

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records



**2132nd
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 28 September 1973,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Rawiri (Gabon)	1
Speech by Mr. Bayülken (Turkey)	3
Speech by Mr. Nase (Albania)	7
Speech by Mr. Seck (Senegal)	15

President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Fack (Netherlands),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. RAWIRI (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): It should not be surprising that, for a citizen of the third world like me, it is difficult to speak once again before this Assembly—difficult because I cannot forgo accomplishing my duty to express here the point of view of my Government on the important problems which preoccupy us collectively.

2. I cannot be pleased at having to denounce here once again, in the same circumstances, exactly the same evils—in spite of the rather fragile hopes that have appeared in the South-East Asian region. Members must understand that I am concerned over all the factors that have been created and maintained to aggravate and perpetuate underdevelopment in the third world.

3. I rise up against retrograde selfishness on the part of all those who—while our common destiny depends upon universal solidarity—are still hesitating about co-operating frankly in keeping the weakest and the most destitute among us from achieving social well-being. I rise up against the constant threat of weapons of destruction which is weighing upon mankind. Lastly and especially I rise up against the abject conditions of colonialism, *apartheid* and occupation which still hold Africa in bondage, in spite of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and contrary to the spirit of our Charter.

4. I am therefore obliged to re-examine with members the same problems that have been debated at such length—problems of economic and social development, problems of international co-operation, problems of universal peace and, of course, problems of the sacred right of all peoples on earth, and in particular the Africans, to decide upon their own future.

5. All those preoccupations would, of course, have made me pessimistic if we had not had a man of the dimension of Mr. Benites to preside over our Assembly. An erudite jurist, a politician well informed about, and fully acquainted with, this house and all the problems that we shall have to debate here, he is certainly the President that we were awaiting in order to find together the solutions that our apprehensions call for. On his election, which was so brilliant because it was well deserved and justified, I offer him the heartfelt congratulations of my delegation.

6. With Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our Secretary-General, who is always between two aeroplane flights in his aim of getting first-hand knowledge of the various problems with which our Organization is confronted, Mr. Benites forms a team of distinguished men whose competence and dedication to the service of the world make it possible for us not to have doubts about the United Nations and to look forward to the future. My delegation assures the President, and all his colleagues in the General Committee and in the Secretariat, of our gratitude.

7. The same feelings guide my memories of the President and the General Committee of the twenty-seventh session.

8. In rushing to the United Nations as soon as they had acceded to political independence, we, the small countries, thought first and foremost that we would be part of a great human collectivity within which mutual understanding could engender greater justice. In our view, that justice necessarily had to begin with a better considered distribution of riches and consumer goods and all the other means which make it possible to struggle effectively against ignorance, disease and poverty.

9. Our attachment to that ideal was all the deeper as we had total confidence in the industrialized countries, which, following one of the greatest conflagrations they had inflicted upon the world, had succeeded in placing before our eyes the new charter of a better future based upon a thousand altruistic obligations.

10. But, after 28 years and in spite of a better-organized and more profitable exploitation of our riches, our purchasing power is decreasing, whereas the industrialized nations are selling their products at higher and higher prices; so we grow poorer for the benefit of those very nations which are becoming richer and richer.

11. So, I repeat, after 28 years three quarters of mankind suffers from famine while a minority has surplus in its agriculture, and enormous sums continue to be sacrificed to sterile purposes while millions of children grow up illiterate because it is not possible for us to give them teachers,

classrooms, books—in a word, all that is necessary for them to become citizens worthy of our society.

12. As it now stands, the economic and social situation of the world must preoccupy the United Nations and lead its specialized agencies to restructure themselves in order better to help our States tackle the various aspects of the problems of under-development that weigh upon us. It is an absurdity to try to deal with world peace before attempting to eliminate from the world the fundamental causes of social inequality which lead men to destroy each other through violence.

13. Only when those causes have been eliminated will our faith in international co-operation as an indispensable means in the service of development be justified. There is no doubt at all that the Central African Customs and Economic Union, the European Common Market, the Group of 77 and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], to which Gabon is making its modest contribution, are not in our view exclusive clubs for this co-operation.

14. My country is prepared to co-operate with the whole world and, repeating the statement of His Excellency Mr. Albert Bernard Bongo, President of the Gabonese Republic, I would say that our only policy is to continue to give our peoples the means of emerging from under-development.

15. We agree that other efforts should be joined to ours, provided that those who want to help us in this noble task by offering their co-operation to us respect our sovereignty. And it is not through any accident that our President, Albert Bernard Bongo, upon his accession to power, signed an "investment code" for all those who sincerely wish to help us; that code recognizes that businessmen who come to our country have a right to make a fair profit.

16. In regard to our sovereignty, I wish to go beyond the strict framework of the political situation exclusively and to speak of the full enjoyment of the riches which a generous and bountiful nature has placed upon our soil and buried within our subsoil and under our waters. Such a sovereignty can suffer no restriction. We intend to remain, in spite of our limited means and possibilities, the only masters of our soil, of which our territorial sea to a limit of 100 miles is an integral part.

17. This affirmation is in no way inconsistent with our universalist orientation. It is simply an explanation of the reality that we Gabonese, while prepared to co-operate for our economic development, do not intend to have any of our national wealth exploited to the detriment of our people. And if naturally we are in favour of the exploitation of the sea-bed for peaceful purposes, we reject its spoliation.

18. But how can we prepare and develop this co-operation, how can we improve the standard of living of our peoples in a world which is uncertain of its own future, a world replete with weapons of destruction, a world in which those who have more than others are spending more for war than for the general well-being?

19. Of course, the Powers responsible for our collective peace have been able to avoid the worst by opening treaties for our signature; of course, an important document has been drafted and signed prohibiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons.¹ All these measures, including the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, are so much evidence of a genuine desire to achieve peace.

20. But the Government of Gabon is still asking itself, What is the purpose of the bombs that were already stored before the publication and entry into force of the text to which I have referred?

21. To set our fears to rest for all time and to provide a satisfactory reply to all the small countries which are only dreaming of peace, there is a solution: formally to prohibit the manufacture of new nuclear weapons and immediately to establish international commissions for the systematic destruction of existing stockpiles. Not to accept that would mean purely and simply, as far as we are concerned, to shirk the sincere search for peace.

22. The Powers concerned which adopted our point of view would emerge ennobled by their decision. As for our world, enjoying the resources thus liberated and delivered from its anguish, it would at last know true happiness.

23. It is because of our faith in the principles of our Organization that I come to set forth here the thinking of my Government.

24. However, for every African, for every citizen of the third world, as well as for all peoples imbued with lofty moral values, there is very little hope of achieving this world that we all desire as long as colonialism and *apartheid* are still the rule in Africa and one of the greatest peoples of our continent is still under military occupation.

25. And yet, following the signature of the Charter at San Francisco, the African peoples, which had seen scores of thousands of their people die in order to help others reconquer their freedom, had seriously hoped that, because of the new international code, the day had at last come when they could enjoy independence.

26. Indeed their hope was well founded; the freedom of peoples being inalienable, the France of Charles de Gaulle and the British Crown had decided in favour of honour, greatness and the future by substituting for the basically fragile ties of domination the almost indestructible relations of friendship, confidence and co-operation. The evidence is there that people who can have the most confidence in their common destiny are those who have forgotten their relations of the past in order to build a future through mutual consent.

27. It is unthinkable to observe that in Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola, Mozambique, Cabinda and the São Tomé and Príncipe islands genocide still goes on, punctuated by unjustified massacres of the aged, of pregnant women and of children, who are daily burned with napalm. An entire village of 200 inhabitants has just

¹ Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (resolution 2373 (XII), annex).

been stricken from the map of Mozambique. And, as if it were living in a dream world, Portugal continues to believe that its country is part of Central Africa.

28. To complete this anachronistic picture, racism of the most humiliating and repugnant kind is still prevalent in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia. The African populations, on the soil of their ancestors, live in conditions so well known that it appears superfluous to us to refer to them here once again.

29. Indeed, the allied régimes of Portugal and South Africa having remained deaf to the voice of reason, the African peoples concerned have risen up in the armed struggle which has been imposed upon them by the colonial systems. Blood is flowing and the United Nations is neutralized through the intrigues of the settlers.

30. But everyone knows that this situation could not last were the Portuguese Government alone and if the white minorities of Southern Africa did not have outside support, making it possible for them to defy world public opinion with impunity.

31. As for the Middle East problem, it is the responsibility of the great Powers to restore the Jarring mission in order to find agreement within the framework of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The recent refusal of Egypt and Israel to have this resolution amended makes it possible to think that each of the parties finds it acceptable.

32. While we are pleased to see among us the qualified representatives of the German people, we should not lose sight of the other divided States—the two Viet-Nams and the two Koreas. It is high time for all inhabitants of the world to be represented in this Assembly.

33. In the case of Korea in particular, the non-aligned countries have advocated at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers, what might be considered as a basis for the settlement of the problem [*see A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 49*]; but the fear of permanent insecurity which is making the southern part of the country hesitate to the point where it is attempting to modify this solution is such that we must seriously consider the statement made on 23 June by the South Korean President, a statement which we think lays down the essential bases for finding a just solution to the problem.

34. The two parties have arrived at a point where hope is possible. They should not fall back on misunderstandings, hesitations and errors, which have until now complicated the solution of their problem.

35. My delegation has no magic formula for a perfect settlement of all the problems on the agenda of the present session. But it has the firm desire to make its modest contribution to the collective effort to find, with all men of goodwill, the majority of those data which might simplify examination of what unfortunately divides us, and thus attain the unity of thought which is our only salvation.

36. May I therefore be permitted to make a solemn appeal to all those who are particularly responsible for the weal

and woe of the international community to give our world, at last, more justice, more progress and more peace.

37. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): I should like first to express our warmest congratulations to Ambassador Leopoldo Benites on the occasion of his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. I am certain that the outstanding personal qualities of Ambassador Benites as scholar, journalist and diplomat, which we have known and appreciated very closely, his long experience in the service of our Organization and his dedication to the ideals of the United Nations will ensure the success of our deliberations and decisions. This is the seventh time that this high office has been assumed by the Latin American countries, with which Turkey has excellent and most cordial relations.

38. I wish also to express my appreciation to our outgoing President, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, for the excellent work he did throughout his tenure of office.

