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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency the Honourable L. O. Pindling, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, and I now call on him.

2. Mr. PINDLING (Bahamas): As this is the first opportunity which the Commonwealth of the Bahamas has to speak in the general debate of the General Assembly, it is appropriate that at this time I should indicate to other delegations the general principles upon which the foreign relations of the Bahamas shall be conducted in this Assembly and in its associations with other States. The necessity to state these principles briefly will limit what I have to say for the most part to some broad generalizations, but I shall also make some modest suggestions for action by this Assembly in areas which are of particular significance to the Bahamas.

3. A desirable starting point for me is the Preamble to the Independence Constitution of the Bahamas, which came into force on 10 July past and which reads as follows:

“WHEREAS Four hundred and eighty-one years ago the rediscovery of this Family of Islands, Rocks and Cays heralded the rebirth of the New World,

“AND WHEREAS the People of this Family of Islands recognize that the preservation of their Freedom will be guaranteed by a national commitment to Self-discipline, Industry, Loyalty, Unity and an abiding respect for Christian values and the Rule of Law;

“NOW KNOW YE THEREFORE:

“We the Inheritors of and Successors to this Family of Islands, recognizing the Supremacy of God and believing

in the Fundamental Rights and Freedoms of the Individual,

“DO HEREBY PROCLAIM IN SOLEMN PRAISE the Establishment of a Free and Democratic Sovereign Nation founded on Spiritual Values and in which no Man, Woman or Child shall ever be Slave or Bondsman to anyone or their Labour exploited or their Lives frustrated by deprivation,

“AND DO HEREBY PROVIDE by these Articles for the indivisible Unity and Creation under God of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas.”

Thereafter in the constitutional document are articles which, subject to those which provide for the protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, make the Constitution the supreme law of the Bahamas. We thereby consciously subjected our national sovereignty to adherence to the concept of the rule of law together with the proposition that:

“... the idea of the rule of law must embrace the doctrine that there is a national responsibility to create and maintain the social and economic condition which will give meaning and substance to the idea of equality under law”.

4. Throughout the years of colonial administrations, the energies and attention of the Bahamian people, in particular for my generation, were directed to the ultimate goals of majority rule, political and economic self-determination and sovereign independence. One of the by-products of this necessary preoccupation with internal and anti-colonialist politics was that public attention was directed inwardly to internal problems. Matters of external relations were, therefore, relegated to an unimportant position or thought to be irrelevant to what at the time were the most immediate matters of internal politics.

5. At the same time, however, there were external forces at work which were compressing the whole world into closer affinity and interdependence. A companion in growth and progress to our evolutionary advance to sovereign independence has been the remarkable change which has taken place during the past decade in communication and transportation facilities. Hence it is possible for words spoken here to be heard, and the speaker here to be seen, instantaneously anywhere in the world. It is also now possible to fly today from our capital city of Nassau to New York in 2 hours and 45 minutes, to Frankfurt in 9 hours or to Sydney in 25 hours.

6. Therefore, ever since 1964 when the first comprehensive written Constitution came into effect in the

Bahamas and ultimate independence was assured, we have begun to look outward upon a world which was being shrunk by technology and which was being brought closer to us and to which we began to look with eager expectation. Indeed, this is evidenced by the fact that the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of the Bahamas came into existence four years before independence and the 1969 Constitution which we had gave a wide measure of responsibility in foreign affairs to the Bahamas Government. Thereafter, the Bahamas began consciously to turn its attention outward and to recognize that there was a place for it in the world which its necessity to prosper and survive demanded be filled.

7. It was therefore inevitable and a matter of course that the Bahamas, after independence, directed its attention to membership in the United Nations. It is not for the love of platitudes or a craving for fine words that in the Bahamas we take seriously the words of the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations which reads in part:

“WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . . and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

“AND FOR THESE ENDS to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security . . .”.

8. The Commonwealth of the Bahamas is a new Member of this Organization. We have, none the less, observed the attempts which have been made by this body towards the realization of its purposes and principles as expressed in the Charter, to which all of us Members subscribe. The Charter imposes upon the members of this Assembly the enormous task of providing for the world conditions conducive to the betterment of the welfare of all mankind. This was the spirit in which the Charter founders drafted its constitution. This, similarly, must be the current resolve of its Member nations.

9. We in the Bahamas have not been unmindful of the fact that in its 28 years the United Nations has experienced both failures and successes, and notwithstanding the view which is apparently held by some and is born of frustration, I do not believe, as I have read expressed in a leading national journal of a Member State recently, that “. . . the sad, even bitter truth is that the United Nations is no longer in the mainstream of world politics”.

10. It may very well be that the enormous capacity of all kinds which exists within the States legitimately categorized as super-Powers has dwarfed the necessities of the other Members of the United Nations, but it is presumptuous to assume that the course of the super-Powers from time to time constitutes the mainstream of world politics. However, this would be the case if all the members of the Assembly passively allowed this to be so. Be that as it may, the aspirations of our people are no less real or immediate than those of the big nations and the demands made upon its leaders no less compelling.

11. My Government has a responsibility to the Bahamas to make its proper contribution to the collective efforts to the United Nations to create an harmoniously ordered world society; to create an internationally recognized rule of law which will guarantee the territorial integrity of States; to sustain a level of economic growth which will provide a continually increasing standard of living, education and social services for its people; and to assist in creating a system of human values and of morality which will create a climate of existence for mankind to enable it to enjoy and fulfil itself in peace.

12. But endless debate and tired *clichés* do not at all provide the machinery that will assist in finding solutions to some of the problems that now face us. These solutions ought not to depend on the interrelations between the sources of physical power and the location of authority, but rather upon the centralization of power and authority here as is envisaged by the Charter. Otherwise the pursuit of international peace and security will remain the province of a privileged few, and the credibility gap between the rhetoric of world international order and the realities inherent in the pursuit of the national interest of the few will become even wider.

13. The urgent work of the United Nations, made more urgent by the total interdependence of States in the world, has significance and meaning for us in the Bahamas as it does for every other Member State. World problems and their effect have no national boundaries. The unresolved Middle East problems may seem remote and irrelevant to the Bahamas, but they are not. The Bahamas has no natural source of economically exploitable energy, and the frustrating lack of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East which propels rising prices of oil in the world has its effect on the cost of fuel, the cost of electricity, the cost of living in the Bahamas and ultimately the standard of living of its people. So we say there must be solutions found there.

14. The Bahamas is an archipelagic State, so located in the North Atlantic that heavily trafficked commercial shipping lanes pass through the archipelago. In the south-eastern Bahamas, the Crooked Island and Mira Por Vos passages exist for shipping to and from ports in the Caribbean and Central America, and to and from the United States of America and Canadian ports; in the north-west Bahamas, the Northeast and Northwest Providence channels are the shipping lanes through which pass practically all the commercial traffic between the Gulf of Mexico and Europe. The Bahamas has little known mineral resources, but has developed a successful resort industry and is in the process of diversifying the economy as rapidly as possible. We are aware, nevertheless, of the dangers to our ecology and resort-island facilities to which we are subjected by the large numbers of ships of all kinds which traffic through our waters. My Government is therefore conscious of the importance to the Bahamas of early international agreement on matters of territorial jurisdiction within the boundaries of our archipelago, on matters of territorial jurisdiction around the boundaries of our archipelago, the limits of economic exploitation within and around the boundaries of our archipelago, pollution of our archipelago, rights of passage through our archipelago, and conservation and other related matters, all of which will affect the continued use of the sea lanes through the archipelago. All

matters pertaining to international agreement on the law of the sea are therefore extremely relevant to the Bahamas.

15. We welcome the attempts which so far have been made to secure for archipelagic States a just and equitable régime pertaining to the sea and sea-bed around and within them, as this concept constitutes not only a means of protection of the economic resources and safeguards against pollution, but also acts to ensure the psychological, political and social unification of the whole group of islands.

16. The Bahamas is a major importer of food. Everything in the world, therefore, which is relevant to the supply of food and its cost is relevant to the Bahamas. Any action taken by this body which is calculated to increase food production, provide adequate conservation methods and improve the techniques of production will receive the active support of our delegation.

17. The world of yesterday was divided and measured by colour, by race, by religious beliefs and by ideological persuasion. The world today is additionally divided by the developed and the under-developed, the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots. The Bahamas is legitimately categorized as a small nation and as such requires a very unique combination of ingredients to create a successful nation State out of scattered islands: but small nations can be made into viable economic entities with the help of the technological expertise available in the world which can provide all the answers to successful development. The successful development of all under-developed countries can therefore be achieved provided that the developed countries are prepared to commit themselves to the task in co-operation with one another, not competitively, and without expectation of reward in any ideological conflict. The Bahamas would be a willing participant in the promotion of any United Nations economic development programme calculated to redress the balance between the developed and the under-developed undertaken in a spirit of universal co-operation.

18. I have made reference to these few matters, by way of example only, to illustrate my proposition of the total interdependence of all nations in the world upon others, a fact which appears, sometimes, to be overlooked in the international contests of the national self-interests of big and powerful States, which interests, I believe, history will one day judge to have been some very narrow self-interests indeed. Practised as it has been by the big nations, it is little wonder that this contest of self-interest appears to have caused some lack of spirit and frustration here.

19. In this connexion, I have to say that, notwithstanding the fears which have been expressed with regard to the present dialogue between the super-Powers and the détente said to exist between them, I do not share those fears. Implicit in the normalization of relations between the great Powers is their desire that there be no necessity for the world to be divided into contesting blocs of nations. We must, so far as we are able, accept that implication in this détente and believe that they mean what they say, and believe that they know how the people of the world will interpret their actions. Taken as it appears to be, is it not right that we may conclude that the super-Powers have

agreed that the world has changed, that competitions between ideologies can lead only to armed conflict, that different economic systems can survive together harmoniously and that the world can now look forward to a new order of international order and justice led by them in this place?

