our prejudices, if we bridle our passions and if we place above our own interests those of the peoples concerned. The memorandum of the 10 African statesmen,⁵ prepared to contribute to the solution of the problem and based upon the principles I have just mentioned, has been totally disregarded, and we can only regret this.

Mr. Ould Sidi (Mauritania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

90. We are particularly saddened by this tragic situation. We think that peace is possible by a recourse to dialogue.

⁵ *Ibid.*, document S/10438, annex.

Since 1963 the Ivory Coast has been advocating this in the Special Political Committee. My country believes that this earth, where man has given his life for other men, his brothers, is not doomed to hatred, war and carnage, but that, on the contrary, its destiny is to become a place of reconciliation, peace, love and fraternity.

91. Security Council resolution 309 (1972), charged the Secretary-General with a mission to contact with South Africa. This contact, the dialogue for which the Ivory Coast cherishes a veritable passion through loyalty to the cause of its struggling brothers of southern Africa, which it knows to be just, constitutes a new approach in the search for a solution to the problem of Namibia.

92. The success of this undertaking, which would finally afford us a glimpse of the dawning of an era of fraternity and understanding among black and white Africans, depends upon the abandonment of the idea of the partition of Namibia into small nations, which simply should be thought of as one of the minor and outmoded stratagems of the colonial power of yesteryear.

93. The mission of the Secretary-General constitutes, in this context, the test of the goodwill of the Government of South Africa. We therefore await with interest the report of the Secretary-General, and we presume that the South African Government is undoubtedly aware of the grave consequences of a failure of this mission. For our part, let us display the greatest goodwill. Let us be patient, let us exhaust all the possibilities offered by this approach before any rupture takes place. What is at stake for Africa is of the most vital importance.

94. In southern Africa the situation therefore remains extremely disturbing. The majority of the people of Zimbabwe has rejected the Douglas-Home/Ian Smith agreement of November 1971,⁶ and hence no progress has been achieved. The illegal régime profited from an easing of sanctions and noted with satisfaction the official lifting of the embargo on certain strategic supplies. Here again we are faced with a situation which is only too familiar, that of the ineffectiveness of sanctions, which are never applied because they are thwarted by the narrow, selfish interests of States.

95. At the meetings of the Security Council in Addis Ababa the African group insisted that the administering Power should convene a constitutional conference to lay the bases for a settlement of the situation and a transfer of power to the majority.

96. We consider that, after the veto cast by the United Kingdom at the Security Council's 1666th meeting, the General Assembly should deal with this item at this session and exert pressure upon that Government to take the measures necessary to remedy the illegal and dangerous situation prevailing in the Territory bearing in mind the wishes of the vast majority of the people of Zimbabwe.

97. As for the African Territories under Portuguese domination, their destinies are clear. The colonial war being waged against them is only a distressing phase. The

Portuguese army is fighting the inevitable. Those Territories will be independent. It is simply a matter of the inexorable course of history and the unshakable and invincible will of their peoples, a will manifested in the actions of the nationalists.

98. In order to preserve its African image, like other former colonial Powers Portugal has no alternative but a fruitful dialogue with the nationalists. If it refuses and persists in propagating the fiction of "Portuguese overseas provinces", it will know the solitude of those who sow death and then undergo irreparable disaster on our continent.

99. We have asserted from this very rostrum that Portugal's future in Africa is tied to its recognition of the right of all Africans to independence. The problem is simple and has one solution—the independence of these Territories in friendship with the former colonial Power. If it rejects that, it thus rejects any prospect of having any future in Africa.

100. The Ivory Coast's policy is to contribute to creating an atmosphere that would make it possible for the administering Power to get a better insight into the realities of today's Africa, an Africa aspiring to its own identity.

101. In Viet-Nam, the situation seems to be frozen. Men, women and children by the thousands are falling victims to the principles of those who are supposed to guide their destinies. The main victims are the masses of the dead, the wounded, the mutilated, and the families in mourning. The principal victors are the armaments industries of the various countries supplying arms. The halting of hostilities and subsequent self-determination and neutrality seem to be the necessary pre-conditions for a final settlement of the Viet-Nameese situation if we want to end the terrifying spectacle of dual intransigence causing so much havoc in the Far East.

102. It is because we believe in the virtues of dialogue in settling problems and the most difficult of situations that we hope positive results will be forthcoming from the secret conversations now going on simultaneously with the interminable Paris conference.

103. Ten years have elapsed since the first Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. One meeting after another is held, and the examination of the budgets devoted to arms unfortunately indicates that the target of general and complete disarmament belongs only to the very distant future.

104. However, partial progress has been achieved in this last decade, and it should be credited to our Organization. This initial progress can open up prospects of fruitful debate which will make it possible to reach general agreements within the framework of a world conference on disarmament. We consider these agreements to be indispensable if we want once and for all to banish the spectre of war and give human beings enough time to devote themselves to the magnificent task of human solidarity.

105. The first United Nations Development Decade is dead. The Second United Nations Development Decade,

⁶ *Ibid.*, document S/10405.

hardly born, is already in its death throes. We prepared for the great conference in Santiago, Chile.⁷ We took an active part in it, and our final disappointment was commensurate with the hopes we had cherished for it, hopes so cruelly dashed.

