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(Luxembourg).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. AGUSTSSON (Iceland): Mr. President, permit me first to join my colleagues in congratulating you on your election as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. This gives me great pleasure, as our two nations are linked by a very special and fruitful co-operation. Your election not only testifies to your excellent personal qualities but also reflects the important role which can be played in the United Nations by the smaller nations. I wish you all success in this high office, and you can feel certain of our confidence and support.

2. Let me also at the outset place on record our appreciation for the tireless efforts made by Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, and his staff to implement the objectives of the Charter.

3. We are very happy to welcome the three new Members, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe, and look forward to their co-operation and their contribution to the work of our Organization.

4. As I did not have the opportunity to attend and address the seventh special session of the General Assembly held earlier this month, allow me to comment in a few words on the promising results of that session devoted to development and international economic co-operation. During the session all Members showed a willingness to co-operate and compromise in attempting to solve the big and far-reaching economic problems facing the world community. The recession in the world has affected both developed and developing countries. In the most severely affected countries the situation is so serious that a considerable part of the population is engaged in a daily struggle for survival against poverty and starvation.

5. The fact that we were able to move from confrontation to co-operation at the seventh special session despite these enormous difficulties I consider to be an achievement of major political significance. Despite the economic difficulties, the political will to contribute, to co-operate and to assist the developing

countries was clearly displayed. Now we must implement the decisions of the special session. No substantial success can be expected without concentrated effort and without goodwill on the part of all. It is clear that both realism and generosity will be needed to bring about the necessary changes.

6. This session marks the thirtieth anniversary of the Assembly. I will not take much of your time in evaluating the achievements and the short-comings of our Organization; this has been done thoroughly by previous speakers. Let me, however, express the hope that we have learned from past mistakes and that the achievements made will inspire us to redouble, in the future, our efforts to find solutions to the vast and challenging problems before us.

7. I fully endorse the sentiment expressed by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/10001/Add.1], that this Organization of ours has been able to adjust to a changing world and has met many unforeseen challenges. We should still further strengthen the United Nations as the global forum for the promotion of security, peace and solidarity.

8. I shall now mention very briefly our views regarding some of the major international questions facing this Assembly.

9. Thirty years ago the founders of the United Nations decided that the primary function of the Organization should be the maintenance of international peace and security. Despite determined efforts in the United Nations, the central question of disarmament and arms control has so far defied solution. The production and stockpiling of arms and the international trade in armaments have reached terrifying proportions, with no reduction in sight. Besides the tragic waste in human and material resources in a world where millions of people are living in appalling misery, the armaments race creates a highly dangerous threat to the survival of mankind.

10. The United Nations was founded at the conclusion of the most terrifying and destructive war in history and at the beginning of the nuclear age. Since then, the world has lived in the shadow of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction.

11. Through efforts made in the United Nations some important international agreements have been concluded in the field of nuclear energy and armaments. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], to which over 90 countries have become parties, has, however, proved only partially effective and we have to face the fact that the danger of nuclear proliferation is increasing. This should be a matter of grave concern to us all, and I hope that the Assembly at this session will give close attention to the general problems of arms control and disarmament, and in particular to

halting the increasing danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

12. My delegation welcomes the continued process of decolonization in Africa, as evidenced by the admission at this session of the three new African States, to be followed shortly by Angola.

13. The Icelandic delegation has always supported in the United Nations the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa to achieve self-determination and independence. Despite determined activity by this Organization over the years, racial inequality and *apartheid* persist in parts of southern Africa. We must continue to apply pressure until self-determination and the basic human rights of the populations in that area are guaranteed.

14. The violation of human rights is not limited to any one part of the world and has to be condemned wherever it occurs. The question of human rights and dignity must therefore continue to receive the highest priority in the United Nations. In this connexion I wish to express satisfaction with the significance attributed to humanitarian questions and human contacts in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki by 35 heads of Government on 1 August 1975.

15. The United Nations is, in this anniversary year, approaching full universality of membership. Member nations now number 141, representing over 95 per cent of the world population. We expect shortly to be able to welcome additional nations as Members.

16. At this point I want to reaffirm the belief of my Government in the principle of universality as regards membership in the United Nations. And following that basic principle, the Icelandic delegation will oppose any moves to exclude or suspend any Member State by any means not in strict conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, or to restrict its rights as a Member of the Organization or of its organs or of associated organizations. We believe that any such efforts will be harmful and might destroy the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for peace.

17. The recent interim agreement between Egypt and Israel is a most welcome development which we consider to be a significant step in the direction of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. We compliment all those concerned with this agreement on their statesmanship, wisdom and courage. It is to be hoped that this momentum thus achieved towards negotiating the extremely complex and delicate problems in this area will not be lost but will lead to a lasting solution. This is no easy task, but we appeal to the peoples in the Middle East to show restraint and a genuine will to work together to achieve a just solution of the problems, as the alternative is likely to be open conflict which would pose a grave danger to world peace. An over-all settlement would have to respect the rights of the Palestinians and the rights of all States in the area to secure and recognized borders.

18. The highly useful role of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Middle East deserves to be praised as, without their existence, the disengagement agreements would have been much more difficult to achieve.

19. The problem of Cyprus is still with us. We hope that the talks being conducted under the auspices of the Secretary-General will continue, as we feel that negotiations between the two communities under his able and devoted guidance will prove to be the best available means of reaching a satisfactory and permanent solution of this vexing problem.

20. The Assembly is once again faced with the question of Korea. Progress on this vital issue depends on the genuine efforts and goodwill of the two Korean States, without which there is little that the General Assembly can accomplish. As the peaceful reunification of Korea is the announced policy of the two Governments, we must hope that conditions will be created for them to resume negotiations towards this end.

21. The Government of Iceland has followed the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea with great attention and continues to attach the greatest importance to its deliberations. Considerable progress has been made by the Conference in some fields and a wide range of agreement has emerged. However, in some other fields, like the régime for the international sea-bed area, considerable work still needs to be done. My Government has taken a keen interest in these deliberations and will continue to work for the successful conclusion of the Conference.

22. At the end of the third session of the Conference, which took place at Geneva from 17 March to 9 May 1975, my Government had to take stock of the situation. We had then before us the single negotiating text prepared by the Chairmen of the three main committees which will become the basis of the work of the fourth session in New York in March-May 1976. Still another session, or even sessions, may be required before the Conference can conclude its work.

23. In the meantime my Government was faced with the following situation.

24. First, the fish stocks in the Iceland area continue to form the foundation of our economy—a matter of life or death to our people.

25. Secondly, almost one half of the total demersal catch in the area continues to be taken by foreign nationals from distant-water fishing States, particularly the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. Because of the small size of the fish taken by vessels from the United Kingdom, actually more than half of the number of fish have been taken by foreign fishermen. The vessels engaged in this fishing are heavily subsidized in various ways by the Governments concerned.

26. Thirdly, foreign nationals are continually increasing their capture of immature fish so that the replacement of stocks is increasingly endangered. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that the most important fish stock in Icelandic waters, namely, cod, has now been reduced to spawning only once in its lifetime. And the average age of the fish caught is now much lower than ever before. The total fishing effort is now 100 per cent greater than it was 20 years ago, but the catch is even less than it was then. The implications are evident.

27. Fourthly, the present Icelandic fishing fleet is fully capable of utilizing the total allowable catch in the area. A special committee of the International Council for Exploration of the Sea and the North-west Atlantic Fisheries Commission has estimated that a 50 per cent reduction of the fishing effort in the North Atlantic area would not reduce the total catch. Fishing mortality in the Iceland area will have to be drastically reduced in order to achieve optimum utilization.

28. In view of all these facts the Government of Iceland decided to take the necessary action consonant with the progressive development of international law as reflected in the consensus reached at the Conference. We decided not to establish an economic zone for the time being because some aspects of that concept still have to be worked out. We decided not to adopt rules with regard to the territorial sea, pollution, scientific research, or the delimitation of the continental shelf for the same reasons. Nor would we interfere with international navigation in any way.

29. But with regard to the one vital issue—the problem of foreign fishing—we could not delay taking the necessary action any longer. Consequently, on 15 July 1975, regulations were issued extending the Icelandic fishery limits to 200 nautical miles. Where the distance between Iceland and other States is less than 400 nautical miles, the median line or “equi-distance principle” is employed. The new regulations will take effect on 15 October 1975. At the same time a scientific management programme is being established which will call for the exercise of great restraint on the utilization of the Icelandic fishing fleet even after foreign fishing is discontinued. The purpose of the programme is to ensure the optimum sustainable yield under scientific management. It will constitute a thorough revision of previous management programmes, which so far have always been hampered by the interference of foreign fishing. The management programme will be based on scientific principles of conservation.

