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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Sikivou (Fiji),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. RINCHIN (Mongolia) (*translation from Russian*):
Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, to congratulate Mr. Benites sincerely once again on his election to the high post of President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly and to wish him success in the discharge of his responsible duties. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to his predecessor, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Polish People's Republic, Comrade Trepczyński, whose outstanding competence and personal qualities helped significantly to bring the work of the last session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion.

2. Since the last session of the General Assembly, substantial changes have taken place in the world. We are moving towards a further development of the process of détente and a fundamental restructuring of international relations as a whole. As a result of these favourable changes, a new situation is developing in the world—a shift from confrontation and the "cold war" to peace, international co-operation, and the creation of a firm basis for peaceful co-existence. The basis for the far-reaching transformations now taking place is to be found in a general change in power relationships in favour of peace and social progress.

3. Genuine successes in the relaxation of international tension have become possible mainly because of the active and enterprising efforts of the socialist countries, which are fighting a consistent and insistent battle to strengthen peace and universal security. The efforts of all peace-loving and progressive forces and a realistic approach by other States to a solution of urgent problems are helping to improve the international situation.

4. The beginning of the work of the current session of the General Assembly was marked by an important event, which also reflects the positive shifts taking place in the world. It may be said that the admission of the two sovereign German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—to the United Nations is a landmark in the history of our Organization. The membership of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany in the United Nations is also the result and the confirmation of the accelerating process of détente in Europe, where a clear trend has emerged towards the creation of a durable and lasting basis for peace and security and towards the development of co-operation between the States of the continent on a basis of equality and mutual benefit.

5. In the last two years, definite progress has been made, on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, towards overcoming the consequences of the Second World War and towards the final legal establishment of the inviolability of post-war frontiers. Practical steps have also been taken to reduce the risk of armed conflicts and to reinforce the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation between the States of Europe. A clear tendency to extend political détente to the military arena has become apparent, and this would presuppose a reduction of armed forces and armaments.

6. The successful conclusion of the first phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is an important step on the road to building a reliable system of collective security in Europe. The new historic situation that is now emerging on the European continent is meeting with the approval of all States interested in the development of an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness and co-operation. The favourable turn of events on the European continent raises hopes of creating a firm basis for peace and security not only in Europe, but throughout the world.

7. The improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America is assisting the process of détente and the stabilization of the international situation. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the recent Soviet-American negotiations.

8. The importance of the development of Soviet-American relations transcends the framework of bilateral relations, since that development influences to a large extent the improvement of the whole international situation, which is in the interests of all States without exception, whether large or small, for progress and prosperity for every State are possible only in conditions of peace and security.

9. The changes now taking place in the world are creating favourable conditions preventing nuclear war and armed

conflicts, for eliminating the last centres of tension, and for developing mutually advantageous co-operation between States.

10. The principal trend in the current development of international relations is towards the universal recognition and practical application of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the legal basis for relations between States with different social systems. Peaceful coexistence means not only the readiness of States with different systems to live in peace; it also implies a desire to develop economic, scientific, technological and cultural co-operation and mutually advantageous ties, and to settle controversial issues by negotiation.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador) took the Chair.

11. The Mongolian People's Republic is constantly guided in its foreign policy activities by the principle of peaceful coexistence and will continue to develop and expand its ties and co-operation with other States in the world on that basis.

12. Like the other socialist countries, the Mongolian People's Republic is interested in seeing détente become global and all-embracing in nature. We consider that the general improvement in the international atmosphere is opening up good prospects of spreading the process of détente to the continent of Asia as well, in order that the peoples of Asia may live by the laws of peace.

13. Our delegation would like to point out in this connexion that noticeable changes for the better have recently been taking place on the continent of Asia.

14. The long heroic struggle of the Viet-Nameese people against imperialist aggression has ended victoriously. The ending of the war in Viet-Nam, which was one of the longest and cruellest wars of our time, has removed the most dangerous centre of tension not only in Asia, but in the whole world.

15. The victory of the Viet-Nameese people, who relied on assistance and support from the socialist countries and all revolutionary and progressive forces, demonstrated to the whole world that you cannot defeat a nation fighting a just war for freedom and independence, in defence of its legitimate rights.

16. The Paris Agreement on Viet-Nam,¹ which establishes the right of the Viet-Nameese people to decide their own destiny, has created the necessary pre-conditions for solving the Indo-Chinese problem and for strengthening peace and security on the Asian continent.

17. Nevertheless, although an agreement was reached on ending the war in Viet-Nam, its strict observance is encountering opposition from reactionary forces. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemns the obstructionist acts of the Saigon administration and its patrons, acts which hinder the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet-Nam. It is only on

the basis of strict observance by both sides of all the articles and provisions of the Paris Agreement that peace and tranquillity can be finally established on Viet-Nameese soil.

18. The Mongolian People's Republic expresses its solidarity with the struggle of the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia for the realization of the national aspirations of the peoples of their countries. The signing on 21 February 1973 of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos opens the way to a settlement of problems in that part of Indo-China.

19. New and positive circumstances have arisen in the development of the situation in the Korean peninsula. Thanks to the initiative and constructive proposal by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a dialogue has begun between the two parts of Korea to find ways to achieve the peaceful unification of Korea.

20. The attitude of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic to the Korean problem remains unchanged: the Korean people must decide its own destiny without external interference. The immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea are still the essential condition for the peaceful unification of Korea.

21. We note with satisfaction the opening of the Office of the Permanent Observer of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United Nations. Participation by representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the discussion of the Korean problem will undoubtedly contribute to an objective consideration of the question at this session of the General Assembly.

22. We welcome the progress that has been made in alleviating and normalizing the situation on the Indian subcontinent. A final normalization of the situation in that region would contribute substantially to the improvement of the political climate in Asia. Lastly, the indisputable fact of the existence of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, which has now been recognized by over 100 States of the world, must be acknowledged.

23. In this connexion, we must point out the abnormality of the situation in which this young and independent State, despite its right to be a Member of the United Nations, still remains outside the Organization. Our delegation expresses the hope that the current session of the General Assembly will put an end to this very obvious injustice to the People's Republic of Bangladesh and that Bangladesh will take its place in the ranks of the Members of the United Nations.

24. The Mongolian People's Republic has been following events in the Middle East with deep disquiet. The crisis situation caused by the aggressive acts and annexionist intrigues of the ruling circles of Israel, who enjoy the support and encouragement of international zionism and imperialism, continues to be one of the most dangerous centres of international tension and a real threat to universal peace and security. Such a situation is particularly intolerable in the present conditions of a general improvement in the international situation.

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

25. Responsibility for the situation that has arisen lies entirely with the ruling circles of Israel and their imperialist accomplices. How much longer will the Israeli extremists spurn the efforts of peace-loving forces to bring about settlement of the Middle East conflict, and how much longer will they continue openly to ignore Security Council and General Assembly resolutions?

26. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the solution of the Middle East problem must be based on the familiar Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 and that the first essential condition for the application of its provisions is the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories. The General Assembly must use its authority and influence to overcome the resistance of the Israeli expansionists and their patrons to the elimination of the centre of conflict in the Middle East.

27. Like the peoples of the other continents, the peoples of Asia are vitally interested in ensuring lasting peace and in the creation of more favourable conditions for the solution of the social and economic problems facing them.

28. Now that the aim of ending the war in Viet-Nam has been achieved, the peoples and Governments of many Asian States are trying to evolve forms of co-operation and a structure that would guarantee peace and security on the continent. In many countries the public is becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that the real path to ensuring lasting peace in Asia lies in the creation of a system of collective security.

29. Such a system can provide the peoples of Asia with the conditions for peaceful development. It must not be directed against any other States, and all the Asian countries without exception must participate in it on an equal footing.

30. A system of collective security in Asia could be based on such principles as renunciation of the use of force in relations between States, respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of frontiers, inadmissibility of the seizure of foreign territories, non-interference in the internal affairs of countries and peoples, and broad development of co-operation on a basis of equal rights and mutual advantage.

31. The practical realization of the idea of a system of security on the Asian continent would, of course, require a great deal of effort, but it is a realistic cause. We recognize that the increasing opportunities on the road to this important goal are accompanied by certain difficulties. These difficulties are due primarily to the policy of the imperialist and hegemonistic forces which are trying to hold back the process of détente and maintain tension on the Asian continent. Concerted action by the Asian States and all peace-loving forces are therefore required in the interests of ensuring security in Asia.

32. At its twenty-seventh session, the General Assembly solemnly reaffirmed [resolution 2993 (XXVII)] the principles and provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] and urgently appealed to all States to implement those provisions consistently and fully. The principles proclaimed

in that Declaration reflect, and are the concrete expression of, the principal and most pressing demand of our times—the exclusion of war as an instrument of national policy and as a means of resolving disputes between States.

33. The Mongolian People's Republic attaches great significance to a most important provision of the United Nations Charter: the provision concerning the non-use of force in relations between States. The principle of the renunciation of the use of force, which is one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, is being increasingly put into practice in relations between States. As you know, resolution 2936 (XXVII) providing for the non-use of force in international relations as an inseparable concomitant of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons was adopted at the last session of the General Assembly on a proposal by the Soviet Union. Strict observance of this principle by States Members of the United Nations and the establishment of its binding nature by the elaboration of special measures decided on by the Security Council will have an exceptionally beneficial effect on the whole development of international relations.

34. The policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination is still one of the fundamental obstacles on the road to strengthening peace and security.

35. In order to maintain its influence in Africa and in other areas, imperialism is trying to use the racist and colonialist régimes there to fight the growing national liberation movements of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

36. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently advocates the final elimination of colonialism, and the immediate granting of independence to countries and Territories which are still under colonial domination. The speedy elimination of racism and racial discrimination in all their forms and manifestations, including the monstrous system of *apartheid*, is a pressing need of our time.

37. We are convinced that the just cause of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and of the other peoples under the yoke of the colonialists and racists, will triumph with the growing support of all progressive forces in the world.