106. The gap between the rich and the poor is growing endlessly. "Assistance", this formula associating the words "give" and "receive", has been substituted for the genuine co-operation that should have been established between nations. This assistance is inadequate, and the rich countries providing it cannot increase it because of opposition from their own citizens. Indeed, the taxpayers involved are less and less willing to have their precious money, as they see it, going to fill the coffers of States they cannot even find on the map of the world. But we, the poor nations, know that our salvation lies, not in the policy of the outstretched hand, which is repugnant to our dignity, but in just and equitable remuneration for our primary commodities, the fruit of our own labours.

107. Meeting here are the rich and poor countries constituting the United Nations. We have a more accurate view of matters. We are not unaware that primary commodities, be they mineral or agricultural, are the principal and sometimes the only resources of developing countries and that a decline in terms of trade is inevitably to the detriment of those commodities.

108. The loss sustained by the countries of the third world has been estimated at \$1,300 million annually for the period 1965-1967. Today, in spite of UNCTAD that figure amounts to between \$3,000 million and \$4,000 million.

109. The import taxes levied by industrialized countries on primary commodities coming from developing countries contribute—sometimes substantially—to the budgetary resources of the rich countries. It is quite clear that the countries that profit so much from international trade are hardly likely to question existing machinery.

110. When, in August 1971, a crisis broke out in the international monetary system, the problem of the development of the poor countries became a secondary matter. The rich countries, and in particular the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, found it too easy to conclude that they were the only countries concerned in the crisis and did not even think about its grave repercussions for the countries of the third world. Nor do they think about them now.

111. That was noted with some bitterness by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD, who on 23 December 1971 stated:

"...development of the 'third world' [has become relegated] to that of being a casual by-product of output and demand in the industrialized countries."

112. Meeting in Santiago, Chile, in the spring of this year, the third session of UNCTAD did nothing to repudiate that assertion. In analysing the disappointing conclusions of

that session, President Houphouët-Boigny quite rightly wondered:

"Who would dare to express satisfaction at the results of the third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which has once again seen the expression of the impotence of the poor and the lack of conscience of the rich. As for the most essential problem, that of primary commodities, it was in fact not really faced and was subsumed in the recommendations to the World Bank, which, we fear, in this matter as indeed in others, will simply be added to the interminable list of wishes which are as pious as they are innumerable."

113. I shall conclude by stating that it was most illusory to expect any results from that session: in fact, the intransigence and insensitivity of the affluent countries are equalled only by the arrogance of their wealth in the face of the demoralizing impotence of the poor countries.

114. That is the situation at a time when our Organization wants to achieve the objectives of the Second Development Decade.

115. However, the financial resources made available up to now to the third world by the rich countries represent only half of what had been provided for, while at the same time the servicing of the debt of the poor countries has increased more than twice as fast as the export resources which were to finance that servicing. This tragic situation has led distinguished economists to raise objectively a question which should be of concern to us, "Who is helping whom?"

116. However, and without any real reason, we are searching the dark skies for some chances of success for this Decade. Those chances might be transformed into reality if the affluent countries were willing courageously and honestly to reflect in actions their goodwill—that is to say, if they were to set in motion a policy of co-operation on a world scale which would permit, *inter alia*, the stabilization of commodity prices and the development and universalization of a system of preferences without reciprocity or discrimination, to abolish in their own countries restrictions on manufactured articles exported from developing countries, and gradually to transform the codes which at present govern shipping.

117. But those chances would become certainties if the poor countries, heeding the logic of facts, were finally to realize the imperatives of the situation, which make it necessary for them to put an end to their sterile competition and try to form themselves into groups of primary commodity producing countries in order to acquire the weight and the necessary influence and importance to discuss the points at issue on an equal footing with the consumer countries.

118. Our countries were not born to independence in order to die of it. Our countries were able to put up a magnificent fight for political independence, and surely they can do so in the struggle for their economic well-being. They do possess resources of energy, courage and determination, which can work miracles when put to the test.

⁷ Third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held from 13 April to 21 May 1972.

119. Only progress based on the efforts on the part of all, rich and poor, will give to all the peoples of the world reason to believe in peace and in the reality of a better life on our human planet.

120. As for the problem of the environment, the philosophy of the Ivory Coast in this regard is that of most developing countries. We therefore give priority to development rather than to the protection of the environment as the rich countries conceive of it. In Stockholm,⁸ in the name of ecology, we were shown a picture of the future which would not be so splendid: pollution. But what pollution is there that is more dangerous, more destructive of civilization, than that of poverty, misery, disease, lack of hygiene and ignorance? However, those are so many scourges, and men of goodwill in their altruistic campaigns are meeting with refusals on the part of the affluent countries to do anything about the cycles of production and well-being, for the benefit of everyone. For us, indeed, an improvement in our standard of living is inherent in human nature and its measurable reality remains our principal target. The Government of the Republic of the Ivory Coast thinks that a more profound knowledge of the environment should in fact be a concern of life and that the environment should be dealt with in the light of its human goals and targets. That is why we should not, in our view, contemplate this matter only from its biological, technological or scientific standpoint. We should study it as the problem of life, embracing all of life's aspects, political, cultural, economic, social. In this way we should have a clear and global insight into the ecological and social imbalance, a source of inequity, alienation and anti-social conduct.

121. Our Organization has the essential task of bringing about peace, and the health of the world. The international relaxation of tension which has now been observed should not lead to a relaxation of vigilance. We fear that the position adopted by certain States in the budgetary area will lead to new difficulties, and may cause a new financial crisis, such as we have already witnessed, with the risk of paralysing once again the functioning of the United Nations.

