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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. WINZER (German Democratic Republic):¹ The membership of the German Democratic Republic in the United Nations, acquired only a few days ago, provides an opportunity for its Minister for Foreign Affairs to outline for the first time before this world forum the policy of the socialist German State and its position on important current tasks and problems of the United Nations.

2. In the view of the German Democratic Republic its admission to the United Nations is an historic event, for it implies that the post-war period in Europe has come to an end. I ask representatives to remember that the first documents in which the Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition called for the establishment of an Organization of the United Nations were, at the same time, documents of the fight against Fascist German imperialism. Exactly three decades ago, in October 1943, the Allied Powers adopted the Moscow Declaration on General Security, in which they pledged their determination to enforce the unconditional surrender of Hitler fascism. At the same time, they recognized:

“... the necessity of establishing . . . a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.”

3. In the three decades from October 1943 to October 1974, profound changes have taken place on the international scene. To bring them about the necessary conditions had to be created in Europe, and chiefly in the territory of the former German Reich. To this end the Potsdam Agreement, concluded after the end of the Hitler war, made provision for the extirpation of German militarism and nazism, the democratization of social life, the

punishment of war and Nazi criminals, and the curbing of the power of monopolies. These measures were designed to guarantee that no war could ever again start from German soil.

4. The German Democratic Republic was established in October 1949 on these sound foundations. Enterprises of war and Nazi criminals had been converted into people's property through a referendum; a democratic agrarian reform had given land to the peasants; Nazi and militarist elements were removed from all public posts; war and Nazi criminals were strictly punished; and the school and education system was remodelled along democratic lines. The evil spirit of racial hatred and chauvinism was thoroughly uprooted.

5. In the face of massive war destruction of production facilities and all sorts of buildings, most essential human rights such as the fundamental social rights of the working people, the right to work and to employment, the right to education and to recreation, the rights of women and of youth, were implemented in the most adverse material circumstances.

6. It was on that anti-Fascist, democratic basis that the German Democratic Republic subsequently developed into a socialist State. Its people have chosen for ever the socialist system of society and have thus exercised their right of self-determination guaranteed in the Charter of the United Nations. The German Democratic Republic owes its rise to their efforts and to its firm and indestructible alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist States.

7. Upon his election as our country's first President, the late Wilhelm Pieck, a proven fighter against fascism and war, formally declared before the supreme representative body of the German Democratic Republic on 11 October 1949:

“We are well aware of the great responsibility which the German people have to accept because they aided and abetted Hitler's barbarous war, and we are also aware of our obligation for reparation towards the countries afflicted by the Hitler war. We will fulfil in good faith the obligations placed upon us under the Potsdam Agreement, whereby we seek to regain the world's confidence and join the comity of peace-loving democratic nations.”

8. As the State Secretary to the first President of the German Democratic Republic, I am particularly pleased and highly privileged to declare to the General Assembly of the United Nations that the German Democratic Republic has fulfilled that pledge with honour. In compliance with the Potsdam Agreement, it has fulfilled conscientiously its obligation for reparation towards the Soviet Union and the

¹ Mr. Winzer spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Polish People's Republic. With regard to the Polish, Czech and Slovak peoples, who were so often the first victims of aggression by greater Germany, the German Democratic Republic took decisive steps for a genuine reconciliation. As early as 1950, in the Treaty of Goerlitz,² it recognized without reservation the frontier with the Polish People's Republic on the Oder and Neisse rivers. At the same time, in the first Treaty it concluded with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, it condemned the *diktat* of Munich with all its consequences, and it pledged to refrain from making any territorial claims or pressing for frontier revision with regard to those two States.

9. Acting in that way more than two decades ago, the German Democratic Republic made contributions to European security which remain effective examples in the light of recent European developments.

10. Since its inception, the German Democratic Republic has practised active solidarity with the Asian, African and Latin American peoples defending themselves against imperialist aggression or resisting colonialist repression. Never has it paid only verbal tribute to the struggle against colonialism and racism, but has always considered it its sacred duty to support that struggle by action.

11. In the German Democratic Republic there are no political or economic groups whose drive for profit and exports would bar a policy aimed at implementing the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations. Nor are there any motivations for the German Democratic Republic to uphold the aims of those States which are still pursuing colonialist or neo-colonialist policies.

12. Even when it was not a Member of the United Nations, the German Democratic Republic consistently implemented all resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations condemning colonialism and neo-colonialism and on the boycotting of racism régimes.

13. To ensure durable peace and security, to support the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, to be willing to establish relations of peaceful coexistence with States of different political and social systems: those are the aims and principles of the foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic, which it has pursued and observed ever since its foundation.

14. The admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations has occurred at a time of international détente, to which the German Democratic Republic has made essential contributions. At present, European peoples and States are making efforts to ensure that their continent, which was twice in this century the source and scene of world wars, will become at long last a centre of détente and peace in the world.