38. Experience shows that a rallying and a unity of action by all those fighting for freedom and independence, for peace and social progress, is essential for a successful fight against imperialism and colonialism. Hence the significance of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in September 1973 in Algiers, which expressed the determination of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to redouble the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle.

39. It should be noted that the forces of reaction do not hesitate to prevent the introduction of democratic, social and economic changes in various countries, or to divert peoples from their chosen path of progressive development. This is evident from the military *putsch* in Chile, which was carried out with the support of foreign imperialist forces. The Mongolian people resolutely condemn the overthrow of the legitimate Government of Popular Unity elected as a

result of the free expression of the will of the Chilean people, the treacherous murder of an outstanding statesman and politician, President Salvador Allende, and the bloody reprisals against the progressive forces of the country. We express our heartfelt solidarity with the working people of Chile and demand an immediate end to the terror and repression against the progressive forces in the country, and respect for the will and aspirations of the Chilean people.

40. The general improvement in the international political climate is creating favourable conditions for the elaboration and practical implementation of measures to limit the arms race. The conclusion on 22 June 1973 by the Soviet Union and the United States of the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War was an extremely important step towards saving humanity from the horrors of thermonuclear war. It is making it easier to reach an understanding on further measures to limit the arms race.

41. The strategic arms limitation talks now taking place between the Soviet Union and the United States of America and the negotiations that have begun in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe are no less important.

42. The Mongolian People's Republic still considers that the convening of a World Disarmament Conference is an urgent necessity and one that requires the active and constructive participation of all States, and the five nuclear Powers especially, in solving this key problem of our times. The Mongolian People's Republic, as a member of the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, considers that urgent measures must be taken to ensure the normal functioning of that Committee so that it can start work immediately on practical preparations for holding a world disarmament conference.

43. For the past two years, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva has been discussing, along with other issues related to disarmament, the draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction.² Nevertheless, a generally acceptable solution to this problem has not yet been found. It would require from States Members of the United Nations new and serious efforts to reach agreement on the banning of chemical weapons.

44. At the 2126th meeting of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, submitted on behalf of the Soviet Government a proposal to consider at the current session an item on the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries.

45. Our delegation considers this to be a timely and constructive proposal. The translation of this new and important initiative into reality would be a practical step towards solving the problem of disarmament; it would enable additional resources to be allocated for constructive

² See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1972*, document DC/235, annex B (CCD/361).

purposes; and it would permit the acceleration of economic progress in the developing countries.

46. While welcoming the readiness of the Soviet Union to reduce its military expenditure, we are entitled to expect that the other permanent members of the Security Council will do likewise—this is essential for the implementation of the proposal.

47. A reduction in military expenditure by the nuclear Powers would be a convincing example to other countries with large economic and military potential, and would promote the further strengthening of mutual trust and co-operation between States in the interests of peace.

48. That is why we consider it appropriate to examine the Soviet proposal, which is in the interest of all peoples of the world, at the current session.

49. In connexion with the problem of disarmament, we should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the need for an immediate cessation of all forms of nuclear testing, and above all nuclear testing in the atmosphere. The Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water,³ which was signed 10 years ago, was an important step on the road to saving humanity from the dangerous consequences of nuclear testing. But, despite the clearly expressed view of a broad stratum of world opinion, Asia and Oceania are still being used as proving grounds for atmospheric nuclear tests. These tests involve serious danger to human life and cause immense damage to the environment, particularly in those countries in the immediate vicinity of the areas in which the tests are conducted.

50. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic adds its voice to those of the other nations that are demanding the cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere in order to bar the way to a nuclear arms race.

51. In our opinion, it is essential, in order to consolidate the present positive progress in the world, to spread the spirit of détente and realism to the area of international economic relations.

52. We appreciate the difficulties being encountered by the developing countries in their struggle for economic and social progress. As experience in many countries has shown, the acceleration of a country's economic development is fundamentally dependent on the mobilization of domestic resources and the introduction of far-reaching social and economic changes in the interest of society as a whole.

53. Another very important factor for the achievement of those aims is a general reform of the whole system of relations between the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries, a review of the current unjust international division of labour and the introduction of new just forms, standards and principles of co-operation.

54. At the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the socialist countries submitted an important document—a draft statement by the United Nations on pro-

³ See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

moting the development of co-operation in economic, trade, scientific and technological matters on the basis of equality.⁴ The provisions of the draft statement reflect the objective demands of the development of modern international trade and economic relations based on the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

55. We hope that the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will reflect in its decisions the interests of the land-locked States. The existing international legal provisions establishing the rights of land-locked States must be further developed and reinforced.

56. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the reinforcement of the United Nations as an important instrument of peace and as a centre for reconciling the positions of different States.

57. We note with satisfaction that some positive progress has been made in enhancing the prestige and authority of the United Nations and in ensuring its universality.

58. Our delegation expresses the hope that this session of the United Nations General Assembly will make its contribution to accentuating the positive trends in the development of contemporary international relations, and reinforcing the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation between States in the interests of peace and universal security.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an honour for me to welcome His Excellency Mr. Norman E. Kirk, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of New Zealand, to the United Nations and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

60. Mr. KIRK (New Zealand): Mr. President, it is no mere duty but a real pleasure for me, in coming to the rostrum, to pay a tribute to you, the distinguished representative of Ecuador, and through you to the great Latin American community. I greet your country also as a good Pacific neighbour in the southern hemisphere, and we express the hope that every success will attend your efforts.

61. This is a session of the Assembly at which we will be assessing the growing relaxation of tensions and the breaking down of the old barriers between East and West.

62. The debates and the welcome action taken here on new Members are, of course, both a symbol and a practical result of these developments. But other results of the new relationship among the great Powers have still to be translated into practical benefits for the smaller countries and for this Organization. That new great Power relationship, that relaxation, has been brought about by a concert of convenience among the few. But we, the smaller nations, who need stable peace, co-operation and international order cannot rest satisfied with such a temporary and fragile situation. We have to find a way to build upon the relaxation, to bring it within a larger, more constructive and more permanent framework of international order.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 12, document A/8963, para. 38.

63. A "balance of power" among the great Powers has doubtless contributed to the new spirit of relaxation in international affairs; and to that extent we of course welcome it. But we are not naive. "Balance of power" in the past has been merely another term for the continuation, in a different guise, of competition and rivalry. The great Powers have continued their efforts to shift the balance in their direction; and in due course they have miscalculated, the balance has collapsed and major wars have occurred. In so far as similar elements are inherent in the present situation the world will continue unstable and the détente will be fragile. For, let us not forget, the great Powers still remain free to undertake their unilateral actions. And some of those unilateral, often sadly misguided, actions have brought great suffering in recent years and set back the progress of wide sections of the whole human family. In this nuclear age unfettered freedom on the part of the more powerful members of the family of nations is too dangerous. The great Powers are beginning at last to show signs of recognizing this. We, and they, in their interests as well as ours, must move to repair the damaged structure of international order. They are establishing some sort of balance among themselves; our task is to build a framework for a healthier relationship between the so-called great and the small.

64. As the head of a newly elected Labour Government, I come to the international scene new; but the needs of the day seem startlingly obvious. Leaving aside the question of international security and international order, the chief need among nations is the same as the chief need within individual nations—that is, to achieve economic and social justice. That is the principal concern of my own Government at home; and I am convinced that it must also be the focal concern of the United Nations.

65. We view with profound concern and dismay a situation in which, more than a quarter of a century after the United Nations was founded, the most critical of issues show no sign of improvement. I refer to the immense and growing gap between standards of living in the industrialized countries and the developing countries. I refer to the world food situation, which is more difficult than at any time since the aftermath of the Second World War. I refer to the rapidly multiplying world population and the other pressures on available resources. These are the obvious ills of international society, complicated still further by an international monetary instability that jeopardizes the development plans of all countries, by the rapid price inflation in much of the world and, this year, by crop failures and famines.

66. We are in no doubt about the need to tackle more seriously the deepening division between the rich and the poor. It is depressing and deplorable—indeed it is intolerable—that most of the international conferences of the last decade or more have ultimately evolved along lines dividing the developed from the developing and in ways and with results in some cases which have reflected no credit on countries which were better off than others. Somehow—and sooner, not later—resources must be more equitably shared.

67. A few countries, a minority of the human family, are using the bulk of the world's resources—resources which we now increasingly realize are exhaustible. Yet, ironically, the

ever-increasing consumption of these resources is steadily bringing less and less real enjoyment to the favoured few. An increasing number among them are realizing the dead end—the literal dead end—of a philosophy and a way of life favouring the accumulation of material things to the point of greed and senselessness. It is a philosophy that in its time brought immense material benefits; but the cost to society of its pursuit to excess is now being plainly revealed. Rich countries, at some time, must appreciate that enough is enough. The richer countries must turn consciously towards improving the more intangible qualities of life for themselves while making their energies and skills available to improve, to a far greater extent than ever before, the material level of life for the majority of poorer countries.

68. I mean, in other words, that a change in attitudes is required. If not, we run the risk that solutions will impose themselves by means of famine, pestilence, the exhaustion of resources and every form of social unrest and war. There is no need to manage so foolishly the resources of this beautiful planet. If this smacks of idealism I make no apology for it. If there are no ideals there is no hope. We could do with more of the idealism with which we entered the post-war era—an idealism which has been pressed out by the weight of paper and speeches and resolutions and, yes, by the many sobering practical experiences of the last 28 years. One could, I can see it, be disillusioned and cynical. But it is imperative that we should act as if we believe the human race has a future. This may be idealistic, but I am not talking idealism, I am talking practicalities. The world has to move on to new courses if we are to survive. It is a matter of practical common sense.