122. In spite of the criticisms which various people may have had and may still have with regard to the functioning of our Organization we are all aware that it does have the extraordinary merit of existing. Its importance in the solution of social, cultural and economic problems existing in the world should not be underestimated. Its shortcomings are essentially political.

123. The Organization still remains the best long-term chance which the international community has to ensure its survival and justice and progress, with the effective participation of all nations. It remains noble in its task of active solidarity and generous in the granting of its aid and it would stand to gain a great deal by remaining pure in its political activities.

124. Before leaving this rostrum I should like to assert once again the attachment of the Republic of the Ivory

Coast to the United Nations, to its Charter and its principles, and also the absolute belief that we in the Ivory Coast have in its future, because whatever the multiplicity of our convictions there remains one cause to be defended: peace.

Mr. Trepczyński (Poland) resumed the Chair.

125. Mr. LOPEZ-BRAVO (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, before addressing this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, may I congratulate you on your election as President. Your qualities of energy and flexibility, understanding and experience, are a firm guarantee for the success of our work. To these words of tribute I wish to add the tribute of my people to the Polish people, to which we have traditionally felt linked by ties of friendship and understanding.

126. This session is the first to be held since Mr. Waldheim took up his duties as Secretary-General. Therefore I cannot fail to state publicly our deep satisfaction and extend our sincere congratulations to him. Since Austria and Spain shared an unforgettable period of their histories a few centuries ago, I am well aware, as a Spaniard, of the promise of success in the hard and difficult task of being Secretary-General implied by the election of Mr. Waldheim, who is devoted to the service of peace and international justice.

127. Once again voices throughout the world are bringing to this hall expressions of hope and disappointment; once again we are reckoning the balance-sheet of successes and failures, of encouraging signs and ominous portents. These expressions of light and shadow reflect not only the fact that the work of the United Nations, like every human endeavour, is marked equally by successes and shortcomings but also a much more deep-rooted and disturbing fact. We all know the aims and purposes of the Charter, but after 27 years we continue without having found the precise picture of how our Organization should act as an instrument of peace and co-operation. We all want peace, but we have not been able to find the instrument for peace. We all recognize the value of co-operation, but we have not been able to create effective tools to be placed in the hands of man to achieve this.

128. Perhaps the reason we have failed to find the proper course for this Organization should be sought in our indefinite and exaggerated appraisal of its historic role. Sometimes we have insisted on considering the United Nations as a panacea for all ills, as our universal saviour. At other times we have tried to reduce it to a forum for the discussion of minor issues, a congress or seminar of modest technicians. Never have we tried to follow the middle course between exorbitant and chimerical ambition and sterile and selfish realism. Let us try to achieve realism and effectiveness within a framework of good faith.

129. It is of fundamental concern to us to achieve and preserve peace. By all possible means and from the very outset, Spain has been maintaining a consistent attitude of support for the idea of convening a conference on security and co-operation in Europe, which might serve as a useful instrument for the creation of a new order, through the acceptance of formal commitments, on the basis of respect

⁸ United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held from 5 to 16 June 1972.

for the independence and sovereignty of all European States.

130. The ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties, the signature of the final protocol on Berlin and the agreements signed by President Nixon during his visit to Moscow permit us to set out on the preparatory multi-lateral phase of the conference, in which we shall be present and animated by the utmost desire to co-operate. In this phase and in the conference itself, Spain will make every effort to ensure that the agreement which seems to be dawning on the items with which we are dealing now, with our gaze fixed on the idea of encouraging a relaxation of tension in Europe and creating conditions of true peace and co-operation in economic, scientific and cultural spheres, will be worked out.

131. As a result of this agreement, we should study the related problem of the reduction of armed forces, within the world context, looking particularly at the Mediterranean. There would be no sense in reducing tension in one geographic region in order to raise it in others.

132. For some time now heightened tension in the Mediterranean has led the riparian States to formulate an expression of the need to ensure that the system of security now obtaining in that area—a balance based on mutual dissuasion between two super-Powers—be supplemented through an agreement between the States whose shores are washed by this sea. We should try to grant the riparian States a growing participation in the determination of their own destiny, which is obviously the result of situations that they do not control and in whose formation they do not participate or participate to only an inadequate degree.

133. Spain, a Mediterranean country, whose history is linked to the destiny of that ancient sea, accepts these ideas with the utmost interest and co-operates in creating self-awareness and intends to consider all initiatives which, with a sense of realism and the desire to turn them into facts, may emerge in this forum.

134. In the Middle East a very dangerous situation continues, a situation of "no war, no peace". The international community must, through the United Nations, redouble its efforts so that an equitable and stable peace can be reached in the area through the application of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which will take into account the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

135. Spain is a firm supporter of the peaceful settlement of international conflicts and repudiates the use of violence, whether it is used by States or by individuals or by national or international political organizations. But this just condemnation of violence will not be sufficient unless the causes are uprooted, unless we provide a remedy for the injustices and frustrations which engender it. Peace is not the absence of acts of violence but rather calm and order, and there can be no order when displaced populations do not see a clear future before them but see rather the shadows of a possible conflict or at all times their continued destiny as exiles.

136. From this lofty rostrum a year ago [1949th meeting] we stated that we should give special attention to Jeru-

salem. Spain will give favourable consideration to any efforts which may be made along these lines. Ever since 1948 the Organization has sought to find a formula that would guarantee the inviolability of Jerusalem as a Holy City. It is urgent to work out such an arrangement through which Jerusalem would preserve its character and the different beliefs could be practised in a system of freedom, equality, security and dignity.