15. A representative of the socialist peace policy cannot ignore in this context that German imperialism and militarism, pursuing programmes of conquest as it did, was the main aggressor in both World Wars of this century. With their policies of non-recognition of frontiers, of armament

and of revanche, its protagonists were implicated in the failure and break-down of the League of Nations as a peace organization.

16. Having drawn these lessons from history, the German Democratic Republic pursues a foreign policy of peace and international understanding which is in full harmony with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Its membership in the United Nations now offers the German Democratic Republic new opportunities for effectively developing this policy of peaceful coexistence and international peace in the interests of its own people.

17. The current international situation offers good opportunities to settle international issues, however complicated, by negotiation based on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social and political systems. The Charter of the United Nations and its strict observance are a solid basis for that.

18. Very convincing evidence to this effect is, in the view of the German Democratic Republic, the significant Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War concluded between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.³ The Agreement does not endanger, but increases, the security of every country. It does not impair, but promotes, the process of détente and peaceful coexistence between States, and therefore fully meets the interest of all peoples in peace.

19. The admission of the German Democratic Republic and of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations was preceded by the signing of international treaties in which the inviolability of frontiers and of the territorial *status quo* in Europe is recognized. The treaties were concluded by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany. They fix in binding terms of international law the frontiers and territories of the States as they have emerged as a result of the Second World War and of post-war developments.

20. The international relations of States can only serve détente and peaceful co-operation if they rest on the generally binding principles of the United Nations Charter. This applies without restriction also to relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Therefore the Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany⁴ commits both States to be guided by the purposes and principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular by the principle of the sovereign equality of all States. It is equally important that the inviolability, now and in the future, of the frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and the obligation of both States to respect fully each other's territorial integrity have been affirmed by international law. The Treaty has no time limit. It contains nothing that could call in question the finality of the provisions agreed upon or could give them a provisional character, such as the character of a so-called *modus vivendi*.

² Treaty regarding the Demarcation of the German-Polish Frontier, signed at Goerlitz on 6 July 1950.

³ Signed at Washington on 22 June 1973.

⁴ Done at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

21. Consequently, the Treaty between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany corresponds to the irreversible historical realities that have emerged on German soil from the Second World War and from post-war development. The German Reich, founded in 1871 in blood and iron, launched two world wars which claimed over 70 million human lives. That imperialist German Reich perished in ashes, blood and ruins in 1945 and its generals signed the unconditional surrender demanded in the Moscow Declaration of the Allied Powers.

22. For a quarter of a century two sovereign German States, independent of each other and having diametrically opposed social systems, have been in existence. The German Democratic Republic is a State of peace, democracy and socialism which has absolutely nothing in common with the imperialist nature of the German Reich. It has broken for ever with the fateful German militarist past. In the German Democratic Republic there is developing a socialist German nation, closely associated with the peoples of the socialist community. From the antagonistic character of the social and political orders, it follows conclusively that between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany a unification will never be possible. But what is possible, and necessary, are good-neighbourly relations of peaceful coexistence between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. Such durable relations of peaceful coexistence between the two German States will have a beneficial effect not only in Europe but also in world-wide international relations and organizations.

23. There is no doubt that the relaxation of tension in Europe has especially been promoted by the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin concluded between the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France. To this Agreement the German Democratic Republic has made its constructive contribution. Any assessment of this contribution will have to take into account that West Berlin is situated about 200 kilometres from the frontier with the Federal Republic of Germany and amid the territory of the German Democratic Republic. All questions of civilian transit traffic to and from West Berlin could therefore be settled only in consultation and agreement with the German Democratic Republic. In each phase of the often complicated negotiation of the West Berlin Agreement the German Democratic Republic displayed an attitude that was first and foremost determined by its interest in a progressing European détente. By submitting proposals and draft treaties and negotiating in a spirit of goodwill, the German Democratic Republic later very much facilitated the conclusion of the Transit Agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany⁵ and of arrangements with the Senate of West Berlin.⁶

24. The German Democratic Republic is equally broad-minded in implementing the treaties and agreements. To give members just one example, permit me to bring to your

notice that over 14 million citizens of Western countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany and of the Western sectors of Berlin, have visited the German Democratic Republic between 1 January 1972 and 25 September 1973. Nineteen and one half million persons passed in transit to and from West Berlin through the German Democratic Republic's territory in that period. Three and a quarter million citizens of the German Democratic Republic visited Western countries, including the Federal Republic and West Berlin in the same period. And in the same period again, 21.5 million citizens of the German Democratic Republic travelled to socialist countries, while 18.5 million nationals of these socialist countries visited the German Democratic Republic. All in all, the total of journeys across the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic in those 21 months is 76.7 million. I ask members to consider when judging these figures in the millions that the German Democratic Republic itself has only 17 million inhabitants. All these figures in my view are impressive and tell their own tale; they spare my commenting on all sorts of unserious assertions.

25. On the same day on which the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly was opened, the second phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe started. It is not too much to say that Europe stands on the threshold of a new era—an era of peaceful coexistence and peaceful co-operation, which is important for the improvement of the international climate, too. In addition to two world wars, many colonial wars originated in Europe. It is therefore in the interest of all States of our globe that, in the wake of constructive policies, peace and co-operation should at last emanate from the European continent. The peoples and States of all continents will undoubtedly benefit when the Conference decides that the indispensable basic principles for security and co-operation should be binding on all participating countries.