39. Equally, it is with distinct pleasure that I wish to pay here a warm tribute to my good friend Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim for his unceasing efforts for the promotion of peace, concord, co-operation and security in these challenging and fast-changing times.

40. Another source of satisfaction for us is to see the growing membership of our Organization. Therefore, I join my colleagues who preceded me at this rostrum in welcoming the representatives of the three new Member States—the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas—with all our good wishes. There is no doubt that with each addition to its membership our world Organization approaches a step further towards its goal of universality. We hope that this process will continue in the future.

41. In my rather long years of association with the United Nations I have had the privilege a great number of times of taking this rostrum to expound our views on the state of affairs prevailing in our ever-shrinking planet, and I expressed our fervent hope that forthcoming developments would fall in line with the aspirations and expectations of mankind as a whole. In my addresses I have always tried to be as objective as it was possible for a responsible representative of a country, both in the choice of subjects I touched upon and in my evaluations and analyses in so doing. Among the problems which I took up there were a few of such long duration that I have had to come back to them time and again, year after year; there were also those which were serious enough to warrant urgent and close examination, but which proved to be more manageable with the passage of time; and lastly, and most happily, events about which elation had to be voiced were not non-existent.

42. In so far as the present situation in the world as a whole is concerned, it would be over-optimistic, if not too naïve, to say that the over-all pattern has undergone a very fundamental change compared to previous years. We still have a checkered one, complete with problems of all kinds

as well as promising prospects, but, just the same, there is a difference, and in my opinion it is an important one.

43. I arrive at this conclusion proceeding from the logical rule which demands that a bottle be called half-empty or half-full according to the gradual decrease or increase of its contents. In other words, nothing being static, everything being subject to constant change in one direction or another, the main yardstick with which to appreciate a given situation ought to be the development which has led to it and the trend which it represents.

44. Looking at our world of today from that angle, I would submit that we can detect, through conflicting elements, an unmistakable and continuous trend of progress for the better. It is this indeed too slow and too erratic but nevertheless new trend that makes me feel rather optimistic despite all the caution which the vicissitudes in international relations of the post-war decades teach us.

45. In point of fact, let us cast a cursory look at the developments that have taken place since the last session of our Assembly. Since their history is too recent for a clear judgement of their respective importance, let us consider these developments on a geographical basis, heading from the East towards the West.

46. In the Far East, the happiest event is no doubt the agreement reached in the Viet-Nam conflict. That long-drawn-out armed confrontation harmed all the participants and caused great human suffering. Now that it is over, we hope that the atmosphere of reconciliation which has been created by the Viet-Nameese cease-fire will spread to the other neighbouring countries and that the whole region will soon have peace, calm and stability.

47. Some more good news has come to us from the Asian subcontinent: the repatriation of thousands of prisoners of war held in captivity since 1971 is at last on the way to realization. The subcontinent is one of the birthplaces of civilization. With its population reaching the hundreds of millions, with its great natural resources and with its time-tested wisdom, the nations of the subcontinent are destined to have a promising future. Our wish is that this event may mark the beginning of a new era in which all remaining points of dissension can be eliminated and the foundations of a lasting co-operation with full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality of all can be laid down.

48. Agreements in Viet-Nam and in the subcontinent show us that, given goodwill and perseverance, no conflict is too hard or too complicated to defy peaceful and honourable solution.

49. Coming to Europe, we again have cause for hope. As might be guessed, I am alluding mainly to the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. This Conference, which was held with the participation of 32 European countries plus the United States and Canada, has already completed its first stage successfully, and its second one is on the way. Moreover, preparatory work for the conference on mutual force reductions in Central Europe is now completed, and the conference itself is expected to start at its appointed time and place. Although it is too

soon to express a firm opinion, we can already say that it will constitute a landmark in the examination of security problems.

50. In this context, I wish to underline the fact that security in the world in general, and in Europe in particular, is based on a very delicate balance. Therefore, in this process all our efforts should converge towards strengthening and stabilizing security, and not diminishing it for one or another country or group of countries.

51. Of all the remnants of the Second World War, the German question proved to be perhaps the hardest one to solve. We are happy that a formula has been reached and that we can greet in our midst both the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. In the attainment of this result, the efforts deployed by all parties are of course worthy of praise; but we can, in all equity, single out the courageous and realistic policies pursued by the present distinguished leadership of the Federal Republic of Germany.

52. I shall repeat what I said a few minutes ago, namely, that even the most arduous difficulties can be overcome when goodwill and mutual understanding prevail. It is precisely because we have this observation in mind that we do not fall into undue pessimism as regards the Cyprus question—a question which is of paramount importance for both the Turkish nation as a whole and the Turkish community on the island. Although we view with deep concern some developments that are taking place on the Greek Cypriot side, we still hope that the enlarged intercommunal talks which are being held between the representatives of the two communities with the participation of experts on constitutional law from Greece and Turkey and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General will yield results acceptable to all interested parties and defuse once and for all a potentially explosive situation.

53. We have always favoured a peaceful and lasting solution for the Cyprus question—one which would safeguard the partnership status of the two communities in the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of that bicomunal State and which would be based on local autonomy, in accordance with the justified aspiration of the Turkish population of the island. Here I would like again to express our appreciation to all those Governments which are contributing to the peace-keeping activities in Cyprus, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the members of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

54. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers, which more than 70 countries attended, has once more demonstrated the importance of the role the third world can play in international relations. We believe that the conclusions of that Conference will give impetus and add a new dimension to the prospects for peace and development.

55. So much for the relatively bright side of the present-day world scene. As for the darker sides, they are numerous.

56. First of all, the phenomenon which has come to be known as the arms race and which is not only the reflection of the uneasiness and insecurity felt by all nations but also, in its turn, one of the reasons for that same uneasiness and insecurity, goes on unchecked and unabated. In spite of the favourable atmosphere created by the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks for new endeavours in the field of disarmament, no relaxation is observed in the upward swing of arms production. It is really sad that on this tenth anniversary of the partial test-ban Treaty² both the quality and the quantity of nuclear as well as conventional weapons should be constantly progressing, swallowing up huge amounts of riches and energy most needed for the betterment of the human condition, and forcing mankind to live under the threat of unprecedented disaster.

57. If this most serious problem is not tackled courageously and realistically, and if, as a beginning at least, a partial solution cannot be arrived at, arrangements to be achieved in the political field alone are bound to be rootless, and the climate of détente to be created will accordingly be fragile.

58. A no less dark image seen in the international kaleidoscope is indeed the survival of that most heinous practice called colonialism. Colonialism, as implemented nowadays, is rooted in slavery and bases itself on man's exploitation by man. Therefore, it cannot be justified by any measure of historical distortion. In this year of 1973, when we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and when the United Nations counts among its Members scores of former colonial countries, the most lenient judgement to be passed on the fact that some 28 million people continue to live under the colonial yoke and still others suffer from racial discrimination is that this clearly denotes a mentality cruelly behind the times. The Republic of Turkey, which emerged from a struggle for liberation, will always be on the side of those who fight for their independence and freedom.

59. It is a good omen for the future that efforts in the international field against colonialism never cease to be deployed, as witness the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in southern Africa, held at Oslo in April 1973, sponsored jointly by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

60. However, another source of deep anxiety in the present world panorama is the continuation of the Middle East question, with no solution in sight as yet. This unhappy and stagnant situation of "no war, no peace" should not be viewed only in the light of its negative effects on the search for a solution, but should also be considered carefully, as it carries in itself the seeds of violence and thus maintains its highly explosive character. It must be recalled that peace means a lot more than a negative definition, such as the lack of war suggests.

61. It must equally be recalled that no amount of rhetoric should be able to supply with a cloak of legitimacy any

attempt at gaining territory or political prestige by the use of force or by means of forcible faits accomplis, on the one hand, and the delaying of the evacuation of territories thus gained, on the other. We believe that the world community is in duty bound to do whatever it can in order to break this deadlock.

62. Turkey, being in the region involved and having traditionally close and friendly ties with the Arab countries, wishes to see this problem solved as soon as possible in conformity with the principles of justice and equity. We continue to believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contains the necessary elements for the attainment of a lasting and honourable settlement. The establishment of a just peace should safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned, including, naturally, those of the Palestinians. We hold the view that the status of Jerusalem, a Holy City for three major religions of mankind, should not be changed by unilateral actions.

63. I now wish to dwell briefly on a different subject which should retain the attention of our Assembly. I refer to acts of violence and terrorism. It must be more than a truism to underline the fact that recourse to violence with its underhanded methods such as terrorism, sabotage, the hijacking of aircraft and so on, far from solving problems complicates them still more and engenders new ones.

64. Here I want to make one point absolutely clear. Terrorism can in no way be condoned. I should even add that of all acts of violence terroristic acts must be condemned with particular emphasis because of the cowardliness inherent in them. The justness of the cause they are supposed to serve must never be considered an excuse. But we should never lose sight of the very important fact that the reverse is valid too. That is, we should never be unduly influenced in our judgement on a given cause by our abhorrence of the means used for its furtherance.

65. We must earnestly hope that the present Assembly will through its concurrent efforts be able to prepare a draft convention for the prevention and suppression of international terrorism. We think that it falls equally to us to consider seriously and adopt at this session the draft convention on the prevention and punishment of crimes against diplomatic agents and other internationally protected persons [item 90]. It is also important that a large number of countries should be parties to the Tokyo, The Hague and the Montreal Conventions.

66. Here I note with regret that the extraordinary session of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization³ and the International Conference on Air Law⁴ closed recently without any positive results.

67. We are looking forward to the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea with great expectations. The outcome of the Conference is of extreme importance for the international community. We shall either open a new era of international co-operation or move towards possible chaos in that field. The main

² Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

³ Held at Rome from 28 August to 21 September 1973.

⁴ *Idem*.

question in our efforts in the preparation of new international norms for the law of the sea is the determination of the limits of national jurisdiction of sovereign States. In our opinion, a solution of this problem does not infringe the sovereign rights of States or relate to the division of those rights. The creation of a new order must be based on justice and equity and must take into account the peculiarities and realities of different regions of the world which have particular problems that can be solved only through mutual agreement.

68. If I have so far dwelt mostly on political questions and prospects for the future, it should not be construed that we attribute less importance to economic problems. On the contrary, we believe that the roots of many of the political problems encountered are of an economic nature. International co-operation is an absolute must when we look forward to the improvement of the well-being of the masses.