30. The action which the Government of Iceland has taken is in conformity with the consensus which emerged at the Conference on the Law of the Sea that a coastal State can decide the total allowable fishing catch within a 200 mile zone and can also determine its own capacity to utilize that catch. When the coastal State does not have the capacity to harvest the entire allowable catch, it shall give other States access to the surplus of this allowable catch. These principles, which are also embodied in articles 50 and 51 of part II of the informal single negotiating text emanating from the Conference,¹ undoubtedly have the support of the overwhelming majority of the States participating in the Conference.

31. It is, of course, also quite clear that some States still fight this kind of solution since they would like to continue their past activities and send large trawler fleets to utilize the fishing grounds of other nations without their consent. But the time has come to face the fact that such practices are opposed by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the international community and that the system on which they are based is obsolete and quite unacceptable to the nations whose resources the distant-water fishing States want

to use. Instead of opposing the concept of the exclusive economic zone, they should be content that they do not have to compensate for the immense riches which they have taken out of those resources in the past. As far as my country is concerned, those obsolete policies have many times in the past jeopardized our economic survival and we cannot tolerate that situation any longer.

32. However, my Government is willing to facilitate reasonable interim adjustments to mitigate economic hardship for foreign fishermen, but two major considerations must then be kept in mind. On the one hand, our policy in this field has been known for almost 30 years now and cannot come as a surprise to anyone—least of all to the nations whose fishermen have frequented or worked our area. On the other hand—and I emphasize this—we will not submit to economic pressures such as those exercised by the Federal Republic of Germany, which has enacted a landing ban on our trawlers in German ports and exercised its veto to prevent the application of tariff concessions in the European Economic Community.

33. It is our hope that our new regulations will be respected by all concerned and that we will be able to use our natural resources in conformity with the principles which were supported, as I said before, by an overwhelming majority at the Conference on the Law of the Sea. This is our intention and this is what we shall do.

34. It has been maintained in some quarters that the Government of Iceland should have waited for the completion of the work of the Conference and that by acting now the further work of that Conference has been made more difficult. My Government does not share this view. On the contrary, by adhering strictly to the principles overwhelmingly supported by the Conference, my Government has emphasized its respect for the Conference and it is our conviction that our action, as well as any similar action taken by other States, will, rather than hinder the work of the Conference, promote its success.

35. Mr. MALIK (Indonesia): May I, Mr. President, first express my delegation's and my own great satisfaction and pleasure at your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly? Your outstanding contribution to the cause of peace and co-operation among nations, both within the councils of Europe and beyond, make it appropriate indeed that we should now have the benefit of your wisdom and experience in guiding our deliberations at this particular stage of world development.

36. To the outgoing President of our Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Bouteflika, I wish to convey my deep appreciation for the dedicated and effective leadership he displayed, both during the twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session of the Assembly. The achievements of those two sessions will certainly be recorded as important milestones in the annals of our Organization.

37. As one of the initiators of the African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung in 1955, and as one of the founding members of the non-aligned movement, two historic forces in contemporary world politics that have contributed so much to the liberation of peoples from colonial subjugation, Indonesia naturally derives

immense satisfaction whenever the struggle for national freedom gives birth to new independent nation-States. Today, it is with great joy that we welcome the attainment of independence and the admission to membership in our Organization of the Republic of Cape Verde, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. The entry of these States into the United Nations, which we hope will soon be followed by that of Angola and the Comoros, heralds a time when the entire continent of Africa will be freed from colonial domination.

38. I am particularly pleased to be able to extend Indonesia's congratulations and good wishes to our immediate neighbours, the people of Papua New Guinea, on their attainment of independence. For Indonesia, so closely linked through culture, history and geography to Papua New Guinea, this is indeed a most happy event. I am confident that our two peoples will develop even closer ties of friendship and co-operation in the future. My delegation eagerly looks forward to the day when Papua New Guinea will assume its rightful place in this Assembly as a full-fledged Member of our Organization. I also take this opportunity to express my Government's sincere appreciation for the manner in which Australia, as the administering Power, has assisted the people of Papua New Guinea in the exercise of their right to self-determination.

39. With the restoration of peace in Indo-China, the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam have indicated their desire to join in the work of our Organization. As a South-East Asian nation and one subscribing to the principle of universality of membership, Indonesia fully supports them in this desire and regrets the fact that they have so far been prevented from taking their seats in the General Assembly. It is my delegation's hope that this situation may soon be corrected, for in our view both the objectives of the Charter and the interests of the international community as a whole would be well-served by the admission of the two Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

40. The privilege of participating in this thirtieth session of the General Assembly is enhanced by the truly historic significance of this moment for the United Nations, for Indonesia and for the entire world. As we join in commemorating the passing of three decades since the founding of our Organization, the Indonesian people are also celebrating the thirtieth year of their rebirth as an independent nation.

41. In mentioning the link between the founding of the United Nations and the attainment of Indonesia's independence, we not only perceive a parallel in time but, above all, a correspondence of values. Both the United Nations and Indonesia came into being in the aftermath of a war that "brought untold sorrow to mankind". It is natural, therefore, that the similar circumstances of their birth should engender commitments to similar precepts. Both the Charter of the United Nations and the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia contain ideals and principles which are fundamentally in accord with one another, such as the principles and ideals of independence, justice and international peace and security.

42. Moreover, Indonesia's struggle for independence, its efforts to achieve and maintain its territorial unity and integrity, and its growth as an independent nation are closely intertwined with the history and growth of the United Nations.

43. It was the United Nations intervention during Indonesia's war of independence which hastened the end of the armed conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands. And it was through the United Nations also that Indonesia's territorial integrity was completed when the question of West Irian was resolved at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. On the other hand, may I be excused for being less than modest in also pointing out some of Indonesia's contributions to the effective strengthening of the role of our Organization.

44. Foremost on my mind is the fact that 20 years ago Indonesia, together with Burma, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, took the initiative to convene the African-Asian Conference at Bandung. That historic Conference gave birth to the ten Principles of Bandung, which have since been acknowledged as the sound bases for just and peaceful relations among States and which have inspired the principles on which the non-aligned movement was founded. The Bandung Conference heralded a new era, particularly for peoples still living under colonial domination. The "wind of change" which was already blowing across the continents of Asia and Africa, was strengthened as a result of the Conference, and accelerated the process of decolonization, thus opening the way for the rapid expansion of the United Nations.

45. In another area, often described by our Secretary-General as one of the most striking and remarkable developments in the history of the United Nations, Indonesia's contribution has also been quite significant. I refer to the United Nations peace-keeping efforts, and to the Indonesian contingents which were on the front-lines in the Congo, in Gaza and in the Sinai, and which have given their share in human sacrifices to the cause of international peace.

46. Thus the ways in which Indonesia and the United Nations have both contributed to, and benefited from, each other throughout the years clearly demonstrates the special attachment with which my country views its relationship to this world body. Indonesia not only holds the United Nations in high esteem; indeed it owes it a debt of gratitude. To my Government, there is not the slightest doubt as to the indispensability of this world Organization, especially in the present period of rapid and radical change. I therefore wish to underline the observation made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, that "... there is no rational alternative in international relations to the principles and procedures of the United Nations" [A/10001/Add.1, sect. XXI].

47. As I remarked earlier, the Assembly is meeting at a time of truly historic significance, where world developments are characterized by rapid change, requiring the necessary adjustments. Nowhere is it of such vivid relevance as in the region of South-East Asia, where an end has finally come to the bloody ordeal inflicted upon the peoples of Indo-China for 30 long years.