26. Détente in Europe will improve chances to contain hotbeds of tension in other parts of the world. It will prove once more that political settlements of long-standing disputes are possible and useful. It will check or hinder those forces that are seeking to fuel tensions for aggressive and annexationist aims. Ensured security and co-operation in Europe will—not least among the results—be of use to the Asian, African and Latin American countries in the solution of the economic, scientific and technological problems they are facing.

27. Precisely for this reason the achievements of the last few years in the direction of détente, security and co-operation must not be relinquished, but firmly consolidated as a basis and model for new gains of peace and understanding among the peoples.

28. The German Democratic Republic views the United Nations as the most important international organ for guaranteeing security and maintaining world peace. The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic whole-heartedly subscribe to the aim set out in the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", and they will employ all the powers and abilities at their command so that this aim will be achieved. To work for this noble

⁵ Agreement on the Transit Traffic of Civilian Persons and Goods, done at Berlin on 17 December 1971.

⁶ Arrangement on Facilitating and Improving Traffic of Travellers, signed on 20 December 1971 and Arrangement on Settling the Question of Enclaves.

and lofty purpose, what is required is the strict observance, rather than the revision, of the Charter.

29. The evolution of the international situation since the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was adopted by the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly in 1970 [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] has confirmed the programmatic substance and topicality of that basic document. Significant progress has been achieved in the implementation of the principles of the United Nations in international life. Yet much remains to be done.

30. The German Democratic Republic supports the resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and on the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*] at the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It considers that the Security Council should, pursuant to that resolution, take a decision binding on all States Members of the United Nations. That would be a highly effective step towards ensuring international security, particularly since an obligation to renounce the use of force would be accompanied by a ban on the most threatening form of force, the use of nuclear weapons. In a large number of international instruments and agreements of the recent past, the importance of the renunciation of force has been reaffirmed and underlined. Hence, a decision of the Security Council on the prohibition of the use of force and nuclear weapons for all time would positively meet the requirements of international development.

31. To be durable, political détente needs to be complemented by corresponding agreements on disarmament measures. The arms race is not only a persisting threat to peace, but an immense material burden on the peoples. While huge sums are spent on manufacturing weapons to kill people, many countries have a shortage of social institutions and educational facilities, and millions of human beings suffer want. That is why we welcome the proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations should deal with the reduction by 10 per cent of the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council [*A/9191*]. All States which have major economic and military potentials should follow such an exemplary approach with corresponding cuts in their military budgets. In our view, the proposal of the Soviet Union constitutes a genuine chance to translate the declarations on disarmament into practical disarmament measures directly benefiting the peoples and developing countries. To contain the arms race is therefore an urgent, humanitarian task and an imperative of humanity.

32. We fully share the position of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations that the time is ripe for a world disarmament conference. Such a conference could thoroughly discuss international problems and negotiate agreements which promote the basic and primary goal—general and complete disarmament—and provide for effective partial measures of arms limitation. A world disarmament conference would be commensurate with the paramount importance of the problem and make possible a universal and equal participation of all States. Questions of disarmament concern the interests and obliga-

tions of all States irrespective of their size or level of economic or other development.

33. The United Nations has successfully carried out a number of important conferences in the fields of international law and environmental protection. So we think that there is no reason to be pessimistic about the eventual course of the world disarmament conference. The conference will surely have difficult and complex problems to consider; but important agreements such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*] and the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [*see resolution 2826 (XXVI)*] have been reached although their subject matters were complicated. These examples allow us to expect a successful course for the disarmament conference if all participating Governments heed the wish of their peoples for peace and security.

34. The elimination of sources of conflict is an indispensable condition for the recovery of the international situation. Paragraph 5 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security stipulates that the territory of a State must not be occupied illegally by use of force. Contrary to this stipulation and in violation of resolution 242 (1967) adopted by the Security Council, Israel still holds Arab territory under occupation and is thus responsible for the fact that this dangerous source of war still exists.

35. The withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories and respect for the independence and legitimate rights of the States and peoples of the area, including the Arab people of Palestine—only a political arrangement including these conditions will lead to the settlement of the Middle East conflict in conformity with the Security Council resolution.

36. The German Democratic Republic, together with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other States of the socialist community, is convinced that it is necessary and possible to extend the zone of détente to cover the whole world. For this reason we sincerely support the aspirations of the peoples of Asia for a system of collective security in the region, and we note with satisfaction that circumstances for achieving this aim have essentially improved of late.

37. The war in Indo-China for many years darkened the international situation and permanently threatened to engulf mankind in a world-wide conflict. Despite much resistance, the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam, signed at Paris on 27 January 1973, has now been achieved. Those who were putting up resistance to the Agreement on Viet-Nam until the last minute are also those who continue to violate it and to launch military actions. In our view, it is now of the utmost importance to ensure strict observance of the Agreement on restoring peace in Viet-Nam.