69. A preliminary assessment of the progress achieved so far during the Second United Nations Development Decade does not give rise to much optimism, especially for countries in the process of development. Yet the forthcoming multilateral trade negotiations lead us away from falling into complete pessimism. The prolongation of the uncertainties in the world monetary system seriously endanger world trade as a whole and particularly the trade of the developing countries. Therefore we urge the completion of the work being carried out for the improvement of the international monetary system without delay. International economic relations need to be salvaged from their present insecure atmosphere. Much remains to be done in the sharing of the benefits accrued through technological progress.

70. Recent drought and natural disasters in many parts of the world have led us to think more seriously about the alarming situation of the world food problem. In this age of great technological advancement, it is paradoxical still to witness men dying of hunger and men being overwhelmed by the forces of nature. The need for assistance from the international community is urgent, especially for the Central African Republic, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Upper Volta in the Sudano-Sahelian region. Furthermore, the heavy floods which devastated life and property in Pakistan, with which we have fraternal ties of friendship, have left that great country in need of immediate assistance.

71. While we are sure that all possible aid will continue to flow expeditiously to those fellow member countries, timely realization of that vital assistance should not relieve our minds of the long-term problems of poor agricultural production. We therefore find the convening of a world food conference, as proposed by the Secretary of State of the United States [2124th meeting], timely and appropriate.

72. Moreover, serious consideration should be given to the problems of the environment and to the immediate and long-term problems of energy, which are inseparable from the future of mankind.

73. A month from now, almost to the day, on 29 October, Turkey will be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic. That means, above all, the beginning of a new era for our nation.

74. The political philosophy of this era has been characterized more than anything by the justly renowned principle of the founder of the new Turkey, the great Kemal Atatürk, which demands, "Peace at home, peace in the world". The latter part of this principle which Atatürk bequeathed to his nation is clear enough to need no comment. Throughout history, many great thinkers have perceived and expressed the necessity of peace for human happiness. Whereas the first part, which takes up peace as an element of progress in the internal life of a nation, contains truly original and far-sighted thought, when Atatürk insisted that peace at home should flourish together with peace in the world Turkey was emerging from a long series of wars. On the other hand, it was preparing itself for the complete eradication of the remnants of exploitation in economic and other fields which had for such a long time distorted both its relations with the outside world and its day-to-day life.

75. Atatürk, who was the first to take up the sword when the nation had to fight a life-and-death struggle, taught his people that, although any undue foreign influence was not to be tolerated, the orderly social and economic development of the national life depended nevertheless on the achievement of a climate of peace in both internal and external relations. Foreign interference should be supplanted by co-operation, hostility should give way to friendship, and peace should prevail both at home and in the world. Those principles are enshrined in the Charter of our Organization.

76. Those same principles led Turkey to establish and maintain throughout this half-century a policy of good-neighbourliness and friendship with all the countries of the region and the world. That policy is also the basis of the fraternal ties existing between Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

77. Having espoused as sincerely as we have the principle of our great leader, it should be no accident that Turkey has during the course of the five last decades, which were full of turbulent events in international life, withstood the vicissitudes of the era and remained a loyal member of the world community in the promotion of peace, security and co-operation in its region as well as in the world at large. My country is determined to remain faithful to its traditional policy of peace and co-operation.

78. Inspired by this experience of ours. I shall now try to think aloud on what can be done about the positive and negative elements which combine to form the present international political fabric, with a view to fostering the former and weeding out the latter. What do we have at our disposal for our guidance?

79. First of all, we have the fundamental purposes and principles of our Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)].

80. Then there are international agreements which are valid under the generally recognized principles and rules of international law, and which stipulate obligations to be fulfilled in good faith by every nation.
81. All those documents are inspired by the fact that peace and security represent the fundamental aspirations of mankind, and for that reason their maintenance and strengthening acquire paramount importance.
82. We can be guided also by the solemn declarations of intent made during the July 1973 Helsinki session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to strive for the establishment of conditions of détente and co-operation in that region of the world. We can bear in mind that genuine détente can be achieved only by eliminating the causes of international conflicts, armed confrontations and open hostility.
83. Again, we can bear in mind mankind's impressive achievements in science and technology, on the one hand, and the consequent problems of a political, economic, environmental and social nature, on the other. And, last but not least, we can bear in mind the laudable efforts made by the United Nations in dedicating decades to particular causes in the fields of disarmament and development, as well as prospectively in the field of action to combat racism and racial discrimination.
84. With all that in mind I ventured to suggest last year the possibility of declaring a "decade of political conciliation". The basis this year for such a declaration, which I still regard as useful, could be a text in which the relevant principles of the Charter should be emphasized, giving due consideration to the inalienable rights of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence and strongly condemning colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. In this text, after having unequivocally underlined the inadmissibility of acquisition of territorial or political advantages through the use or threat of force in international relations, we might, for the promotion of the purposes of this "decade of political conciliation", ask the Secretary-General to co-operate with interested specialized agencies, intergovernmental organizations and institutions renowned for their impartial expertise on the subject, and to take into consideration the valuable work already accomplished in this field in order to prepare a study on the implications of such a decade and to propose appropriate machinery within the United Nations system for the implementation of its exigencies.
85. I think that, if these ideas meet the support of my colleagues, our Secretary-General and his able staff may be trusted to produce a document on the subject and present it for the consideration of the next session of the General Assembly.
86. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the People's Republic of Albania I should like first of all to express my warmest congratulations to Mr. Leopoldo Benites on his election to preside over this session of the General Assembly.
87. The events that have taken place in the course of the year that has just elapsed show that, basically, the positive changes that we witness today in the world are the result of the just struggle of peoples, which, despite the complexity of the problems created by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and other reactionary forces, is progressing irresistibly forward. The efforts of sovereign States to counter the policy of aggression and hegemony and the threats, pressures and blackmail practised against them have led to a continuing growth of their role in international relations in favour of the cause of freedom and independence, peace and social progress. The peoples of Indo-China have won important victories over the American aggressors and their lackeys. The Arab peoples are pursuing with determination their struggle against imperialist-Zionist aggression and the plots hatched against them. The liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are strengthening and are spreading to new areas. An ever-increasing number of countries on these continents are taking measures and co-ordinating their actions in the struggle for the defence of their independence, their sovereignty and their national interests against the rapacious designs of the imperialist Powers; and, in the first instance, I refer to the two super-Powers, which are seeking to place them under their trusteeship. The wave of anger and resistance against American imperialism and Soviet imperialism has mounted even higher. This development in the international situation is encouraging to peace-loving peoples and States and is increasing their confidence in the triumph of their just cause.
88. However, we feel that it would be rather unrealistic to overlook the obvious and not-so-obvious dangers which continue to threaten the freedom and independence of sovereign peoples and States and true peace and security. Here, in this very Assembly, efforts have been made to induce us to believe that at the present time the world is relieved of the threat of war, that relations among States are governed by a spirit of understanding, and that the prospects for peace are very encouraging. But the reality does not justify such an evaluation. In the world there still exist a good number of serious problems which are awaiting solution. In Viet-Nam, acts of war have not come to an end and there is no true peace. In Cambodia, aggression by American imperialism and its lackeys is continuing. In the Middle East, one finds a tense, explosive situation which is fraught with dangerous consequences. The Portuguese colonialists and the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia are unceasingly perpetrating barbarous crimes against many African territories. National and social oppression is being practised in grand style by the imperialist Powers and their instruments in many countries of the world. And, above all, nothing has changed in the essence and content of the aggressive policy and aims of the United States and the Soviet Union to bring about world hegemony. The two super-Powers are spreading their political, economic, cultural and military expansion to every corner of the globe.
89. For a long time there have been spreading certain concepts to the effect that peace and stability in the world depend in the first instance on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and that it is on the American-Soviet balance that any world balance will rest. It is alleged that the two super-Powers, as the great and powerful States which they are, should assume a particular responsibility and role in international life and that, under

this responsibility, they also have the right to act in full freedom wherever and with whomever they please. Such ideas are inadmissible. The time is long past when the great imperialist Powers decided the fate of the world and of peoples. Very often attempts have been made to frighten peoples by the force of the two super-Powers, by their atomic teeth, but these attempts have remained fruitless. Many facts testify to the fact that the super-Powers are only powerful in appearance, that they carry within them real weaknesses. They are in a decline and in a continuing state of disintegration. However, at the same time, the peace-loving peoples and countries are unceasingly and steadily growing and becoming stronger.

90. The policy of violence and aggression, oppression and exploitation which is practised by the United States and the Soviet Union, the armaments race and the continuing increase in their war budgets have created great difficulties both internally and externally for these Powers. In the United States the dollar crisis, inflation and unemployment, and, in the Soviet Union, continuing economic setbacks, the phenomena of disintegration and confusion in the political and social system, as well as the worsening of conflicts between nationalities, have now become chronic ills. The Watergate affair and other political scandals and the hardening of the methods of oppression and violence that have been displayed are just so many phenomena which testify to the basically reactionary nature and the continuing weakening of the system of the two super-Powers.

91. At the present time both of them are trying to overcome their difficulties by casting part of the burden on others; in the first instance, on the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The United States and the Soviet Union, through the credits they have granted and their alleged aid, the unequal trade deals and discrimination in respect of trade, investments, pillage of natural wealth, and by other neo-colonialist methods, are engaged in a frenetic course of economic aggression, seeking to ensure to themselves privileged positions and to enrich themselves at the expense of the developing countries, to sabotage their efforts at progress, to keep them in a state of dependence and thus to counteract the struggles which these countries are conducting in order to liquidate the after-effects of colonial domination, to put an end to the division of the world into rich countries and poor countries, into exploiter countries and exploited countries.

92. In recent times the two super-Powers have been intensifying their measures of constraint in order to preserve their positions of hegemony and have been seeking to relieve themselves of some of these difficulties by shifting them to the backs of their partners and allies. The United States has submitted the draft of a new Atlantic charter or a declaration on the principles of the Atlantic Treaty as an effort to offset the attempts of the countries of Western Europe to strengthen themselves as a separate force, freed of American dependence. The Soviet Union, for its part, with the intention of halting the efforts of the countries of Eastern Europe to escape its control, has intensified its efforts in order to bring about as quickly as possible the complete political, economic and military integration of those countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assist-

ance and to monopolize in its own hands the direction of all foreign relations of those countries, in accordance with the imperialist theory of "limited sovereignty".