48. The end of the wars in Viet Nam and Cambodia ushers in a new era in South-East Asia, one which will provide expanded opportunities to all nations of that region to devote their energies and talents to the task of national development, free from external interference and manipulation. It also opens up the prospect for the rearrangement of their mutual relationships in peaceful and mutually beneficial co-operation and on the basis of respect for one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
49. Indonesia, like all other nations of the region, has welcomed the advent of peace in Indo-China, not only as an end to bloodshed but as a necessary beginning to a period of durable peace and stable progress. But efforts to develop a new pattern of relationships and a structure of stability and harmony in South-East Asia do not depend on the expectations and actions of the South-East Asian countries alone; they will also be affected, to a critical degree, by the perceptions and policies of the major Powers having a presence and interests in the region. Unless those Powers come to see it as in their own interest to adopt a commonly agreed posture of greater restraint in their involvement in South-East Asia, other than to support the legitimate development impulses of the countries of the region, there will be a danger that the situation may relapse into a new cycle of intra-regional conflict and strife and into new power polarizations instigated and manipulated from the outside.
50. Still, the prevailing atmosphere in South-East Asia today is one of renewed hope and a sense of opportunity never before felt during the past three decades.
51. This atmosphere of hope and promise is regrettably absent in another vitally important part of Asia. The latest developments on the Korean peninsula have reduced the prospects for an early resumption of the dialogue between the two parts of Korea. Efforts to achieve peace and reconciliation, for which high hopes were raised when a joint communiqué was signed in July 1972 between North and South Korea,² have stalemated, and preparations for renewed confrontation are now being alleged by both sides.
52. Indonesia cannot but view these developments with grave concern, for not only do they render the problem of the peaceful reunification of Korea increasingly intractable, but they also have a most damaging effect on efforts to establish peace and stability in the larger region of East Asia and the Western Pacific. It is clear that the role the United Nations can and should play in finding a peaceful and durable solution to the Korean problem will be of great importance.
53. This year, the General Assembly will again be seized of the question of the presence of foreign troops under the United Nations flag in Korea. My delegation reiterates its view that the United Nations should end its military presence in Korea and that it is indeed high time that the state of war, which technically still exists between the United Nations and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, be terminated. But, as the United Nations military involvement is based on a Security Council resolution, Indonesia believes that the appropriate way would be for the Assembly to request the Security Council to take the necessary action and to formulate the modalities for the termination of such a presence.
54. In this context, Indonesia attaches great importance to the maintenance of an atmosphere conducive to a continued and direct dialogue between North and South Korea as the two principal parties to the conflict. My delegation considers it necessary, therefore, that any substitution of the Armistice Agreement by a more permanent peace arrangement should be accompanied by the establishment of alternative machinery by which an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity, so necessary for the conduct of negotiations, could be maintained or improved.
55. All our efforts, however, must proceed from a recognition of the basic realities prevailing on the Korean peninsula. Unless these realities and the relevance of proposed measures are constantly kept in mind, I am afraid we will continue to be engaged in a futile exercise of supporting or rejecting contending resolutions, with no prospect of compliance by either side, and no result other than the further aggravation of the situation.
56. In the Middle East, the intensified efforts made over the past few months to bring peace and a just solution to a conflict which has persisted for almost as long as the United Nations itself has yielded another gratifying break-through.
57. Indonesia welcomes the second interim agreement reached between Egypt and Israel, providing for a further withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Egyptian territory. Indonesia extends a special tribute to President El-Sadat of Egypt for the vision and courage he has displayed in making this agreement possible. Equally, an expression of appreciation is due to the Secretary of State of the United States for his efforts to bring the positions of the two parties closer together.
58. We are all aware, however, that this agreement is but another step on the long road towards a just and durable peace. No pretext should be found to delay the exertion of further efforts to secure a comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict. Such a solution, to be lasting, must meet the legitimate demand of the Arab nation for Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories; of the Palestinian people, for the restoration of their fundamental rights including the right to self-determination; and of Moslems the world over for the return of the Holy City of Jerusalem to Arab custody.
59. My delegation remains convinced that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) continue to provide the most relevant basis on which to proceed to secure justice as well as security for all nations of the Middle East.
60. The development of events in Cyprus is another area of continuing concern to the international community. My delegation regrets the slow pace at which efforts to achieve an over-all solution of the Cyprus problem have proceeded so far. We hope that the talks, initiated in Vienna, will be continued in a spirit of mutual tolerance and accommodation so as to achieve a final political solution which would guarantee the rights of each community and would enable them to live in harmony with one another. Indonesia wishes to reiterate its stand that Cyprus should remain an independent, sovereign and non-aligned country and that its territorial integrity should be respected.

61. The adoption in 1971 by the General Assembly of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] gave rise to hopes, especially among the littoral and hinterland States, that within some foreseeable future an end could be put to the growing military rivalry in this region among the super-Powers.

62. Those hopes, far from being fulfilled, have steadily diminished with each passing year, as new developments take place in complete contradiction to the objectives of the Declaration. Instead of the military build-up being arrested or decreased, a growing escalation of military rivalry can be observed in the region.

63. This state of affairs is contrary to the purposes of détente and its purported extension to other regions of the world. Indonesia expresses its serious concern over these developments and hopes that further positive action can be taken at the current session of the General Assembly with a view to ensuring full and effective implementation of the objectives of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean.

64. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea constitutes one of the most delicate and complex international endeavours yet undertaken to create a just international order in this sphere of our globe. The forthcoming session to be held in New York next year will constitute a decisive stage in the progress of these endeavours.

65. Indonesia observes with satisfaction that the efforts to ensure that the resources of the sea are utilized for the benefit of all mankind have begun to bear fruit. It should be borne in mind, however, that an international convention on the law of the sea must be based not only upon considerations of the economic well-being of all nations; it must also give due consideration to the political and security interests of the developing countries.

66. My delegation wishes to express in this forum its sincere gratitude to all friendly countries which have given their endorsement to Indonesia's concept of the archipelagic state.

67. It may be recalled that, historically, the freedom of the seas has been abused by certain major Powers to establish and perpetuate their colonial domination of the countries of the third world. An end should be put to such abuses and any future conventions on the law of the sea should unambiguously ensure respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political unity of States without prejudice to the legitimate interests of the international community.

68. Developments on the continent of Africa provide us with mixed feelings of great satisfaction and of continuing concern. On the one hand, the international community this year could again welcome with great joy the birth of a number of independent nations in Africa and their admission to our Organization. On the other hand, conditions in southern Africa continue to harbour the evils of colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and minority rule in their most blatant and repulsive form.

69. A racist minority régime in Zimbabwe continues to usurp the fundamental rights to independence and human dignity of the black majority, while the infamous

system of *apartheid* persists in keeping the people of South Africa under the most degrading conditions of colonial domination. We must continue to support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for independence. With regard to Namibia, it remains Indonesia's view that the United Nations must fulfil its responsibility towards the Territory and end its illegal occupation by South Africa. The United Nations must also ensure the territorial integrity of Namibia.

70. In facing the situation in southern Africa the forces of progress and justice must increase their efforts in order to compel these racist régimes to abide by the will of the international community.

71. One of the fundamental trends of our time is the phenomenon of the continuing process of détente. An important manifestation of this détente was the signing, last month, of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe by the leaders of 35 countries in Europe, the United States and Canada. Thus, at least on the continent of Europe, the atmosphere of suspicion and enmity inherited from the cold war era has been substantially eased and the prospects for more constructive relations definitively enhanced.

72. While noting this hopeful progress in East-West relations, one cannot ignore the limited scope of the present détente, both in substance and in geographical extent. The Final Act signed at Helsinki, however welcome as a preliminary step towards global peace, has a relevance that is limited to Europe only, leaving largely unchanged many explosive situations in other parts of the world. Furthermore, the process of political détente has yet to extend itself to the realm of military détente, particularly in the field of disarmament.

73. The Secretary-General has on several occasions expressed his deep concern, one fully shared by my delegation, about the disheartening situation in which the disarmament negotiations now find themselves. Not only has the nuclear arms race between the big Powers virtually continued unabated, the proliferation of technology required to produce nuclear arms among non-nuclear Powers is now proceeding at such an alarming rate that it may soon get out of hand. Moreover, the world-wide spread of the most sophisticated conventional weapons, due to a considerable increase in the arms trade, has now created new dangers, which may eventually prove fatal for international peace and security. It is most distressing to note that global arms expenditures are now running at an appalling \$300,000 million a year, while some 500 million of our fellow human beings live on the verge of starvation. Indeed, thousands upon thousands have died from starvation.

74. Indonesia joins all nations and all men of good will in supporting the most urgent appeal made by the Secretary-General that all nations, great and small, nuclear and non-nuclear exercise self-restraint, slow down their arms race and limit traffic in arms.

75. The task of fashioning a comprehensive programme of disarmament has now become imperative. The habit of paying only lip-service, year after year, to the desirability and importance of preventing arms proliferation must stop. Indonesia continues to urge the convening of a world disarmament conference.