20. Over the 28 years of the life of this Organization we have witnessed the development of two super-Powers, the Republic of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In very recent times, we have seen wondrous signs of dramatic changes in East-West relationships evidenced, first, by the arrival, acceptance and seating here of the People's Republic of China and secondly, less than two weeks ago, by the admission to membership here of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. In the next decade or two we may come to see a United States of Europe comprising what is now the enlarged European Economic Community and in that time a United States of Europe and a People's Republic of China may themselves realize their full potential to become super-Powers.

21. In that event, and particularly if the détente fails to fulfil our hopes and dreams, it may become necessary to think again whether in the interests of international peace and understanding the Headquarters of our Organization should be located within the territorial jurisdiction of a super-Power, or whether it might more properly be located in a small but beautiful Member State which has no pretensions to power but which has many attributes for the congenial settlement of international disputes.

22. Our delegation will be authorized to offer, at any time the question may arise, one of the 700 islands of the Bahamas as an ideal compromise location for any future Headquarters of the United Nations or any one or more of its agencies.

23. I belong to a young country which is full of young people, not unlike young people of every other State represented here; young people who have become impatient with inconsistencies, indifferent to the claims of competing ideologies and to the cynicism of the old. It appears to many of the young of the world that the promise of 28 years ago has been too long frustrated by narrow prejudices and calculated self-interest and a failure to adhere to the clear intentions of the United Nations Charter.

24. Prior to independence, there was a small minority in the Bahamas which sought to dismember one island from the nation; but majority rule and self-determination prevailed in the end and the movement failed. So we can view with compassion now two Germanys, two Koreas and two Viet-Nams. However, ideological conflicts imposed upon a people can never divide it for ever, no more than the mind of man can ever be separated from its will to exercise its sovereign identity and freedom.

25. Do representatives believe that the world's youth are unaware of the fact that the United Nations has been unable to suppress the use of unlawful force; that narrow disputes go unsettled because super-Powers have been unable to agree; that interference with constitutionally elected Governments is overlooked; or that racism, in its

most virulent form, is permitted to persist in southern Africa? Neither history nor succeeding generations will look with compassion upon a people that appeared to act without the guidance of morality or the rule of law.

26. The hope of the generation to which I belong, and that of those younger than I, is for the preservation of a world order subject to the machinery of the United Nations, not by the so-called *real-politik* of super-Powers which are able to juggle the sovereignty of smaller nations. I am, however, not so Utopian as to believe that it is totally within our competence and not within the competence of the great Powers to make this hope a reality.

27. If the United Nations, this world parliament, is to have immediate meaning and significance, if the conflicting claims of morality and power are to be reconciled, that can be accomplished only by the collective and concerted effort of the great Powers, each one of which, like the rest of us, has given solemn accord to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

28. We have the means to give new hope to mankind, to create a stable international order dominated by total and absolute political and economic self-determination and human and moral values which make human beings paramount, not things or abstractions.

29. In all such ways as are available to us, the Bahamas delegation will be committed to making the hope of the young and the world a reality in our lifetime. To that end, we shall actively support action by this body that will: first, create machinery to enable the United Nations to resolve all existing territorial boundary matters which now remain unresolved and thereafter to guarantee the inviolability of those fixed physical boundaries, making it an offence against international law to acquire or dismember a State by force; second, create a permanent peace-keeping force to enable this body to enforce the guarantees of territorial integrity which will be afforded to every State; third, actively promote the further development of the developing and under-developed world by a massive development programme sponsored by the active participation of the two super-Powers in particular, acting not in ideological competition but in universal concert, so that no State in the world need be made subject or bondsman to any ideology and every State may enjoy real self-determination, free to pursue its own best internal policies; no nation need thereafter be subject to the hegemony of any other State, and the world may be freed from the confining limitations and conflicting pressures implicit in competing economic systems; fourth, remove the last remnants of colonialism from the world, in particular from southern Africa, and all forms of foreign domination of the small by the big; fifth, build upon the *détente* between the great Powers to create the climate for positive and active co-operation by them in proving to the world that peace is merely the means by which national boundaries may be transcended and a world order created with their collective co-operative leadership, by which their unlimited technological skills may be applied in the equitable distribution of the wealth of the earth and the seas; sixth, accomplish the international renunciation of ideological conflict, competition between economic systems, religious bigotry and racism in all its subtle forms.

30. The delegation of the Bahamas is committed to serve those ends. Some, perhaps, are Utopian, but all are capable of attainment provided that we all have the collective will.

31. Mr. MALIK (Indonesia): It is my privilege and pleasure to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the Indonesian delegation, our most sincere congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are all aware of your competence and vast experience in international affairs, and my delegation is fully confident that under your guidance this Assembly will be able to conclude its work successfully.

32. It is a matter of particular poignancy to me to acclaim the elevation of a distinguished son of Latin America to this high office at a time when turmoil and tragedy have again struck part of the continent he represents. The world has been shocked by the untimely death of President Allende of Chile. While my delegation feels that it should not pass judgement on what is essentially the internal affair of a friendly country, we sincerely hope that the Chilean people may soon see the restoration of national harmony and stability in their country so that they may be enabled to continue efforts to achieve progress, prosperity and social justice.

33. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on their admission to our Organization. My delegation welcomes their entry into our midst as an event of great significance for the realization of the principle of true universality of membership of the United Nations.

34. This event also symbolizes the success of the process of normalization of relations in Europe, which we hope will further stimulate efforts towards easing international tensions. My delegation would like to pay a tribute to the far-sighted and courageous statesmanship that has succeeded in putting aside past enmity and distrust and opening the way to a new era of dialogue and peaceful co-operation in Europe.

35. The admission of the two German States to the United Nations may set an example for other divided countries, if and when the peoples concerned agree to undertake a similar step.

36. My delegation would, further, like to extend a warm welcome to the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, a sister archipelagic State, on its admission to the United Nations. I am confident that the commitment of the Bahamas to peace and peaceful development on the basis of the principles of the Charter will contribute to the efficacy of our Organization. We look forward to fruitful co-operation with the Bahamas in the United Nations and all its bodies.

37. My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for the excellent report on the work of our Organization. We wish to underline his statement that "an institution works and develops only if there exists among its members the political will to make it work and develop" [A/9001/Add.1, p. 15]. If today we face the sobering reality of the increasing ineffectiveness of the United Nations role in world politics, if the failures of the United

Nations seem to overshadow its achievements, it is time for us to recognize that it is not so much the failures and shortcomings of the Organization itself that are to be blamed as we ourselves, the constituent sovereign States. It is high time that all of us, all the 135 Members of the United Nations, instead of criticizing the Organization and everyone else, exercised the wisdom of introspection and self-criticism.

38. My delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for the reference he has made in the introduction to his report to the importance of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers on the eve of the present session of the Assembly. No one can deny the contributions of the non-aligned movement towards the reduction of international tensions and the establishment of a more peaceful world.

39. My delegation is convinced that in the days to come non-alignment will play an even more significant role than it has in the past, as the movement addresses itself, with growing maturity and sense of purpose, to the realistic solution of the great problems faced by all nations.

40. Like others in this Assembly, Indonesia welcomes the détente. We hope, however, that its blessings will be felt not only in Europe, where the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has started its laudable efforts to end the post-war era of cold-war strife and to organize a new structure of peaceful coexistence and co-operation on the continent; its positive and beneficial influence must spread to other parts of the world also. We hope that détente will usher in a new international climate in which the solution of problems such as the Middle East and Indo-China may become less intractable. We expect that it may accelerate efforts to end the existence of illegal minority régimes and eliminate the remnants of colonialism, eradicate *apartheid* and racialism and contribute decisively to the success of the Second United Nations Development Decade. We also hope that the atmosphere of détente will not encourage the apparent tendency of big Powers to bypass the United Nations in efforts to find solutions for international problems affecting the entire world community.

41. On the issue of disarmament, my delegation feels that progress has been painfully slow despite the vital interests that are at stake for all mankind. However, prospects for an abatement of the arms race are not entirely without promise. The recent agreements reached between the United States and the USSR on the limitation of strategic arms, although still limited in scope, deserve our commendation.

42. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1971 concerning a future world disarmament conference [*resolution 2833 (XXVI)*] increases our hopes regarding the prospects of general and complete disarmament. My delegation notes with regret, however, that the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, set up under General Assembly resolution 2930 (XXVII), has not been able to start its work because some of the nuclear Powers—whose participation is most important for the success of the Committee's work—are not yet prepared to associate themselves with its activities.

43. Allow me now to deal briefly with the problem of the Middle East, a problem for which the United Nations has shown profound concern and to which it has devoted—though as yet in vain—considerable time and effort in the search for a just solution, satisfactory to all parties concerned. My delegation wishes to reaffirm its full support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people to secure their inalienable rights and the efforts of the Arab countries to bring about the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories it is now occupying as a result of the 1967 war.

44. While we continue to believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) remains the realistic basis for a solution of the Middle East problem, new avenues should be explored in order that continued efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to implement that resolution may have a chance of achieving concrete results. At the same time, my delegation realizes that the search for a solution of the Middle East problem will be enormously facilitated if the big Powers are prepared to co-operate and make their positive contribution.

45. The past year has witnessed further progress in the process of decolonization. As I have noted, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas has attained independence since we last met, while the Territory of Papua-New Guinea will shortly be self-governing, with full independence to be attained not later than in 1975. Though we may rejoice at these advances, the situation elsewhere, particularly in southern Africa, gives us little reason to expect that the provisions of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*] will soon be implemented there. On the contrary, we must in candour admit that the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council condemning the racist and colonialist policies of the Portuguese and South African Governments and the illegal Smith régime have remained largely ignored.

46. Recent events have again demonstrated the stubborn refusal of those régimes to desist from their condemnable policies and practices. Increased repression in the Portuguese-administered Territories of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola, mass reprisals in Rhodesia, dissolution of the territorial integrity of Namibia and the recent killings at Carletonville in South Africa continue to defy the conscience of the world community. The persistent denial to the vast majority of the people in those Territories of their most elementary rights has created a situation fraught with the gravest danger to the peace of the continent and of the world. The United Nations must not slacken its efforts to take effective steps to enable the people of Africa to exercise the right of self-determination and to attain their fundamental rights to independence and human dignity.