137. The doctrine established by the United Nations on various occasions, with the support of the overwhelming majority, recognizes the right of Spain to the decolonization of Gibraltar, which, as long as it remains in the hands of the United Kingdom, is an anachronistic residue of a colonial policy which has no meaning in current times. I can inform this General Assembly that throughout this year the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom and I have held three full and frank conversations, which we intend to continue.

138. The Spanish Government hopes that the United Kingdom will understand the necessity for these conversations as quickly as possible to lead to a negotiated solution which will put an end to the colonial situation of Gibraltar and restore the territorial integrity of Spain while respecting the interests of the people of Gibraltar. Thus it would become possible, looking towards the future and not to the past, to have a new and lasting relationship between Spain and the United Kingdom based on friendship and co-operation within the framework of a united Europe.

139. I should like to reiterate in my statement this year the interest that Spain has in the work being done by the expanded Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, which is preparing the updated law of the sea in terms of the mandate which it received from the General Assembly [resolution 2750 C (XXV)], taking into account the interests and rights of all the States of the international community and the new realities which the last decade has witnessed.

140. My Government is pleased that at the two sessions held by that Committee this year its work has progressed satisfactorily in terms of the importance of its task.

141. Throughout its sessions the Committee on the sea-bed has confirmed the justice of the thesis which my country shares with many other countries concerning the legal régime of the territorial sea belonging to States, and specifically concerning the basic concept of innocent passage, a concept of universal interest to protect the security and the vital interests of each and every State. We are opposed to the discriminatory attempts to alter this concept to the detriment of the riparian States which border on certain straits. Any seaman can in good faith satisfy his legitimate interests by respecting the sovereign rights of the State in whose waters he is travelling. The alleged freedoms that some are now seeking are only strategic political demands which will be translated sooner or later into attempts against peace and security. They are therefore unacceptable to us.

142. The safeguarding of peace is the primary objective of this Organization. For the full realization of his destiny,

man needs peace and freedom. He requires that his peace should not be threatened nor his freedom limited by insuperable obstacles. Of all these limitations, none is more unbearable than subjugation by terror.

143. When we seem to be closer than ever to seeing ourselves freed from the domination to which we have been subjected by our physical environment, when we have available to us the means which enable us to push back the frontiers of disease, sorrow and death, a scourge of violence and terror is spreading throughout the world, actions carried out by man against man which should not be legitimized as a means of attaining what may well be noble goals.

144. Everywhere we hear voices asking for an end to violence and terror. Spain, well aware of the value of peace, which we regained after decades of sterile convulsions, is ready to associate itself with others in the search for effective solutions which will do away with terrorism.

145. The hope and illusion that mankind will be saved from terror cannot blind us to such a degree that we cease to be realistic in appraising the difficulties which will confront us in finding appropriate means for achieving that goal. Areas of tension, ideological conflicts, struggles between groups and classes, persistent injustice, and the passion and intolerance they engender make it difficult to achieve the unanimous acceptance of the possible proposals for a solution. The eradication of these tensions, conflicts, struggles and injustices should be the ultimate goal of our activities. If these are not done away with, there will be no peace or freedom in the world.

146. The United Nations should take appropriate and effective measures at the international level to achieve the following objectives.

147. First, it should formulate a definition of terrorism.

148. Secondly, it should ensure that all States fill the existing gaps in their legislations to combat new forms of delinquency, not only by adjusting their domestic legislation, but also by accepting existing international conventions. Thus, when the hijacking of aircraft began, the great majority of countries realized that their penal codes did not contain a description of the crime of aerial hijacking. Even today there are many countries that still have not incorporated into their domestic legislation the agreements of Tokyo, The Hague and Montreal,⁹ and it seems to me inadmissible that we should agree to a situation in which day by day it is made more humiliating for passengers to accept some improvised security measures and which gives aircraft crews the impression that we do not adequately value the high responsibility of their profession.

149. Thirdly, at the same time we should succeed in working out regional and sectoral agreements for the prevention and punishment of terrorism.

⁹ Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963; Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at The Hague on 16 December 1970; Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed at Montreal on 23 September 1971.

150. Fourthly, we should discuss a draft international convention or conventions which at the world level would contain the necessary means for putting an end to this plague which afflicts us today.

151. Terrorism is a fresh challenge to our will to act. Calmly but with firmness and urgency we must confront that challenge. Let us not convert the suffering of so many people into rhetoric or propaganda. Let us return to suffering mankind its dignity and freedom and men will again place their hopes in and turn their eyes to our Organization.

152. One of the most important developments this year in the field of international co-operation has been, beyond question, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, which was held in Stockholm last June. It implies that there is a formal awareness on the part of the international community of a series of almost new problems in the life of mankind. We are dealing here with serious threats which affect us all equally. This latter point should be emphasized: it is not valid for each of our countries to feel that it is protected because it stands at a greater distance in time or space from this or that specific polluting agent or from this or that specific process of the degradation of nature. In a "compact world" such as is rapidly emerging before our eyes the reality of our immediate natural environment is already rigorously unitary and in the common endeavour to protect it, either we all act by common accord and effectively or we shall hurl ourselves in the course of a few decades into a disastrous situation.