We are convinced that such a conference would result in a broader perception of this multifaceted problem, and provide an impetus for intensifying the pace of our efforts to arrive at effective measures to control the arms race and to achieve genuine disarmament through the planned reduction of existing arsenals, both nuclear and conventional.

76. As I remarked earlier, this Assembly meets at a moment of historic significance, where a convergence can be seen of several decisive trends in world developments.

77. The steadily widening gap between rich and poor, the increasing interdependence of nations and of problems, coupled with the growing confluence between demands for social justice and the economic imperatives imposed by such global problems as international poverty, hunger, overpopulation, dwindling resources, world-wide inflation and recession have lent a dramatic and urgent dimension to man's continuing search for economic and social progress.

78. This and the growing awareness of the inseparable link between economic development and the maintenance of international peace and security have in past years led to an increasing preoccupation on the part of the international community with problems concerning its economic future and, indeed, its very survival. In turn, it has recently brought forth an unprecedented dialogue between the developed and the developing countries on how to shape a New International Economic Order capable of providing greater peace, equity and sufficiency for all.

79. Efforts to address ourselves to the great economic issues of our time in a more concerted and systematic manner in fact began in 1970 when the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session solemnly adopted the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], which embodied a comprehensive set of policy measures for international economic co-operation with a view to reducing the disparities among nations.

80. The high hopes that were cherished at the time of the adoption of the Strategy were soon to be dissipated as implementation fell far short of expectations. The unfavourable trends in the world economy, instead of being reversed, actually worsened rapidly, expressing themselves in a series of crises, upheavals and violent fluctuations that rocked the very foundations of the international economic system and threatened meaningful international co-operation in other fields as well.

81. Fortunately, the sixth special session of the General Assembly held last year—the first special session ever held to deal with economic and social issues—provided the turning-point in this process. Apart from its Declaration and Programme of Action [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)], the greatest achievement of the sixth special session, in our view, is its success in bringing about a more acute awareness of our interdependence as nations and of the interconnexion of global problems, thus creating a more favourable atmosphere for sincere and serious common endeavours by the international community.

82. With its momentum, a series of intensive global undertakings became possible, building up until just

two weeks ago when we concluded the seventh special session with the adoption of a consensus resolution [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] covering a broad new programme to promote development and international economic co-operation.

83. The results of the seventh special session are indeed only partially successful in meeting our objectives, and no one can be expected to be completely satisfied with them. But, as you, Mr. President, have rightly pointed out in your acceptance speech [2351st meeting], these results indeed represent the first practical expression of the necessity of transforming the international economic system in terms of a highly important political undertaking to achieve a more equitable sharing of the world's riches and to strike a new balance of interests between the industrialized and the developing countries in favour of the latter. This political undertaking, this political will, must now be sustained and given concrete expression in our further actions to implement this consensus.

84. In my delegation's view, the consensus resolution will be of operational significance and indeed facilitate the intensive work now being undertaken or envisaged by the various bodies of the United Nations system in realizing a New International Economic Order in their respective fields. This of course includes the task of restructuring the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system itself.

85. It is of equal importance to my delegation that the effective implementation of this consensus resolution should also impart a new impetus and positive impact to the various negotiations we are going to conduct or which are already in progress, both within and outside the forums of the United Nations. I am referring in particular to the multilateral trade negotiations, the forthcoming fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the projected Paris conference on energy, raw materials and development.

86. Indonesia, being a producing and exporting country of a wide variety of raw materials, both mineral and agricultural, has special reasons for being highly interested in the deliberations of those conferences. Their decisions will have an inevitable bearing on our national economy, which is highly sensitive to the performance of our export trade in commodities. It is of vital importance to Indonesia, therefore, that those conferences succeed in translating the consensus resolution of the seventh special session into concrete and specific commitments and actions.

87. The commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations provides us with the opportunity to reflect on the role our Organization can and should play in world affairs in the years ahead.

88. Although its critics have been many and vocal in the past—even up to this day—there has grown an increasing realization that despite its obvious imperfections the United Nations, as the only genuine world forum, must continue to be supported and strengthened. The realities of present-day international developments, moreover, make it imperative for all nations to do so as the only sensible avenue open to us in our efforts to cope with the critical problems of our time.

89. Interdependence and the universal scope of those problems dictate the necessity for us to develop a truly global capacity to respond.

90. I believe that the United Nations is the natural focal-point from which to develop such a capacity and that it can and should become the principal instrument of nations to secure at least the minimum conditions for peace and civilized life on earth.

91. It is meeting this great challenge that will be the principal task of the United Nations in the decades to come. This will obviously require change and readjustment in its organization, both structurally and procedurally. Its present inadequacies cannot be denied. But neither should we ignore the opportunity for dynamic adjustment which the United Nations has at this unique point in its development.

92. The general areas in which such change and adjustment should be effected are, I think, apparent to all of us, and to some extent the directions and forms of such change have already been identified. Above and beyond this, however, a new sense of purpose must be instilled into the conceptual approaches and programmes of the United Nations, in keeping with the demands of an increasingly interdependent world of nations and of problems.

93. It is of the utmost importance that there be change in the nature and extent of commitment of the Member States to the United Nations. For too long have the Member States used the Organization as a forum in which to pursue their own national ambitions, rather than as a collective instrument to achieve common goals. Of course we cannot expect the nation-States of the world suddenly to abandon concepts of national sovereignty and national interests. But what can be asked of them is to re-examine and redefine their national ambitions in the light of the long-term global interests of mankind as a whole. Indeed, we cannot expect mankind ever to unite behind a common ideology or a supra-national Government. But I think there are sufficient grounds for hope that it will now respond to a common concern for its own survival, based on the awareness of inevitable interdependence and the compelling need for global co-operation.

94. It is only when these fundamental requirements are met that the United Nations may be able to develop the capacity to face up to its primordial task: to secure peace not just as a negation of war but peace that is a result of harmonious and just relations between nations; to attain security that is not a dictate of the strong but a security that embraces both progress and the equal opportunity for all to achieve a materially sufficient and morally acceptable life.

95. Prince Saud AL-FAISAL (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, on behalf of my delegation, my sincere congratulations upon your election as President of the General Assembly at its thirtieth session. I am confident that our deliberations at this session will be brought to a successful conclusion under your wisdom and experience.

96. I should also like, on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, to express our appreciation for the sincere efforts and wise leadership displayed by your predecessor, the Minister for

Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, in carrying out his responsibilities at both the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session.

97. I should like to seize this opportunity to thank our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his unflagging efforts in the cause of international peace and security and in his pursuit of the aims and principles of this Organization.

98. On behalf of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia I should like to associate myself with all those who preceded me in welcoming to our Organization the three new Member States, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique. We welcome those three new Members and look forward to the time when we will be able to have both Angola and Papua New Guinea admitted as Members.

99. This session has a special significance due to the fact that 30 years have elapsed since the founding of the United Nations and its Charter which represents the aspirations of mankind, not only for peace and security, but also for economic and social development and prosperity within the framework of justice, equity and constructive co-operation.

100. If we were to cast a glance at our various achievements as an international community during the last three decades, we would find certain phenomena that deserve our scrutiny due to the nature of those phenomena which are complex and which give cause for both optimism and caution at the same time.

101. There is no doubt that the international community welcomes the process of détente between the major Powers which lessens international tensions while banishing the ghost of war and strengthens universal peace. But while we look forward to the day when that spirit of détente will be further promoted to that of entente between States, we hope at the same time that the small and developing countries which form the majority in our Organization will benefit from this development and that it will not be detrimental to the cause of their liberty, national rights and legitimate aspirations.

102. While détente has a tangible effect in strengthening peace, still further efforts are needed to strengthen international security because it is contingent upon political and economic factors which together are interdependent and interrelated.

103. I am confident that the contributions and achievements of the developed countries in industry, science and technology during the twentieth century are capable of solving the economic problems confronting the world today if there is genuine goodwill and if human values and ideals are adhered to in such a way as to bring about co-operation and solidarity between peoples devoid of selfishness. It is on such values and with such ideals that we can base our international economies to bring prosperity to all countries, whether developed or developing, whether large or small.

104. The results of our deliberations during the seventh special session have proved that there exists a large measure of agreement on many of the subjects discussed. While my delegation wishes to express its satisfaction with these results, we consider them merely a basis of sound principles for further efforts

to achieve justice and economic security in the international community. We look forward with optimism to future meetings which we hope will provide us with a strong foundation on which to implement these principles and build a new international economic order. That can be achieved only through co-operation and not through futile confrontation or fruitless recrimination.