93. At the same time, the United States and the Soviet Union, in order to cope with the problems confronting them in their own zones of influence and to put into application their global strategy, have come to an understanding and are assisting each other. They are intensifying their collaboration in all areas and in all parts of the world.

94. None the less, deep-rooted contradictions divide those two imperialist Powers that aspire to world hegemony. In the efforts of those Powers to establish their domination throughout the world, those contradictions, sooner or later, will end by breaking out into bloody conflicts, and those conflicts will lead the world to destruction, suffering and privation even greater than those which it has known heretofore. It is because they think and are prepared for such confrontations that the two super-Powers do not want to disarm. Collaboration is not and never can be absolute in relations between imperialist Powers. Their agreements are temporary and their rivalries eternal.

95. The United States and the Soviet Union try to convince us that the world is embarked upon an "era of peace" and that we are witnessing the introduction of a new system of international relations and that the "balance of terror" has given way to the "balance of security". According to them, that has been made possible owing to the extension of relations, the atmosphere of understanding and the agreements concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union, which will prove to be the guarantors of peace and security in the world. In fostering such a spirit of demobilization and compromise, the two super-Powers are seeking to create in peoples a pacifist psychosis and dangerous illusions to compel them, allegedly in the name of "peaceful coexistence" and the "settlement of disputes by means of negotiations", to make concessions and renounce the struggle to defend their national interests.

96. But no one allows himself to be taken in by this Soviet-American demagogy. The peace which the United States and the Soviet Union are extolling is illusory; behind their verbiage about peace are concealed their dangerous plans directed against sovereign peoples and countries, and their plans to repress and stifle any revolt or any resistance against them and any progressive and national liberation movement.

97. One is then entitled to ask oneself, How can one believe that peace and security are being strengthened when the two super-Powers are pursuing their relentless arms race, when they are unceasingly and steadily swelling their military budgets and are manufacturing new, more perfect weapons of mass destruction? Since people claim that war is remote, then why does anyone wish to organize those threatening military manoeuvres, and why do the United States and Soviet navies roam the seas in every direction? And why do they brandish all those weapons, and why are those war preparations being made?

98. Considering things as they are, we cannot fail to bring out the fact that the freedom and independence of sovereign countries, general peace and security, are in-

creasingly threatened by the hegemonistic expansionist policy of the two imperialisms which are the most dangerous of our era, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and that there is actually no real international détente in the world. As has been said by the well-loved leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, and I quote:

“Even if actually there is a certain degree of détente, that is true only as it applies between the imperialist super-Powers. But there is not and there will be no détente between them and us, between the peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and the social-imperialists on the other. For us it is abundantly clear that the imperialist-revisionist strategy, designed to stifle struggles and revolutionary movements as well as any resistance to their hegemony, to destroy and repress any force, any State or party which opposes the domination of the super-Powers, has remained unchanged. Only the tactics have changed and the means used, which have been multiplied in number and have been perfected”.

The détente that we are witnessing between the United States and the Soviet Union, which is accompanied by an accentuation of co-operation, compromise and bargaining between them, far from diminishing the danger of war and armed conflict, on the contrary enables the two super-Powers to increase their pressures vis-à-vis the small independent countries, to intensify their efforts to intervene in the domestic affairs of peoples and sovereign countries, and creates dangerous situations and new hotbeds of tension on all continents.

99. Fresh proof of this is to be found in the recent summit meeting of the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union. The agreements reached in the course of that meeting, as well as all the ultra-chauvinistic Nixonian or Brezhnevian concepts and doctrines which the two super-Powers seek to propagate, are designed to legitimize their arbitrary acts, their arrogance and their *diktats* in international relations. They want to arrogate to themselves the attributes of a world super-Government and to become the arbiters and the masters of all international life, whereas sovereign peoples and countries would see themselves denied the right to participate on a footing of equality in the solution of problems of the hour and questions which, directly or indirectly, affect their vital interests.

100. In particular such an attitude finds its expression in summary form in the Soviet-American agreement on what is called the prevention of nuclear warfare.⁵ Under the fallacious pretext that it is appropriate to take measures to ward off the threat of a nuclear war and prevent all forms of military confrontation, the two super-Powers are actually trying, through this agreement, to make sacrosanct at the present time in legal terms their right to intervene jointly at a time and a place they consider appropriate and to define the terms of this intervention. They are thus envisaging playing together the role of international *gendarme*.

101. The Soviet-American agreements which have already been concluded, like those which will be concluded in the framework of the so-called SALT negotiations—the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks—do not in any way set aside the danger of nuclear conflict and guarantee in no way that the considerable stockpiles of nuclear and strategic weapons will not be used against other countries. Through those agreements the United States and the Soviet Union do not intend to touch their nuclear strike-force, or to contribute to complete and general disarmament. They propose only to set up a balance which is acceptable to them, to preserve their nuclear monopoly and, above all, to impose on other States a whole series of restrictions in order to prevent any strengthening of their national defence potential and to compel them to place themselves under the American or Soviet atomic umbrella.

102. If the United States and the Soviet Union were sincerely interested in warding off the danger of a nuclear war, in dispelling the danger and threat of the use of atomic weapons, they should have accepted the clear and constructive proposals put forward for many long years now by the People's Republic of China. The commitment never to be the first to use nuclear weapons against other countries and the permanent prohibition of the manufacture and use of these weapons, together with the destruction of existing stockpiles thereof, would constitute the only specific steps towards disarmament and would create real guarantees for the elimination of the threat of a nuclear war. We believe that, so long as the two super-Powers continue to amass and steadily improve their nuclear armaments, together with those of other types, and so long as they use them as a means of exerting pressure and practising blackmail, countries have the unquestionable and legitimate right to take all the measures they deem appropriate and necessary for their defence.

103. The People's Republic of Albania, as a peace-loving European country, is interested in the just solution of the problems that concern the peoples of Europe and of the world. Albania has on numerous occasions clearly set forth its point of view on these problems, in particular with respect to European security.

104. Guaranteeing the peace and security of Europe is an ardent and legitimate wish of the peoples of Europe. After two world wars that were particularly devastating to Europe, that continent should have been able to achieve its own stability and equilibrium. The great and historic victory over fascism aroused great hopes and created good reason to assume that a lasting peace would be brought to Europe and that true security would be achieved. But although 28 years have gone by since the day of victory, the peoples of Europe have not seen their aspirations realized.

105. The first to sabotage the establishment of true European security was the United States, which, taking advantage of the difficult time through which the countries of Western Europe were going, weakened as they were and seriously devastated by the war, succeeded in securing for itself privileged political, economic and military positions in those countries. In order to safeguard its imperialist interests and transform Western Europe into a base for attacking the socialist countries, the United States set up

⁵ Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, signed at Washington on 22 June 1973.

the aggressive North Atlantic Alliance and armed the Federal Republic of Germany and turned it into a great revanchist Power. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] became an organ for the domination of Western Europe by the United States. Thus for Europe there emerged the danger of new wars, and for the countries members of NATO the danger of losing their independence. One of the eminent statesmen of modern France, Charles de Gaulle, was well aware of the danger for the countries of Western Europe, particularly France, inherent in their integration into NATO and in due course he took steps to get the American troops out of France and to withdraw his own country from the military organization of that bloc.

106. The aggressive aims and activities of NATO, the rebirth of West German revanchism and the accession of the Federal Republic of Germany to the North Atlantic Treaty compelled the Soviet Union and the socialist countries to envisage the measures necessary for guaranteeing their security and to create the Warsaw Pact as a defensive alliance. For a certain time, that Pact served to contain within bounds the aims of the United States and NATO; but when the leaders of the Soviet Union abandoned the just anti-imperialist policy that had been followed in the post-war years under the leadership of Stalin, the Warsaw Pact, too, was transformed into an aggressive alliance, and the countries and peoples of Europe found themselves confronted with a fresh danger.

107. Moreover, by not concluding a peace treaty with Germany, a treaty that should have been completed with the participation of all the countries that had contributed to the defeat of nazism, one of the fundamental reasons for the lack of balance in Europe was allowed to remain. The conclusion of that treaty was sabotaged first by the United States and later by the two super-Powers working together. The American imperialists did everything possible to bring West Germany out of the state of isolation in which it found itself as a conquered nation, and they busied themselves in compelling it to follow a line that served the purposes of German revanchism within the framework of American strategy. At the present time, with the establishment of Soviet-West German co-operation, new conditions have been created enabling the Federal Republic of Germany to emerge as the greatest political, economic and military force in Western Europe and to affirm itself as the principal partner of the two super-Powers. Thus there have been created new ties, new imperialist alliances and a new threat to peace and security in Europe.

108. Such a state of affairs could not but appal the peoples of Europe, could not fail to awaken concern and arouse opposition among them. The fact is that a great many of the allies of the two super-Powers, especially those of Western Europe, no longer wish to see imposed upon them attitudes and objectives contrary to their interests. However, we do find in Western Europe one State which has traditionally followed a "balancing" policy. Although that policy has notoriously not brought any benefit to that State or to its partners, it continues to pursue that policy at the present juncture, thus helping the super-Powers and creating a favourable ground for them to manoeuvre in such fashion as to enable them to dictate their will with regard to European questions.

109. The achievement of European security certainly is a lofty objective, one for which all European countries should strive; but the road for reaching that objective cannot be that recommended by the two super-Powers. The events that have taken place in Europe, and particularly the preparatory consultations at Helsinki, together with the first phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe itself, have fully confirmed the view that the conditions necessary for convening an intra-European conference and for the establishment of genuine peace and security have not been created. These facts have served to dash the hope that such meetings might compel the two super-Powers to respect the rights of the sovereign countries of Europe. What took place at those meetings and the results achieved have confirmed the view of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania as expressed particularly in its memorandum of 29 June 1973, where it was emphasized that

"...the Soviet Union and the United States are attempting to channel the question of European security along lines that are dangerous for the interests of peace and of peoples, and that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, as a product of Soviet-American collusion, will serve the two super-Powers, and that it will not be able to escape from their control and their manipulations or go beyond the framework of the discussions between the aggressive blocs over which they preside".

110. The United States and the Soviet Union have used the Helsinki negotiations to conceal from the peoples of Europe where the danger to them really lies and who is threatening them, and to set themselves up as defenders and guarantors of the peace and security of Europe. They have missed no opportunity to exert pressure and engage in demagogic manoeuvres to force that Conference to turn its back on the present-day reality of Europe and set out on the path which they themselves have laid down in advance. And beyond all question, it is thus that they will continue to act in the future as well.

111. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania adheres to its viewpoint that an intra-European conference which does not deal with fundamental problems that concern the peoples and the States of Europe is not in a position to create the conditions which would make it possible to prevent or repel armed aggression. It cannot serve to bring about true peace and security on the continent. On the contrary, it serves only to increase insecurity in Europe and to create new dangers for European States, and enables the two super-Powers to draw political consequences from the situation. How can anyone talk about the establishment of lasting peace and the creation of an atmosphere of understanding and collaboration on the continent when the United States and the Soviet Union are intensifying their policy of hegemony, and are maintaining and strengthening aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and when they maintain their bases and their troops on the territory of several European countries? The United States and the Soviet Union are organizing the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe not by any means to contribute to the realization of the lofty aspirations of the peoples and countries of Europe who love freedom, but rather to preserve their

zones of influence and to create in Europe a situation of relative tranquillity in order to enable them to spread their activities to other zones where their interests require their presence.

112. This conviction is even strengthened by the fact that, concomitantly with the Conference on "European security", there was convened another conference on the alleged reciprocal reduction of military forces in Europe.⁶ The purpose of the two super-Powers in this matter is to establish, within the framework of close negotiations between one bloc and another, a balance of their troops and their respective weapons in Europe and to weaken the defensive capacity of the European countries. At the same time we must see in this manoeuvre a farce staged by the United States and the Soviet Union to allay the anger which the European peoples feel at the presence of their troops, to perpetuate the stationing of these troops and to sanction the permanent violation of the sovereignty of European States. Any symbolic reduction of these troops in Europe will not diminish or set aside the threat and the danger which the policy of the two super-Powers represents for European peace and security.

113. This reduction in no way reduces their military power in Europe and does not affect their superiority over other countries in view of the continuing perfecting of their means of combat. The interests of peace and security for the countries and peoples of Europe in general, and in particular those who, so many years after the end of the Second World War, still see foreign troops on their own home soil, call not for the reduction but for the complete evacuation and withdrawal of these troops, and a withdrawal from Europe of all military installations by the United States and the Soviet Union and the wiping out of all unequal agreements which enable these troops to enter and leave when and how they wish.

114. The European peoples and countries cannot in any way feel themselves in a state of assurance just so long as tensions subsist in other parts of the world and just so long as the aggressive navies of the United States and the Soviet Union are cruising in the Mediterranean basin, with their action being openly directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples and countries of this region of the world, and just so long as the super-Powers try to convert the Mediterranean into a base for aggression against the countries of Europe and other continents.

115. The Mediterranean peoples and countries that aspire to see the Mediterranean free of foreign navies and bases are opposed to this policy of aggressive hegemony by the two super-Powers and call for a removal of the United States and the Soviet navies from this sea. We have never ceased to feel that this legitimate aspiration could be achieved if such concrete and effective measures were taken as would make impossible the subsequent presence of the aggressive navies of the United States and the Soviet Union in those waters; in other words, if all foreign military bases were dismantled and if we prevented the creation of new bases, if no facility

was provided and no aid lent to the United States and the Soviet navies, and if those navies were refused the right to dock and to make visits to the ports of Mediterranean countries.

116. The situation created in Europe and in the Mediterranean cannot fail to command the attention of the peoples and countries of the Balkans, above all at a time when the great imperialist Powers are engaged in penetrating and spreading their influence in the Balkans. The Albanian Government has been and is still interested in seeing true peace and stability established in the Balkan peninsula, and it is convinced that this can be brought about, thanks to the efforts of the peoples of this region themselves, without entrusting to anyone else the defence and the guarantee of their interests. The ties of friendship and understanding between the peoples and countries of the Balkans, based on known principles which govern the relations between sovereign States and the policy of good-neighbourliness, should serve as a solid basis to achieve this end. It is necessary to oppose any effort by the super-Powers or by anyone, whoever he may be, to speculate on the problems of this region of the world and to intervene in its domestic affairs, directly or through other means, as they are endeavouring to do now through the Conference on European Security and the Vienna negotiations, or as they would seek to do by taking advantage of another similar occasion if this possibility were opened to them.

117. The maintenance of a situation of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East testifies to the false nature of the allegations to the effect that throughout the world now we have witnessed a great positive change which will enable us to make progress towards solving the most burning problems of the hour, and that, as a result of the goodwill and concern of the two super-Powers, all of this will be brought about. It is with good reason that the peoples and States of the Arab world, victims of imperialist-Zionist aggression, while pursuing their struggle, demand that an end should be put to such a situation, that the vestiges of aggression should be wiped out as soon as possible and that all their rights that have been trampled under foot should be fully restored. But these legitimate demands encounter the criminal opposition of Israel and the deeply hostile anti-Arab attitude of the two super-Powers. While the Israeli Zionists obstinately and arrogantly press their annexationist claims and while they intensify their acts of war and armed provocation against Egypt, Syria and other Arab States, the United States and the Soviet Union, in various forms, are supporting and encouraging Israel and exerting pressure on the Arab countries to bring them to make concessions and sacrifice their sovereign rights. They are hatching intrigues against Arab unity, creating internal and foreign difficulties for the Arab States and engaging in plots against them. The Soviet-American summit meeting this year and other events have shown more clearly than ever before that the two super-Powers are opposed to a just solution of the Middle East question and are seeking to preserve at any cost the *status quo* and their neo-colonialist interests in that part of the world. The Israeli plots and the plots of the two super-Powers, as well as their efforts to destroy the Palestine movement and to eradicate the Palestine problem completely, at the same time are directed against all the Arab nations because the Palestine people is fighting also for the common cause of the Arabs.

⁶ Negotiations on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Central Europe.

118. The Albanian Government and people have supported and will continue to support firmly our brother Arab peoples. They will vigorously support the Palestine people, which has made and is continuing to accept vast sacrifices to preserve its national existence and to reconquer its homeland, which has been seized from it. The Palestine people is carrying out a just and heroic struggle and nothing will cause it to bend, neither violence and plots, nor the diabolical slanders and outrageous labels which the Israeli-Zionists and their supporters try to apply to them. We firmly believe that it will continue the struggle until final victory and that it will never accept the fate that its enemies are seeking to prepare for it, to condemn it to live forever as a people of refugees, or to pile it up in a desert corner of a so-called Palestine State, or to place it under the power of any traitorous Arab sovereign.

119. The People's Republic of Albania demands that an end should be put as quickly as possible to the serious and ominous situation existing in the Middle East as the result of the pursuit of imperialist-Zionist aggression. The Israeli aggressors should unconditionally withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and cease all forms of provocations, acts of war and terrorism against the Arab countries. We should bar the way to any imperialist intervention in this part of the world and restore all the sovereign rights of the Palestine people.

120. In Indo-China, as a result of the fortunate development of the legendary struggle for their national independence which the heroic peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia have been carrying on for many years against the armed aggression of the United States, a new situation has been created. In January of this year the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam⁷ was concluded. The withdrawal of the United States troops, which the United States had been compelled to agree to, constitutes a great victory for the people of Viet-Nam and a heavy political and military defeat for the American imperialists. This victory of the people of Viet-Nam has been hailed by all the peoples of the world, which are inspired and will always be inspired by its heroic struggle and its lofty spirit of sacrifice. Viet-Nam will go down in history as a great example of what can be accomplished by a people, no matter how small it might be, when it is determined to fight to the very end for its just cause.

121. At the present time the United States of America, without renouncing its aggressive aims in Viet-Nam and throughout Indo-China, is manoeuvring in every possible way to maintain for ever its presence in South Viet-Nam and to prevent the people of Viet-Nam from achieving its supreme aspirations. It is systematically violating the Paris agreements on Viet-Nam; it is supporting and steadily arming the puppet régime of Saigon and it is inciting people to engage in new acts of war and provocations against the liberated zone of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. In fact, it is pursuing its military commitment and its intervention in the domestic affairs of the people of Viet-Nam and the other peoples of Indo-China, and placing serious obstacles in the path of the establishment of true peace in Viet-Nam.

122. The interests of peace and stability in Viet-Nam and throughout Indo-China require that the United States and

the Saigon régime, which is under its orders, put an end once and for all, and without delay, to all the violations of the agreements on Viet-Nam, and that they strictly respect the commitments they have undertaken in accordance with these agreements, as is being done by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, which is the only legal Government of South Viet-Nam. If the United States and the puppet régime of Saigon stubbornly persist in their designs of aggression, they will certainly experience new defeats which will be even more overwhelming. The people of Viet-Nam, which is continually standing vigil over the defence of the victories that it has won, is determined to wage its just struggle to the very end, until it has won a complete triumph.

123. For more than three years the valiant Cambodian people has been involved in a heroic armed struggle for its national independence against the American imperialist aggressors and the traitorous clique of Lon Nol. Under the leadership of the United National Front of Cambodia, it has won overwhelming victories on the battlefield and it has become invincible. Neither the unprecedented intensification of the United States armed aggression and the barbarous air bombardments nor the efforts of the United States to "Khmerize" the war in Cambodia, nor the plots and political combinations which are worked out against it have succeeded in causing it to yield. The new victory which it has won by compelling the United States to cease its air bombardment over Cambodia is one more evidence of its determination and its invincibility. At present the initiative lies entirely in the hands of the Cambodian people and the armed liberation forces. The United States plans to transform Cambodia into a colony and to maintain in being the puppet régime of Phnom Penh are doomed to imminent and complete failure.

124. Despite all this, the United States has not given up its efforts to impose on the people of Cambodia the tricky solution of a "cessation of fighting" and "peaceful settlement" American-style. What it wants is to compel that people to renounce the complete liberation of the country and thus save the bankrupt clique of Phnom Penh, to compel the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia to share power with the traitors and, finally, to create in Cambodia a *de facto* division into two zones or two States, two Governments or two administrations. In this connexion, the United States enjoys the support of the Soviet Government, which, from the very outset, has maintained a hostile attitude towards the just struggle of the people of Cambodia. Refusing to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the Soviet Government has maintained and still maintains diplomatic relations with the puppets of Phnom Penh, thus taking a position against the just struggle of the people of Cambodia. The Soviet leaders, completely discredited by their attitude vis-à-vis the Cambodian problem, now claim with shameless cynicism to support the struggle of the liberation forces of Cambodia, and are seeking directly to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Cambodian people.