47. While on the subject of the struggle for national independence, allow me to touch briefly on the question of national liberation movements and wars of independence. As a nation born out of a war of independence, Indonesia has supported and will continue to support to the maximum of its capacities all national liberation movements against colonial oppressors everywhere in the world. We must, however, never allow the concept of wars of

liberation to be used as a device to instigate or to perpetuate civil war in an independent and sovereign country or, worse, to sanction with it the interference by foreign Powers in the internal affairs of another country. If we were ever to allow this to happen not only would we violate one of the basic principles of the Charter, that of non-interference, but this might also pose a serious threat to the territorial integrity, national unity and sovereignty of the majority of countries gathered here in this Assembly.

48. Although a formal end to war has come to Viet-Nam, actual peace still remains elusive. When we consider the recent developments in Viet-Nam it is important for us to be guided by the overriding objective of creating conditions that would make real peace possible in Viet-Nam. As manifested by the Paris agreements the Viet-Nameese parties to the conflict, as well as the big Powers involved, have shown a community of interest in accepting the road of peaceful settlement rather than continuing war. In the actual implementation of the accords, however—which has been far from satisfactory—real peace can come about only if the political will on the part of those directly involved is there.

49. Indonesia's acceptance of membership in the International Commission of Control and Supervision and our formal endorsement of the Paris agreements on Viet-Nam require that we act as impartially as possible in the implementation of the terms of those agreements and in our relations with all parties to the conflict. We cannot, therefore, act in any manner that would appear not to take into account these considerations, or the ongoing process towards finding just and lasting peace in Viet-Nam. To do so would mean prejudging that process and could be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of others.

50. The tragic events in Cambodia revolve, in our view, primarily around the question of contending national leaderships, further compounded by foreign interference and conflicting major-Power interests. It is hoped that a peaceful solution to the Khmer problem will be brought about through negotiations among the parties concerned. In the final analysis it is for the Khmer people themselves to decide on the leadership they want and the system of government under which they choose to live. Therefore my delegation is of the view that we should not take any action which might prejudice the decision of the Khmer people themselves and might prolong the tragic suffering and loss of life and property in Cambodia.

51. We welcome the Vientiane Agreement¹ recently concluded between the Laotian parties. We hope that that agreement will indeed mean an end to the fighting in Laos and that the Laotian people will be able to start rebuilding their country which for so long has been ravaged by war.

52. The Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace was adopted by the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] and in the course of the twenty-seventh session an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, consisting of 15 members, was established to consider the implications of the Declaration

[*resolution 2992 (XXVII)*]. Given the differences of interests between the many countries, the littoral and hinterland States, the major maritime and naval Powers, the task of the Committee is undoubtedly difficult. As the successful implementation of the Declaration would strengthen the conditions of peace, security and co-operation in this important region of the world, the *Ad Hoc* Committee deserves our fullest support and co-operation in the discharge of its task.

53. It is the concern which the countries of South-East Asia have for peace and security in their region that has prompted the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia to support the proposal of Malaysia for the neutralization of South-East Asia. The concept of South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, as embodied in the Kuala Lumpur Declaration,² recognizes the legitimate interests of all Powers concerned in the region and the necessity to undertake efforts to harmonize those interests in order to enable the peoples of the region to create conditions for peaceful developments.

54. It is increasingly obvious that in the very near future international peace and security will be affected by the manner in which the international community faces and solves the intricate problems of the law of the sea. The forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will be burdened with the heavy responsibility of trying to accommodate differences and conflicts of national interests created by outdated rules of the law of the sea or by the existence of legal vacuums. It is hoped that the Conference will be able to create new rules of the law of the sea that will not only guarantee the sound management and equitable distribution of the oceans' wealth but also respect the economic interests, national sovereignty, political unity and territorial integrity of coastal States. To realize those expectations it is imperative that in formulating new rules of the law of the sea the Conference should take due regard of the vital and just interests of Member States deriving from their special geographical circumstances. A realistic and pragmatic approach in dealing with the complex problems of the law of the sea is very much needed. Any new rules of the law of the sea will surely lack effectiveness if they do not take into account the physical, economic and political realities faced by Member States.

55. Our preoccupation with the problems I have just mentioned should not prevent us from giving our urgent attention also to a range of other equally important and fundamental problems in the economic, social and humanitarian fields, which may perhaps require even greater concentration and intensity of efforts. The population explosion, mass poverty, the growing threat of world famine, the destruction of human ecology are in my view some of the major issues which will determine man's very capacity to survive in the decades to come.

56. The food crisis that is at present being faced by the world as the result of grain shortages everywhere is becoming an acute problem not only for the developing countries, where food shortages caused by floods, droughts and crop failures are already chronic phenomena, but also for the rich and developed countries. Unless the international

¹ Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, signed at Vientiane on 21 February 1973.

² See document A/C.1/1019.

community gives this problem the attention commensurate with the seriousness of its implications the world may soon be faced by an unprecedented challenge to its very peace and security.

57. Another problem that has lately assumed alarming proportions, affecting nations in all regions of the world, is that of narcotics and illegal drug trafficking, especially in connexion with the youth of the world. The widespread use of drugs among young people and the related question of juvenile delinquency clearly strike at the very roots of our common efforts at nation-building. Let us therefore join hands in a common cause to eradicate this scourge and lend our full co-operation to all international agencies concerned with the problem.

58. The question of external development assistance and private foreign investments also deserves our thoughtful security. It is undeniably true that the economic development of a nation should remain the primary responsibility of that nation itself and that co-operation with outside interests should respect the principles of national sovereignty, including permanent sovereignty over natural resources. It has also become clear, however, that foreign assistance and investment, in the form of transfer of capital, technology and modern skills from the developed to the developing countries, if handled properly and with the necessary safeguards, can be useful in accelerating the process of national development. For such external assistance and investment to remain effective and to the mutual benefit of all concerned, we must see to it that such assistance only supplements, and in no way supplants, the national effort. Furthermore, the foreign investor must be able to reconcile his interests with the national development goals of the host country.

59. Closely related to the question of foreign investment is the emergence of multinational or transnational corporations as a new dynamic factor in the world economy which poses a dilemma to most developing countries. The relevance here seems to be that their size, flexibility and financial capacities often place multinational corporations in too powerful a bargaining position vis-à-vis the developing country, thus posing a real threat to its national sovereignty. Here again the problem is not simply one of outright rejection but rather of the need for world-wide regulation of rights and responsibilities for the common benefit and justice for all concerned. We look forward to the results of the deliberations of the United Nations Group of Eminent Persons to Study the Impact of Multinational Corporations on Development and on International Relations.

60. Another development which I should like to mention is the growing trend towards larger economic groupings among the developed countries and the concentration of trading strength in a number of agglomerations of economic power. While we can understand the advantages of such greater economic integration, we are equally concerned about the adverse repercussions it might have on the interests of developing countries. Whether or not such groupings and agglomerations will prove on balance to be "trade creating" rather than "trade diverting" will depend on the interplay of various factors, the net impact of which is difficult to predict.

61. As a response to that development, countries in the developing world, joined together into regional or sub-regional groupings, have taken steps to cope with its negative aspects. In South-East Asia the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] has initially formed associations of producers of primary products to maintain its competitive position in world markets and has lately gone further in strengthening economic interdependence in two directions.

62. First, ASEAN has taken preparatory steps towards the creation of its own regional market. Studies have been undertaken on a number of projects with a view to rationalizing investment decisions within the regional market formed by the member countries. This is a beginning of a common industrialization programme which can be initiated in the region.

63. Secondly, since June of last year ASEAN has established and institutionalized a dialogue on a continuing basis with the European Economic Community. That marked a significant step forward for ASEAN because it was the beginning of the forging of a common position in negotiations with a major trading partner. The Association is of necessity outward-looking by virtue of the economic and social structures of the member countries and their geographical location. It intends to keep an open mind in maintaining and improving its relations with centres of economic power, but it rejects schemes which would make South-East Asia nothing more than a mere producer and supplier of raw materials operating under conditions of distorted power relationships with the industrialized countries and of continued singular decline in its terms of trade with them.

64. Other recent developments in the economic and monetary fields continue to give us cause for deep concern. The recurrent international monetary crisis indicates that the world economy is still faced with considerable uncertainties which badly affect, in particular, the development efforts of the developing countries. These crises have caused further deterioration in the already precarious position of the developing countries. Despite determined efforts to improve their lot, we continue to witness the ever widening prosperity and welfare gap between the developed and the developing countries.

65. The United Nations proclaimed the 1970s to be the Second Development Decade, and the International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)] was adopted to guide the nations of the world in co-operating in their development efforts. Yet an over-all view of the performance over the first two years of the Strategy clearly indicates that we are nowhere nearer our goal of creating conditions of peaceful well-being that would ensure a standard of living compatible with human dignity for the larger part of mankind living in the developing countries.

66. The key targets of the Strategy, crucial to its goals and objectives, have not been realized. This has led the Committee for Development Planning to conclude that the International Development Strategy remains much more a wish than a policy.

67. It is, however, enlightening to note the growing awareness that continuing inequalities in the international

distribution of wealth are morally unacceptable and materially incompatible with world peace and security. The problem which has now assumed urgent relevance is how to evolve the right relationship between developed and developing countries, conducive to the progressive elimination of these inequalities through a more rapid development in the developing countries.

68. It is in the context of evolving such a new international relationship that we have to view the practical significance of two important and interrelated negotiations, namely, the multilateral trade negotiations and the negotiations on international monetary reform. The results of these two negotiations should, in our view, be assessed on the basis of their respective contributions to the building of a better and more equal pattern of international distribution of wealth and to the acceleration of the development process in the developing world.