153. The Spanish Government is fully aware of this problem. We are aware of it domestically, where a process of industrialization carried out over a brief span of time, a deep-rooted social transformation and the rapid urbanization of areas and populations that were by tradition rural are constantly creating problems of changes in ecological balances which had been unchanged for centuries and the restoration of which, within the new and more lofty demands of the population, should be provided for as far as possible. Without going into the details of the principal measures we have been taking in recent years, I shall merely say that in terms of institutions we created this year a delegated commission of the Government, made up of 14 ministers, which co-ordinates all the legislative and governmental action relating to the defence of nature and the environment. Very advanced legislation in this field is in the stage of final drafting, and we hope that it will serve immediately as a guide-line for administrative action at all levels.

154. The immediate concern of the Spanish Government is directed towards common action for the defence of the natural environment of the Mediterranean. This area is subject today to a process of continuing degradation of nature, which is of deep concern to all the riparian States. As we fully share this concern, Spain has undertaken or is participating in various regional activities to improve our knowledge of the problem and to seek practical solutions. Among other efforts, I shall only mention the convening of a congress on ecology and tourism in the western Mediterranean, which will be held in Madrid early next November, and the proposal presented by Spain to the Organization

for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] for the realization of a pilot project on the Mediterranean region, which is the object of intense attention at the national level and which will be carried out in collaboration with the remaining riparian countries of OECD on the Mediterranean.

155. A large Spanish delegation, which included all the affected sectors of the life of our country, was present at the third session of UNCTAD that was held in Santiago, Chile, from 13 April to 21 May of this year. I should like particularly to emphasize the wise decision taken by UNCTAD to enlarge the Trade and Development Board, and the belief that this body, since it will be more representative, will be able to cope with the vast tasks that are entrusted to it with better guarantees of success.

156. If we should like to draw up an assessment of the third session of UNCTAD, we would have to conclude that it has not lived up to all of the hopes that had been placed in it, but that none the less it has succeeded in strengthening the move of international public opinion towards co-operation in the settlement of these problems and at the same time in the adoption of a series of specific decisions which are also directed along these lines.

157. It is true that within the concept of under-development there are varying degrees and that there are pressing and urgent measures the adoption of which will admit of no delay. My country considers it wise to wish to single out the least advanced of the developing countries. We believe that the work done is praiseworthy, but we also believe that the criterion for classification followed heretofore may in some instances be considered inadequate and may leave out of this category certain Latin American countries whose needs are at least as pressing as those of some of the countries already included on the list. It is not only for reasons of brotherly ties but also because of an elementary concern for justice that we would hope that the aspirations of these countries will be taken into account.

158. As is known, Spain still has not reached a full measure of economic development. None the less, within the limits of our potential, we are making a notable effort to help countries which are less advanced than we are. This assistance is being rendered in the form of gifts, direct investment, export credits, dispatch of technicians and experts, fellowships, organization of lectures, seminars, and so on. This constant but quiet work of my country will be continued and increased, and we shall preferentially direct it towards those countries which for various reasons are specially close to our concerns.

159. Mr. GUERRERO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are gratified to see that you, Sir, have been appointed President of the twenty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly. You represent a noble country known for its heroic deeds and its fascinating history, Poland, which for so many reasons deserves universal respect.

160. It is a highly significant coincidence that you succeed Mr. Adam Malik of the Republic of Indonesia, a distinguished and outstanding statesman who also represented a

heroic and noble country which achieved its integration and freedom through a decisive struggle for these lofty national values.

161. Both of you remind us of one of the outstanding responsibilities of this Organization in the world of today. When efficiency and magnitude seem to coincide with the need felt by great interests to minimize the meaning of frontiers as an obstruction, our Organization should try to ensure that these frontiers maintain their most significant value: that people need not sacrifice their sons for the world to recognize their right to individuality, to self-determination in terms of their own will and to the free expression of it; for all to participate in deciding and forging the common good; and for all to possess and enjoy fully the heritage which is rightfully theirs by nature and in terms of the mandate of international equity.

162. We also wish to convey our congratulations to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose enlightened talent and devotion to the United Nations are singularly outstanding. What could be termed activity and fervour in Trygve Lie, heroism and abnegation in Dag Hammarskjöld, caution and foresight in U Thant, is pragmatic and corrective flexibility in Kurt Waldheim.

163. Mr. Waldheim's energetic administrative ability leads us to trust that the financial difficulties of the United Nations will be solved and the root-causes of them will be dealt with, not merely adjusted in their effects. His high-level policy, which is very much in accord with that of personal contacts to which the great statesmen and world leaders have had recourse with such promising success during this second half of the twentieth century, should be viewed as a happy augury for the strengthening of the deliberative capacity of our Organization, since what the United Nations Secretary-General represents will be all the more meaningful and important the more he is identified with the aspirations of peoples expressed here by their lawful delegations.

164. Although on some previous occasions I have had the honour of addressing the Assembly, this is the first time that I do so as the representative of a bipartisan Government in my country headed by a National Government Junta. On the decision of the National Constituent Assembly, the Junta began to govern the destinies of Nicaragua on 1 May 1972, at the end of the period for which General Anastasio Somoza was elected by popular vote.

165. The National Government Junta, made up of General Roberto Martínez Lacayo, Mr. Fernando Agüero Rocha and Mr. Alfonso Lovo Cordero, represents the union of the two largest political blocs in our country, and that body brings together the broadest majority which could support a government in Nicaragua, and they have joined their wills to promote greater national progress through the civilized means of law, peace and labour.