125. But the freedom-loving Cambodian people is determined, courageously and without falling back, to pursue its armed struggle until the complete liberation of its country and until the just demands formulated in the historic

⁷ Signed at Paris on 27 January 1973.

five-point declaration of the legal Head of State, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, on 23 March 1970 have been satisfied; that declaration is the only basis of a just settlement of the Cambodian problem.

126. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers it necessary to emphasize that it is completely illegal and manifestly contrary to the Charter to deny to the Cambodian people its legitimate rights to be represented in the United Nations and to maintain in its stead the puppet clique of Phnom Penh, which represents nothing, neither a people nor a State. The only legitimate representatives of the people of Cambodia are the United National Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. Only that Government, which exercises complete and unquestioned power over more than 90 per cent of the territory and 80 per cent of the population of Cambodia, which has set up its agencies everywhere, which directs and organizes the life of almost the whole of the country and which enjoys the support and help of the entire Cambodian people, has the capacity and the attributes necessary to represent the latter in international relations and in the United Nations.

127. The trip which Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the legal Head of State and President of the United National Front of Cambodia, made last spring to Cambodia and the National Congress held recently clearly confirm the effective power of the United National Front and of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia throughout the country and have increased their prestige and their authority in the international arena. Clear evidence of this is to be found, *inter alia*, in the fact that 48 countries have established and maintained diplomatic relations with the Royal Government of National Union and that the participants in the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September, recognized that Government as the only legal Government of Cambodia [see A/9330 and Corr.1, para. 37].

128. In order to put an end as soon as possible to the great injustice done to the people of Cambodia, it is necessary that the General Assembly, without delay, take the decision immediately to expel the representatives of the puppet Lon Nol clique and to invite the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia to take its rightful seat.

129. Although 20 years have elapsed since it was compelled to put an end to its aggressive war in Korea and to sign an armistice agreement, the United States none the less continues to maintain its occupation troops in South Korea and to incite the Seoul régime to engage in excessive acts of armed provocation against the peoples of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. For 20 years the United Nations has been intervening in this matter without taking any concrete measure to put an end to such a situation. The maintenance of such a state of affairs constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereign rights of the Korean people; it hampers its efforts for the reunification of the country, increases tension in Korea, seriously endangers peace and stability in the surrounding zone and seriously undermines the prestige of the United Nations.

130. The achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people and the interests of peace and stability in the Far East demand that as soon as possible a remedy should be found for this intolerable situation, and that the United States should withdraw its troops and its bases from South Korea and cease all military engagements in that country, that the illegal United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be dissolved immediately, and that any intervention by the United Nations in the domestic affairs of the Korean people should cease.

131. Peace-loving Members of the Organization, acting in the spirit of the Charter, should try to ensure that the General Assembly takes the proper decision along these lines in order that these important and urgent steps can be taken, as called for in the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and a certain number of other Member countries [A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1]. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania fully supports the draft resolution.

132. In recent times the United States and the Seoul administration, without heeding these demands and the need to provide a just solution to the question, worked out the plot of the "two Koreas" and they are attempting to impose that settlement on the Korean people and also on Member States through the discussion of the question concerning the so-called "dual representation of Korea". By this manoeuvre they are attempting to legalize and perpetuate the division of Korea into two States, to perpetuate the United States colonial domination in South Korea, and to divert the attention of the General Assembly from the substance of the Korean problem in order to get the discussion bogged down in an impasse.

133. There is only one Korea that exists in the world. Its division into two parts is a result of the hostile and aggressive policy that the United States has been pursuing for many years against the Korean people and an end should be put to this situation as soon as possible. The Korean people has constituted and continues to constitute one single nation. It must live again united. The Korean people has the supreme and sovereign right to decide for itself all the questions that concern it without intervention from outside, and that is something that no one has the right to deny to that people.

134. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the only legal representative of the Korean people, has steadily attempted efforts and has taken a series of important and reasonable initiatives in order to bring about the realization of this right and of this ardent aspiration of the people of Korea. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania supports the constructive proposals contained in the five-point programme presented by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 23 June last [see A/9027, para. 19], proposals which testify once again to its desire to see created an atmosphere of understanding, collaboration and national unity in Korea with a view to a just solution of the Korean problem and which tear the mask from those who press for division and prepare for war in this country. We vehemently condemn the plot of the "two Koreas" and any steps which the United States, alone or with the aid of its accomplices, may

undertake to legalize this state of affairs through the United Nations. The question of the representation of Korea in the United Nations is a domestic matter for the Korean people and it is only for that people to decide this question and for no one else. The most recent five-point proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea sketches the proper course for the solution of this problem in accordance with the aspirations of the entire Korean people and in the light of the conditions obtaining in that country.

135. Not only in Indo-China and in the Far East but also in other parts of the Asian continent—in the Arabian Gulf and in the Indo-Pakistani peninsula, in the Indian and in the Pacific Oceans—the two imperialist super-Powers are collaborating and rivalling each other in their expansionist aggressive activities, increasing tension and threatening the interests of sovereign peoples and countries. A succession of events has not ceased to provide us with evidence of this fact. And clear evidence is also to be found at present in the intensification of the efforts of the Soviet Union to impose on Asian peoples and countries its plan for “collective security in Asia”, which is just as dangerous as their so-called scheme for European security or international security.

136. How can anyone talk about “collective security in Asia” when the authors of that plan, the Soviet social imperialists, have encouraged and are supporting Indian aggression against Pakistan, when they have engaged in armed provocation against the People's Republic of China, when, preparing war, they have at present massed numerous troops on the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian frontiers, when they are constantly whipping up anti-Chinese hysteria and strengthening their naval forces in the Indian Ocean, and when they are engaging in subversive activities and stirring up quarrels and conflicts among the Asian countries?

137. The so-called collective security in Asia is directed against the freedom and independence of the sovereign peoples and countries of that continent, and against the national and revolutionary liberation movement in that part of the world. It is directed first of all against the People's Republic of China, which is the stalwart bulwark of socialism, the most powerful defender of the struggle of peoples for freedom and national independence, the country which most sincerely supports the efforts of sovereign States for their independent development and progress, and which fights with determination against the policy of hegemony of the two super-Powers.

138. None the less, the imperialists and social imperialists and other reactionaries of all kinds and colours have failed and will continue to fail in their anti-Chinese activity. That great country, the People's Republic of China, a powerful socialist State which enjoys great prestige and plays a tremendous role in the international arena, is pursuing a revolutionary policy both at home and abroad and, in accordance with the principles of that policy, is developing and strengthening continuously, thus advancing firmly along the path of socialism and revolution. That is a source of pleasure and encouragement to all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples.

139. The People's Republic of Albania will always stand side by side with peoples and countries fighting for freedom, independence and national sovereignty against imperialism, both old and new, colonialism and neo-colonialism. My delegation wishes to express the feelings of friendship and solidarity of the Albanian people towards peoples who are suffering from colonial oppression and the policy of genocide and racial discrimination; it denounces the bloody crimes of the Portuguese colonizers and the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, it demands that resolutions and decisions which for many long years have been adopted by the United Nations along these lines should not be trampled underfoot but should be put into effect. It hails the just struggle of these peoples and is firmly convinced that they will triumph.

140. The Albanian people, like all progressive peoples and progressive public opinion throughout the world, condemns the coup d'état organized in Chile by the rightist forces incited and supported by American imperialism. We express our support and solidarity with the Chilean people, which at the present time is going through a difficult moment of its history because of the campaign of violence and terror which has been raging throughout the country.

141. We vigorously support the efforts of a great many independent developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America that are making efforts to strengthen their political and economic independence, to defend their national rights and national resources, to consolidate their sovereignty and to preserve their territorial integrity.

142. The People's Republic of Albania is a peace-loving State. It has fought and will continue to fight with determination to defend its freedom, its independence and its sovereignty and it is determined to stand up against, and to bring to nought, all plans and all the aggressive aims and threats of the United States imperialists and the social imperialists in the Soviet Union which are directed against it. Albania will continue always to act as a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans and in Europe and it will pursue, as always, and in consistent fashion, its foreign policy, which is unchanging and one of principle in the service of the cause of socialism, freedom, the independence of sovereign peoples and countries, and general peace and security throughout the world.

143. At the outset of the work of this session the General Assembly decided to admit to membership the two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany as Members of the United Nations. In voting in favour of that decision the Albanian delegation explained [2119th meeting] the attitude of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania in connexion with certain aspects of the German problem which heretofore have not met with a just and final solution because of the failure to conclude a peace treaty between vanquished Germany and the victors of the anti-Fascist coalition, a treaty which should include the necessary clauses and obligations so that we can prevent a renaissance of militarism and German revanchism and in order to ensure that indemnities are paid for all of the damage experienced by those countries because of the occupation or aggression to which they were subjected by Hitlerite Germany.

144. The Albanian delegation affirms once again in this Assembly the views it expressed a few days ago, and it wishes to emphasize that the People's Republic of Albania does not give up its demand that Germany satisfy all the rights which Albania acquired as a country which participated in the anti-Fascist coalition.

145. The Albanian people was one of the first victims of Fascist aggression, and the occupation of our country by Germany during the Second World War brought it immense suffering and privation, damage and vast destruction. Because of this fact, 28,000 Albanians were killed—3 per cent of the population of the country at that time—12,600 were wounded, and 12,150 deported. Tens of thousands of other persons were used as forced labour by the German occupying forces. The economy and all sectors of the life of the country suffered vast losses. Suffice it to recall that 100,000 homes or buildings were set fire to or reduced to ashes, 1,850 towns and villages out of the 2,500 which Albania had at that time were destroyed. The losses in livestock, large and small, which were killed or carried off amounted to 800,000 head. Agriculture, forests, mines, ports, roads, bridges and means of transport and communication were destroyed. Monetary treasure and great quantities of objects of art and archeological treasures were pillaged. Estimates made by the competent State commissions after the war show that the monetary value of the loss suffered by our country because of German occupation amounts to approximately \$2,000 million, calculated at the value of the dollar in 1938.