69. The multilateral trade negotiations will be conducted within the basic framework of the Tokyo Declaration which was recently adopted by the ministerial meeting of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in Tokyo. While these trade negotiations are rightly aimed, as the Declaration states, at “the expansion and ever greater liberalization of world trade through the progressive dismantling of obstacles of trade”, I should like to emphasize that our final goal is to raise the standard of living and welfare of the people of the world, particularly the people of the developing countries. It is the living standards in those countries that urgently need to be raised progressively, since most of their people are still living at a very low subsistence level. It is, therefore, imperative that any preferential treatment to be accorded to them be on a non-reciprocal basis.

70. The same is true with the negotiations on international monetary reform. The new international monetary system, to be negotiated on the basis of the work of the International Monetary Fund’s Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues, not only should make possible an expansion of international trade and the smooth operation of international payment settlements, but should also facilitate the development process in the developing countries through providing additional liquidity to them. A link between the special drawing rights and development aid should therefore be established. It is regrettable that major decisions on this important matter have to be postponed until next year, since the recent Nairobi meeting of the Committee could not agree on the key issues for reform.

71. The developing countries have an enormous stake in the outcome of these two negotiations. We earnestly hope, therefore, that the international community can summon the courage and goodwill needed to make these negotiations successful.

72. The process of reordering the international social and economic relationships, now under way, undoubtedly presents the United Nations, particularly the Economic and Social Council, with the challenge to assume more effectively and efficiently the functions entrusted to it by the United Nations Charter. To meet this challenge it has been the considered opinion of my delegation that the Council

should be revitalized and its role strengthened. Efforts which have been made so far include *inter alia* the enlargement of membership in the Council in order to increase its representative character. The Council should be made fully responsive to the challenges of our time, and the review and appraisal of the Development Strategy should become one of its major tasks.

73. The Economic and Social Council, together with the other operational bodies of the United Nations, must be able to play a decisive role in evolving more effective concepts of international development co-operation. The activities of United Nations operational bodies such as the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Children’s Fund and the World Food Programme should, in our view, also be strengthened and consolidated. A more dynamic growth in their over-all resources will enable these bodies to respond quickly and adequately to the ever increasing demand for their services.

74. The challenges and problems we face in the coming decades cannot be met by one nation or a particular group of nations, no matter how rich or powerful they may be. The destruction caused by a nuclear war is not going to be limited to the territory of the warring Powers alone. No nation can be secure as long as another is beset with a sense of insecurity or of injustice. No nation can enjoy the fruits of material abundance or social welfare as long as other nations remain destitute, for the economic fabric of the world is like an indivisible chain that is only as strong as its weakest link. Every nation will suffer when the earth is unable to provide its inhabitants with those basic resources necessary for a life in peace and human dignity for all.

75. In pledging Indonesia’s continued dedication to the ideals and aims of the Charter, therefore, we commit ourselves not only to contributing our share in facing up to mankind’s immense task of shaping a new and better world of tomorrow, but simultaneously also to enhancing the viability of the United Nations as the best instrument for global co-operation in quest of that goal.

76. Mr. AL-SOWAIDI (United Arab Emirates):³ Mr. President, I am happy to extend to you the congratulations of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates on your election to the presidency. Your illustrious career in the United Nations and your notable services in the cause of peace will assure the success of this session, which you are already guiding with such ability and distinction.

77. May I also pay a tribute to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński for the distinguished manner in which he presided over the previous session?

78. We welcome the admission of the two German States to membership in the United Nations. It is a historical development of great significance which has brought us closer to the attainment of one of the most cherished goals of this Organization: universality. We also congratulate the people of the Bahamas on the attainment of their indepen-

³ Mr. Al-Sowaidi spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

dence and the admission of their country to membership in the United Nations.

79. In reviewing the world situation may I be permitted to start with the area in which my country is situated, the Arabian Gulf. My country is vitally interested in the maintenance of peace and stability in that important economic and strategic area of the world. We have endeavoured to establish the closest relations with our neighbours. It is our firm belief that the peace and stability of the Arabian Gulf region can be maintained only through the co-operation of its States and their respect for each other's independence and territorial integrity.

80. Whatever disputes or differences exist at present or may arise in the future, they can and must be resolved by peaceful means and in a manner that will recognize and preserve the legitimate rights of all parties concerned without prejudice to their basic national interests.

81. We are ready now, as we have always been, to co-operate with our neighbours to create a climate of understanding and harmony, which is essential for the peace and progress of the region and the welfare of all its people.

82. The Arab States in the Gulf are sparing no efforts to expand their co-operation and to strengthen their fraternal ties with a view to establishing on firm foundations their future unity in response to the wishes and aspirations of the Arab people in the Gulf.

83. We have pledged ourselves to act together to defend our independence and resist any foreign intervention in our affairs from whatever source. That policy springs from our supreme national interest, and I am sure our endeavours in this respect will receive the understanding and support they deserve. Our success in preserving our independence and consolidating the security and stability of the area will render a great service to peace and the principles and purposes of the Charter.

84. In pursuance of those aims we have supported and will continue to support all efforts to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace free from great-Power rivalries. That is why we were most heartened by the agreement reached last August between our two neighbours India and Pakistan to settle some of the questions arising out of the armed conflict in 1971.

85. The situation in the Middle East, which vitally affects us, remains as dangerous and explosive as ever. Many lamented the fact that, while many of the world's long-standing disputes have been resolved, the Middle East problem remains as difficult and intractable as ever. Why is that so? Israel's spokesmen will tell you it is because the Arabs are bent upon the destruction of the State of Israel and the annihilation of its people. That kind of obvious and shopworn propaganda can be ignored and dismissed out of hand. Only those who are anxious to find some excuse or justification for Israel's continued occupation of Arab lands and for its persistent flouting and violation of United Nations resolutions will subscribe to such preposterous views. Those who are sincerely and genuinely interested in a peaceful settlement must seek a far more objective and

rational analysis of the situation. The question is not and never has been Israel's survival. On the contrary, the question is and has always been the survival of the Arab people of Palestine as a distinct and homogeneous community and their right to live free and secure in their ancestral homeland. That is the crux of the problem. So long as the people of Palestine are denied their basic rights, there can be no peace in the Middle East.

86. At the recent historic Fourth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers, the voice of the third world was heard clearly and decisively in condemning Israel's continued aggression and in upholding the rights of the people of Palestine, whose struggle to recover their usurped homeland was hailed by the Conference as an integral part of the struggle of all peoples against colonialism.

87. Many speakers have referred to recent encouraging developments in the relations of the great Powers. We welcome the further steps taken to relax tensions and to end once and for all the dangerous confrontation that has divided Europe and threatened world peace and security for over a quarter-century. It is our hope that the rapprochement among the great Powers which began last year and which has gained considerable momentum during the current year will continue. There can be no greater danger to world peace than continued mistrust and antagonism between those who possess weapons of mass destruction.

88. It is undeniable, however, that the détente has given rise to some misgivings and even suspicions. There is an uneasy feeling, which persists despite repeated denials, that the removal of the immediate danger of military confrontation may lead the major Powers to falter in the discharge of their primary responsibility under the Charter to deal effectively with situations which are a threat to peace. That may be due to the fact that some of those problems do not directly affect the immediate vital interests of the major Powers. We have heard in this hall the representatives of the major Powers who have so far spoken reaffirming their allegiance to the principles of the United Nations and their intention fully to discharge their responsibilities under the Charter. But it is not enough, as some have done, to preach to us the virtues of a world where the rule of law governs, and where justice shall reign supreme and unchallenged. It is not enough to talk in resounding terms of a rosy and Utopian future while the contemporary world abounds in examples of naked aggression, brutal exploitation and injustice and oppression. If we want the rule of law to govern international relations and justice to be our guiding principle, then let us begin by dealing effectively and courageously with the problems which confront us today. Talk unmatched by action can only distort reality and make a mockery of the exhortations about a brave new world. Would those who spoke to us about the rule of law give us answers to the following questions?

89. Does the rule of law apply to the Middle East situation? What rule of law is it which permits a Member State of this Organization to continue its occupation of the territories of three other Member States? What rule of law is it which allows the occupying Power to annex formally some of those territories and change their demographic character? What rule of law is it which denies the

fundamental rights of the Arab people of Palestine to be free and secure in their ancestral homeland and prevents them from freely exercising their rights of self-determination?

90. If we want justice to be the supreme arbiter in the affairs of men, should we not start to deal effectively with some of the most glaring examples of injustice and brutal oppression in our contemporary world, such as colonialism, racial discrimination and the continued denial for millions of Africans of their fundamental human rights and freedoms?

91. Even before our independence we followed with keen interest the successful struggle other peoples waged against colonialism. The Arab nation, of which we are an integral part, has suffered greatly from foreign domination, and that is why we give our unstinted support to the struggle still going on in Africa and elsewhere, to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism.

92. At the recent Conference of non-aligned countries in Algiers, we pledged to make a modest contribution to the liberation movements in Africa, as a token of our solidarity with our African brothers. We are ready to continue our moral and material support to those movements until they achieve the freedom and independence of their peoples in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Namibia.

93. We condemn racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations. We are ready to support all measures within and outside the United Nations, to put an end to the policies of *apartheid* practised by the South African Government. It is intolerable that the international community is incapable yet of dealing effectively with a situation which clearly violates the basic principles of the Charter. In two months' time we will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is undoubtedly one of the most important achievements of this Organization. The Declaration has inspired many of the countries which attained independence in the last two decades. My own country has included in its provisional Constitution a bill of rights modelled on the Declaration and containing all its basic concepts.

94. The Paris agreements of last January to end the war in Viet-Nam were universally welcomed, yet we cannot but express our disappointment at the slow progress and the difficulties encountered in bringing peace to Indo-China, whose people have suffered so much. No solution will endure unless it is based on the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned without foreign interference or intimidation.

95. In the recent months there has been a great deal of publicity about the so-called energy crisis, and there have been some attempts to portray the oil-producing countries, especially the Arab States, as being the cause of this crisis because it is alleged they are arbitrarily raising the price of crude oil and using it as a weapon for political blackmail and extortion.

96. What is the truth? The central fact is that the major industrial countries which are the main consumers of our

oil have built their economic prosperity and industrial expansion on a policy of cheap energy. An inevitable result of this policy was to slow down the economic growth and development of the producing countries.