105. The developing countries are looking forward to the first conference called for by the President of France, to be held in Paris next month and we wish to thank him for his initiative and hope that the same spirit of good will and co-operation will prevail at that conference as was manifested during the seventh special session.

106. There is no need for me to recall the position adopted by the oil-producing countries, which was made clear during the Conference of the Heads of State of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries [OPEC], who met at Algiers at the beginning of this year and which culminated in highlighting the readiness of the OPEC States to assume their international responsibilities and to display their willingness to contribute towards a just international economic co-operation.

107. I must stress here that justice and co-operation are a sound basis for progress. Without co-operation and justice it may be impossible to find solutions to the economic problems which beset our world today. It is to the benefit of all that we should find appropriate solutions to those economic problems so that we may give our undivided attention to the other problems that will confront mankind in the not-too-distant future, such as the exhaustion of natural resources, environmental problems, the population explosion, the abuse of science and technology and other problems.

108. Many of the items on our agenda are not new to us. In fact, some of these items have been with us since the founding of the United Nations without our being able to solve them. It is our belief that the reason for this state of affairs is twofold: on the one hand we discuss these items without due regard to justice; and, on the other hand, we treat the symptoms rather than the cause.

109. Since 1947, when the forces of zionism combined with those of oppression and persecution to expel the Palestinian people from their homeland, the Middle East has not enjoyed a moment of peace. Since that date, our Organization, together with its specialized and other agencies, has not ceased to discuss the question of Palestine under different names and in various contexts. These discussions tended to neglect the core and the substance of the problem. The question was not discussed in its true context, which could have led to a sound solution. From 1952 to 1967 the United Nations dealt with this question within the framework of the question of the Palestinian refugees. This approach, in our opinion, is not the appropriate way in which the Palestinian question can be solved satisfactorily.

110. The question of the refugees and their relief is not the core and the substance of the problem. The question of Palestine is one of a people, a land and a country. It is a question of a people whose land has been usurped and which still suffers the conse-

quences of aggression. Only when it is viewed in this light will our deliberations begin to take the right direction towards a just solution. The passage of 27 years did not transform the question of the Palestinian people into a question of refugees, as the forces of oppression and zionism wanted it to do. The Palestinian people have a just right to their homeland and to self-determination.

111. For more than 27 years—since the usurpation of the land of Palestine—Israel has been committing aggression after aggression and crime after crime. It has been waging an endless war not only against the people and the land of Palestine but also against all Arab peoples, thereby challenging and disregarding this Organization and its Charter and defying the international community, and its human values and lofty ideals, and thus demonstrating that it is unworthy of belonging to this Organization.

112. Israel is an artificial Zionist entity which harbours no respect whatsoever for religions. It ceaselessly violates the Islamic Holy Places in Jerusalem in an effort to change the character of the city. Israel desecrates Islamic holy places, the most recent case being the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron, which is stark testimony to what is taking place in all the occupied territories without the slightest consideration or inhibition as to the feelings of Moslems and all other believers in God all over the world. All this is in violation of, and with complete disregard for, United Nations resolutions.

113. Needless to say, any attempt at a settlement that does not lead to the liberation of Jerusalem and the removal of the consequences of aggression from the holy city and its Holy Places, and to its return to its rightful owners, the Arab inhabitants, is totally unacceptable.

114. Jerusalem and its holy places have a special significance in the heart and mind of every Arab, every Moslem and, indeed, every believer in God. If it is not liberated, no Arab or Moslem can be at peace with himself and his conscience, let alone be at peace with others. The return of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty is the best guarantee for believers of all faiths and will safeguard their freedom of worship and preserve the sanctity of their holy places, while bringing peace to the area.

115. It is a step in the right direction and a source of optimism to place the question of Palestine in its right context on the agenda of the General Assembly, so that it may finally be discussed in its true perspective as a question of a people and of an occupied land. This gives us more hope for a just solution of the problem. The invitation extended by the United Nations—backed by the affirmative vote of 105 Member States—to the rightful representatives of the Palestinian people to take part in the discussion of this problem in order to clarify its fundamental aspects is tantamount to a universal recognition of the importance of the question and of the risks surrounding it.

116. One of the consequences of the Palestine question is what is now known as the problem of the Middle East. Israel now occupies other Arab lands in Sinai, the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. If Israel is left unchecked in its

total disregard of United Nations resolutions, peace and security will never prevail in the area.

117. Needless to say, the removal of the consequences of aggression through Israel's complete withdrawal from all Arab territories is a prerequisite to peace. Full peace and normalization cannot be attained, however, except by responding to the aspirations of the people of Palestine, who remain the real victims.

118. This question, if viewed in its full dimensions, does not concern and affect the Palestinian people alone. Indeed, it has been taken up as the primary cause of the League of Arab States, the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned countries, and all peace-loving States that abhor racism, aggression and settler colonialism.

119. The Arab peoples, and first and foremost the Palestinian people, are peace-loving peoples longing to live in peace and security. However, peace must be based on justice. If peace is sincerely desired for the area, then we have to face facts with courage and take into account all factors that may lead to a just and equitable solution.

120. It is of no consequence whether this solution is reached step by step, or whether it is attained in Geneva or New York. The important thing is that such a solution should tackle the central issues and deal with the essence of the problem in its true dimensions.

121. The Palestinian people have a right to return to their homeland and property. They have as much right to self-determination as any other people. These rights of the Palestinian people are a humanitarian necessity, a political necessity and a prerequisite for a just and lasting peace.

122. The Palestinian people wish to live in peace and without fear. They wish to be peaceful, without being submissive, to build and not to destroy. The Palestinian people are capable of making peace and of accepting peace. However, peace can never be achieved by one party while the other party only talks of peace, while actively pursuing war and destruction.

123. A healthy trend in today's world is the growing number of international organizations that bring together homogeneous communities bound to one another by special relationships which enable them to play a constructive role within the world community, in such a manner as to supplement the role and enhance the efficiency of the United Nations. In the past few years, the Islamic Conference was established, comprising 42 States Members of the United Nations bound together by ties of history, a common heritage and the Islamic faith, with its far-reaching spiritual values and lofty principles that are built on justice and brotherhood for all mankind, co-operation between peoples in the political, economic and social fields, and mutual responsibility for the welfare of all mankind.

124. The Islamic Conference has made notable and dynamic progress in dealing with various economic and political matters and has established financial, technical and other institutions. It is our hope, therefore, that this Assembly will decide to grant observer status to this organization during the present session.

125. The Islamic Conference, during its last session in July this year, discussed the persecution of Moslem communities in various parts of the world and decided to take all necessary measures to improve the lot of these communities and guarantee their welfare and just rights. It is our earnest hope that these communities will be given the opportunity to enjoy their full rights in a spirit of justice and equity.

126. Despite the enormous progress achieved by mankind in all walks of life, whether cultural, scientific or otherwise, we still witness, deplore and denounce the racial discrimination practised in South Africa by the white minority régime, contrary to our human values, our Islamic principles, and the lofty ideals, principles and objectives of the United Nations. For this reason, my delegation fully supports the efforts of our brothers in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia to attain their freedom and self-determination.

127. Before I conclude, and on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, may I state that we should not only look to the past in appraising what has and what has not been achieved by our Organization, but we should also look forward to the future with optimism about achieving what we desire for our Organization and maintaining its effectiveness in solving the various problems confronting mankind.

128. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me, Mr. President, to extend to you my sincerest congratulations on your election as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

129. The events which have taken place since the twenty-ninth session testify to the fact that time works in favour of the cause of peoples and revolution, that revolutionary struggles and national liberation have been brought to a higher level.

130. In the present year, sovereign States and peoples have won important victories in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, first and foremost against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, in the defence of their freedom, their independence and their sovereign rights, and for their free and independent development.

131. The heroic peoples of Viet Nam and Cambodia have conquered on the battlefield the American imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, and they inflicted on the United States a most overwhelming defeat. The American imperialists, regardless of all the means and methods for waging war and aggression that they used, in spite of the constant support received from the Soviet social imperialists, who constantly acted as traitors and tried to undermine the just struggle of the peoples of Indo-China, were not able to bring those peoples to their knees and were forced, in shame, to leave Cambodia and Viet Nam.