146. Because of its heroic struggle side by side with other peoples and countries of the anti-Fascist coalition, the Albanian people made a valuable contribution to the historic victory won over fascism. In proportion to the area of its territory, which is 28,000 square kilometres, and its population at the time, 1 million inhabitants, Albania, in terms of losses in manpower and cultural and material property, is in the forefront of the countries which fought fascism.

147. The Albanian people, by its struggle and by the blood which was shed by thousands of its sons and daughters, won the undeniable and imprescriptible right to payment of the damages inflicted upon it by Germany. As was stipulated in particular in Potsdam:

“In accordance with the Crimea decision that Germany be compelled to compensate to the greatest possible extent for the loss and suffering that she has caused to the United Nations and for which the German people cannot escape responsibility . . .”⁸

the People's Republic of Albania declares before this Assembly that it demands that it should be paid as soon as possible the full measure of reparations for the damage which the troops and occupation authorities of Hitlerite Germany inflicted upon Albania during the Second World War, as well as for the losses suffered because of the postponement of the payment of these reparations.

148. In conclusion, I should like to express my delegation's conviction that Member States which have at heart the interests of national independence and freedom and general peace and security will firmly oppose the pressures and intrigues of the two super-Powers, that they will reject their secret diplomacy carried out through this Organization and outside it, and that they will not allow them to prevent the present session of the General Assembly from looking objectively and seriously at the important problems confronting it. With that goal in mind, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania will spare no effort, in the course of this session also, to make its modest contribution towards that end.

149. Mr. SECK (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Senegal associates itself fully with the friendly words uttered by the many heads of delegations who have preceded us at this rostrum, and, although it is not necessary to stress the matter, wishes to present in its turn its sincere congratulations to Mr. Benites on his unanimous election to the office of President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

150. We wish to associate ourselves also with the tribute already paid to his eminent predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński.

151. Finally, we express to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our profound gratitude for the activities he has carried out in so little time in the service of peace and justice throughout the world.

152. I wish to take this memorable opportunity also to hail on behalf of the Government and people of Senegal the admission to membership in the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, an event which concretely expresses, over and above the reduction of tension throughout the world, the universalist mission conferred upon the Organization by the founders of the United Nations.

153. In the short period which has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly positive signs heralding an atmosphere of détente, which is the first essential step towards universal peace, have shown themselves in international life. This trend finds its clearest expression in the priority given by the great Powers to rapprochement and harmonization of their relations, whether this involves the strengthening of co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union or a mutual accommodation between China and the United States, which is a prelude to the normalization of their relations, or the installation of a climate of détente in Europe, which takes the form in particular of the basic agreement between the two Germanys and the opening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

154. At first sight, all these events would tend to show, were this to be necessary, that in international life there seems to be taking form a trend towards new bilateral relations inspired by political realism, thus increasing the possibility for peaceful solutions to the controversial questions which have so far been postponed from year to year.

⁸ See Agreement on Reparations from Germany, signed at Potsdam on 2 August 1945.

155. But since the reduction of tensions and coexistence are not always synonymous with international peace and security, the positive trend which has partially taken place in international relations cannot completely allay our misgivings at the rapid and complex evolution of our world, which frequently exceeds its own understanding, in the face of the fierce competition which is taking place there and of which the third world all too frequently is the theatre when it is not the stake.

156. Too many countries are interested in the United Nations only in so far as this Organization can serve their interests and fulfil their aspirations, instead of seeing in the Organization an active, vital and universal mechanism, making it possible to build a more just, more democratic and more human world.

157. As it is, in the field of economic and trade relations the proletarian nations are unceremoniously relegated to the outer reaches of the world market and of the international division of labour. The situation for some of them is deteriorating from year to year as the result of various factors, among which the frequent occurrence of natural catastrophes of all types is one phenomenon.

158. As you are aware, our region has been the victim of one of those natural catastrophes. Indeed, the cycle of drought which has prevailed for seven years in the Sudano-Sahelian region became aggravated last year and has reached catastrophic proportions, affecting, directly or indirectly, more than 20 million human beings in Upper Volta, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Chad and Senegal.

159. And yet, as early as August of 1972, the Senegal Government had brought to the attention of friendly States and international organizations the food shortage which was going to result from the drought. On 9 October the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, called the attention of the World Bank to the deterioration of climatic conditions in the Sahelian zone.

160. I might also point out that the struggle against the spreading desert in our regions through the rational use of surface and ground water has for years been the principal preoccupation of the States bordering on the Senegal River—Mali, Mauritania and Senegal—which are today regrouped in the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River, known as the OMVS.

161. Faced with the devastating consequences of this scourge, African solidarity and international assistance have not failed. To brother States, friendly countries, the United Nations and other international organizations I convey the sincere thanks and profound gratitude of the Government and people of Senegal. One can regret in passing that some, in helping us, have thought it fitting to address unjust reproaches to us, as if this natural calamity could be ascribed to the negligence of the Governments of the six countries involved.

162. It remains for me to hope that the General Assembly will take into consideration item 101 of its agenda, entitled "Consideration of the economic and social situation in the Sudano-Sahelian region stricken by drought and measures

to be taken for the benefit of that region", in particular, to seek ways to deal with a repetition of the dramatic consequences of such a catastrophe by providing—as it is invited to do by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1797 (LV)—for concrete measures equal to the scientific resources and technological capacity of industrial civilization.

163. Within this scheme of things, the Senegal delegation firmly supports the proposal of the Secretary-General to provide funds under the regular United Nations budget for emergency operations. It goes without saying that such an initiative would constitute an important contribution to the implementation of resolution 2717 (XXV), by which the General Assembly recommended the adoption of measures designed to strengthen the capacity of various United Nations organs to contribute assistance and secure a rapid mobilization and effective co-ordination of international aid.

164. At a time when man, by setting foot on the moon, has achieved one of mankind's long-cherished dreams, it seems to us that the great task confronting the international community now more than ever is the solution of the problems of economic, cultural, social and political development—in a word, the integral development of man.

165. And yet, what do we observe today?

166. The Committee on Review and Appraisal, charged with assessing the progress accomplished in the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, reveals that the experience of the last two years is particularly discouraging.

167. The situation of developing countries, already precarious, has further deteriorated, of course, because numerous poor countries do not always do enough for the less-favoured classes, as will be seen from the reports of the World Bank, but especially because the rich countries do not implement the measures contemplated in the Strategy.

168. Such a situation, in the present state of affairs, can only widen the huge gap between the rich and the poor countries, and this may bring about a feeling of profound frustration, the consequences of which, it may be presaged, will be serious for international peace and security.

169. In order to ward off such a possibility, the United Nations will have to refrain from the magic of words and simple declarations of intent and resolutely bend its efforts towards more concrete co-operation and the search for just solutions to questions of natural resources, trade and development.

170. It is only very recently that the developing countries have begun to intervene directly in international discussions on the law of the sea, whose evolution had formerly been subject to the criteria of only the industrialized countries.

171. No precise international agreement having been concluded in order to fix the limits of national jurisdiction, to ensure the necessary protection of the resources of the sea and guarantee the preservation of fisheries, my Govern-

ment, by a decree of 3 June 1971, has denounced the Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone,⁹ as well as the Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the Sea.¹⁰

172. At the same time, our country has opened a dialogue with other African States in order to co-ordinate the various interpretations with a view to presenting a common front at the different international conferences that are to take place soon and in which Senegal will participate, with the object of contributing positively to the new formulation of maritime law.

173. The major lines of the African position as reaffirmed at the Algiers Conference fits in perfectly with the claims of my country concerning specifically the exclusive economic zone and the sea-bed.

174. In the case of the exclusive economic zone, we claim an adjacent zone of essentially economic utility not stretching beyond 200 nautical miles. Within that zone the coastal State would exercise exclusive sovereignty over all the biological and mineral resources existing in the waters, the soil and the sub-soil, without prejudice to freedom of navigation, overflight, the laying of cables and pipelines, etc.

175. Of course, land-locked and partially land-locked countries will be acknowledged to have rights concerning participation in the exploitation of the living resources of the zone on the basis of bilateral, regional or multilateral agreements.

176. As for the sea-bed and ocean floor, as well as the sub-soil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, that constitutes a zone proclaimed to be the "common heritage of mankind" by the famous Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*].

177. We consider that the exploration and exploitation of that zone should be entrusted to an international agency administered in common by all States, or else to a specialized agency such as the World Bank.

178. In this same context, the Senegal delegation approves, as of now, Economic and Social Council resolution 1762 (LIV) designed to create a revolving fund for research on the development of natural resources.

179. It is quite natural that I should now come to the fundamental claims of the third world relating to trade and development, to which neither UNCTAD nor the General Assembly have managed to find just and acceptable solutions.

180. These days, when a certain number of countries that have achieved industrial and technical over-development are seriously envisaging putting a brake on economic growth, four fifths of mankind continues to endure living conditions incompatible with the purposes and principles of the

United Nations Charter and with the present state of civilization and the norms of coexistence as established in recent years.

181. I should therefore wish to recall that my country has for many years proclaimed the necessity of transforming the unfair economic structures of our day by a triple plan of action.

182. First of all, there is the agonizing problem of commodities. As has already been stressed by President Léopold Sédar Senghor in his outstanding plea at the fifty-sixth session of the International Labour Organisation:

"Therefore, we believe that the most urgent question is to revise the relationships between us—between affluent countries and proletarian countries—by guaranteeing a fair remuneration for the products of the emerging countries through a more rational and, consequently, a more humane organisation of international trade . . .".¹¹

183. In this spirit the developing countries forcefully call for the regularization of production and the stabilization of prices at a remunerative level so as to increase export income considerably, taking into account the need to increase the financing of the development of countries and to offset the disastrous effects of the implacable continuous deterioration of terms of trade, euphemistically called "the law of supply and demand".

184. In this connexion I am very pleased with the decision of the European Community's commission concerning future relations of the Community with the Associated African States and the developing countries of the Commonwealth, contained in its memorandum of 4 April 1973, to guarantee to each associated country, as part of the Eurafrican Yaoundé Association, export incomes in order to take into account any possible climatic catastrophes and the deterioration in the terms of trade.

185. Hence, in the field of aid my Government continues to call upon the developed countries to attain the goal of 1 per cent of gross national product in the transfer of financial resources, of which 0.70 per cent would be from public resources for the benefit of developing countries. It goes without saying that within the framework of the over-all goal of 1 per cent of the gross national product, which unfortunately does not take into account reverse flows representing payment of interest and dividends, greater attention will have to be concentrated upon the priority goal of 0.70 per cent deriving essentially from public resources.