166. In repeating, on behalf of the National Government Junta, this devotion to peace and justice, nothing gives me more satisfaction than to be able to do so using the very same words as our predecessor in the Government. When

President Anastasio Somoza addressed this Assembly in 1970, he said the following:

“Nicaragua reiterates and renews its faith in the United Nations. Nicaragua, a country that loves peace, that respects the rights of others, applies norms of international conduct in conformity with the law, and is proud to follow a policy that complies with the Charter of this world Organization. In keeping with these principles, we have peacefully settled our conflicts in the past and scrupulously complied with the decisions of the International Court of Justice. In accordance with the fundamental principles of our political constitution, we have established respect for human rights and for the principle of the self-determination of peoples, and we have proscribed war as an instrument of justice.” [1881st meeting, para. 156.]

167. This philosophy has been the link which has joined together all the administrations of the past 40 years, ever since, at the beginning of the 1930s, Nicaragua decided gradually to strengthen by means of peace and concord its sovereignty as a free nation of the world and its domestic progress based on free enterprise and equitable participation. The same philosophy governs the competitiveness and social responsibility of its private enterprise, the moderation and good judgement of its labour organizations, the respect for the law and public service demonstrated by its armed forces, and the admirable support for civilized means of action felt by the vast majority of its people.

168. The National Government Junta represents the flowering of this heritage of enlightened civil understanding, a lively and calm will for peaceful transformation, described by us as the most encouraging political phenomenon we have achieved, and one which will enable the nation to continue its tradition of peace and law so that the twentieth century may open the door to hope for the future.

169. With this deep-rooted conviction of the importance and stability of what I represent, I shall venture to explain the general lines of the policies which the National Government Junta of my country wishes to bring to this august Assembly.

170. With the principle that “development is the new name for peace”, Pope John XXIII launched his militant ecumenical message for all men of goodwill. His scheme for economic and social development cannot be conceived without a national order which reveals distributive justice as the foundation of the development of the human person. The second element in this scheme for development is that development cannot be imposed by the criteria of one sector, nor be the subject of secret or dogmatic decisions; on the contrary, it must be the responsibility of human reason in which all the sectors concerned must receive the full impact of the representative democracy of a civil government.

171. But this concept of development also implies a framework of international justice, which will make it possible for it to be carried out. It would serve little to impose on States the responsibility to promote the development of its citizens in an internal order of equitable

participation in the benefits of labour; it would serve little to bring about the transformation, even the peaceful transformation, of internal institutions if the energies of the universal movements of the spirit were not to make themselves responsible also for the creation of an international order which ensures that the necessary and sufficient conditions exist so that the heritage of nature, where labour must function, and the patrimony of civilization and culture, with which labour is performed, are equitably distributed among the peoples.

172. The corner-stone of any order should be to ensure the fundamental freedoms and rights of the human person, enabling States to make them effective.

173. To be free from hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance is a fundamental and inherent right of the human person throughout the planet. But hunger, poverty, disease and ignorance are not self-generated by peoples—at least not by those who do not have the right or the possibility of self-determination to avoid them.

174. It is essential for States to have not only an equitable participation in the fruits of nature and the resources of civilization, but also the security of self-determination so that international trade will not put a brake on the achievement of their fundamental freedoms and rights but will stimulate the effective co-operation and solidarity which will make these possible.

175. The thesis of the legal equality of States is upheld by the principle of self-determination and the outlawing of means of violence as a tool of international policy. If one of the first fundamental conditions is lacking, it is not possible to ensure the purity of the results, therefore an international order that is not founded on these concepts is historically untenable. For such reasons the National Government Junta of Nicaragua has decisively supported from the outset the initiative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to include in the agenda for this session the item on international terrorism.

176. For many years now Nicaragua has firmly condemned all forms of violence. The Nicaraguan Government has paid increasing attention to the problem of international terrorism since this is a manifestation of the use of violence in relations between peoples which can only have a negative impact on international peace and security and an adverse effect on all other normal relations between nations.

177. Within a State citizens have the right to institutionalize the means which will ensure for them the exercise of their freedom of expression. In the international order this right should be extended to States and groups of human beings so that they can manifest their free will through rational means worthy of the civilization which we so proudly regard as our own.

178. The Government of Nicaragua, with the broad and decisive support of its citizens, has condemned violence, including terrorism, as a means of expression and political action within the frontiers of the country. We have always considered it our legal obligation to ensure for our citizens all the peaceful forms of expressing approval or disagree-

ment, because this maintains internal peace and the evolution of our institutions, as minimum essential conditions for a development policy.

179. It has been and will continue to be the official policy of the Government of Nicaragua to cope with any violent situation, including terrorism, with the normal means of safeguarding public order, including punishments by recourse to common law which are consecrated by traditional practice and which are rooted in the principles of morality of our people.

180. Nicaragua deeply regrets that in some countries and, certain regions of the world there has been a resurgence of the tragedy of terrorism. Our people and Government share the concern of other countries to find an adequate solution and we most firmly support the thesis that attention to this problem cannot be delayed. To discuss economic, social, political or any other form of relations has no meaning if we are not first certain that these relations can be decided upon and put into practice in an order free from terror. This is the essential prerequisite for free participation. Convinced of the urgency of this item and the high priority it deserves, the Government of my country is none the less aware of the difficulties that its solution presents at the international level.

181. A great deal of wisdom will have to be brought to bear not only in the study of the causes of terrorism but also in foreseeing the effects of the measures which may be decided upon to combat it. Urgency should not lead us to undue haste.