38. As it did in the hard days of fighting, the German Democratic Republic continues to side in firm solidarity with the Viet-Nameese people now that the tasks of reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam have to be tackled.

39. The German Democratic Republic stands consistently for the recognition of the right of the peoples of Indo-China to determine their destinies themselves and to restore a just peace to Indo-China as a whole.

40. The German Democratic Republic supports the just demand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Reconstruction of Korea be dissolved immediately. The United Nations flag should no longer be used by foreign troops stationed in South Korea. The so-called United Nations Command should be abolished. All foreign troops should be withdrawn from South Korea.

41. An event important for the normalization of the situation on the Indian subcontinent and for the establishment of relations of peaceful coexistence between the States in Asia is, in the opinion of the German Democratic Republic, the recent agreement between India and Pakistan. In this context I wish to record the hope that the overdue admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the United Nations can now take place.

42. The Government of the German Democratic Republic is highly interested in international co-operation in the fields of economics, science and technology and in other areas. It believes, however, that a secure peace is the most vital prerequisite to solving the problems the peoples are facing in building their social and cultural life. Here we think, in particular, of the economic and social problems of the developing countries.

43. Different circumstances prevailing in the various regions must, of course, not be left out of account in endeavours to assist in the extension of the process of détente to all continents. In Africa, détente cannot mean tolerating Portuguese colonial rule or accepting the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia—quite the contrary. To eliminate colonialism and racism is an indispensable element of détente on the African continent. Détente will be furthered as it becomes possible to enforce the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems in international life. Observance of the generally accepted rules of international law in relations between socialist and capitalist States will make it more difficult for forces pursuing colonialist, racist or social oppression to keep foreign peoples under their yoke.

44. In keeping with decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, the German Democratic Republic has for many years practised active solidarity with the African peoples fighting for their liberation. News about massacres by Portuguese mercenaries in Mozambique underlines more than ever the urgent need to overcome all forms of colonial suppression. Both in the United Nations and through other solidarity activities in support of international solidarity, the German Democratic Republic will advocate the right to self-determination of all African peoples.

45. The fact that the boycott measures decided on by the United Nations are not being complied with by some States cannot be passed over in silence. Not only is their trade with South Africa not decreasing, it is even growing. Their investments, and thus their participation, in the exploita-

tion of the racially suppressed indigenous populations have grown enormously. Multinational monopolies are expanding their influence in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. For the sake of their profits they assist the racist régimes in repressing the indigenous populations. This practice of monopoly capitalism grossly conflicts with the demand of the African peoples to have their own natural resources and mineral riches under their own control. This demand is fully justified and should be supported in every respect by decisions and measures of the United Nations.

46. It is consistent with our views with regard to the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination and the world-wide enforcement of human rights as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations of December 1948 that the German Democratic Republic firmly sides with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and supports their struggle for political and economic independence.

47. In Chile, a constitutional government, elected by the people, was ousted by a military coup d'état. President Salvador Allende, held in high esteem all over the world, was assassinated. Bloody violence and terror have been unleashed to destroy the social progress achieved. We are convinced, however, that the Chilean people will repulse these attacks on their vital rights and finally succeed in their struggle for the right to choose their own way of development. We feel that humaneness and self-determination call for all-round support and assistance for the people of Chile in their courageous resistance. In breach of international law, acts of reprisal and violence were committed against citizens and premises of the German Democratic Republic; therefore, the Government of the German Democratic Republic was compelled to suspend diplomatic relations with Chile.

48. The German Democratic Republic has followed with the greatest attention and sympathy the Fourth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers. It supports the decisions taken at that Conference with regard to the settlement of conflicts caused by imperialist aggression. It takes the same stand on the decisions of the Conference concerning the consolidation of national independence, the unrestricted control of peoples over their natural resources, the economic interests of developing countries, and respect for the sovereign equality of all States. The German Democratic Republic associates itself with the struggle of non-aligned countries against all forms of colonialist or neo-colonialist exploitation and suppression.

49. Upon being admitted to the United Nations, the German Democratic Republic formally undertook at all times to respect and observe the Charter of the United Nations, whose unchanged validity it accepts without reservation.

50. Assuming this obligation, we feel called upon to make a contribution, in keeping with our possibilities and capabilities, to the fulfilment of those great tasks which the United Nations is facing. The German Democratic Republic has always thought that the exercise of State sovereignty in our times must include readiness to engage in peaceful international co-operation. Along these lines it will assist in

the implementation of the lofty humanist concepts and principles of international law enshrined in the Charter. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic are ready and determined constructively to co-operate with all representatives for the noble cause of peace, international understanding and co-operation.

51. Mr. ABDUL-BAQI (Iraq):⁷ I should like at the outset of this statement to join those who have preceded me in congratulating you from this rostrum on the occasion of your election as President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly and to reaffirm our confidence in your ability to fulfil the duties of your high office by virtue of your long experience in the international arena and your distinguished qualities of astuteness and high competence. I should not fail to reiterate on this occasion our appreciation for, and satisfaction with, the important part taken by your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Trepczyński, in guiding the deliberations of the previous session.