186. Lastly, in the case of debt, the developing countries call for an improvement in financial conditions and the alleviation of debt servicing.

187. In this respect it should be noted with satisfaction that there has been a decision by the UNCTAD Committee on Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade whereby a special group of governmental experts would be established

⁹ See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 516, No. 7477, p. 206.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 559, No. 8164, p. 286.

¹¹ See *Record of Proceedings of the International Labour Conference, Fifty-sixth Session, Tenth (Special) Sitting* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1971), p. 187.

to examine problems of the debt of developing countries, amounting to \$75,000 million for a group of 80 countries, and any possible measures to be prescribed internationally.

188. In truth, these questions are so closely tied to the international monetary situation that if this serious problem is not resolved it will practically be illusory to attempt to accelerate exchanges and increase the net volume of aid provided to the communities that are not properly equipped in world competition.

189. With that in view, Senegal, for its part, will provide its unqualified support for any proposal or formula submitted with a view to establishing some machinery for collective economic security which might form an over-all framework for solidarity between rich and proletarian nations.

190. However, these events depend first and foremost upon the progress that is achieved towards general and complete disarmament. As of now, I am happy to proclaim from this rostrum that my delegation firmly adheres to the Soviet Union's proposal to reduce by 10 per cent the military budgets of permanent members of the Security Council [A/9191]. It would, moreover, be desirable for that proposal to apply likewise to the other States possessing a large economic and military potential. The resources thus liberated would finance the fund for special aid to development, establishment of which has so urgently been called for by the non-aligned countries. For it is with considerable misgiving mixed with powerlessness that we note that military expenditures annually amount to \$200,000 million—in other words, more than the cumulative revenues of Africa, southern Asia and the Far East.

191. The atomic Powers are indefinitely strengthening their military arsenals, whereas others are engaging in nuclear tests in the atmosphere and underground, threatening our world with the spectre of an atomic war capable of engulfing our fragile planet.

192. Does that mean that the Disarmament Decade might in turn prove to be only a snare because for 10 years now the United Nations has adopted only partial measures which are, as a matter of fact, limited to the field of "non-armament"? Well, no. Thus my delegation notes with satisfaction the recent agreement in Washington between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the limitation of strategic arms.¹²

193. Moreover, my Government, which on numerous occasions has registered its disapproval of nuclear explosions, is particularly gratified at the adherence of the People's Republic of China to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco)¹³ prohibiting nuclear weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as France's decision to adhere to it in the near future. In a sector as crucial as this for the future of the whole of mankind, that is assuredly a historic development which I am sure will gradually spread.

194. In that perspective, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which met in Helsinki, already constitutes an irreversible trend towards the transformation of the old continent into a zone of peace and thus towards the convening of a world disarmament conference, for which my Government yearns with all its heart.

195. Will it, then, be possible to hope at last for an era of progress and peace in the world?

196. For the moment, we have welcomed with gratification the Paris agreements which put an end to the horrible war in Viet-Nam. Therefore, my Government, after a clear-headed and objective analysis of the situation, has drawn the necessary conclusions from these agreements by recognizing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam and, at the same time, placing both parties on a footing of equality so as to promote their progress towards unity.

197. In the case of Cambodia, where peace depends solely on the return to legitimacy represented by the Royal Government of National Union, I remain convinced, in the light of the events that have taken place recently, that our Organization, in this respect basing itself upon the Algiers Conference, will at the present session raise the problem of the restoration to the régime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk of its legitimate rights.

198. Similarly, in Korea the United Nations should establish conditions favourable for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, supplementing, by a radical revision of the role of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and by a decision to withdraw all foreign forces, the present negotiations between the Governments of Pyongyang and Seoul, with which Senegal maintains diplomatic relations.

199. But it is more by favouring establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East that the United Nations will recover the prestige that has been seriously undermined by the despair of some and the bellicose arrogance of others—not to mention, of course, the actions of certain great Powers which seem quite reconciled to the aggravation of tensions in that already tense area.

200. The more the Israeli Government accentuates its aggressiveness, as evidenced by the recent acts of reprisal and air piracy, the less its behaviour is likely to be understood by international public opinion.

201. The Israeli leaders would make a very important contribution to the coming of peace to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean if they really agreed strictly and fully to apply the relevant provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and if they were to proclaim publicly their policy of non-annexation of occupied Arab territory.

202. Such a conciliatory and unambiguous attitude would undoubtedly help the United Nations to give a new impetus to the efforts made with a view to the restoration of peace in that part of the world and would also contribute to the elimination of colonialism and *apartheid* in Africa.

¹² Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Washington on 21 June 1973.

¹³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 281.

203. Great is our bitterness and profound our disappointment at seeing the collective will of the United Nations to put an end to colonialism and racial discrimination come up in Africa against a solid wall of arrogance, defiance and contempt.

204. Portugal, a European country which would seem, after all, to be in a good position to avoid the errors of colonial conquest, refuses to comply with the obligations of the Charter and continues with impunity to trample underfoot the decisions of the principal organs of the United Nations.

205. While millions of men have, over a period of 15 years, recovered their right to assume responsibility for their own destinies, Portugal continues to seek shelter—and how blindly—in the superstitions of the past and to follow a merciless policy of oppression of the populations of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique. This inhuman Portuguese policy is expressed most tragically, as will be seen from the report of Father Adrian Hastings [see A/9023/Rev.1, chap. IX, para. 28], in the odious massacre of more than 400 men, women and children, ignominiously perpetrated on 16 December 1972 in the village of Wiriyamu in Mozambique.

206. And yet we have very much present in our minds the particularly reasonable proposals of Amílcar Cabral, former Secretary-General of PAIGC¹⁴—assassinated in a dastardly manner on 20 January 1973—proposals which the General Assembly was to endorse last year by recognizing the liberation movements of territories under Portuguese administration as the authentic representatives of the peoples of that Territory and inviting Portugal to enter into negotiations shortly with these movements [resolution 2918 (XXVII)].

207. In the face of the arrogance of the Portuguese Government vis-à-vis the injunctions of the international community, what is left for the United Nations if not to assume its responsibilities in order to have its decisions applied?

208. For its part, the people of Guinea-Bissau has taken the historic decision to take its destiny into its own hands by proclaiming a few days ago the independence of its Territory.

209. I should like, on behalf of the Government and people of Senegal, to hail warmly the accession to international sovereignty of the republican and democratic State of Guinea-Bissau and to express our best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of its people. And I wish to take this memorable occasion solemnly to invite the Members of the United Nations to recognize the new State without delay, to admit it to our Organization as soon as an application is made, and to ensure to it as of now their co-operation as well as their active solidarity in its struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

210. But our Organization has another specific duty: that of aiding the populations in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia to achieve their independence on the basis of

equality of rights for all. Unfortunately, in spite of the rather significant efforts made by the majority of the Members of the United Nations, the minority régimes in power in this tormented region continue to base their retrograde policies on racial segregation and discrimination.

211. In Southern Rhodesia eight years have elapsed since the rebellion—eight years of suffering and martyrdom for the Zimbabwe people—without any satisfactory results being recorded. On the contrary, the illegal and racist minority régime is growing stronger from year to year in spite of economic sanctions, or perhaps because of attempted negotiations conducted by the British Government.

212. In fact, the report of the Security Council's Committee on sanctions¹⁵ informs us that Rhodesian trade increased in 1971, the mandatory economic sanctions having largely been ignored by Members of the Organization—and first among these, certain permanent members of the Security Council.

213. At the same time, tension is constantly growing in view of the acts of provocation of the Zimbabwe people by the Southern Rhodesian army. Thus, in January 1973 the Zambian Government was forced once again to come before the Security Council as a result of the unilateral decision of the illegal régime to close its common border with Zambia, thus imposing upon that country an economic blockade in retaliation for the support given by the Zambian authorities to the just cause of the Zimbabwe people.

214. It is obvious. We note there, on the part of the rebellious Government, as was pointed out last year appropriately by the representative of Somalia, "the same disregard for the authority of the United Nations, the same withdrawal from responsibility on the part by those most able to take effective action, and the same drift towards support for the racist régimes. . . ."¹⁶

215. Concerning South Africa, my Government rejects out of hand the thesis according to which normal economic relations, as well as financial and cultural relations, with that country might bring about changes in the policy of South Africa, or at least the humanization of the abominable régime of *apartheid*, which is both an ideology and an iniquitous system of Government based solely upon complete contempt for non-white races. More serious still, the South African Government calmly pursues the integration of Namibia into its own territory, denying the populations concerned the right to self-determination and imposing upon them the sordid policy of separate development of races.

216. That is why Senegal, in this respect complying with the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, considers that an end must be put to contacts between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the South African Government concerning Namibia, since these

¹⁵ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Special Supplement No. 2.

¹⁶ See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2063rd meeting, para. 208.

¹⁴ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

contacts are exploited by Pretoria in an effort to have the Organization endorse its retrograde policy of the dismemberment of Namibia.

217. It is felicitous, in the view of my Government, that the Ovambos, the largest ethnic group, have resolutely rejected the policy of dismemberment of the Territory by refusing to take part in the elections organized on 1 August 1973 by the South African authorities.

218. It may be possible for us, at a time when we are about to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to adopt effective and appropriate measures for the safeguarding of human dignity, and to bring our world into harmony with the necessities of the planetary age. From this point of view, the time has come to put a final end to the relegation of the United Nations to the diplomatic sidelines through a process of mutual accommodation and alleviation of tensions: on the contrary new vigour must be infused into the Organization and it must be enabled to take into its own hands the control of improvement in relations between States.

219. The time has come to entrust to the United Nations the full requisite responsibility and all the necessary authority to increase its normative capacity and to build the basis of an equitable mechanism of international co-operation, as part of the democratization of international relations.

220. This democratization postulates—and the non-aligned countries anticipated it in Georgetown¹⁷ and have just proclaimed it in Algiers—that at the present stage no durable world-wide system can ignore the constructive and creative contribution of the small and medium-sized Powers to the solution of problems of world-wide interest.

221. Finally, I wish to formulate the ardent hope that the present session will constitute a historic landmark on the difficult road towards strengthened tolerance between nations and the realization of the legitimate aspirations of peoples for freedom, economic justice and peace.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

¹⁷ Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown from 8 to 12 August 1972.