97. Now at long last, we want to change all this. Is it not time for our people to reap the benefits of their resources, which for decades have contributed to the enrichment of other countries? Increased production was clearly not enough, since the dollar devaluation and the rampant inflation in the major industrial nations from which we import all the goods we need for our economic development has all but wiped out any benefits which we may have derived from such an increase. In any case, the rise in prices for the individual consumer is not due so much to the increase in the price of crude oil as it is to the rise in shipping costs and excise taxes, levied in the consumer countries. The consumer in Western Europe, for example, pays on the average 55 per cent of the cost of the oil he buys in excise taxes to his own Government, whereas the producing countries get only 12 per cent of what he pays for his oil.

98. In short, our policy is to get a greater share of the profits derived from the sale of our oil. I believe this is a legitimate and reasonable aim. There is a lop-sided logic in some of the opinions which we hear from time to time about oil policies of the producing countries. We are told, for example, that producing countries are under a moral obligation to cater to the growing energy needs of the major industrial countries, that in return for our irreplaceable oil we should accept depreciated and devalued currencies and that, in case of monetary surpluses, our investment policies should be bound by restrictions which are designed to serve the interests of the consumer nations to the detriment of those of the producers. If we ask, in return for such favours, some consideration for our vital national interests, such as, in the case of the question of Palestine, the faithful implementation of United Nations resolutions, and the strict application of the Charter principles, concerning the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the respect for the rights of the people of Palestine, we are accused of using oil as a weapon for political blackmail and extortion.

99. The Secretary-General, in his thought-provoking introduction to the report on the work of the Organization [A/9001/Add.1], has drawn our attention to the problems and difficulties facing the United Nations in a rapidly changing world and the possibilities open to us, if we wish to make an effort, to make our Organization an effective instrument for peace and human welfare. I believe the time has come for us to translate into living reality the principles and ideals of the Charter. In an effort to match our words with deeds, we have already paid to the United Nations \$1 million, as a token of our faith in this Organization.

100. Effective international action in the field of development has so far been woefully insufficient to meet the increasing needs and expectations of the majority of the human race, who still live in conditions of dire poverty and misery.

101. The developed countries have not shown sufficient interest or concern in the difficulties which the developing

countries still face. Self-interest seems still to be the dominant feature of their policies to the exclusion of all other considerations. Further efforts are required, and the developing countries, conscious of their common needs and aims, must take the initiative in any new international effort. For this reason we have been greatly attracted by the concept of collective economic security, and we are ready to play our part in such an endeavour.

102. We attach particular importance to item 101 of the agenda, relating to the situation in the drought-stricken areas in Africa. We have already contributed \$3 million for the relief of the region and we will be ready to co-operate and take part in any international endeavour in that respect.

103. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm our unbounded faith in the United Nations and its principles, and our determination to fulfil faithfully our obligations as a Member State of this Organization, and to contribute to the limit of our abilities to its strengthening and success.

104. Mr. NSEKALIJE (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, your election to the presidency of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly constitutes a resounding tribute to your brilliant qualities as an enlightened politician and diplomat in whom the sense of duty yields nothing to that of compromise and moderation. Such qualities, combined with long experience in international affairs, are guarantees of the full success that will crown the work of the present session under your presidency. In addition to greeting you, my delegation wishes to greet Ecuador, that noble country of which you are a worthy son, a country that is honoured by a very old humanist tradition, like the rest of the Latin American hemisphere, of which it is a part and which shares with our African continent the vibrant accents of *joie de vivre*, of warm welcome and hospitality as well as of faith in the future and the will to action.

105. Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński rendered great service to the international Organization by the remarkable manner in which he presided over the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His sense of equity, his absolute respect for divergent opinions, his desire for efficiency and his lofty views have won him the esteem of us all.

106. My delegation wishes at the same time to reiterate its high appreciation and renew its full support to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose outstanding courage and dynamism combined with his unshakable faith in this Organization will make of it, we are convinced, a more effective instrument for safeguarding international peace and security, so dear to us all.

107. Rwanda, moreover, is very happy to extend a very warm welcome into the concert of nations to the new Member States.

108. Among them we see the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, two States which, we hope, will one day again become one nation, the great and noble German nation, the fatherland not only of Goethe, Beethoven, Kant, Leibnitz, Marx and so many other illustrious persons who have made of Germany one of the greatest centres of culture and civilization, but also the fatherland of Count von Goetzen, that resolute and

strong-willed young man who on 2 May 1894 crossed the Kagera upstream from Ruvubu and built a bridge between Rwanda and his own country that still exists. The admission to our Organization of that Germany, which is today reconciled with itself and has recovered its grandeur and to which we are tied by so many historic links and fruitful co-operation, gives us the greatest pleasure and satisfaction.

109. Each year at the same time the community of nations gathers together to consider its fate: to take stock of the past and to establish its programme for the future. Such an examination, if it is objective, must be placed over and above the elegance of style and language which at times, regrettably, is no more than a mask for ulterior motives, and must be focused closely on the realities of our time.

110. It would be idle for me to repeat here that when we assess the successes and failures of the international Organization, we must first of all convince ourselves that it can be no more than what its Member States wish it to be. In fact, their degree of loyalty to the objectives laid down in the Charter must be the only yardstick to which we can refer to assess its effectiveness.

111. The preamble shows us that, after the indescribable sufferings engendered by two world wars in the space of one generation, the main concern that dominated the gathering in San Francisco in 1945 was precisely to preserve future generations from other, similar catastrophes, by establishing a structure of peace and collective security founded principally on the spirit of tolerance and good neighbourliness, the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, unconditional respect for human rights, non-recourse to force, and the peaceful settlement of disputes, as well as international economic and social co-operation.

112. A cursory glance at the present state of international relations entitles us, happily, to assert that the current session begins in a climate of détente and more resolute co-operation among States. It may be recalled that the climate of understanding—from which certain ulterior motives were not absent—which reigned at the time of the signature of the Charter was followed by a whole series of discouraging events for mankind, dominated mainly by the cold war between the Powers possessing weapons of mass destruction, many hotbeds of tension in the world, and regional wars here and there on almost all continents.

113. Without allowing ourselves to be blinded by foolish optimism, we must congratulate ourselves on seeing today an ever greater abandonment of the recourse to force in international relations and the birth of a process of appeal to negotiation as a means for settling conflicts, and greater co-operation among States in several areas, especially the economic, cultural and technical areas. This new physiognomy of international relations accounts for an attitude of renewal on the part of Member States which prompts them increasingly to adjust their conduct to the principles laid down in the Charter.

114. It is in accordance with the same principles that Rwanda, for its part, intends to define and apply its policy, both internal and international.

115. Although it is true that we step into the future with our burden of the past, the Rwanda of today is not the feudal Rwanda explored by Count Goetzen in 1894, nor that colonized country which ceased to be a colony on 1 July 1962 and which was succeeded by the country which, after many changes, is the one I represent today. It is a changed and new Rwanda which seeks jealously to defend the fundamental freedoms of its people, as well as its national sovereignty. Everyone knows that national sovereignty and the rights of citizens—which are never served on a gold or silver platter but almost always in difficult conditions fraught with suffering and heroic struggle—are also preserved with difficulty, for they are continuously threatened by many enemies, among them imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, the greed of leaders who unscrupulously exploit their people, and by under-development with its sequel of misery, ignorance and disease.

116. It was precisely to consolidate that national sovereignty, threatened as it was on the inside by a group of leaders who hatched a diabolical plot for the division and devastation of the country, and to ensure for each Rwandan citizen or foreigner living in our country the free exercise of the fundamental freedoms of the human person, that on 5 July 1973, the High Command of the National Army, under its brave and courageous leader, Major-General Habyarimana Juvénal, President of the Republic and Chairman of the Committee for Peace and National Unity, took the major decision to take the fate of the nation into its hands.

117. The events of 5 July 1973 were ineluctably inscribed in the very logic of affairs, for the famous words of Georges Clemenceau had found their field of application:

“It is absolutely impossible for a man in power not to yield one day to the forces of disruption. The very best minds sooner or later have to confront circumstances where the advantages of the unknown outweigh the adversities of life’s changing fortunes.”

It is neither the forces of disruption alone, nor the many advantages of the unknown in the adversities of fortune, but also that neo-colonialist conspiracy of destruction and national devastation which decided the position to be taken in such hard circumstances.

118. The accession of the country to independence, with the weight of the responsibility stemming therefrom and the many needs which a poor country like ours must face up to, very soon stifled the impulse of our best leaders in the past who, lacking the imagination to find the solutions demanded by circumstances, found refuge behind the facile policy of “divide and rule”, and division by the cynical promotion of hatred, tribal and racial struggles, regional divisions elevated to the rank of doctrine, and by mobilizing national public opinion against the menacing spectre of an imaginary enemy, in this case the neighbouring sister States of Uganda and Burundi. Such an attitude ran counter to the very principles of this Organization and of the Organization of African Unity. The person who incarnated the State, short of being a god, had become a true myth. As was said by an Arab philosopher, Ibn Khaldun:

“Men always regard the man who has subdued and dominated them as a higher being. Inspired by a

reverential fear of him, they see in him every perfection, or they attribute perfection to him so that they will not have to admit that they were subjected by perfectly ordinary means.”

While this was the general attitude of the average citizen, there were many enlightened men in the retinue of the Prince who were aware of the dictum of Pascal:

“To say the truth is useful to the person one says it to, but disadvantageous to whoever speaks it because it earns him hatred; those who live with princes love their interest better than the prince they serve; and they will not give him anything if it is harmful to themselves.”

As Abraham Lincoln said, “You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all of the time.”

119. Corruption and intrigue in the entourage of the old leader fatally would lead to the fall of that government and the birth of a new generation desirous of saving the nation and consolidating the peace and unity of the country. The national forces of security, under the peaceful guidance of the valiant leader, Major-General Habyarimana Juvénal, President of the Republic and Chairman of the Committee for Peace and National Unity, took the fate of the country into their own hands without bloodshed and proclaimed the advent of the Second Republic. To bring back peace and internal unity, to re-establish good relations with neighbouring and sisterly States, to strengthen understanding and economic and social co-operation with all nations, to co-operate with the international organizations, to support the just and legitimate struggle of the national liberation movements, this is the challenge of the new Rwandese Republic.