52. I should also like to express our welcome to the new Members who have joined the ranks of the Organization, thus bringing it closer to being a truly international Organization. The principle of the universality of this Organization is one that Iraq has constantly striven to achieve. It gives me pleasure to extend a special welcome to the German Democratic Republic, with which Iraq has the closest ties of friendship and co-operation. We are confident that the presence of that State within the United Nations will contribute in an effective manner to the strengthening of international security and international co-operation. We also are ready to establish the best relations in all fields with the Commonwealth of the Bahamas.

53. It also gives me pleasure to declare here Iraq's welcome for the independence of Guinea-Bissau. We fully support the Government of Guinea-Bissau and look forward to their representatives occupying their seats in this Organization as soon as possible.

54. The convening of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly provides the international community with an important opportunity to review the international developments that have taken place during the past year and the effects of those developments on the policies of the States Members of the Organization. Iraq, following closely and with interest the developments on the international scene, avails itself of this opportunity, which is characteristic of the United Nations, to present its views on the most important of them.

55. The past year was marked by two outstanding events which, in spite of the differences between them, together constitute two complementary steps towards the fulfilment of the desire of the peoples of the world to establish an international community where peace reigns and where the principles of justice and freedom are realized.

56. The first event was the increase in further steps towards closer ties and co-operation among the great Powers and the establishment of the foundation of new relationships that would decrease international tension and

the dangers of a nuclear war. The people of Iraq, who share the expectations of the peoples of the third world in achieving a just peace, welcomes these developments and calls upon the international Organization to play its part and to participate fully in furthering and strengthening this vital development, making international participation a firm base for a new international order.

57. The second event was the convening of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers, where for the first time in the history of the non-aligned movement the great majority of the States Members of the United Nations were represented. The non-aligned movement has played an important and effective role in lessening international tension, in advocating the policy of peaceful coexistence, and in reaffirming the right of peoples to participate in the establishment of an international order governed by the principles of justice, freedom and peace, as President Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr of Iraq has confirmed on numerous occasions. It is for that reason that the convening of the Algiers Conference at this particular juncture was of special significance for the assessment of the non-aligned movement and for outlining its direction within the new international developments. The Conference proved yet again the importance and effectiveness of the non-aligned movement and the part it will play within the United Nations and outside it in the maintenance of international security and in safeguarding the rights of the developing countries of the third world. Under the leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, the policy of non-alignment constitutes a basic principle in the foreign policy of the Republic of Iraq. Having had the honour of participating in the Algiers Conference, Iraq would like to express its pleasure at the important results of the Conference and to confirm its determination to work diligently to implement the decisions taken in Algiers.

58. If the positive trends in international relations arouse feelings of optimism for the future, there are also negative developments and chronic problems that still threaten international security with great dangers. These problems call for firm and urgent measures to prevent a further deterioration of the situation. Perhaps the recent events that took place in Chile are the clearest demonstration of such a tragic deterioration. The words uttered last year before this Assembly [2096th meeting] by the constitutionally elected President of Chile, the late Mr. Salvador Allende, are still alive in our memories. Mr. Allende was describing the plight of many areas of the world when he warned of the dangers of the conspiracies hatched by the forces of colonialism and international monopolies against the freedom of peoples and their independence.

59. In Asia, in spite of the world's glad expectations aroused by the reaching of a peace agreement to end the singularly inhuman war waged by the United States of America against the struggling people of Viet-Nam, we find that the agreement, which was regarded as the beginning of the end of American military intervention in South-East Asia, did not in fact stop the bloodshed in that area, but rather became itself the target of continuous manoeuvres attempting to impose the Saigon régime on the people of South Viet-Nam.

⁷ Mr. Abdul Baqi spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

60. In spite of the great victories achieved by the people of Cambodia under the leadership of the Government of National Union, the United States of America continues to prolong the war at the expense of the legitimate interests of the Cambodian people, thereby threatening international peace and security. On this occasion we would like to state our belief that it is the duty of the United Nations, in conformity with its Charter, to see that the true representatives of the Cambodian people are given the opportunity to occupy their seats in this Organization.

61. As for developments in Korea, Iraq has welcomed all the measures taken to enable the Korean people to achieve unity and to banish the American forces of occupation from its territory. Iraq also believes that it is the duty of the United Nations to put an end to the mockery of having its flag hoisted over the barracks of the American forces of occupation, forces which have brought nothing but misery and suffering to whichever land they have trodden in Asia.

62. In the African continent, which has been subjected to the worst kinds of colonialism and exploitation, the Governments of the white minority régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia continue to practise their abhorrent racist policies against the peoples of those lands, in defiance of the denunciation and revulsion of the whole world, as embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations. The Portuguese forces of occupation, whose detestable practices are daily being exposed, persist in defying the United Nations and denying the peoples their right to self-determination. Iraq expresses without reservation its full support for the struggle of the African peoples striving towards freedom and independence and the preservation of their natural wealth, and calls upon the international Organization to exert all its efforts to assist their just struggle.