69. My Government, since taking office, has been trying to put its convictions into effect—though I speak in no boastful way, for I am conscious of how small our efforts are when measured against the needs of others. But we are trying to translate into international terms the vision of a decent and humane society which motivates our domestic policies. We have reviewed our mutual assistance programmes against the internationally accepted targets which now form part of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. We did so because it seemed to us that there was no greater or more urgent priority confronting us in international affairs—at least among those priorities which we, as a non-great Power, were in a position to do anything about. We were especially concerned about the possibility of failure of the Strategy for the Second Development Decade implicit in the decision of many countries to maintain reservations about the targets of the Strategy. In a world where millions continue to go hungry New Zealand has not felt able to rest on its achievements despite a steady growth in the size of our aid programme in absolute terms.

70. My Government has therefore withdrawn previous reservations⁵ on the Strategy targets. We shall seek to meet them. Notably, we have drawn up a programme of government aid which aims to increase more than threefold the existing flow of aid over the next three-year period. We hope to play our part through membership in the Gov-

erning Council of the United Nations Development Programme next year in ensuring expanded and equitable policies of United Nations aid for countries in need of it.

71. The process of working to improve conditions of life can never be one-sided; it is a mutual one. In the South Pacific in particular and in South-East Asia, which are areas of close interest to us, we look forward to continued co-operation with the countries of the region. Their resources and skills and the efforts of their peoples are an all-important factor and will deserve the major credit for success if the Second Decade's targets are gained. We have seen the way self-government and independence have drawn forth those skills in small South Pacific territories for which New Zealand was once responsible—Western Samoa and the Cook Islands. We look forward to the same constructive development and co-operation in the case of the island of Niue, whose representatives will be discussing their plans with you at this session.

72. What I have been saying grows out of my Government's strong feeling of the necessity—and, one can say increasingly, the inevitability—of social cohesion in the world today. This is not a unique notion of Labour Governments everywhere, but is rather the root idea of the United Nations Charter itself. We are all part of the one human family. Some of us welcome this, but the plain fact is that all of us have no choice but to adjust ourselves to this central fact of human existence.

73. Obviously a great deal more than aid is needed. Action has to be undertaken on many fronts. For instance, we heard with interest the proposal of the Secretary of State of the United States of America for a world conference on food [2124th meeting]. Such a proposal naturally interests a country like New Zealand, which is deeply involved in the production of food, and we welcome it. But immediately we consider such a proposal we realize afresh how interconnected all the problems of the world are. People are hungry, but in some countries farmers are paid not to produce, and land is taken out of production. Other food-producing countries, like ours, have difficulty in getting access to northern hemisphere markets, because agricultural arrangements have been established which have nothing to do with efficiency but a lot to do with politics and protectionism. Unless farmers can sell their products at fair prices more food is not likely to be produced. Without freer trade in agricultural products it will be difficult to get more food to the people who need it. Thus we hardly start to talk of food before we are face to face with the fundamental issues raised by the new round of negotiations among the States parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT]. And the GATT round takes us to a series of other interconnected issues. Yet the basic problems are not really mysterious at all or incapable of resolution if the will is there. Somehow the resources of this planet and the needs of the human family have to be matched. It can be done and it can be done in a way that would benefit all and harm very few.

74. Both the proliferation of nuclear weapons generally, and the testing of nuclear weapons and devices in the atmosphere, notably in the South Pacific, have caused New Zealand deepest concern. We view with disquiet the whole attitude of mind by which nuclear weaponry is preserved

⁵ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 42, document A/8124/Add.1.

and indeed fortified as the years go by. In every way possible—by protests to the Governments concerned, by action in the General Assembly, by application to the International Court of Justice—we have made every effort to bring about the cessation of nuclear testing. But the testing in the Pacific zone has still persisted.

75. In the more general context we have heard with dismay recently of the reported acquisition by the Soviet Union of a more advanced weapons delivery system which will increase the danger of a new round of nuclear weapons escalation. This news underlines the urgency of achieving further progress in disarmament.

76. This Organization has recently marked the tenth anniversary of the partial test-ban treaty. But there have been more explosions on the average each year since the Treaty was signed than in the years of the nuclear age that preceded the Treaty. Testing continues unabated. Two nuclear Powers have deliberately ignored the Treaty and have continued with intensive programmes of nuclear testing in the atmosphere, with scant regard for the environment in which we all live or for the growing outcry from world opinion. The remaining nuclear Powers which are parties to the Treaty have continued with underground tests, thereby affording the two Powers that are not party to the Treaty with a pretext for pressing ahead with their own programmes. There has been a lamentable lack of progress in the preparation of a Treaty which would impose a comprehensive ban on all testing, in spite of the undertaking contained in the preamble to the 1963 Treaty to work for such an agreement.

77. In the absence of a comprehensive agreement, accepted by all the nuclear Powers and backed by the overwhelming weight of world opinion, there must remain an acute and continuing danger that still more countries will seek to acquire nuclear weapons. The proliferation of nuclear weapons measurably advances the certainty of nuclear war, and only a universal ban on weapons testing can eliminate this grave threat. I am convinced that the people of every country are sick of war and the threat of war. They do not want nuclear weapons and their attendant threats. They want peace and they want more progress towards it. Is it impossible for Governments to be moved by the desires of ordinary people?

78. Just as we shall not solve the problems of pollution, or the exhaustion of the planet's resources, or the growing gulf between the rich and the poor, unless we change our attitudes towards the accumulation of things, so we shall not solve the problems of war and of international order unless we change our attitudes towards power and the accumulation of power. Arms are the potential for war, for mass slaughter, for the human family to destroy itself. Let us keep in the forefront of our thinking a conviction that war is now unacceptable as an instrument for achieving national aims.

79. Might we not then deduce the consequences of this truth? Shall we continue to recognize nations as "great Powers" merely because they have the capacity to inflict greater damage than any other nation? Of course if they acted, under the Charter, as protectors of the human family, they might be so recognized; but in the last 28 years

they have demonstrated convincingly their incapacity to rise to such a role; they have failed to match power with responsibility. Sometimes the shepherds have preyed upon the sheep. Might we not therefore respond by questioning the scale of values that puts power at the top? Might we not insist on a different scale of values, a human scale, a civilized scale, a scale based on the belief that the truly great country is the country which shows concern for the quality of life both of its own people and of its neighbours? We have to eliminate the very institution of war from international dealings. Let us therefore start adjusting our attitudes and bring that changed approach to this very Organization. In that way we might prepare the ground for the changes which are required if the United Nations is to meet the needs of human beings here and now and in the challenging years immediately ahead of it.

80. For—and do we doubt it?—so long as the old attitudes persist, so long will those nations that aspire to so-called greatness strain and swell themselves to reach the critical bulk and dignity. To attain the honour of sitting at the "top table" they will waste natural resources and cause damage and concern to their neighbours. But let us see for what it is the absurdity of a lonely few sitting at their top table with their obscene weapons which they can use only by committing suicide. That "honour" is surely now an empty one—if it ever was otherwise. Let us develop values that are relevant to the real world and get to grips with the real business of mankind.

81. In the case of at least one of the great Powers many citizens are realizing the basic truth about power in the nuclear age and are moving to work out its implications. But in the meantime, what do we, the smaller Members of the United Nations, do—we whose requests and pleas are arrogantly brushed aside, perhaps not even listened to?

82. The small Powers should demand a more effective voice in disarmament negotiations. Let us begin at this session of the Assembly with a concerted call for the earliest possible conclusion of a treaty to ban all forms of nuclear-weapons testing. If no significant progress is made through the existing machinery within one year, the Assembly should, I suggest, consider calling a general conference to draft such a treaty.

83. We have also to confront the simple fact that in the last 10 years or so international law and international organizations have been the casualties of the cold war. We face a desolate landscape within the United Nations. Some Powers have either ignored the United Nations or brought threats to it only when diplomacy had failed and it was too late for the United Nations to act effectively. How often have they then blamed the United Nations and justified their own unilateral actions by its alleged ineffectiveness? It is now for the smaller countries to take up the task of making this Organization work. If the great Powers will also show a change of approach, the United Nations, and mankind with it, will get back into business.

84. I have already mentioned the possibility of a concerted call for a treaty to ban all nuclear-weapons testing. The small Powers may also wish to consider carefully the possibilities of partial disarmament or demilitarization on a regional basis where circumstances and geography make it

appropriate. One of my Government's first acts after election last year was to change New Zealand's vote at the Assembly in order to express its sympathy with the concept of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. At the Conference of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Ottawa in August, New Zealand joined in a unanimous endorsement of the action of the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations in adopting a declaration to make South-East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. In the words of the Commonwealth communiqué of 10 August 1973, we regard that initiative as a positive contribution towards peace and stability in that region. New Zealand looks with favour also on the establishment by treaty of nuclear-free zones such as that accorded by the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), and we intend to consult with our Pacific neighbours about the feasibility of establishing a similar kind of nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific region.

85. In the field of the settlement of disputes the small nations could achieve gains by showing a readiness to submit disputes to the International Court or to arbitration. There is a disturbing tendency for some influential countries to pay lip-service to the importance of international law and the role of the Court, but in practice to take all possible steps to avoid its jurisdiction. The more countries that accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court the more internationally unacceptable such evasive practices will become and the greater will be the pressure for the unreserved acceptance of the Court's jurisdiction.

86. Small nations can help to prevent wars and to assist the peaceful resolution of tense situations by strengthening the peace-keeping role of the United Nations. They can do this by earmarking units on which the United Nations may call for peace-keeping purposes. My own Government has decided to train units of its defence services in readiness for participation in future United Nations peace-keeping operations. Small nations may, I believe, express justified disappointment at the lack of progress hitherto recorded by the Assembly's Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. Recognizing the valuable contributions made by Canada and one or two other members, they should press for the completion of the Committee's mandate set out in resolutions dating from 1967. There is no doubt that the Secretary-General must be given moral and practical support in the initiatives he may have to take in the exercise of his responsibilities in regard to peace and security.