182. The essential prerequisite is to strengthen internal conditions which will ensure freedom of expression for citizens, as well as an international climate which at this stage of internationalization will ensure equal freedom for every State or human group. But the international responsibility of States cannot be made so extreme as to jeopardize the legal equality among them or to make unjust international coercion a means to suppress a just human aspiration.

183. The National Government Junta of Nicaragua considers it indispensable in this connexion to ensure that an institution such as the right of asylum, which is considered to be so equitable by the peoples of Latin America, should not be undermined since it is one of the safest practices to enable man to preserve and exercise his political rights. Beyond question, we consider the right of asylum should be not only maintained, but strengthened so that it is not used as an accomplice to acts which are repugnant to morality and contrary to the legal order.

184. The foregoing is completely in line with the traditions and practices of the inter-American community, to whose ideals the National Government Junta restates its devotion and its determination to strengthen them by all means within its scope.

185. Latin America cannot forget, nor does it forget what was achieved in the nineteenth century when it freed itself completely from the colonial ties which bound its destinies to the will of certain European States. This gesture has been many times repeated since the end of the Second World War, when hundreds of millions of men of other continents

succeeded in organizing themselves in scores of States, whose voice today swells the voice of freedom within this great world Organization. But neither can it forget what it had to suffer and go through before, during and after this task of emancipation, because of an international law and practices had been established not to strengthen the possibilities of freedom for peoples but, rather, to foster more or less deliberate schemes of colonization.

186. Accordingly, since the dawn of its independent life it has expressed itself firmly among the Latin American countries for a spirit of renovation of international law and practice to make them more compatible with the evolution of the just aspirations of peoples, which should find in international law the best safeguard of these aspirations, as the only means of escaping the deadly, vicious circle of violence.

187. One of the manifestations of this Latin American tendency has been to establish institutions and promote principles which foster freedom for the human person and international co-operation and solidarity and to give the law and practices among States fundamental objective criteria which lessen the importance of procedural formalities and the subjectivism to which so much recourse was had under ancient law, to the detriment of justified aspirations.

188. With these efforts to make the law objective, revising, readjusting and correcting it, which are so encouragingly characteristic of the peoples of our America, the Government and people of Nicaragua for many years have been deeply identified, and now, on behalf of the National Government Junta, I am pleased to repeat and reiterate our traditional and enthusiastic identification with them.

189. We human beings have used the land, the sea and the air to establish common ties of relationship to the extent that technology has made it possible to make use of them, and civilization has given some purpose and meaning to their use. On land, on the sea and in the air are written the value and importance of our virtues and the history of our defects and passions. Yet we must confess that in each one of these elements human reason has left indelible traces of its lofty designs and its irreversible course of progress.

190. Since Nicaragua is geographically a maritime country, with two oceans and vast water resources which constitute the largest portion of its national patrimony, its statesmen and people have paid increasing attention to the future of its water resources policy.

191. We feel particularly close to all the countries of the Caribbean region, almost all of which are characterized by the limited size of their land and by the relative scarcity of natural resources on that land.

192. And it is therefore to be understood as natural that we have a common interest in studying the tendencies in the world community as regards recognition of the vital rights we have in the peaceful and rational use of the resources of the continental shelf and the adjacent seas, which is a fair and, for that matter, rational compensation for the limitations imposed upon us by the limited area of land and our peaceful vocation as States.

193. May I be permitted to restate here the firm decision of the National Government Junta and the people of Nicaragua to maintain their support for peaceful and civilized forms of international relations, to contribute by all possible means to making international law objective and readjusting it so that it will ensure to all peoples that their vital heritage is not unduly and unfairly affected, and to participate to the extent that circumstances permit in the enrichment of international relations within principles of equity and common well-being.

194. Nicaragua has identified itself with the countries which are trying, through a wise law of the sea, to strengthen the peaceful aspirations of mankind and the possibility for peoples to use marine resources equitably to finance their development.

195. Nicaragua joined with its brother countries of Latin America very early to initiate formally the movement, which is now universal, to readjust and reform the law of the sea which was started to deal with the resources of the sea for a distance not less than 200 miles from the coast, and the renewable and non-renewable resources of the total area of the continental shelf under the old concept of territoriality. From theory we went to practice. In view of our geographic location and the peculiar nature of our submarine zones, in 1950 we included the following article as Article 5 in our Political Constitution:

“The national territory extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and from the Republic of Honduras to the Republic of Costa Rica. It includes, in addition: the adjacent islands, the subsoil, the territorial waters, the continental shelf, the submerged lands, the air space and the stratosphere.

“Boundaries that are not yet determined shall be fixed by treaty and law.”

196. When studies of the renewable resources of the sea or in relation to its shelf led to their first results, it was observed that the life cycle of certain exploitable species went on at depths beyond the 200 metre isobath, thus giving greater strength to the claim for the total area of the shelf, and to distances far beyond 3, 6 or 12 miles of the territorial sea, which had commonly been accepted.

197. Pending an international agreement which would solve the problem of the breadth of the territorial sea, but in complete agreement with the economic and ecological reasons which called for a greater breadth of the sea for their renewable resources, the Government of Nicaragua proclaimed, in 1965, a national fisheries zone of 200 nautical miles in breadth, which was immediately placed under a rationally increasing régime of exploitation, and, using foreign capital and technology, national, foreign and mixed companies were set up, all of which were offered sound guarantees under our national legislation.