63. The sufferings of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America recur most glaringly in the Arab region, an area beset by problems and dangers threatening at any moment an explosion that will confront the world with unimaginable consequences. The continuation of this abnormal state of affairs in the region faces the whole of the international community with a fateful trial, and arouses doubt and scepticism about all the positive achievements in the field of international relations.

64. Twenty-six years have elapsed since the Zionists launched their aggression against the people of Palestine; seven years have passed since the Zionists attacked three States Members of this international Organization and have continued to occupy parts of their territories. In spite of the fact that the United Nations was and still is a responsible party in the present crisis, it has not achieved any progress towards the elimination of aggression and the implementation of the principles of the Charter in the area. I regret to say that what has taken place is the exact opposite. The dispersion of the people of Palestine, the denial of their legitimate rights in their homeland, continues to be the policy declared and enforced by Israel; a policy that has taken all the dimensions of a campaign of genocide against the exiled people. The air-raids on the refugee camps, the massacre of children, women and the aged, the murder of the Palestinian leaders according to a programme of terrorism, and the continuation of system-

atic violence and ejection in the occupied territories, are the Zionist policies which violate all the fundamentals of justice and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

65. In the occupied territories Israel persists in its programme of settler-colonialism by daily establishing new para-military settlements in Gaza, Sinai, the Golan Heights and on the occupied bank of the Jordan. The Judaization of Jerusalem, the defacement of that city's historical landmarks, which are part of the heritage of the whole of mankind, continue unabated and undeterred.

66. Israel is no longer abashed or concerned over the exposure of its plans and policies. This indifference is best shown in the election platform adopted by the ruling Israeli Labour Party concerning the colonization of the occupied territories, a policy which was described by a member of that Party as "creeping annexation". Furthermore, Israel's repeated aggressions against Syria and Lebanon have become almost daily occurrences, and the matter has gone even further than what has come to be expected of Israeli aggression and lawlessness. Israel has assumed for itself the role of an international policeman in the area, attacking the neighbouring States and abducting its people to try them before Israeli courts, for no crimes committed within Israel and in contravention of all the norms of international law. The Israeli Air Force has been entrusted with a new task, namely, the hijacking or shooting down of civilian airliners and killing their innocent passengers. These crimes, which are prohibited by all international codes, make us pause to inquire, how was it possible that such acts could be committed with such impunity?

67. It is absurd to say that the international community, with the great moral authority at its disposal and the adequate means of deterrence granted to it by the Charter, is yet incapable of putting an end to Israel's crimes. Nor can Israel's arrogance, aggression, its contempt for the United Nations, its resolutions and its Charter, be interpreted as the mere intransigence of a small State which behaves like an international outlaw.

68. To understand this behaviour we have to face an unpalatable fact of international life: Israel is not the only culprit, but a major Power is engaged in practising annexation by proxy. That Power is the United States of America. The arms with which Israel fights are the arms of the United States, the military expertise which Israel deploys in its aggressions is the expertise of the United States, and the funds with which new settlements are implanted on Arab lands are the funds of the United States. And, last but not least, the protective voice which paralyzes the Security Council so that it may not punish Israel, is the veto of the United States. No wonder that this kind of morality in foreign policy has insidiously crept into the very fabric of United States political life to the abhorrence and bewilderment of the people of the United States.

69. Our Arab nation, and most people of the world, are now fully aware of the nature and the objectives of the aggression launched by the Zionists against the Arab people. Our ancient nation, inspired by its history, confident in the future of its struggle, will never submit to any aggressor or accept surrender.

70. Our struggle will be long and arduous; but our cause is just and noble, and it rightly enjoys the support of the peoples of the world. The termination of the Zionist occupation of the Arab lands, and the restoration of the right of self-determination to the people of Palestine in its homeland, will soon become a living reality. The Arab nation, burdened with the struggle to attain a goal which is of the essence of the purposes of the Charter, realizes full well that the international community, too, has its own share of responsibility in that struggle, and awaits expectantly the moment when that community shall rise to the challenge of fulfilling its responsibilities in the matter.

71. There is another crisis whose developments and consequences are bound to affect the future of security in our area, and international security as well. I am referring here to the policy of Iran in the Arabian Gulf region. Recent statements emanating from the highest sources in Iran indicate their inclination to resort to the use of force and to interfere in the internal affairs of the States in the area, on the assumption that Iran will play the role of the great and "protecting" Power in the Arabian Gulf. The ominous implications of those statements are confirmed by Iran's embarkation upon huge armament programmes which cannot be justified on the grounds that they are needed for defensive purposes. Iraq's concern in regard to these developments is fully justified by the sad recent history of Iraqi-Iranian and Arab-Iranian relations. Late in 1971 Iran forcefully occupied three Arab islands and, prior to that, in contravention of the Charter, declared its unilateral abrogation of the Iraqi-Iranian Boundary Treaty, signed at Teheran on 4 July 1937.