120. But while Rwanda wants peace and proclaims respect for the rights and fundamental freedoms of its people, it wants other people to enjoy the same rights and freedoms.

121. Members are no doubt aware of our grave concern at the anachronistic and explosive situation prevailing in southern Africa, where the law of the jungle and that of the strongest have replaced the law of nature, which, in fact, compels men to live together in peace. It is humiliating to see the human condition of the African trampled underfoot on his own African soil.

122. In Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, Portugal brings death and desolation. Recently, the Government of Lisbon became guilty of unprecedented genocide by proceeding to the systematic extermination of peaceful and innocent Mozambican populations because they merely expressed aloud their desire for self-determination.

123. In Southern Rhodesia, Ian Smith has established a pseudo-government under the complacent eye of the United Kingdom, which in the eyes of my Government is solely and fully responsible for the situation prevailing in that African territory. In South Africa the authorities of Pretoria have relegated to second place the imperatives of universal morality by establishing racism and *apartheid* as the religion of the State. In Namibia, the same Government of Pretoria continues to exercise an unlawful authority,

illegitimate and illegal because that Territory has been repeatedly declared to have been placed under the authority of the United Nations and it is the right of that people to march towards self-determination and independence.

124. The sad triple alliance between Lisbon, Salisbury and Pretoria continues scornfully to trample underfoot the relevant resolutions of the international Organization and to create on the African continent the last vestiges of militant imperialist resistance. It is also regrettable that certain States Members of this Organization, among them the NATO group, should fail to comply with the complete embargo placed on the supply of weapons to those three countries, thus sanctioning the immoral causes for whose defence those weapons are destined.

125. The Governments of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon attempt to justify their monstrous crimes by claiming that they are fighting against subversion and insurrection. In so doing, they forget that, as so rightly was said by Condorcet: "Insurrection is the last resort of oppressed peoples; it is a sacred duty when there is no other means of saving oneself". It is useful to recall, as was so rightly said by Mao Tse-tung: "In the fight for complete liberation, the oppressed peoples rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance. The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation".⁴ In sacrificing themselves for their people the vanguard of the liberation movements will have found death for a noble cause. It is true that men are mortal, but the death of African martyrs for the liberation of their peoples carries more weight than the highest of mountains.

126. It is high time that the international community should find ways and means of improving the explosive situation in southern Africa, but the situation is no better in the Middle East.

127. After six days of war which led to the present situation, six years of "no war, no peace" have elapsed. Rwanda recommends strong measures to arrive at a climate of peace in that area and is profoundly convinced that the only valid solution to that conflict, which has thrown so many families into mourning and created so many orphans, lies in the integral application of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and in sincere negotiations among the parties concerned. My country condemns categorically all annexation of territory by force, by whatever Power.

128. If peace has not yet entirely come to Indo-China, Rwanda is however gratified at the Paris agreements which crowned the laborious negotiations begun there and put an end to a long and cruel war in Viet-Nam. May those agreements become a reality and serve as an example to solve the acute problems existing in other neighbouring territories. The problem of Cambodia is of concern to us. A nation must decide its future, if necessary by force; it also has the right freely to choose its leaders and the system that is best suited to it.

129. I cannot pass over in silence the question of Korea, all the more so since the international Organization has

been closely associated with its development. As a representative of a country which maintains normal diplomatic relations with the two political entities of the Korean nation, I am in an even better position to express our satisfaction with the fact that the two Koreas themselves have opened a process of rapprochement without pressures or external interference. We congratulate them and encourage them to persevere in that path, the only one, far from the sound of battle, that can lead to peace between their two States and to the happiness of the Korean people as a whole.

130. A desperate political situation nourishes man's imagination and sometimes inspires him with solutions which are original but often rich in disastrous consequences. That in our eyes is the fundamental explanation of what today is called international terrorism.

131. At the twenty-seventh session from this high rostrum the delegation of my country did not fail to condemn most categorically that form of piracy *sui generis* of modern times. Our conscience, unless it is obscured by passion, cannot remain silent in face of the cries of those defenceless innocents who frequently die under the rubble of hijacked planes; no human being can close his ears to the atrocious sufferings that Portugal, South Africa and the Ian Smith clique impose daily on the populations of southern Africa. My Government condemns such practices that are equally terroristic and incompatible with universal morality. We should like to repeat that in our country the end does not justify the means and it is not enough for a cause to be just for it to be necessarily justified to the extent that every possible means may be used to defend it.

132. Would the granting of independence to colonial peoples, the extinction of points of hot and cold war and the abolition of international terrorism be enough to give mankind hope for the future unless States at last realize that they must abandon the old adage "he who wants peace prepares for war"?

133. Undoubtedly we must congratulate ourselves on the trend we see emerging in the world towards the settlement of conflicts by negotiation and not by force, but this is no more than a trend and the reality is that the infernal spiral of armaments on which States have embarked is far from being halted. Each year billions of dollars are earmarked for armaments and for the payment of experts in that field. Is this not a genuine misappropriation of the fruits of the labours of mankind, which should be used for his development but are used for absolutely negative purposes which may destroy the whole human race?

134. Man must become aware of this anguishing reality and sheathe the sword of Damocles which is suspended over the head of the whole human species.

135. Disarmament? Yes. As the most disarmed country in the world, our weakness commands us to propose it; as the most undeveloped country, our poverty inspires us to request those who have a surplus of material means to stop their arms race and to turn those enormous resources wasted in preparing the destruction of our planet towards more humanitarian uses which would help to close the gap between the wealth of the rich countries and the poverty of the under-equipped countries.

⁴ See *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1966), pp. 177-178.

136. The developing countries, among them my own, encounter many obstacles in seeking to ensure the development of their economies. In fact, in most of these countries the economic structures that were established by the colonial Powers were laid down solely in their own interests. It is undeniable that colonialism is one of the major causes of under-development, since, as Yves Lacoste has said,

“The dissemination of modern economy throughout the world is not based on relatively equitable economic exchanges but is closely linked with the establishment of direct or indirect political domination. The exclusive system was for a long time the codified expression of the old colonial pact, which, although abolished in law at the end of the nineteenth century, has not in fact disappeared. Transformed into a servant, the colony had to supply what the metropolitan country could not or did not wish to produce, and could only trade with the metropolitan country. Such a division of labour had the effect of reserving the benefits and rights to the colonizers, the losses, duties and obligations being supported by the colonized.”

137. The old colonies have today become for the most part sovereign States and Members of this Organization, but they have not altogether recovered their economic independence. And we must say, as Diderot said two centuries ago, that “what is intolerable is not to have slaves, but to have slaves and to call them citizens”.

138. The political independence of the developing countries will not be fully achieved, therefore, until those countries once again become masters of their own economies and can talk on a footing of equality with the developed countries. The third world possesses enormous natural resources which could justify such claims. Unfortunately thus far the raw materials exported by those countries do not get a fair price in international markets, which are still controlled almost entirely by the industrialized countries. And yet, ironically enough, it is those same raw materials that are used to manufacture the finished or semi-finished goods which are then imported by the developing countries. The prices of those products are very high, vis-à-vis the earnings derived from the sale of raw materials, and the developing countries are therefore faced with a chronic deterioration in their terms of trade. Moreover, the manipulations of international exchange rates by the rich countries aggravate further this already alarming situation. The important Fourth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers from 2 to 9 September 1973, tackled these problems with anxiety. The time has come for the members of that movement to agree on solutions to these problems.

139. Moreover, in a number of developing countries the gap between the demographic growth and the economic development is so great that we are bound to consider that some of these countries are heading for a catastrophe. In my own country, for example, the annual rate of population growth is 3 per cent; that population has already attained 3,896,000 persons in a small continental territory where the annual income *per capita* and volume of investments is one of the lowest in the world. Unless there is greater international solidarity, my country, like many

others sharing these same problems, will reach a critical stage in the near future. But all these difficulties must not hinder our freedom of choice in the assistance we request. It is in this context that the President of the Republic of Rwanda, His Excellency Major-General Habyarimana Juvénal, clearly laid down the orientation of our policy vis-à-vis foreign aid in his address of 1 August 1973, on his programme. He said:

“The economic progress and even the stability of production conditions cannot be maintained and confirmed without a sustained effort to provide appropriate vocational training in all fields and at all levels. That vocational training must be truly carried out in a conscientious, active and concrete manner. The Government will count on the goodwill of its main leaders and the cadres of technical assistance for the realization of this primary objective. The Government attaches particular importance to having foreign technical assistance really benefit Rwanda and its people through the material realization of the projects undertaken and the true enhancing of the technical qualifications of our nationals who co-operate with foreign experts within these programmes. It would be essential at the end of each mission for Rwandese counterparts to be able not only to continue without difficulty the projects undertaken but even to acquire the necessary technical knowledge to ensure that they themselves can assume responsibility for subsequent extension of those projects. Control over the effective realization of assistance must be carried out in a more serious manner. The same goes for the co-ordination and the management of the assistance. To ensure the envisaged development programme, the Government will need even greater assistance from friendly countries and regional and international organizations.”

140. In the same context, Rwanda wishes to express its profound sympathy with the sister African countries bordering on the Sahara desert which have been cruelly struck by the scourge of drought. It expresses its sincere thanks to all the African countries and those other countries and international organizations which, in an effort of human solidarity, have come to their assistance. For its part, it has made its own effective contribution within the limits of its possibilities.