132. This victory of world-wide historic significance of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples offers valuable lessons for all peace-loving peoples. This victory shows that a people, no matter how small, if it fights to the end and is determined to receive its rights, can conquer any enemy and can even defeat an imperialist super-Power. That is concrete proof of the triumph of the war of the people over the aggressive

strategy of imperialism and forces of reaction. In Viet Nam and in Cambodia it was demonstrated once again that freedom is not something that can be given as a gift, but is won; that it is not weapons that determine the fate of war but man; that people can conquer and defend their rights not by haggling, not by compromise, but by their struggle, their determined efforts, their courage and determination, and their revolutionary spirit and spirit of sacrifice.

133. Thanks to their struggle for liberation, the peoples of Mozambique, of Cape Verde, and of Sao Tome and Principe have thrown off the age-old colonialist yoke of Portugal and have set themselves up as young independent States. We welcome the admission of these young States to the United Nations and we wish them every success in their struggle to consolidate the victories which they have won, in their free, independent and democratic development, in their struggle against the neo-colonialist manoeuvres and tactics on the part of the two super-Powers. We express our full solidarity with the determined struggle that the peoples of Namibia, Azania and Zimbabwe are conducting against the ferocious policies of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

134. The course of events always brings out more forcefully the important role of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and their ever-increasing weight in international life. The peoples of those countries are standing up with even more courage in their fight against the policies of aggression and economic expansion, against plundering and imperialist exploitation, to defend their freedom, independence and sovereign rights, to obtain their economic independence and to exercise their full sovereignty over their natural wealth and raw materials. The two imperialist super-Powers, which are the greatest exploiters and plunderers of the developing countries, the main parties responsible for the poverty and backwardness of those countries and for the injustices of which they are the victims, under the cover of "friendship", "aid" and "co-operation" have striven to weaken their struggle and break their will for development and progress. But, whether the two super-Powers like it or not, the developing countries have shown increasing strength and ability to resolve their development problems themselves in complete freedom and independence, in accordance with their national interests.

135. The seventh special session, as well as a number of other international activities which were organized before this session, testify to the fact that the developing countries will not allow others to toy with their rights; nor can the imperialist Powers derive profits by undermining their interests and imposing on them unfair and unjust economic and trade relations.

136. In the future as in the past, the People's Republic of Albania, with all its strength, will support the just struggle and just claims of the developing countries, the measures that they have adopted and will adopt to gain control over their national wealth and raw materials. We welcome the continuing strengthening of solidarity and co-operation among the developing countries in their struggle to enjoy their rights. In their fight they enjoy the friendship and the support of all their friends. They enjoy the support of that

great country, the People's Republic of China, a powerful socialist country which has been sincerely and disinterestedly helping the peoples of the world in their efforts to develop and progress, in their opposition to imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

137. Under the unceasing blows of revolutionary forces and national liberation forces, of the forces of democracy and social progress, the imperialists, social-imperialists and all other reactionaries have sustained continuous assaults. The general crisis of capitalism has undermined the entire system. Production has gone down in many principal sectors. Inflation has increased. Unemployment has acquired new proportions and, in many countries, has reached the highest levels that it has ever reached since the end of the Second World War. Contradictions within their alliances and political, economic and military groups have become ever more serious. The United States is no longer able to bridge the numerous gaps in these alliances and in these groups and they are encountering increasing opposition on the part of their allies and partners. The Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries are also undermined constantly by a great number of difficulties, by contradictions both internal and external. The Soviet social-imperialists are oppressing the peoples of the Soviet Union, and are instilling in them a spirit of aggressive nationalism and "Great Russia" chauvinism. They continue to occupy, and to grind under their iron heel, those countries, and the peoples of those countries, they consider to be allies.

138. In order to overcome the serious situation in which they find themselves, the two imperialist super-Powers are making a feverish effort to modify the course of history. They have intensified their policy of aggression, expansion and hegemony and are perfecting methods of blackmail, aggression and violent intervention in the internal affairs of others. They have practised duplicity and demagoguery and are constantly plotting against peace-loving peoples, thereby creating sources of tension and of potential war throughout the world and endangering international peace and security.

139. After the serious defeat which they suffered in Indo-China, the American imperialists are doing their utmost to regain control, to maintain their well-known pretensions to "grandeur" and to America's "leading role" in the world, pretending to be more "reasonable", more "peace-loving", more "humanitarian" and more "tractable" in their dealings with other countries, and more "accommodating" with their allies. While pretending to "review" their policy they are, in fact, regrouping their forces and planning further adventures and attacks on freedom and on the independence of sovereign States and peoples.

140. The Soviet social-imperialists, also victims of megalomania and guilty of great-Power arrogance, are also taking advantage of the difficult moments which their rival, the United States, is experiencing—boasting ever more noisily of their power and their leading role in the world. In order to conceal their frenzied "hegemony" they spare no praise for their so-called policy of "peace", "friendship" and "international co-operation".

141. The two parties—the Soviet Union and the United States—are trying stubbornly to gain recognition for their right to determine what is happening in the world, and they are trying to have others believe that there is no political, economic or social problem of our times which can be solved without them. And if their policies and solutions are not accepted, if one objects to their *diktat*, their control and hegemony, then great dangers shall threaten mankind.

142. The United States and the Soviet Union, in order to camouflage the dangers which their rivalry and bargaining entail, in order to expand and establish their hegemony, their militarization and constant preparations for war, are doing what they can to instill a sense of euphoria, a sense of false peace by constantly repeating their demagogic references to “détente”, “co-operation and security”, “general and nuclear disarmament” and so forth. In this way they are trying to propagate a feeling of demobilization among the peoples of the world, to slacken the vigilance of others, to weaken and stifle opposition to imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction. But the sovereign peoples and States of the world judge according to deeds and not words.

143. The two super-Powers have today become the largest manufacturers and traffickers of weapons in history. They are involved in an unbridled arms race and they constantly increase their arsenals and perfect means of mass destruction, as part of their efforts to bring about war and aggression, to intimidate and frighten the peoples of the world, to force other countries to shelter under the American or Soviet umbrella and to accept Soviet-American domination in the world as something inevitable. The American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists have sold arms to the four corners of the world, but they do so in the interests of their own policies of aggression, in order to support and maintain reactionary régimes, in order to make those countries which receive weapons bow to their policies and to incite others to wage war. For their part, the Soviet Union and the United States are armed to the teeth, but they recommend that others disarm. On the question of disarmament, the Soviet social-imperialists wish to play the role of standard bearer. They have grown accustomed to delivering, year after year and in all international bodies, all manner of speeches and proposals on the subject of the limitation of weapons, a 10 per cent reduction in the military budget of the permanent members of the Security Council, and on general and complete disarmament and so on.

144. Of course, the peoples of the world will not fall into such traps laid for them by the two super-Powers under the guise of disarmament. They cannot agree to disarm when their enemies are constantly arming themselves. It is not only impossible but also dangerous to think that general and complete disarmament can be brought about by a world conference, as the Soviet social-imperialists would have us believe, or by carrying out other plans which the two super-Powers propose out of sheer demagoguery. The representatives of the Soviet Union—singing their old refrain—have submitted a new proposal to the Assembly this year, that of a treaty banning all nuclear tests. In the course of this session also, as happened in previous sessions, they are trying to promote sterile

and vain debates and to use those debates to boast about the major contribution they are making to “limiting the arms race”, to “détente”, and to the beginning of “general and complete disarmament”. Everybody knows that in making those proposals the Soviet Union, just like the United States, has carried out the largest number of nuclear tests, and did so precisely after the conclusion of a treaty on their partial cessation. The two super-Powers, whenever they make a proposal on the testing of nuclear weapons, do so solely to gain superiority or monopoly in that area. The present Soviet proposal in no way lessens the danger of the use of the great nuclear arsenals which the two super-Powers have created for themselves. Nor does it make it impossible for them to increase those arsenals or to perfect weapons. Why then does the Soviet Union, while banning the nuclear tests, try to legalize underground tests for so-called peaceful purposes? Does that not mean that it truly does wish to act as it has in the past but under a different label, thus tying the hands of other countries which are anxious to defend themselves? The peoples of the world have had their fill of speeches and meetings on the subject of disarmament. Concrete results however are lacking, and there will not be any concrete results forthcoming because of the aggressive policies of the two imperialist super-Powers. Confronted with the threats of the two super-Powers, the peace-loving States and peoples of the world have a right and a duty to increase their power and their ability to defend themselves in order to deal with any situation and to cope with any attack or act of aggression.