72. The Foreign Minister of Iran mentioned in his statement before this Assembly on 25 September [2127th meeting] that Iran's efforts to normalize relations with Iraq had not succeeded. He also claimed that Iran had repeatedly offered to resolve its problems with Iraq in accordance with accepted norms of international law and practice of States, with due regard to the principles of equity and mutual rights and the interests of both parties.

73. I regret to say that the basis of the problems between Iraq and Iran is Iran's violation of those very norms of international law in accordance with which the Foreign Minister of Iran claims that he wishes to solve these problems. The boundaries in Shatt-al-Arab are established on the basis of an existing treaty which should be the first instrument to be implemented in order to resolve any problems concerning those boundaries. Perhaps the Foreign Minister of Iran has forgotten that the foremost rule of international law and the one which is due the highest respect is the principle of the sanctity of treaties, *pacta sunt servanda*. Iran claims that it can abrogate the Boundary Treaty unilaterally; this claim reveals the extent of Iran's respect for the norms of international law. The very nature of boundary treaties, as confirmed in article 62, paragraph 2 (a) and in article 65 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties,⁸ refutes all the claims put forth by Iran to justify its abrogation of the said Treaty.

74. Iraq has repeatedly offered Iran recourse to the International Court of Justice to find out whether Iran had

the right to terminate the boundary Treaty. This offer demonstrates our respect for the norms of international law. We expect a positive response from our neighbour Iran if it truly cares about international law and its principles, justice and mutual interests.

75. The considerations which command the special attention of the international community where safeguarding the principles of the Charter in the Middle East is concerned, should have yet another important consideration added to them, namely, the fact that the region contains the major deposits of energy resources in the world.

76. This important fact calls for an objective attitude on the part of all those who are interested in ascertaining that the energy resources shall continue to flow from the producing countries to the consumer States. For decades international monopolies have greedily bled the developing countries of their natural resources regardless of the legitimate interests of the producing countries. The growth of national awareness, however, and closer co-operation among the developing countries have impelled the majority of the countries producing energy resources—Iraq being foremost among them—to assert their sovereignty over their natural resources, the better to serve the objectives of their national development.

77. The increasing demand for energy throughout the world cannot be met by hysterical cries from imperialist sources aimed at imposing their will upon the oil-producing countries. Iraq, itself an oil-producing country, believes that the orderly flow of energy resources demands the establishment of objective relationships between the producing and the consumer States. These relationships must be based on the principles of equality, respect for national aspirations, sovereignty and the inherent right of nations to control their natural resources. We hope it is realized that threats of the use of force and publicized desert-war manoeuvres are the surest way of bringing about a disruption of the flow of oil.

78. In its twenty-eighth year the United Nations can claim many accomplishments that time does not permit me to recount. The peoples of the United Nations and the founding fathers of the Charter envisaged a role for the Organization in keeping peace and security which we have so far failed to attain. Iraq, however, is not despondent nor disdainful. Our faith in the spirit of man, his unrequited quest for justice, liberty and for a world in which, irrespective of colour, race or creed, humanity can join hands in marching towards a better future, is our ideal of the United Nations. That is why we are here.

79. Mr. CHOONHAVAN (Thailand): Mr. President, first of all, I should like on behalf of the delegation of Thailand, to offer you my sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-eighth session of this Assembly. My delegation fully endorses the expressions of confidence, respect and admiration which have been conveyed to you by previous distinguished speakers. The keen knowledge of, and deep experience in, United Nations affairs which you have acquired during the years as the representative of your country, Ecuador, are the essential attributes of a successful President of the General Assembly. Your wisdom and compassion are the human

⁸ See document A/CONF.39/27 and Corr.1.

qualities which add further to the high esteem that the peoples of Latin America, as well as other parts of the world, have for you as a person. My delegation pledges its whole-hearted support and co-operation in the tasks that lie ahead of all of us.

80. On this occasion my delegation would also like to pay a tribute and to express its deep appreciation to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński of Poland for the efficient and able manner in which he conducted the proceedings of last year's General Assembly as its President.

81. The delegation of Thailand wishes to convey to the Swedish delegation, Government and people its heartfelt condolences on the demise of His Late Majesty King Gustav VI Adolf of Sweden. My delegation is also saddened by the death of Mr. Salvador Allende, former President of Chile, who only last year addressed this Assembly on many important international issues [2096th meeting]. It was also with the deepest regret that my delegation noted the loss of Mr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel of Colombia, the President of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, whose contribution to the founding of our world Organization will always be appreciated by the "peoples of the United Nations".

82. The Thai delegation wishes to express its grateful appreciation to our Secretary-General for his report on the work of the Organization [A/9001] and its thought-provoking introduction [A/9001/Add.1], which should commend itself to the careful attention of all Member States. Last year the Thai Government and people were pleased and privileged to welcome the Secretary-General on his first official visit to Thailand and to the headquarters of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in Bangkok. It is therefore a genuine pleasure and an honour for me once again to meet you, Mr. Secretary-General, at the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

83. The past year has witnessed, except in one instance, a continuing improvement in the relations among the major Powers. Despite evident difficulties generated by fears and suspicions in certain areas, the great Powers appear to be trying in earnest to promote mutual restraint in their conduct towards each other and the outside world. In so doing, they are entering a new era of peaceful accommodation and détente. Although it may take a while longer before these promising trends become an established fact of international life, they are welcomed by all peace-loving peoples of the world.