87. If we think of ourselves as a single family, and if we are going to work together for economic advancement, for the prevention of pollution and other ills, and to escape the threat of war, it follows that we must work together on racial discrimination, which is, justly, one of the major preoccupations of our Organization. This has been a year in which a number of situations affecting human rights have constituted gross affronts to the ideals of the United Nations. In some countries with serious racial problems great efforts have been made and substantial progress achieved in the direction of racial equality, as has happened, for example, in our host country during the lifespan of the United Nations. In other countries racial segregation continues, notoriously, to be enshrined in government policy. In still other countries members of a racial minority

who wish to emigrate are subject to onerous conditions and delays, and in yet another country, members of a racial group have been expelled at short notice and stripped of their possessions without compensation. To these and other situations the response of the United Nations membership has varied widely; some have virtually ignored them.

88. My own Government is opposed to racial discrimination and oppression no matter where it is practised, by whom, or in whatever form. We have been combing through United Nations resolutions and taking whatever action is appropriate to ensure that our own house is in order. Above and beyond those obligations we have voluntarily accepted a visit from a United Nations representative investigating the problems of indigenous populations. New Zealand is, as far as I know, the first country to show a United Nations mission all aspects of its internal racial situation. We hope that the report of this mission shortly to be presented⁶ will be of value not only to New Zealand but to the United Nations as a whole.

89. In concert with others, New Zealand will work towards re-establishing the Organization as a protector of the interests of the majority of States, and in particular of the small States. The calls for justice and equity made by the huge new membership must be listened to and heeded. The aspirations of the smaller Powers, their fears, their determination to build a world without war, a world where the rule of law prevails, a world where the weaker will not be subservient to the political and economic interests of the stronger—these demands cannot be ignored. We agree with the Secretary-General that we need action, innovation and determination if mankind is not to be overtaken once again by the dark destructive or selfish side of human nature. We are eager to play our part in creating a true family of man.

90. Mr. CONOMBO (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of my Government I have the great pleasure of addressing to you my warm congratulations on the occasion of your election to preside over the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your election is certainly a tribute to your country, which on many occasions has been able to demonstrate its devotion to the ideas of the United Nations Charter. My delegation is convinced that thanks to your able guidance and to the wisdom we know to be one of your qualities the General Assembly will acquit itself of its many tasks efficiently and successfully.

91. May I also be permitted to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, for the able manner in which he presided over the twenty-seventh session.

92. I also wish to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on the faith he has displayed in the discharge of his heavy duties in the service of peace.

93. And I cannot fail to address a word of welcome to this Assembly of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, States which I am convinced will make a positive contribution to our work.

⁶ Subsequently circulated as document A/8723/Rev.1, chap. XVI, annex I.

94. At the international level the year 1973 offers two features of great interest to all those who, like the Republic of Upper Volta, have faith in the United Nations. The first feature, which is certainly encouraging, falls under the heading of that *détente* achieved through bilateral contacts or multilateral meetings which, while they have not always resulted in tangible achievements, have none the less had the advantage of confirming the tendency which has been emerging since last year, namely, the achievement of *détente* through negotiation. The second feature of international life at the opening of this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly is somewhat more disturbing. I refer to the persistence or emergence of local conflicts that at any moment could lead to wars on a world-wide scale, as has happened in the past. Our lofty mission in this Assembly is to act in such a way that *détente* will win out over confrontation, which is most often due to frustration, injustice, a desire for power by States, or disparities in economic and social development. To carry out this mission, it is necessary to turn interstate relations in the direction of the world order envisaged by the Charter. True, this course upon which the United Nations set out more than a quarter of a century ago is long and arduous, but we are convinced that, confronted with the dilemma of war or peace, this august Assembly could not evade its responsibility, which is to maintain international peace and security.

95. I should like to state once again that my country is convinced more than ever that the United Nations Charter has defined and laid down fundamental purposes and principles which should regulate and strengthen good relations among all peoples. In particular we are in duty bound to work for and to place all the skill of mankind in the service of international peace and security, to respect the independence and sovereignty of States, large and small, to work for the elimination of all forms of oppression and colonial and racial domination, and to create in the developing countries conditions for harmonious economic and social development on a solid basis.

96. The sad realities of life today show us, however, how far we have departed from these noble objectives. Regions and developments which commanded our attention at our last session are still matters for concern.

97. Past experience has shown us that our common aspirations for peace and progress would be more easily achieved if the international community were not every day involved in dealing with tensions and confrontations which have overwhelmed certain regions. How much effort and how much money have been wasted in sterile struggles, the only results of which have been to sow insecurity, poverty and desolation in regions which in reality only aspire to peace.

98. Before this Assembly it is my duty to repeat once again the fact that we should make every possible effort to put an end to the process of decolonization in accordance with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), for there is no doubt, whatsoever, that one of the great dangers which at present threaten international peace and security is to be found in the persistence, at a time when all progress requires the freedom and the flourishing of the individual, of systems and régimes

founded on colonial and racial domination. The ineffectiveness displayed so far by the United Nations in dealing with the burning colonial problems leads my delegation to think we should turn to new methods of approach that are more realistic and effective so as to accelerate the process of decolonization. That is all the more necessary, inasmuch as the United Nations has recognized both the legitimacy of the armed struggle of the liberation movements and their representative nature. For the time being, we can but restate our indignation and concern at the situation that has been created and maintained in Africa by the colonialist and racist Powers. Portugal still continues to flout with impunity the legitimate wishes of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and to defy the United Nations. But the armed struggle unleashed in 1961 against Portuguese colonialism in Angola, and subsequently in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, has entered upon a new phase, thanks to the great victories and the many sacrifices of the peoples of those regions. As a matter of fact, in the liberated areas, new structures have been set in place which are the incarnation of national sovereignty, making possible the work of reconstruction in all sectors of social life, education and production.

99. Helpless to halt the progress of the national liberation struggle, Portugal does not hesitate to intensify its policy of terror by basely assassinating the leaders and political statesmen of the liberation movements. Thus it was that after Eduardo Mondlane it was Amílcar Cabral who, on 20 January 1973, fell under their blows; and we cannot forget the systematic slaughter of civilian populations in Mozambique, and witnesses have testified to the scope of those massacres. Amílcar Cabral, to whom we wish to pay a tribute from this rostrum, was a soldier aware of his role in the service of his country; a leader and a fighter in Guinea-Bissau, he made an important contribution to the liberation struggle of all of Africa, of which he was a worthy son. The most disturbing fact is that Portugal has succeeded in associating its Western allies of NATO in its colonial wars. As a matter of fact, it is difficult for us to draw a distinction between Portugal and those Powers that supply it with weapons in order to facilitate its colonial enterprises in Africa. Indeed, they are nothing less than accomplices. It goes without saying that this situation continues to constitute a serious threat to international peace and security; hence it is up to the United Nations, in these circumstances, to show that it is and remains a valuable tool of recourse for peoples that have fallen victim to injustice and oppression. This has proven to be all the more necessary, since in neighbouring regions the situation is deteriorating from day to day.

100. In Rhodesia, while the United Kingdom continues to shirk its obligations by proving itself unable or unwilling to take effective measures to put an end to the illegal Ian Smith régime, the binding sanctions imposed by the Security Council are being violated by Members of the United Nations, and in particular—what is even sadder—by permanent States members of the Security Council. The United Nations should do everything in its power to enforce implementation of the sanctions it has adopted.

101. With respect to Namibia, there is no doubt whatsoever that the repressive measures and the pursuit of the so-called “Bantustan” policy by the racist authorities of

South Africa constitute sources of serious concern. The United Nations here bears a special responsibility, to the extent that, legally speaking, that Territory should be administered by the United Nations pending its attainment of independence. The contacts between the racist South Africa régime and the Secretary-General of the United Nations have produced nothing worthwhile so far. It seems to us, therefore, inappropriate to continue those contacts, which, in the last analysis, do harm to the legitimate interests of the people of Namibia. On the other hand, my country will continue to support the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the fulfilment of the task that has been entrusted to it by our Assembly.

102. In the field of decolonization we can be gratified at the co-operation existing between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The fruitful conduct of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973, is evidence of this. Upper Volta is ready to collaborate to ensure the implementation of the recommendations of that Conference—a Conference which has made an important contribution to the struggle for the liberation of Territories under colonial and racist domination in southern Africa.

103. In South Africa we are witnessing the violation of human rights as part of a policy of terror in the service of a system universally condemned: *apartheid*. This doctrine of the supremacy of one race over another is an absurdity in this century, and we shall never cease to combat it. This Assembly has declared that the *apartheid* system is a crime against humanity, which means, therefore, that any complacency—not to mention complicity—*vis-à-vis* South Africa is a challenge flung at the United Nations and the peoples of Africa. Still, throughout this year, one economic and trade mission after another from Western Powers has visited Pretoria and Johannesburg. The economic, financial and military assistance given to the racist minority Government of Pretoria by the NATO Powers enables it to continue and reinforce its *apartheid* policy. Once again, therefore, we invite those Powers to cut off all assistance to the racist South African régime and to combat it with all the means at their disposal. They can do so if they so desire.

104. The Middle East continues to be a serious source of apprehension for the international community. In spite of the numerous resolutions that have been adopted, the problem has not changed, and the situation of “no peace, no war” presages nothing good in a region where anything can happen from one moment to the next. The tensions and incidents on both sides of the frontiers between Israel and its neighbour States, the numerous complaints submitted to the Security Council throughout the year, followed by condemnations without any practical effect, are symptoms of the present impasse in the pursuit of an over-all solution to the Middle East problem.

105. We wish to reaffirm that it is unrealistic to question the political independence and territorial integrity of any State in that region. Similarly, the occupation or acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible and must be condemned. It must also be pointed out that consideration of the fundamental rights of the Palestinians is an indispensable element for the establishment of a just and lasting

peace in that region. We must therefore achieve peace, and the successive failures of the numerous efforts undertaken since 1967 must impel us to persevere in the search for that peace, which is so desired by the international community. To this end, we feel that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) constitutes a solid basis for the settlement of the conflict. For the implementation of that resolution it is necessary that there emerge a common will on the part of the parties. But the present impasse, need I recall, unfortunately arises as a result of Israel's refusal to evacuate the Arab territories it has occupied by force, and this is a defiance hurled at our Organization by a State which owes its very existence to the United Nations.