141. In science and technology, man has progressively become the master of the depths of the seas and outer space, which daily become more familiar to him. Natural under-water reserves and the enormous possibilities that may be opened up by the use of solar rays are increasing the common heritage of mankind. It is believed that the planet earth can, theoretically at least, ensure the subsistence of 15,000 to 20,000 million persons and that the world population increase would only be dangerous if resources failed to increase at the same rate. But the population is increasing enormously, and never thus far has the world run as many risks as today. It has never been so difficult to foresee the future. In fact the world population increase, which was relatively slow in past centuries, has accelerated since the beginning of the twentieth century. For many centuries the average rate of growth was lower than 0.3 per cent. It was 0.5 per cent towards the end of the 19th century. It rose to 1 per cent in 1940. It is at present estimated at 2 per cent. Strict deduction shows that

more than 300,000 years were necessary for the world to be peopled by 3,000 million persons; the doubling of that figure will take only 30 years. The figure of 3,000 million was reached in 1960, and it is estimated that in 1962 alone the world population grew by 63 million.

142. Now, the developing countries alone encompass 2,400 million persons, that is to say, three-quarters of mankind, but they unfortunately possess only 15 per cent of the world's revenues.

143. Rwanda sincerely hopes that in the exploitation of the new resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the utilization of the possibilities of the cosmos for economic and social purposes there will be no room for unconscionable contracts which will bind the third world, already so poor and highly exploited, to a material situation of no return.

144. The material construction of a world without frontiers progresses with gigantic steps. Means of communication are so perfected today that a banal event that takes place anywhere in the world is simultaneously known by all. But, despite this physical rapprochement between men, national selfishness still sows warfare for conquest or preservation of spheres of influence; races try to exterminate other races in the name of the law of numbers or of the sword; the provocative luxury of the industrialized world exists arrogantly side-by-side with the deep material poverty of the third-world countries.

145. If man has already eliminated some of the obstacles that have arisen in the way of his progress, there are still many over which he has not yet triumphed; the most important of these is the estrangement between the rich and the poor countries.

146. The United Nations has been and continues to be for my country not only a body to which the Charter attributes a number of responsibilities in the interests of mankind but also a privileged place for the exchange of experiences which may bring about the creation of a deeper understanding of our common destinies. My Government hopes that this Organization will receive the full and unconditional support of all Member States. It sincerely hopes that in this international Organization the group of non-aligned countries, representing over three-quarters of mankind, will adopt a more coherent position and a more effective strategy in order to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the Organization, which to us is the ideal framework for the harmonization of all international relations.

147. Rwanda proclaims once again its faith in the international Organization and its unconditional loyalty to the work designed to base all relations between States and individuals on sincere negotiations.

148. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Several representatives have asked to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. Before calling on them, I should like to recall that at its 2123rd meeting, on 21 September, the Assembly adopted the General Committee's report on the methods to be followed by the Assembly in organizing its work [A/9200]. Paragraph 7 of that report provides that

statements in exercise of the right of reply shall be limited to 10 minutes. Having recalled that decision taken by the Assembly, I shall now call on those representatives wishing to exercise the right of reply.

149. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran): In the course of his speech today [2134th meeting] the Foreign Minister of Iraq brought up the subject of relations with Iran. His language represents a contrast both in tone and in content with what my Foreign Minister said a few days ago [2127th meeting] about our relations with Iraq. First of all, the insistence of the Foreign Minister of Iraq on using a fictitious name for the Persian Gulf—which is a historically established and universally accepted name—reflects the spirit of distortion which characterizes the rest of his remarks. I do not, however, wish to take up the Assembly's time in elaborating on this point.

150. The Foreign Minister of Iraq referred to what he described as indications suggesting an inclination by Iran to resort to the use of force and to interfere in the internal affairs of other States, in connexion with its policies in the Persian Gulf. I would suggest that he had better pay attention to our most clear-cut policy as explained by the highest authorities in Iran and most recently, on 25 September, repeated by my Foreign Minister. My Foreign Minister said:

“We have insisted that the area should remain free from big-Power rivalries and that the preservation of the security of the waterway should be the duty of the littoral States through co-operation among them all.” [2127th meeting, para. 191.]

151. The Foreign Minister of Iraq spoke of the use of force in international relations. As the representative of Iraq he is in a very poor position to lecture anyone on proper international conduct. Need I recall here their recent adventure in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere?

152. As regards the three islands of the Persian Gulf, our representative in the Security Council amply elaborated on the substance of the matter at a meeting on 9 December 1971;⁵ there is no need to cover the same ground. But there is much irony in Iraq's pretension to arrogate to itself the role of speaking of Arab-Iranian relations.

153. The Foreign Minister of Iraq referred to their age-old dispute with Iran over our boundary river Shatt-Al-Arab. What he gave was a one-sided story that has been repeated over the years from this rostrum. Our position on all aspects of this issue is reflected in the relevant United Nations documents.

154. Here I would merely say, in response to his exhortation about the need for respect for international obligations, that no international legal norm can be accepted in isolation from other internationally recognized legal norms. Thus, the sanctity of treaties is subject to the observance and implementation of their essential stipulations by the parties. So that, in referring to some articles of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties,⁶ the Foreign Minister

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year*, 1610th meeting.

⁶ See document A/CONF.39/27 and Corr.1.

of Iraq would be well advised to look also at its article 60, on the termination or suspension of the operation of a treaty as a consequence of its breach. Indeed, the Foreign Minister of Iraq in referring to the Iranian-Iraqi Boundary Treaty, signed at Teheran on 4 July 1937, failed to mention that for a period of 32 years his country had refused to implement some of the essential provisions of that Treaty.

155. As for our position concerning the referral of this question to the International Court of Justice, we have already explained our point of view to the President of the Security Council in a letter dated 2 September 1969.⁷

156. The representative of Iraq objected to our policy of strengthening our defence. I must say that, again, his argument is based on shaky ground. First, it is the sovereign right of every State to determine its defence policy, taking into consideration its security requirements. Secondly, the arms expenditure of any country should be measured in the light of its size, population, gross national product and *per capita* income. And I submit that, on the basis of authoritative surveys by the London Institute of Strategic Studies, confirmed by surveys by the Swedish International Peace Research Institute, the arms expenditure in Iraq since 1965, in terms of percentage of both gross national product and *per capita* income, has been substantially more than Iran's. I must add that anyone who does not entertain aggressive designs against my country should not be concerned with our defence policy.

157. The central theme of our policy in the Persian Gulf, to which the representative of Iraq referred, is rejection of expansion and hegemony, not their pursuit. We maintain excellent relations with all our neighbours, including our Arab neighbours in the Persian Gulf, and there is no reason why we should not want to develop the same sort of relationship with Iraq. But indulgence in polemics, as has become a habit of Iraqi representatives in the Assembly, is not likely to advance that purpose.

158. Sir Donald MAITLAND (United Kingdom): In his statement this morning [2134th meeting] the Foreign Minister of Iceland referred to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. My Government shares his view of the importance and urgency of this Conference. However, the Foreign Minister also made some remarks about the unhappy dispute between his country and mine on fishery matters; on these I should like to comment.

159. The United Kingdom Government recognize Iceland's position as a State especially dependent on coastal fisheries. At the same time, British fishermen have sought their livelihood in the seas around Iceland for over 300 years. Those seas have been one of the principal fishing grounds for distant-water fishermen from five major fishing ports in Britain for over 80 years. This joint pursuit of a hazardous livelihood in the same waters is one reason why there has been a traditional friendship not only between the fishing communities of the two countries but also between our peoples as a whole.

160. Of course, from time to time there have been disputes. At the conclusion of one such dispute, in 1961, the then Government of Iceland freely entered into an agreement with the United Kingdom Government which settled for the time being the problem of Iceland's fisheries jurisdiction. Our two Governments also agreed that if the Icelandic Government claimed wider limits in the future and that claim were disputed, then the matter should be referred to the International Court of Justice. The Icelandic Government themselves registered this agreement with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

161. Following the conclusion of that agreement our two Governments remained on good terms for several years. However, one of the first acts of the Icelandic Government which came to power in 1971 was to announce the unilateral extension of their fisheries limits to 50 miles. They also claimed to be free to disregard the provisions of the 1961 agreement about the judicial settlement of disputes. Talks between our two Governments were unproductive, and my Government referred the case to the International Court, as provided in the 1961 agreement.

162. In a judgement which it issued earlier this year, the International Court held, by 14 votes to 1, that the 1961 agreement remained binding on Iceland and that the Court had full jurisdiction to decide on the merits of the dispute. In due course there will be hearings before the Court, which will then hand down an authoritative judgement.

163. By an earlier order the Court permitted British fishing vessels to continue meanwhile to use the waters in dispute, but required them to limit their catch for the time being to an annual total of 170,000 metric tons. At the same time, the Court said that the Icelandic Government should refrain from interfering in any way with British fishing vessels outside the original 12-mile fishing limit.

164. For their part, the British Government has complied with the Court's requirements. We have communicated to the Court and to the Icelandic Government full details of our statutory scheme for limiting the annual catch, as laid down by the Court. At the same time we have put forward numerous proposals for an interim agreement with the Government of Iceland which would be consistent with the Court's order and which would regulate the position between the two Governments pending a final settlement.

165. I regret to say that despite what the International Court has said the Icelandic Government, for their part, have not shown the same willingness to settle the matter by agreement. It instructed vessels of the Icelandic Coast Guard to harass those British vessels, which, under the authority of the order of the International Court, have continued to operate in the area. When this campaign of harassment reached the point at which over 50 British trawlers had been molested and Icelandic vessels opened fire on these unarmed trawlers the British Government, in May of this year, ordered vessels of the Royal Navy to enter the area between the 12 and the 50 miles and offer protection to the trawlers.

166. British naval vessels have every right to be in this area, which even the Government of Iceland do not claim to be other than the high seas.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1969*, document S/9425.

167. The Foreign Minister of Iceland said this morning that his Government's request for the withdrawal of British naval vessels had so far "fallen on deaf ears" [2134th meeting, para. 131]. With respect to the Foreign Minister, that, I think, does less than justice to my Government. We have all along made clear our readiness to withdraw our naval vessels if we could be assured that harassment of British fishing vessels would cease.