198. In July 1972, together with the countries of the Caribbean, Nicaragua participated in the formulation of the Santo Domingo Declaration [*A/8721, annex I, sect. 2*]. In that Declaration, the countries of this region, which is unique in that it unites instead of dividing its riparian

countries, strengthened the basic principles of the first conceptions of renewing the law of the sea.

199. Beyond doubt, the countries of the Caribbean declared their will to have a territorial sea of 12 miles, but they confirmed the sovereign rights of the coastal States over the continental shelf which extended their territory under the sea and over an area of the sea which would not exceed 200 miles in breadth and would encompass the territorial sea and the patrimonial sea of each riparian State as a legitimate aspiration capable of becoming a criterion of universal application.

200. It is a happy coincidence of thought that exists between the countries of the Caribbean Sea because even though there were problems of delimitation between two or more States a solution would be found in accordance with the peaceful procedures provided in the Charter of the United Nations.

201. What is essential is that in the Santo Domingo Declaration a significant group of Latin American States set down for the law of the sea rules which are as objective as is possible in the present stage of development of social sciences, economic relations and the natural environment, the art of politics and the administration of development.

202. It has been the will of all the peoples of the world to place those problems for study and care with the United Nations so that, in the third international conference of plenipotentiaries on the law of the sea, the problems could be settled in conventions, which would do justice to all peoples, without discrimination or favouritism. This planet has been created and exists for all in accordance with our Christian tradition, and it is the minds of men, and their right conscience, which is responsible for ensuring that this common heritage is shared among all.

203. As this task is difficult, my Government is ready to participate in all the preliminary phases and in the third conference itself, and if necessary, it would be prepared to support a movement designed to make the sea-bed Committee and the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea an organization of the United Nations similar to UNCTAD, specializing in the various aspects of ocean space and the relations which could be established through that area to increase solidarity and co-operation among peoples, dealing with such complicated and important items with the prudence and care which the interests of all the nations of the world counsel in these circumstances.

204. It is here that we must see the necessary function of the United Nations to exercise moral leadership among the organizations mankind has set up to bring to reality and give concrete form to its aspirations in rational institutions which will ensure the well-being and progress of all the peoples of the world.

205. But we cannot forget that this moral function will be obstructed and perhaps even wiped out if we do not grant our Organization the regulatory capacity and perhaps the power to settle moral problems in positive law of objective force which it should have.

206. The agenda to be dealt with at this session of the Assembly tells us that there are very serious problems that must cease to be subjects of speculation and reasoning, and pass on to the stage of specific regulation which will ensure peace and development for all nations. International wealth, like individual wealth, must have social responsibilities which should be defined unequivocally. The objective principles which strengthen the physical heritage of nations should be met with parallel principles which are equally objective to strengthen the equality of opportunity of all States and peoples and their equal access to this other aspect of our heritage, which is our cultural heritage. The benefits of science, technology and culture, the work of countless generations of mankind, are part of the common heritage to which all people should have access for their evolution and progress.

207. Nicaragua is firmly determined to contribute to those aspects with concrete deeds of law and the action of its Government, so that international wealth and the technology of mankind, can join with the capacities of the Nicaraguan people rationally to exploit its physical patrimony. For some time Nicaragua has been enacting beneficial legislation so that foreign capital and technology can suitably participate in national development.

208. Our Government has paid particular attention to the multiple relationships with our brother countries of Central America. For us they are part and parcel of our own nature and we know that we share their brotherly feelings. For some years we have been integrated into the Central American Common Market, which represents our best security for development. Since we have almost come of age, we find it necessary to make adaptations which the five brother countries are looking for with great determination, certain as we are that our words of union should be reflected in action.

209. Nicaragua wishes to express its confidence in its brothers of Central America, once more offering them its broadest co-operation in the search for common action for the benefit and progress of all.

210. We have set up incipient but valuable ties with neighbouring countries outside the Central American area and we are open to alternative proposals from multinational

or bilateral companies for the rational exploitation of our continental shelf and our seas with all countries, principally with those of the Caribbean Sea which are our sisters in destiny, needs and aspirations.

211. We believe that we thereby contribute effectively to the aspirations of mankind as reflected in the Charter, which has guided us since 1945 and which imposed on us certain moral obligations which gradually have been assuming the form of regulations and laws among nations. Its functioning and adaptation to the changing conditions of the world require not only the exertion of intellectual effort, but also the expenditure of material resources. We agree with the aspiration of the Government of the United States of America in setting a lower limit than the present one for the maximum participation of a single country in the financing of our Organization. We believe that this aspiration coincides effectively with the need that the United Nations in its functioning should not depend on the will of a single State. None the less, it is our obligation to point out that the developing countries, with their declining participation in international trade, their increasing burden of external debt and their urgent need to finance internal development programmes, cannot forthwith assume the weight of an excessive increase in their regular contributions. We trust that some formula will be worked out so that other States that are more developed will accept the new burdens, while the general progress of the world will enable the developing countries to participate more fully in the set financial contributions which are required for the functioning of our Organization.

212. In all that I have said here in terms of the general lines of the policy followed by the National Government Junta of Nicaragua, there is only the most fervent faith that my country and its Government have in this Organization as a moral beacon and the seedbed of positive law in which peoples that love peace should cement their hopes for the future.

213. The United Nations cannot fail to meet this imperative task with which it has been entrusted by history. Let us not be discouraged by the magnitude of the task because, as there is a breath of reason, it will be the flame which will ignite the will to succeed.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.