106. The progressive colonization of those occupied territories as undertaken by Israel is a clear indication of the will of that country to annex, purely and simply, the territories in question. We believe that the international community should not permit that. In any event, as far as we are concerned, we condemn that policy.

107. In South-East Asia, the Viet-Nameese drama has seen a happy change in course ever since January 1973 with the signature in Paris of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam. My Government can only be gratified at that Agreement, which had been awaited for more than 30 years and followed five years of difficult negotiations, indescribable sufferings and tremendous loss of human life in Viet-Nam.

108. But today, while the war seems to be at an end, the peace is still to be won. And it is therefore up to the whole of the international community, including the United Nations, which was kept away from the drama, to participate in this fight for the peace.

109. What peace, we may ask, when in Cambodia everything is still to be done? That country, which was formerly a peaceful one under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who practised a policy of non-alignment, is today engulfed in a fate which was and still is that of Viet-Nam. Upper Volta—and I declare this from this rostrum loud and clear—supports the United National Front of Kampuchea, which effectively controls the major part of the territory of Cambodia. That is why my Government decided on 12 July last to recognize Prince Sihanouk's Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia as the only legitimate authority in Cambodia and to establish diplomatic relations with it.

110. Upper Volta has always been anxious to spare no effort in promoting the greatest possible understanding between all States which share its own ideas of frank and friendly co-operation and respect for the sovereignty of all the parties concerned. It is within that framework that we find the decision of the Upper Volta Government to recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government representing the Chinese people as a whole.

111. At the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Upper Volta supported the proposal to adjourn the debate on the question of Korea, in the firm hope that the contacts which had been started between the two parties might come to tangible results.

112. The United Nations has a mission in Korea. That mission is to create by peaceful means a unified, independent and democratic Korea. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, whose mandate was to set up such conditions as would promote that peaceful and independent unification, has so far been unable to carry out the role assigned to it by the General Assembly. For that reason, and in pursuit of conditions that would lead to the unification of Korea, my delegation is of the opinion that it is necessary to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Moreover, all foreign troops would have to be immediately withdrawn from the Republic of Korea as an additional measure in order to diminish tensions and thus promote unification. In the opinion of the delegation of Upper Volta, it is for the two parties themselves to find a negotiated solution to all disputes existing between them and to decide by common agreement upon their ultimate admission to the United Nations.

113. In Europe, the way realities have developed has led the leaders of the countries of the region to the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We believe that the crystallization of those realities will constitute an element of détente in international relations, especially in Europe. Among those relations, we wish to single out the historic fact of the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. A tragic page in the history of post-war Europe has thus been turned, and we are happy at this.

114. My country, which maintains diplomatic relations with the two countries, welcomes the conclusion of the fundamental Treaty between the two Germanys⁷ as a contribution beneficial to détente in Europe. We are happy at the possibility now given to those two great States to play their role in the United Nations in the service of peace, international co-operation and harmony between peoples. Tangible proof was given us this morning in the magnificent speech of Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany [2128th meeting].

115. On the front of economic and social development, it will soon be 1975—half way through the Second United Nations Development Decade. An assessment of the results achieved so far shows that the objectives defined in the International Development Strategy might well continue to remain so many mirages which only move further away instead of at least giving the illusion of being fixed even if inaccessible.

116. In reality, even if those goals are achieved, the mean annual *per capita* income in the developing countries will be only \$265, whereas it will be of the order of \$3,600 in the developed countries. It is also to be noted that those are averages and that in fact in the least developed developing countries the mean *per capita* annual income will be of the order of \$150.

117. In spite of the modesty of the goals assigned to the Second Development Decade, there is still much to be desired in the way of achievement.

⁷ Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, done at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

118. The most recent statistics show that the flow of financial resources, and specifically the real flow of public aid to development, fell in 1972 from 0.35 per cent to 0.34 per cent of the gross national product of member countries of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. In percentages of the gross national product of members of that Committee, the total flow of resources fell from 0.82 per cent in 1971 to 0.77 per cent in 1972. If account is taken of the increase in prices and shifts in parities, the real value of public assistance for development will have decreased by 15 per cent between 1961 and 1971.

119. All these elements merely serve to emphasize even more the need for the inclusion in any reform of the monetary systems of a link between special drawing rights and additional financing for development.

120. As regards the untying of aid, my delegation has taken good note of the assurance given by the countries concerned to the Committee on Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade of the Trade and Development Board that negotiations will soon be resumed with a view to a total untying of financial aid to development. Until such time as agreement is brought about, my delegation expresses the hope that certain countries will singly or in groups adopt unilateral measures designed to attenuate the harmful effects of tying aid to the purchase of goods and services in the donor countries. In our opinion, all donor countries can and should commit themselves to untying by 1975 the sums provided by public aid and by contributions to international financial institutions.

121. It is amply evident that the increase in the volume of financial contributions and the easing of the conditions and modalities for the provision of these contributions are of capital importance in view of the needs of the developing countries.

122. Accordingly, all the developed countries should accept the target of 1 per cent and commit themselves to reaching it in 1975 at the latest. Similarly, in regard to public aid to development, as was stated by the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD]

“... in order to raise the flows of official development assistance from the current 0.35 per cent to the 0.7 per cent target, the developed countries would need to devote only about 1.5 per cent of the amount by which they themselves would grow richer during the decade.”⁸

123. The winding down of the development effort has taken the form of increasing difficulties within the multi-lateral financial institutions; thus the reconstitution of the resources of the International Development Association has not yet been brought about. The United Nations Development Programme has seen its global resources reach a level very much below the projections accepted by all its

⁸ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. 1a, part one, *Summaries of statements by heads of delegation* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.Mim.1, part one), p. 326.

member States, in spite of the highly laudable efforts made by certain developed countries, especially the Scandinavian countries. As a consequence, the activities of certain organs and specialized agencies have been seriously compromised.

124. These negative trends must be halted and reversed if the international community intends to achieve the goals set for the Second Development Decade.

125. The developing countries have also had a serious reduction in their share of world trade. That share has fallen from 30 per cent in 1950 to 17 per cent in 1970. The various series of multilateral trade negotiations within the framework of GATT aimed at and had as a result only the solution of trade problems of industrialized countries, in defiance and to the detriment of the vital trading interests of the developing countries. My delegation is of the opinion that the whole of the international community should be mobilized in order to see to it that the Nixon Round does not content itself with seeking solutions to the trade problems of developed countries, as the Kennedy Round did. The negotiations should attempt in particular to provide a serious solution for the trade problems of developing countries and to give the developing countries net additional advantages, an increased share in world trade, a diversification of their exports and an expansion of the generalized system of preferences.

126. As regards commodities, though we may be gratified at the clear improvement that was felt late in 1972 and the first six months of 1973 in world markets in those commodities, we are bound to recognize that the surge in prices has benefited only the transnational corporations—and, therefore, the developed countries—and not the producer countries. The rise occurred after several successive years of depressed rates and could have represented an important contribution to the economies of the exporting countries. My delegation hopes that in the light of those rates and of a more equitable level for producer countries, existing agreements will be reconsidered for the purpose of guaranteeing exporting countries fairer prices than those contained in the agreements.

127. In spite of the temporary rise in prices of certain commodities, the prices of other commodities—including tea, bananas, lemons and manganese—have remained at their low levels.

128. Negotiations in progress for the reform of the international monetary system and the Nixon Round under the auspices of GATT offer the international community an opportunity for decisive action concretely to promote the goals of the International Development Strategy.

129. In accordance with the provisions of UNCTAD resolution 84 (III),⁹ it is vital for problems of trade, financing, development and the monetary system to be resolved in a co-ordinated fashion with the full and entire participation of developed and developing countries in all phases of the discussions and decisions. As we indicated at the meetings of the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, my delegation is convinced that such co-ordination can be effectively guaranteed only at the intergovernmental

level. We hope that consultations will take place on this matter in such a way that a solution acceptable to the developing countries can be formulated.

130. As regards the least developed among the developing countries, the results of the first three years of the Second Development Decade show that in practically all cases there has been little or no over-all growth, while in certain countries there has actually been a sharp decline in *per capita* income.

131. My delegation has taken due note of the pertinent recommendations made by the Development Assistance Committee with respect to the conditions for granting assistance to such countries. This is a highly modest effort which has still to be implemented by the great majority of the members of the Development Assistance Committee. It is to be hoped that the easing of conditions for providing capital will be accompanied by a substantial increase in the resources destined for those countries, both bilateral and multilateral. I am thinking of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Development Association, the International Monetary Fund, regional development banks, the International Finance Corporation, and so on. In spite of all the debates in all international forums, and the unreserved support of all member countries, the international financial institutions are still far from responding to the expectations of the least developed countries. My delegation hopes that this is a temporary maladjustment which will be corrected in accordance with the unanimous wish of the whole of the international community, as expressed at all international meetings since the third session of UNCTAD.

132. My delegation is also awaiting with interest the implementation of the specific commitments undertaken by the socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

133. The world is at present going through a food crisis, which is aggravated by the feverish rise in prices for urgently needed commodities. It is necessary for the whole of the international community to seek a concerted solution to this problem, which is vital and urgent for two thirds of mankind. As the Director-General of the Food and Agricultural Organization [FAO] emphasized in his speech before the fifty-fifth session of the Economic and Social Council, for 20 years the stocks of cereals have never been so low nor the prices so high. He said:

“The minimum anticipated needs for wheat in 1973-1974 cannot be covered through present production. There is also a shortage of rice, and cereals for animal feed may well be in short supply. . . . In fact, are we to see in the next few months a world-wide shortage of cereals in the event of a bad harvest in one of the principal producing regions . . . ?