145. The United States and the Soviet Union are now endeavouring zealously to convince us that the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe marks the beginning of a new era: the era of peace, tranquillity and stability, co-operation in all areas, and the beginning of general harmony.

146. The fact is, though, that there has been no change in Europe, however small, which might even justify such an assertion, and there is no reason to expect that such positive developments will ensue in that area simply because of a Conference such as the one at Helsinki, which began and ended as a Soviet-American plot, or because of the repeated proclamation of certain standards and principles which have long been recognized but which the imperialist Powers have never respected and will never respect. The bitter past reminds the peoples of Europe that they must be ever watchful not to be misled by the two super-Powers.

147. To be sure, the peoples of Europe want peace and genuine security on their continent. But in order to achieve that noble goal it is indispensable that concrete and effective action be taken, that there be radical changes in the present situation in Europe, and that general declarations on peace and security—formulations and general declarations into which the two imperialist super-Powers have injected their poison—be rejected. There can be no security in Europe when, 30 years after the end of the Second World War, a number of European countries are still militarily occupied by the two super-Powers; when the European peoples are continually being threatened

by the aggressive policies of those Powers; when the United States and the Soviet Union, in order to divide and dominate Europe, maintain many military bases and troops there and constantly increase their war arsenals; when they maintain and perfect the military and political structures of the aggressive blocs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and the Warsaw Pact, and organize military manoeuvres; or when they engage in large-scale political and economic pressure and blackmail, and undermine and subvert the European countries.

148. The two super-Powers convened the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, not because they were anxious to bring about peace and security in Europe, but to promote their designs for hegemony, to legitimize their spheres of influence and their privileges in various countries of Europe, and to compel participating countries to recognize them as the arbiters in all European questions. Despite their alleged desire to bring about European security, what they really want is to maintain the *status quo* between themselves and to establish a certain balance in Europe in order to support their aggressive policies in other parts of the world.

149. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was not a free assembly of the countries of Europe: the United States and the Soviet Union went there and did whatever they could to gain for themselves vital decision-making powers on all essential points. It was continually seen at the meetings in Helsinki and Geneva that the European States had very few opportunities to express their concerns freely or to say openly where the dangers threatening the people of Europe were coming from or who should ensure security on the continent. The participants at those meetings constantly ran into pressure, *diktat* and blackmail at the hands of the two super-Powers. Undeniably, any decision about moving from one stage to another, or about reaching a compromise, was preceded by meetings of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. Even the very few problems which were raised by certain countries but which did not fall neatly within the framework established by the two super-Powers were set aside or completely transformed as a result of the pressure brought to bear.

150. There can be no doubt that the two imperialist super-Powers will exploit the documents of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe for speculative purposes, for their manoeuvres and new political plans, and that, in the guise of implementing the decisions contained in those documents, they will intensify their pressure on other countries. Those who still harbour illusions and think that the documents adopted at Helsinki nevertheless represent something concrete will be greatly disappointed. Even now, before the ink of the signatures at the bottom of those documents has dried, a number of countries and political circles are entertaining serious doubts, openly questioning the usefulness and value of those documents; and the enthusiasm that some had about them is beginning to wane.

151. The Government of Albania has long asked the following questions: "What will become of Europe after the conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe? What will the decisions

of that Conference bring to Europe? What guarantees will the European peoples have that they will no longer in the future be victims of aggression, as was the Czechoslovak people in August 1968?" Today we see even more clearly what we already knew: Europe remains one of the main areas of rivalry and bargaining between the two imperialist super-Powers—an arena where there are many bitter contradictions which themselves pose a potential danger of major conflagrations—an arena in which the problems handed down from the Second World War remain, and where new and complicated problems are arising amidst increasing tension.

152. The Albanian people is small in number. Throughout its history it has experienced more suffering and misfortune than any other European people as a result of foreign exploitation and occupation. Through its own efforts but at the price of the blood shed by its youth, the Albanian people threw off the Nazi-Facist yoke and created the new independent and socialist Albania, which it has been defending against the constant threats of the imperialists and social-imperialists. Hence we have a vital interest in seeing the establishment of lasting peace and genuine security in Europe. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania fully understands the concerns and pre-occupations of the peoples of Europe over the dangers threatening them, as well as the justified desires of many European countries to eliminate those dangers. Our Government has openly and frankly expressed its views on the problem of security, and from the very beginning had declared its opposition to the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Indeed, we did not even participate in it, convinced as we were that that position was in accordance with the interests of the Albanian people and of the peoples of Europe at large. As the much beloved leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, has said:

"The People's Republic of Albania has its own views and develops its own constructive policies openly, in broad daylight. No question is alien to us, and no one can silence us. Every State and people has the right freely to express its own views and to oppose those of others when it disagrees with them, just as others have the right to oppose its views when they disagree with them. It would be completely wrong to remain passive and silent when some are acting to the detriment of other peoples or States, or to accept, as some would wish, that just because a State or a people is small it is pretentious for it to speak out to defend its rights and those of its friends, or to express its views in the presence of the 'major' Powers. False modesty and the opportunist way of thinking of a slave are alien to the policies of the Albanian State and the rule of the proletariat."

153. The People's Republic of Albania has struggled, and will continue to fight, together with other peoples of Europe to bring about peace and security in that continent; and with determination we will adhere to our policy of safeguarding and strengthening our national independence and respect for the independence of other countries. We will never allow the peoples of neighbouring countries or of other countries in Europe to be wronged in any way on our territory.

We have stubbornly fought—and will continue to do so—every hostile act against our freedom and independence. We will thwart and expose courageously and without any hesitation the aggressive policies of hegemony of the United States and the Soviet Union and whatever efforts they might make to capitalize on the documents of the Helsinki Conference. The People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian Government respect all those countries and Governments that pursue independent policies in accordance with their interests and sovereign rights and with the interests of peace and general security. We are prepared to build good relations with all countries respecting the rights of Albania on the basis of the principles of complete equality, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, good-neighbourliness and mutual advantage.

154. We are firmly of the opinion that the question of genuine peace and security in Europe will inevitably be resolved when the European people themselves take the matter in hand, as they should. Today more than ever before it is essential to multiply efforts to thwart and destroy the plans of aggression and subjugation of the United States and the Soviet Union, to isolate the American imperialists and the Soviet socialist-imperialists and to make it impossible for them to dominate Europe.

155. To our way of thinking, if concrete steps are to be taken in the direction of establishing an atmosphere of understanding and reciprocal confidence and sincere co-operation on a footing of equality with all European countries, it is necessary to put an end to spheres of influence in Europe and to liquidate the military aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Each country must take measures to see that there are no foreign bases or foreign troops on its territory, that it does not give any facilities or privileges of any kind to the United States or the Soviet Union and must see to it that on its territory it does not allow any activities directed against any other country. Genuine security in Europe can be brought about only if it is not detached from the struggle to resolve disturbing problems on a world-wide scale. Europe cannot be an isle of tranquillity and stability in a world fraught with turmoil and conflict. The European countries cannot be calm and safe when around them in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East and in other areas of the world the United States and the Soviet Union systematically cause tension and provoke conflicts with very dangerous consequences.

156. Quite rightly, among the peoples of the Mediterranean countries there is a growing anxiety and concern over the serious and perilous situation created in that area as a result of the rivalry between the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. In order to guarantee their dominant and strategic positions and in order to expand their military, political and economic penetration, they are increasing the number of their warships in the Mediterranean and are doing whatever they can, by using pressure and blackmail, flattery and demagogy, to compel the Mediterranean people to accept the present situation and to oblige a number of countries in that area to make concessions, to accept military bases on their territories and to be bound as closely as

possible to the chariot wheels of one or the other of the imperialist super-Powers.

157. For the peoples and the countries of the Mediterranean, the only reliable alternative is courageously to oppose the policies of aggression and hegemony of the two imperialist super-Powers, to call for the withdrawal of their aggressive fleets, to do away with the military bases on their territories and not to allow the United States and the Soviet Union to use the ports in their countries as bases for the implementation of their plans. The interests of the Mediterranean peoples require concrete action by each country of that region so that no one bows to the influence of the two super-Powers and so that no one will be caught in the web of their complicated plots.

158. It is now ever more obvious that the tense and threatening situation in Cyprus and the disturbing consequences which it entails for those in the area are the result first and foremost of the policy and machinations of the two imperialist super-Powers.