168. On 26 September—only a few days ago—in a personal message to the Icelandic Prime Minister, my Prime Minister said that he was willing to withdraw Royal Navy ships from the disputed area if the Government of Iceland for their part would undertake not to interfere with the British trawlers. Mr. Heath went on to say that the British Government and the British fishing industry would accept a voluntary degree of restriction of the British fishing effort in this area. I am glad to tell this Assembly that contacts are continuing between our two Governments. My Government hopes that these will open the way to fruitful discussions round the negotiating table, where, in the end, a solution must be found.

169. Force, in the form of harassment of unarmed fishing vessels, is not the way to settle this dispute. One of the purposes of the United Nations is

“... to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes...”.

Members of the Assembly will recognize the words of Article 1 of our Charter.

170. Article 33 of the Charter gives concrete form to this when it requires the parties to any dispute to seek a solution by, among other means, negotiation or judicial settlement.

171. That is the path which my Government has all along sought to follow; and if I heard his message aright this morning, that, I believe, is what the Foreign Minister of Iceland is also seeking.

172. Mr. AGÚSTSSON (Iceland): The representative of the United Kingdom has made some remarks here in reference to my statement earlier today. The point of view which has now been outlined by the United Kingdom representative has on various occasions been brought to the attention of my Government, and we have frequently stated our objections to it. I find it necessary on this occasion to make a few remarks so that there will be no misunderstanding in this Assembly with regard to this matter.

173. It is an overriding consideration from our point of view that the coastal fisheries of Iceland constitute a matter of life or death to us. We have for a long time maintained that two systems of dealing with fishery limits confront each other. On the one hand there is the system advocated by the United Kingdom and some other countries that the maximum extent of coastal jurisdiction over fisheries is limited to 12 miles. Outside that limit, all questions of conservation and utilization are supposed to be dealt with through an agreement with the other States in the region,

preferably by a regional organization. Under that system, the North-East Atlantic Fisheries Commission, where Iceland has one of the 14 votes, would determine the share of Iceland in the Icelandic area. While we fully support the principle of regional co-operation for conservation standards, we do not agree with the idea that a regional organization should or could allocate to us a share of the fish stocks in our own waters. On the contrary, we in Iceland, together with an ever-growing number of States, maintain that a 12-mile limit as far as fisheries are concerned is obsolete and completely inadequate as a basis for the solution of the problems involved.

174. We maintain that the coastal State has the right, within a reasonable distance from the coast far exceeding 12 miles, to protect and utilize the coastal area as a part of its natural resources.

175. As I said before, those two fundamentally different systems confront each other in our dispute with the United Kingdom. Extensive coastal-State jurisdiction over natural resources now has the support of the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, as I tried to emphasize this morning. The evidence is clear from the preparatory work on the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It will undoubtedly be further established and formalized at the Conference. However, as far as Iceland is concerned, we could not postpone any longer the extension of our fishery limits to 50 miles, for the simple reason that if we had waited any longer for this implementation of our 1948 Law our whole economy and existence as a nation would have been jeopardized.

176. It is a fact that on previous occasions when we have extended our fishery limits the United Kingdom has objected in the strongest possible terms. That was the case when we extended the limits from three to four miles in 1950 to 1952 and when we extended them from four to 12 miles in 1958. In 1958 we were also threatened with vessels of war, and when we made an agreement in 1961 with the United Kingdom—the agreement to which the United Kingdom representative referred just now—we did so to bring about the peaceful regulation of this matter. The United Kingdom then said, in effect, that it would not recognize the 12-mile limit unless it had some kind of guarantee that after such recognition we would not extend the limit still further without the United Kingdom's having the possibility of referring the matter to the International Court of Justice; otherwise, it said, we would first take the recognition and then perhaps immediately go further. The idea then was that we should pay for the recognition of the 12-mile limit by accepting that way of dealing with the matter. It seems obvious to us that since 12 years elapsed from the time of British recognition of the 12-mile limit to our extension to 50 miles, and since the United Kingdom itself has in the meantime adopted the 12-mile limit for British waters, no further payment of this kind was reasonable or compulsory—and certainly not in perpetuity.

177. The International Court of Justice nevertheless considered that it had jurisdiction to deal with the merits of the case, and furthermore the Court, as was mentioned, decided to allow the British to fish 170,000 tons a year in the Iceland area, while the Court was considering the matter. During the first year the British managed to fish

almost that amount, but not quite, and the British had in effect offered to limit their catch by agreement to 145,000 tons. In our view the Court made its decision on this point without in any way considering whether the fish stocks off Iceland could survive such an authorization. It is a fact that the mortality rates of the cod stocks have since 1968 shown over-fishing. The average rate of the spawning population has been drastically reduced. The fishing effort on the immature fish—or a major part of the stock—has increased to such an extent that promising year classes have failed to contribute this year in the spawning fishery, and thus the renewal of the stock is endangered.

178. Iceland's concern is therefore fully justified and the reduction of foreign fishing was, without any doubt, urgently required when we extended the limits.

179. We have engaged in negotiations with the United Kingdom for the reduction of its effort and we were coming close to finding a solution when the Royal Navy was sent to the area. We have said that we would be willing to continue those negotiations, but only if the fleet is withdrawn. But, of course, we cannot promise not to enforce our laws in the absence of an agreement. That is what I am talking about here today.

180. We find it to be an untenable position for the United Kingdom to continue to cling to the now obsolete 12-mile fishery limit when it is obvious that the international community has already moved a long way from that concept, and there is, as I said in my statement, wide support in all regions of the world for an economic zone up to 200 miles.

181. The use of war vessels to enforce the obsolete 12-mile limit and the constant threat to human life constitute an intolerable situation. Therefore, I say now as I said this morning, the war vessels must be withdrawn at once.

182. If it is maintained that the refusal to withdraw the war vessels is not a justification for the severance of diplomatic relations then I must state quite emphatically that I do not agree. Last Friday the Prime Minister of Iceland informed the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom that if the British Navy and tugboats had not left the Icelandic zone of fisheries jurisdiction on 3 October the Government of Iceland would feel obliged to put into effect its decision of 11 September to sever diplomatic relations between Iceland and the United Kingdom. The text of my Prime Minister's message will be released to the press today.

183. Mr. AL-PACHACHI (United Arab Emirates): The Foreign Minister of Iraq this morning [2134th meeting] and the representative of Iran this afternoon have referred to three islands in the Arabian Gulf which belong to the United Arab Emirates. For this reason I wish to reaffirm the position of my Government on this question as it was stated in the Security Council in December 1971⁸ and in the General Assembly during the two previous sessions.⁹

⁸ *Ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Year, 1610th meeting.

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2007th meeting, and *ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2055th meeting.

184. Simply stated, our position is that we do not recognize any sovereignty over these Arab islands in the Arabian Gulf other than that of the United Arab Emirates.

185. Mr. AL-SHAIKHLY (Iraq): We have heard the arguments of the permanent representative of Iran. Actions, however, speak louder than words. The fact remains that Iran has unilaterally claimed to have terminated an existing boundary treaty, and the fact remains that Iran has resorted to the use of force to establish a territorial claim in the Arabian Gulf.

186. To begin with, as far as Shatt-Al-Arab is concerned, Iran has no right to terminate the Boundary Treaty of 1937 unilaterally. Boundary treaties, because of their very nature, aim at stability and permanence. It is for that reason that international law bestows special guarantees upon such treaties. For example, the principle concerning fundamental changes of circumstances does not affect boundary treaties. This exception is clearly provided for in paragraph 2 (a) of article 62 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, which does not record an innovation but confirms a well-established rule of customary international law.

187. Iran's allegation that Iraq did not honour the provisions of the Treaty is not based on factual evidence or truth. We do not wish to enumerate here all the Iranian violations of the provisions of the Treaty. Nevertheless, the claim that Iran can unilaterally terminate the Treaty constitutes the gravest violation of that Treaty. The termination of a treaty on the basis of a violation of its provisions cannot be decided upon by one of the parties to the Treaty. For even in international law one cannot be plaintiff and judge in his own case at the same time. This fundamental rule of law is well explained in articles 42 and 65 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, which, again, does not create any new rule but merely records the existing positive international law.

188. The Boundary Treaty of 1937 is binding and will continue to be binding, whether Iran admits or denies that fact. Iran cannot unilaterally terminate this Treaty. Iran will have to bear the full responsibility for any violation of the provisions of the Treaty. Out of respect for the historical ties between our two peoples Iraq has expressed its readiness to refer to the International Court of Justice the question whether Iran had the right to terminate the Boundary Treaty of 1937 unilaterally.

189. As for the occupation of the islands in the Arabian Gulf, no matter what claims Iran may advance to justify its occupation of the Arab Islands the very resort to the use of force is a demonstration of the weakness of the Iranian claim and constitutes the gravest violation of the principles established in the Charter.

190. Regarding the armaments programme, Iran's gigantic armaments build-up is ominous not only in its proportions but also because of Iran's baseless territorial claims in the area as established by its resort to force to occupy the three Arab islands in the Arabian Gulf. If Iraq embarks upon an armaments programme of its own it is only to counter the very obvious threats from its Iranian neighbour and the latter's expansionist policies.

191. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): I am sorry to have to speak again, but I promise that I shall be extremely brief.

192. The Permanent Representative of Iraq in fact introduced no new element. He confined himself to repeating what his Foreign Minister had said in his statement this morning [2134th meeting]. I have already replied in my earlier statement to the allegations of the Foreign Minister of Iraq. It is the same scenario that the representative of Iraq repeats each year in the General Assembly, and we are now accustomed to it.

193. As regards our difference over the question of the river boundary, I must say that our position has been amply set forth at earlier sessions of the General Assembly and

also in letters addressed to the President of the Security Council.

194. Concerning armaments, I have mentioned documents that prove it is the Iraqis rather than the Iranians that are in the process of arming themselves to the teeth. Hence, I will not say anything else about the repetitive remarks of the representative of Iraq.

195. As regards the remarks by the representative of the United Arab Emirates, as I said in my earlier statement, at a meeting of the Security Council on 9 December 1971 my delegation amply set forth the position of my country, and I see nothing to add to what was said then.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.