“It is no longer possible to tolerate that the world should be subjected to a system of international rationing through prices during periods of shortage—in other words, to a system which would permit the richest or those who have come first to be served first and walk away with the biggest piece.”¹⁰

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), annex I.A.

¹⁰ For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-fifth Session*, 1861st meeting.

134. Indeed, affluence has drawn food-stuffs to the countries which are able to pay—to the rich and developed countries of the north. The cereal crisis has not yet been sufficiently considered for an appropriate solution to be found. We are of the opinion that it would not be wise for the international community simply to leave it to the caprices of the monsoons, which may or may not come. It seems to us that the problem is far more serious and that is why Upper Volta supports the proposal of FAO to establish a cereal bank which would stock the surplus in times of over-production and make it available for consumption during lean periods.¹¹

135. That is the only international measure which would ensure an appropriate solution to the problem. The developed countries, which are major producers of cereals, have here an opportunity to manifest their interest in the solution of this problem, which is hanging like a sword of Damocles over the heads of the poor developing countries, which are helpless before this problem, the solution of which goes far beyond their respective national capacities.

136. Pending a concerted solution to the food crisis, any restrictive measures in regard to production and stockpiling should be postponed.

137. In this respect my delegation gives its full support to the proposal of the United States to convene in 1974 a conference which would discuss the ways and means to maintain food-stuff production at an appropriate level and to mobilize the efforts of all countries to deal with famine and malnutrition resulting from natural calamities [2124th meeting, para. 71].

138. In Upper Volta and in the five other countries of the Sudano-Sahelian zone, drought has caused ravages among the 20 million inhabitants, their animals and their subsistence economies. Hundreds of persons have perished from thirst, hunger and diseases which have found easy prey among persons weakened by hunger. Millions of animals have perished, representing in practically all of these countries more than 80 per cent of their livestock—and trade in livestock constitutes their principal source of export income. Indeed all the peasants of the Sudano-Sahelian zone supplemented their raising of livestock by a little crop-growing for local consumption. In fact food imports were already sapping the modest currency resources of these six countries. The foreign currency income depended in part upon the value of products which were constantly decreasing in price on the world market, such as peanuts and cotton. It is in that context that we have to consider the causes, the effects and the ways to remedy the situation in these countries. I should like solemnly to thank here all those that have responded to the appeal of the populations affected by the drought, be they countries, governmental or non-governmental organizations or private individuals. This spontaneous and generous reaction on the part of international solidarity has saved thousands of human lives and has strengthened the faith of these populations in what man can do for himself and for his neighbours.

139. However, the consequences of this drought remain with us. Even if the food production this year was better

than that of the previous four years, it will not be sufficient to cover the needs of the consumers. Moreover, the countries affected by the drought have defined the medium-term and long-term measures for initiating the rehabilitation and the accelerated development of the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region through the reconstitution of production capital: the regeneration of soil and the reconstitution of the herds and of the productive forces of the working masses.

140. I shall not go into the specific details of the measures proposed by the Heads of State of the countries of the zone. Indeed, the Head of State of Upper Volta, President Sangoulé Lamizana, designated by his peers, will have an opportunity of speaking here on 9 October for the purpose of presenting the measures agreed upon by the six countries.

141. For all the countries afflicted, this drought is a brutal blow in the sense of a deterioration of the ecological conditions of the soil as well as the living conditions of the populations. If the emergency measures have made it possible to solve urgent supply problems temporarily, at present the assistance of the international community must be sought in order to make it possible to bring about the implementation of measures through which these countries will build solid economies enabling them in the future to deal with and overcome calamities of this kind. The international community had already firmly committed itself to helping practically all these countries within the context of measures oriented towards the least developed countries. Only urgent and comprehensive implementation of all these measures, especially commercial and financial, will make it possible for these countries to approach, however modestly, the goals defined in the International Development Strategy. The international community can only turn to the developed countries and ask them to show the political will that is necessary to enable the populations concerned to reach a threshold of development placing them beyond the calamities that would otherwise be uncontrollable, even though they are foreseeable.

142. Thanks to the actions of certain peace-loving and freedom-loving countries, the United Nations has been able to prevent international disputes from deteriorating dangerously and sometimes has thus made it possible for conditions to be established for a final settlement.

143. However, we have to work even harder in order to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to influence events so that a spirit of détente and peace may prevail throughout the world.

144. My delegation firmly hopes that the present session of the General Assembly will do everything in its power to give effect to measures which are genuinely applicable in regard to the maintenance of peace, co-operation, justice and the dignity of man.

145. Mr. BORGONOVO POHL (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I have the honour of beginning this statement by conveying to you the warmest congratulations of my Government and my delegation on the unanimous agreement reached by the General Assembly in electing you to preside over its twenty-eighth

¹¹ See FAO document C 73/17.

session. Your presence at the head of this Assembly as a distinguished citizen of Ecuador and, in addition, a representative of true Latin Americanism, is a full guarantee of the efficient and harmonious development of its work, since we all recognize that you are a person who possesses in the highest degree the qualities of intellect, experience and broad-mindedness that we need. We should also, in order to be fair, associate ourselves with previous speakers who have recognized the meritorious work of Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, in so ably guiding the work of this General Assembly at the last session.

146. I take pleasure in extending an exceedingly warm welcome to the new Member States of the United Nations, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. One of the sponsors of the draft resolution for their admission [A/L.698/Rev.1], as this Assembly knows, was El Salvador, in deference to the spirit of universality which should prevail in this Organization and as a gesture of recognition of the efforts of both Governments to overcome their differences by means of an honourable understanding. Their example is worthy of emulation. My country will always be prepared to support such initiatives which tend to overcome existing problems.

147. We also wish to extend a welcome to the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, with which we shall maintain close relations.

148. This year some aspects of overriding importance command our attention. Some pertain to the structural nature of the Organization itself and others deal with the problems of exceedingly topical importance because of their impact on the foundations of peaceful coexistence among nations, and we shall try to deal with some of those aspects, emphasizing the views which my Government, as a result of continuing detailed consideration, has formulated on these problems.

149. In 1972 the minorities succeeded in blocking the intentions of the significant majorities, thus demonstrating that sometimes, more than numbers, the determination with which causes that are being defended are advanced is more important. The proposal for the revision of the United Nations Charter received an honourable burial in resolution 2968 (XXVII), which held over to the twenty-ninth session the consideration of the report that the Secretary-General was to prepare on the communications of Governments that had been received before 1 July 1974 concerning the "desirability" of a revision of the Charter. The productive section of this resolution is the request to the Secretary-General to bring up to date the *Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs*.

150. The procedure adopted with respect to the revision of the Charter is obviously a dilatory tactic and in harmony with the interests and intentions of those who, because they find themselves very comfortable, do not wish to change one iota of what has been established which, of course, is frankly contrary to the dynamic nature of modern-day realities.

151. None the less, at the outset of this stage of general statements we have heard raised in this hall the voice of an eminent representative of an influential country authorized

to fight for a position which unequivocally implies a modification of the United Nations Charter, in claiming—and we believe that this is intended for the not-too-distant future—a change in the composition of the Security Council. While El Salvador, basing itself on the political logic on which this attitude is founded, shares this approach, I should like, following this same logic out to the very end, that the modification should not be limited to a single aspect, the importance of which is self-evident but which of course does not exhaust the series of problems of the Security Council and much less those inherent in the Charter. In accordance with this approach we could offset the spirit of those who consider that it is possible to anticipate that by 1974 new dilatory tactics will be witnessed and that if, finally, the General Assembly takes the appropriate decision, which would be the creation of a special committee with an adequate mandate to consider the revision of the Charter, there will be no dearth of countries that will hesitate to become members of that committee, following the precedent that was set down by the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference. The way marked out can be followed again by other figures in order to avoid any activity which might be a source of irritation. The revision of the Charter would then, as of today, if this prevailing natural pessimism is not overcome, seem to be doomed to failure.

152. If we postpone the analysis, the alternative would be to examine the establishment of the global action strategy of the United Nations. That involves the spelling out of specific objectives and intermediate goals by stages of achievement of the lofty aims which were adopted in the Charter with their corresponding pace and means of realization. This is to say that it will be appropriate to substitute for the annual improvisation an annual application of stages and goals set down for a certain number of years, and exert every possible effort to ensure that the measures called for in the economic, civic, administrative, social and juridical fields are converted into plans.

153. This exercise would not be theoretical but practical; it would not be a laborious exposition of ideas but a reasoned and reasonable forecast of possible goals in terms of means and foreseeable time-periods. In this era of projections, the United Nations should, at least over the medium range, set up its own system of forecasts. It is paradoxical that what we hope that the United Nations will do in the next five years cannot be forecast with certainty except by guesswork and premonition, while the United Nations, through its specialized agencies and its own bodies, emphasizes the advantages of planning.

154. To the question, "What do we expect of the United Nations and what can the United Nations offer with regard to political crises?" it is logical to answer that such matters would not be involved in this exercise because these crises derive from forces, the control of which is beyond the international organizations; but for these contingencies the United Nations should prepare means of action. Thus it is well known that this highest world Organization is lagging in the important area of peace-keeping operations. In respect of many other activities it is possible—and, more than possible, necessary—to bring to bear the experience and the techniques of organization, planning, forecasting and evaluation that the United Nations possesses. And if we

follow this course of action which we are recommending, we are sure that it will have its beneficial effects in the similar treatment of the most critical problems that can come before the United Nations for decision when we least expect them to crop up.

155. Moreover, the United Nations must put in order and centralize its human rights activities which at present are widely scattered, and it needs to consider the creation of a council on human rights which would take charge of these matters since, owing to their exceptional importance, they require unified treatment. As the work of the Trusteeship Council diminishes for lack of subject matter, the council on human rights should take its place.

156. We also consider that the Economic and Social Council should have more well-defined powers so that it can carry out its function of co-ordinating activities of specialized agencies by means of consultation.