159. So long as the United States and the Soviet Union are able to interfere in the internal affairs of Cyprus, the people of that country and their neighbours will know only misfortune and suffering. The United States and the Soviet Union have never been and never will be in favour of a genuine solution of the problem of Cyprus. Thus it is that their "initiatives", "programmes", "mediation" or "sponsorship", direct or through others, are merely plots and intrigues to prevent stability on the island, to maintain quarrels and conflicts and to make it possible for them to take advantage of dissensions to advance their interests of the moment.

160. The Albanian people has always borne in mind the welfare of the friendly peoples of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and sincerely hopes that Cyprus will not be a constant victim of the ambitions of the two super-Powers. We condemn any foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus and demand that an end be put to that activity so that the two communities living on Cyprus can themselves, with patience and goodwill and without foreign interference, settle their own affairs in accordance with their own interests and aspirations, in full harmony on the basis of equal rights. The People's Republic of Albania has always favoured the existence of a free and independent State of Cyprus, and respect for its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

161. The peoples of the Balkan peninsula have learned a great deal from their bitter past when the imperialist Powers, moved solely by their own selfish interests, made that region a powder keg. Today they cannot fail to be aware of the great dangers to them from the American imperialists and the Soviet socialist-imperialists, who are extending their claws towards the Balkans in order to satisfy their expansionist greed and carry out political, economic and military penetration in that region, and are trying to rekindle former quarrels and old conflicts and turn some Balkan countries against others.

162. Because of the complicated situation and the dangerous political and military circumstances created by the two super-Powers in the Balkans, the peoples of that area have an overriding duty to increase their watchfulness, and every Balkan country must see to it

that with full responsibility, patience and goodwill, it builds with the other countries of the peninsula friendly relations by fighting against and rejecting any form of foreign interference in its internal affairs and any form of foreign interference in its policy, and by taking concrete action to strengthen its independence and national sovereignty. The attitudes and acts, whether deliberate or carried out under the pressure of specific circumstances, which are designed to favour the political hegemony of the two super-Powers in the Balkans, violate the interests of the peoples of the Balkans and render a disservice to the cause of peace and stability in that area. Balkan understanding and co-operation can be brought about by eliminating a number of well-known factors which cause tension and disagreement, doubt and distrust among the countries of the peninsula.

163. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has been and remains convinced that the best and surest way to defend the interests and the rights of the Balkan peoples and peace and stability in that area is resolutely to oppose the aggressive policies of the United States and the Soviet Union and to develop bilateral relations among the Balkan States on the basis of the principles of good-neighbourliness, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of others, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and mutual advantage. The People's Republic of Albania has always moved along those lines and it always will. We hope that the spirit of sincerity, mutual respect and true understanding will prevail in relations among the Balkan States and that the imperialist Powers will not be allowed to complicate the situation in the Balkans.

164. The dangerous situation in the Middle East is a subject of constant and major concern not only for the Arab peoples, but for all peace-loving peoples in the world. Genuine peace is very far from having been established, because the two super-Powers have never wanted and do not want peace and stability to be established there. The United States and the Soviet Union talk a great deal of their efforts to bring about a settlement of the problem in the Middle East, but at the same time American-Soviet rivalry for hegemony and expansion in that area is moving ahead.

165. The two super-Powers, which are now known as the two greatest and most dangerous enemies of the Arab peoples, are using ever more subtle tactics and manoeuvres to deceive those peoples, to prevent the liberation of their occupied territories and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people. In order more easily to attain their ends, the American imperialists trumpet the fact that they are about to reconsider their policy in the Middle East, that they now have a more friendly attitude toward the Arab peoples and that they are more willing to help the Arab countries. The Soviet social-imperialists, for their part, are using diabolical tactics to convince the Arab peoples that, without the assistance and support of the Soviet Union, they will not be able to assert their rights. The American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists now use flattery, now pressure, in trying to divide the Arab peoples, to turn some against others, to support and encourage Israel's aggressive policy as a means of creating this situation of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East.

166. The Israeli Zionists, American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists are today carrying out their aggressive policies first and foremost against the Palestinian people, and their primary objective is to put an end to their cause, to perpetuate their tragic plight, so that they will be a refugee people for ever, without a homeland and without sovereign rights.

167. The Albanian people and Government have supported and will consistently support the just cause of our brothers, the peoples of Egypt, the Syrian Arab Republic and Palestine and other Arab peoples; and we are convinced that those peoples, thanks to their resolute struggle and their fighting unity, will win a complete victory over the Zionist aggressors and the plots of the two super-Powers; that they will liberate their territories and realize their national aspirations. The key to a just and comprehensive settlement of the problem of the Middle East has been and still is the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people. If that is not brought about, there can never be peace or stability in the area.

168. After the victory of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples and the significant changes which have taken place in Laos, a favourable situation has been created in Indo-China and in all of South-East Asia for the liberation and independence of peoples, and for the strengthening of security and peace in that part of the world. Nevertheless, American imperialists have not given up their designs on Indo-China and South-East Asia. Furthermore, the social-imperialists, under the cover of their support and assistance, and in accordance with the well-known imperialist practice of "filling a void", are trying to satisfy their greed in that part of the world.

169. The rivalry of the two imperialist super-Powers and their struggle for hegemony is ever more noticeable in other parts of the Asian continent, the Indian Ocean and the Gulf zone. Within that framework, the Soviet social-imperialists are intensifying efforts to impose on the peoples and countries of Asia their notorious plan for "collective security in Asia", even proposing as a model the plot they hatched jointly with the United States under the label of "European security". They are thereby trying to carry out their designs for hegemony in Asia, to legalize their intervention in the internal affairs of Asian countries and to disguise their efforts to create alliances and political, economic and military blocs in that area. But the Asian peoples are aware that, wherever there is rivalry or collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States, or wherever the United States and the Soviet Union are extending their claws, there can never be peace or security, but there will be tensions, conflicts and constant danger. As a result of their activities of widespread aggression, the Soviet social-imperialists are revealing their true selves with every passing day. While they are trumpeting the idea of collective security in Asia, they never cease their hostile and hysterical slandering of the great people of the People's Republic of China, and their undermining and subversion in practically all Asian countries. They spare no effort or diabolical manoeuvre to turn one country against another, in accordance with the policy of "divide and conquer". But recent history has shown the Asian people that they must not believe in the fine words of the imperialists and the social-imperialists, that they

must tear off their masks, and not accept their poisoned bait, but reject it.

170. The serious situation on the Korean peninsula is a threat to peace and security in the Far East because of the stubborn determination of the United States to maintain its military occupation forces and to pursue its colonial policy in South Korea, thus preventing the Korean people from realizing their sacred national aspirations for complete liberation and the unification of their country.

171. The People's Republic of Albania supports, as it always has, the just struggle of the Korean people against American imperialism, and calls for an end to interference in their internal affairs. We support the just views and constructive proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding the immediate evacuation of American troops from South Korea and the reunification of the country. We resolutely condemn the "two Korea" plot hatched by American imperialism. The Korean nation is one and indivisible; Korea must be one country, reunified. The United Nations, which American imperialists have involved for years in their aggressive actions against the Korean people, must without delay change its attitude, make good the injustice done to that people, and take the necessary decisions so that the United States can no longer intervene in its name in the internal affairs of Korea.

172. The delegation of Albania supports the application of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations, and their undeniable right to membership. On that matter this Organization has a duty to act in full accordance with its responsibilities and with the will of the Vietnamese people, by taking the appropriate decision of admitting the two Vietnamese States

to membership. The despicable manoeuvres of the United States to exclude the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam from the United Nations are an obvious manifestation of their hostile attitudes towards the Vietnamese people, and reflect the tendency of American imperialism to exploit the United Nations for its own aggressive purposes.

173. The People's Republic of Albania, guided by the just Marxist-Leninist policies of the Labour Party of Albania, by their friendship and international solidarity with all those who are fighting for their national independence and freedom against imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, will do everything it can resolutely to strengthen that friendship further and uphold the just cause of these people, to oppose strongly the policy of hegemony of the two super-Powers and to bring about a just peace and genuine security in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world. The Albanian delegation to this session of the General Assembly as in the past will not be backward in contributing to the settlement of the problems which are of concern today to the peace-loving and justice-loving peoples of the world and to all progressive mankind.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. IV (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.V.10), document A/CONF.62/WP.8.

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*