157. Turning to another activity, the United Nations relief operations, we have noted that these tend to grow and therefore should have their own structure. Just as we have given thought to an organization for the preservation of the human environment, which is limited in many aspects, particularly in regard to the number of staff members and employees, we should think of a relief unit which would organize international assistance in case of natural disasters. To this end, unfortunately, the historical frequency of natural disasters makes it advisable to establish an organism along the lines that I have sketched out which would have a broader organizational structure than that inherent in the function of mere co-ordinator. Accordingly, within the existing Charter we could, in administrative terms, readjust certain activities as a means of working out the global strategy to which I have already referred.

158. The United Nations has maintained a consistent policy against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, religion or nationality. Its work in this respect can be described as positive, because it has helped to strengthen world opinion and to influence national legislation and State policies in order to ensure that every possible vestige of arbitrary discrimination is eliminated. The commissions and committees of the United Nations which are working in this area have shown great energy, which, however, has never been sufficient, inasmuch as discrimination often appears in subtly concealed and stylized forms.

159. Discrimination, which has deep roots in history, is somewhat similar to the legendary hydra of Lerna, because when you cut off one of its seven heads another one grows. The attitude of vigilance and denunciation is necessary in order to keep this disturbing force in the international and internal social order on the defensive.

160. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the International Law Commission marks a milestone in the gradual legal organization of the international community. The book entitled *The Work of the International Law Commission*^{1 2} sums up the activities of this important Commission over its 25 years of existence. My country, through me, wishes to express its deep appreciation of the Commission and its work.

161. In addition, El Salvador is particularly satisfied because this year one of its most outstanding jurists, Mr. Alfredo Martínez Moreno, was elected a member of the International Law Commission. We wish to offer our thanks to the members of the Commission and their Governments, and on this occasion we should like to restate our intention to contribute in a thoughtful, calm and continuing way to the analysis of the great subjects under discussion in legal circles today. It is relevant to point out here that, among these items, the item on aggression, first discussed by the General Assembly at its fifth session in 1950, was referred to the International Law Commission.

162. This problem, which is indeed a difficult one, last year gave some indication that it was closer to meeting with the proper treatment than had been the case previously, and we should welcome these remote and uncertain signs of light which will break the monotony of years of repetitive meetings and arguments. But we cannot conceal the concern we feel at the fact that the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression has concentrated its efforts on the definition of direct aggression—which is precisely the type of aggression that tends, relatively, to be less frequent—and has side-stepped the true problem of our times, which is indirect aggression. The United Nations would be rendering very little service to this cause if it were to succeed in defining direct aggression. We can assume as of today that if we could agree on defining direct aggression, we would leave indirect aggression completely untouched, because the great Powers probably would have no interest in a solution to that issue.

163. With respect to aggression, the direct and indirect elements are interconnected in real political life. The fragmentary treatment of the problem, apart from the fact that it would complicate the finding of solutions, creates ambiguous and mistaken values in the development of international life. In any event, what the small countries fear from the great Powers at this time relates more to indirect aggression than to direct aggression.

164. The proclamation of a charter of economic rights and duties of States would undoubtedly be a very important step by the United Nations. Among its first concerns the United Nations wished to finalize a document on the rights and duties of States, drafted within the framework of the legal thinking which was then in vogue. In 1947 the General Assembly entrusted this declaration to the International Law Commission, but in 1951 the Assembly decided to postpone the question indefinitely because, purely and simply, the phraseology of resolution 596 (VI) of 7 December 1951 boils down to this and little more.

165. Today the item has cropped up again, but within a more clearly defined scope, in the sense that it deals with economic rights and duties, and this connotation defines the crucial facet of the problem as it occurs at present in international relations. El Salvador wishes to express its deep interest in this item and its desire that a rational agreement which would be fair to all countries should gradually emerge.

166. GATT and UNCTAD are seeking new models and instruments for international trade. The Bretton Woods monetary system is going through an obvious crisis. The gap between the developed and the developing countries is

^{1 2} United Nations publication, Sales No. E.72.I.17.

growing; and if the present state of affairs continues, the historical trend will be perpetuated. The monetary devaluations are accentuating the imbalance in the terms of trade. The integration schemes have encountered great barriers—many of them mental—and we have learnt with shock and disappointment that what works on paper has great operational drawbacks. The division of labour on a world scale encounters indifference on the part of the developed countries which are powerful competitors in all fields of production. The world development panorama continues to be one that is experimental and in the testing stage, and offers scanty results. But we cannot give up the struggle, and one way and then another must be tried, and renewed inventive efforts will have to be made. In our favour we have the fact that the vital characteristic of mankind is struggle, a course on which the contemporary world is embarked, following the magnet of the guiding principles of justice, freedom and respect, combining these in international relations with the principles of co-operation and solidarity.

167. Political security, although questionable in respect of its efficiency, has a system, namely, economic security, which the Economic and Social Council began to discuss this year but which is still in the planning stage. International justice is barely an idea which is beginning timidly to make its way in international forums. But it has time in its favour. The future international community will have to be governed by international justice, and the great items of the day, such as security and development, will flow from that great fundamental regulating principle.

168. The feeling of the interdependence of the economies of all the countries of the world, in the light of the facts, is totally inadequate and must be supplemented by a definite policy which will reverse the dominant trend of such interdependence, according to which the poles of development and the poles of poverty are becoming more concentrated while moving farther away from each other.

169. It is true that we hear talk about collective economic security, but at the same time we indefinitely postpone the definition of indirect aggression, one of whose clearest manifestations is economic aggression. Collective economic security must, among its fundamental elements, have the principle which prohibits economic aggression, and to this end we will have to know what economic aggression is, either in general terms or through the enumeration of historically documented cases.

170. Collective economic security entails complicated conditions and elements, such as that concerning the sudden dumping of massive quantities of surplus stockpiles of goods; and this depresses prices.

171. Another vital element of this scheme of security could be the regulation of the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the sea in order to avoid unfair competition and the economic deterioration of those countries which are producers of minerals on land.

172. The report of the Secretary-General entitled "Collective economic security: preliminary consideration of the concept, its scope and potential practical implications"¹³

may serve as a point of departure for the United Nations to undertake an examination of the important question of collective economic security. To this end, the functions spelled out in the document, such as evaluation of conditions, emergency cases, principles of impartiality and justice, and operational rules, constitute a framework of simple indices for the treatment of this promising field.

173. In a very short time multinational companies have come to the forefront of the world's attention. Their political adventures have led to a rending of the thick veil which covered their quiet, discreet and efficient economic operations, and at present Governments and international organizations find that almost inadvertently these economic giants of multifaceted political loyalty have grown up in their midst. These multinational companies are a reality of modern life. Their structure and operations, and particularly their administration and decision-making centres, differ from those international businesses through which, for example, the Suez Canal was built. First of all, we should get to know them and dispel the relative mystery that surrounds them, and in due course they could be subject to regulations through laws and conventions in order to reduce their role as competitive giants against States and convert them into genuine tools of international economic co-operation and a means to balance the level of development of those States. Thus, the study of these businesses being made by various United Nations bodies is very important. We trust that the study will offer practical guidelines for Governments, both for their domestic legislation and for international conventions. This is an item the consideration of which should be carried out regardless of the time required and the efforts and resources involved. El Salvador is particularly interested in the information that will result from these studies since, because of its high population density and limited natural resources, it sees in the rationalization of the international division of labour a good prospect of development, and in the multinational companies which respect the rules of the game a vehicle for bringing about that rationalization.

174. We also have to give thought to the question how the developing countries could use the pattern of multinational companies by creating their own. For example, it would be worth-while exploring multinational coffee-exporting companies. In other words, we would have to sketch out a two-way street with respect to multinational companies. To this end, as a basic element, nothing can replace the importance of a proper knowledge of these companies. The United Nations, which has produced objective, detailed and thorough technical studies, has here another field in which to show its objectivity and its abilities.

175. El Salvador has supported speedy and effective action by the United Nations in respect to terrorism. Nevertheless, last year we abstained in the vote on the relevant resolution [*resolution 3034 (XXVII)*] because at that very late hour of the twenty-seventh session, on 18 December 1972, the failure of the resolution would have led to an absolute vacuum and, therefore, resulted in inaction for a year. At least the matter was kept alive and a committee was created¹⁴ whose mandate is to present recommendations. Those recommendations will serve as the

¹³ See document E/5263 (mimeographed).

¹⁴ *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism.

point of departure for the General Assembly to take up this problem with the calm and determination which are inherent in its high status.

176. At this session the Assembly is not studying item 94 on terrorism as a means of antagonizing anyone in particular, nor as a concealed recourse to support this or the other party in any particular dispute, nor to detract from anti-colonialist struggles. The Assembly is studying its international aspects, its aspects which concern relations between States, to the extent that it can swell the rampant forces of hate, vengeance, and merciless conflict and, therefore, contribute to a mental climate of tension and even crazy actions and reactions. The Assembly must consider this problem at the political level, but in addition it must judge it also from the moral and humanitarian standpoint. Indeed, this Assembly, although eminently political, cannot and should not remove itself from the basic principles of international morality and humanitarianism.

177. The Secretary-General proposed the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session¹⁵ in response to a general clamour. The objectivity which the treatment of this delicate question demands begins with its sponsorship by the Secretary-General. For indeed, the Secretary-General, who is a political functionary, must renounce, in order correctly to discharge his duties, a comfortable passivity and a cold observation of the facts. He is compelled to analyse world problems and to submit relevant proposals to the competent bodies. In this instance his initiative was timely. The Secretary-General, deeply involved in the most burning problems, but in the interest of the defence of general interests, makes proposals and recommendations which deserve respect because of the high post that he holds, the confidence which he enjoys on the part of Governments, and in particular because of the intrinsic merit of such proposals and recommendations.

178. With regard to terrorism we must distinguish between matters relating to the internal affairs of States and matters of an international character. The United Nations is being asked to promote and organize co-operation against the scourge of terrorism in respect of matters within its competence, or, that is to say, in the aspects, projections and effects that this phenomenon has with respect to international relations. A study of the causes of this social phenomenon is very important, but we cannot wait until that study of the causes is concluded in order to organize preventive and defensive international co-operation. The dispute continues about the causes of crime, but meanwhile there are penal codes. The psychological motivations of aircraft hijackers are being studied, yet nevertheless we have enacted conventions protecting passengers and crews, which have been ratified by many States Members of the United Nations. A study of causes—however important—if transformed into a prerequisite for international action, would put off the treatment of the problem to the Greek Calends. If converted into political logic, this very respectable academic logic would function as a dilatory tactic.

179. We must point out that the General Assembly, in the aforementioned resolution, did not take any measures to

study the causes of terrorism, perhaps because it understood that this is a job that is more appropriate for the specialized agencies, or because it considers such a complicated matter lies beyond its possibilities.

180. A year has passed and the question of the causes, which is still included in the item, has not been touched upon. This must be taken into consideration in dealing with the matter during the current session.

181. Terrorism destroys innocent lives, causes damage which exceeds that which normally belligerents are exposed to, disturbs the normal means of communication, sows distrust and uncertainty and creates an atmosphere of threat and fear which generates a chain of actions and reactions which can explode into a real holocaust because there is no force like fear in inciting men to commit so many irrational acts. The Preamble of the United Nations Charter recalls the essential values which are being trampled under foot by terrorism—namely, fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person.

182. In order to discharge its responsibility in this area, the United Nations must set itself seriously to the preparation of a draft convention on international co-operation to combat terrorism. During the preparation of this draft there will be an opportunity to hear and take duly into consideration the positions of those who, with reason, wish to avoid having this item used as an instrument to infringe, limit or distort certain principles on which the general policy of the United Nations is based. But we must also point out that proper consideration of these principles should not be transformed in an opportunity to expose or distort fundamental human rights such as the right to life, or the dignity and the intrinsic worth of the human person.

183. The United Nations Charter establishes as the principal purpose of the United Nations the maintenance of international peace and security, and to that end, the taking of effective measures to prevent and eliminate threats to the peace and acts of aggression. In compliance with this very noble objective, the United Nations, on various occasions, has found itself compelled to adopt truly effective collective measures, such as the use of armed force.

184. The United Nations forces, in raising the noble standard of war for the restoration of peace, have had to act on the plains of Korea, in the deserts of Palestine, and in the fields of the Congo. Without having any contractual obligations on this point, these forces have endeavoured to adhere to the rules of civilized behaviour in time of war.

185. El Salvador considers that the United Nations—not only in order properly to discharge its mission of peace within the framework of juridical principles which are of permanent value, but also to set an example to Member countries that still have not done so—should in its capacity as an unquestioned subject of international law sign the conventions of The Hague and Geneva, in so far as is appropriate, because we cannot conceive how the Organization could exert force in order to preserve peace and halt aggression, have a Military Staff Committee and be able legitimately to use armed force, without at the same time having its armed force, formally and in a binding manner,

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 92, documents A/8791 and Add.1.

made subject to this body of legal principles based on humanitarian concepts.

186. At the present time, war is prohibited under the law. None the less, it is a fact that there continue to be warlike disputes in the world. Hence, there is justification for principles which would make such conflicts less inhumane. The United Nations cannot remain outside the framework of principles which have acquired at the present time a basis which is largely humanitarian in nature.

187. With the creation and development of international organizations as a means for maintaining peaceful international coexistence and improving in all aspects the conditions of the life of man, it is no longer possible to maintain that only States are the subject of international law; rather, doctrine and custom have come to recognize the entitlement of international organizations to be subject to such law. The diplomatic privileges and immunities of international organizations, the power which some of them, or their subordinate bodies, have to request advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice, their international responsibilities and their capacity—which is inherent in their very existence—to sign treaties between themselves or with States all bear me out in what I say.

188. On this basis, El Salvador proposes to the General Assembly that it should study the most appropriate manner of ensuring that, as soon as possible, the United Nations should become a party to the international conventions which seek fair treatment for persons shipwrecked and injured in war, respect for war prisoners, the outlawing of unnecessarily destructive weapons, the safeguarding of the cultural and historical patrimony of a country in times of armed conflict, and the protection of civilians in time of war: in sum, this admirable group of conventions which constitutes the so-called humanitarian law of war.

189. It is high time that the United Nations should take a position in the vanguard of the observance of such noble principles, and in a short time it should, therefore, offer its unlimited adherence to, and formal support of, the aforesaid conventions.

190. The date of the beginning of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is approaching, and we therefore have an opportunity to test the hopes and fear, the agreements and disagreements, the points of concord and conflict with respect to the seas, the last frontier for natural resources. Apart from the sea there remain no resources on a scale available for exploitation, at least in the present state of technology and the foreseeable state of this technology for a number of centuries to come. As the earth's non-renewable resources diminish, because of the increasing consumption day by day, the importance of the sea grows.

191. How the sea will be exploited in the next few decades and what will be the participation of each Government are questions which have to be answered by the Third Conference. A system of reasonable exploitation, of equitable co-participation, of judicious preservation of the marine environment and of international co-operation must be the subject of a great deal of thought, of wise negotiation and a sense of understanding and co-operation.

All of the parties concerned can easily agree on general guidelines, but the discrepancies will prove to be very deep as soon as we consider the ways of putting into effect these broad general guidelines in dealing with specific and concrete subjects. The task of the Third Conference is, to say the least, impressive by the complexity of the subject matter, because of the divergence of interests which will have to be reconciled, and because of the very different economic and geographical circumstances of the participants in the negotiations.

192. The difficult problems that will have to be solved by the Third Conference do derive not from any particular will of any State, but rather from the coexistence of differing circumstances which give rise to opposing interests. The multifaceted issues which are potentially subject to regulation reflect the interests of more than 130 States which can nevertheless, broadly speaking, be reduced to a few groups: for example, coastal States and land-locked States; States located on the shores of seas whose limits exceed any of the rules under consideration now and States which are so close to each other that the application of these and other rules which have been considered give rise to problems of confrontation and conflict; States with broad continental shelves and States without a continental shelf; States with islands remote from their continental shores and States that are nothing but islands; States whose territorial waters span international straits and States interested in the use of such straits.

193. Land frontiers were established after centuries of fluctuations in which empires rose and fell. The desire for self-determination finds itself hampered by the will to hegemony. The distribution of land, therefore, has evoked a history of rivalries, discord and war, of maps that have been changed hundreds of times. But the distribution of the seas must be accomplished—considering the States to be arbitrators—by means of negotiations and conventions, that is to say, within a legal order in the structure of which all States will join freely and voluntarily. And this distribution, furthermore, must be made taking into account the general interest, as well as the special interests represented by States. States will be the principal subjects, but they will not be absolutes or absolutists; rather they will be subjects limited by the presence of other States of equal stature and also by the existence of interests which are those of all inhabitants of the earth. The distribution of the seas should not repeat the distribution of the land according to absolutist concepts of sovereignty; it must rather be based on the decentralized distribution of rights, obligations and responsibilities.

194. Some developing countries have defined their positions in the sense that an equitable distribution of real opportunities in respect of the sea must contain, *inter alia*, the recognition of a broad zone, not greater than 200 miles, in which the coastal States will have sufficient competence to use these resources as a supplement to their land resources. This national zone is consistent with local and regional arrangements—for example, with integrated maritime zones when geography makes this necessary—and with recognition of the equal rights and interests of the land-locked States. This national zone, which primarily would be economic in content, would have to correspond to reasonable requirements relating to the preservation of

the marine environment and the ecological balance, and would be legally and politically compatible with the requirements of international navigation. Moreover, and inasmuch as we never legislate for all eternity, the arrangements to be worked out would be understood to be contingent upon the existence of the present circumstances obtaining in the international community. And, of course, to the extent that the economic and technological gaps between the developed and the under-developed countries would diminish—although this might still be a distant prospect—it would become necessary to revise the rules adopted, and, possibly to devise another régime of the seas.

195. My Government is and has been particularly concerned by the periodic carrying out of nuclear testing in the Pacific Ocean—both by the fact in itself and by the effects of such testing on the natural environment. El Salvador joins with those States which have raised a loud protest at the repetition of these tests, and trusts that they will not be repeated in future.

196. To conclude, I should like to refer to a matter which is in the forefront of the concerns of our people and Government, and that is the progress of direct negotiations between El Salvador and Honduras.

197. On such an important question I can state that the present status of these negotiations is highly promising; since 15 September the negotiators of both countries have been meeting in Mexico, a country which generously, and doing honour to its traditions as a Pan-American nation, has been offering its good offices for a peaceful settlement ever since the inception of the conflict.

198. Moreover, the concern and the interest which have been expressed consistently on this question by other

brother countries of Central America have undoubtedly been decidedly favourable factors in the attainment of the present state of the negotiations. As the culminating factor I should like to point to the recent meeting of the Presidents of Honduras and El Salvador fostered by the gesture made in the truest Central American spirit by the President of Guatemala, General Carlos Arana Osorio.

199. The present conversations are being carried out in an atmosphere of great cordiality and with a sense of practical consideration, which leads us to trust that the results will be good.

200. El Salvador, at this time when a just and fair settlement of the dispute with the Republic of Honduras looms on the horizon, reaffirms in this highest world forum its spirit of true Central Americanism, based on human rapprochement and the collective will to rebuild our common nationality.

201. The problems of Central America are not of course only a question of improving a market or defining a frontier. On the contrary, to magnify this matter which is conducive to division would detract energy from the effort at a true and deeper integration. We cannot and must not avoid the concrete realities which circumstances impose on us, but it is counter-productive to convert them into essential factors for the historic future of the region.

202. My Government wishes to repeat that it will exert all of its goodwill and determination to find a final, realistic and worthy solution of this dispute which goes to the very roots of the development of Central American life.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.