84. In this respect, Europe has made impressive gains. The successful conclusion in Helsinki of the first phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the agreements on and between the two German States, together with a series of treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and its neighbours to the East, seem to justify a mood of optimism in East-West relations, and enhance the prospect of a European settlement.

85. Since both the First and Second World Wars began in Europe, the outcome of the on-going negotiations is awaited with interest by people throughout the world. The admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations in

furtherance of the concept of universality in the world Organization provides ample proof of the pragmatic wisdom of the States involved, perhaps setting a trend for an evolving accommodation of similar difficulties in other parts of the world.

86. My delegation, therefore, was privileged to be a sponsor of the resolution that admitted the two German States to the world Organization [A/L.698], and wishes to extend, once again, its whole-hearted welcome to them, as well as to the other new Member of the United Nations, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas.

87. Big Power moderation may also have a salutary effect on the Middle East, where the cease-fire has continued in its fourth year, although with worrying interruptions and little lessening of tensions. However, the Security Council has found itself powerless to enforce compliance with its resolutions. The continuing occupation of the territories occupied as a result of the 1967 conflict and the subsequent measures taken by Israel to consolidate its control run counter to the spirit and letter of existing United Nations resolutions. Security Council condemnation of the lawless violence perpetrated on government orders, as well as its repeated warnings, have also not been heeded. This is a deplorable state of affairs, and one fraught with grave risks.

88. The efforts of Ambassador Jarring have come to a standstill, with no beginning of a settlement in sight. Indeed, the only glimmer on the darkened horizon has been the first official visit of the Secretary-General himself to the countries in the area; for his presence in the area has emphasized the increasing concern felt by United Nations Members and may have served to underscore the urgent need to prevent further deterioration of the situation, as well as to renew our hope of finding a just and lasting settlement in conformity with the United Nations Charter and on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other United Nations resolutions.

89. Regarding Asia, one of the significant events of the past year has been the establishment of regular diplomatic contact between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America. It is, however, still too early to ascertain whether that historic step will pave the way towards a possible settlement of the outstanding problems in Asia. Nevertheless, there have been some subsequent positive developments.

90. In South Asia, the emergence of the Agreement between India and Pakistan is a welcome development of great humanitarian significance which augurs well for the solution of the other problems pending among the nations on that subcontinent. It is hoped that, with the improved climate of understanding, the People's Republic of Bangladesh will be able in the near future to take its rightful place in the United Nations.

91. In East Asia, where United Nations attention this year will be focused on the Korean question, recent developments on the Korean peninsula have made it possible for the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to recommend its own dissolution. It therefore remains for the world Organization to deter-

mine, in the appropriate organs, what new steps or further adjustments concerning the United Nations role can be undertaken to enable it to fulfil its responsibilities in Korea. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that United Nations Members, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, will be able to reach an accommodation on the remaining issues which will be to the best interest of the Korean people itself.

92. In South-East Asia, where the legitimate aspirations of people to live their own lives have long been hampered, the situation remains a cause of deep concern and a grave threat to world peace. Subsequent violations of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam have made it increasingly difficult to implement the already complex arrangement, and have further prolonged the bloodshed. However, the long-awaited Protocol to the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos⁹ has finally emerged. Thailand welcomes this important development which has brightened the prospects for peace and national reconciliation in the neighbouring Kingdom of Laos. It is, however, necessary that all the provisions of the Agreements be implemented in good faith by all parties concerned, and that the Geneva Agreements of 1962¹⁰ and article 20 of the Paris Agreement, which was signed in the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in January of this year, be fully and strictly adhered to by all the signatories.

93. With the new accords on Laos and the Paris Agreement on Viet-Nam, the absence of a similar consensus on the Khmer Republic represents a noticeable failure of international diplomacy and a remaining challenge to us all. While the Government side is prepared to negotiate, the other side, with active and substantial support from outside, is still intent on imposing a military solution to the conflict. Although it is generally accepted that the Khmer people itself should be allowed to solve its own problems free from foreign interference, it should be apparent to all that a just and lasting solution must be firmly predicated on the preservation of Khmer independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

94. After the din of battle has ceased it is imperative that the vital security interests of all the neighbouring States should be assured and that they should have adequate protection to safeguard their independence as well as regional peace and stability. A basis for such a step has already been created—when the five members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] signed the Kuala Lumpur Declaration 27 November of 1971¹¹ stating their common aim that South-East Asia should become a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from any form or manner of external interference. Moreover, the proposal before the United Nations to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace also has an important bearing on the security of littoral and hinterland States, some of which are situated in South-East Asia. A great deal of satisfaction and inspiration can be derived from the growing acceptance of similar endeavours by major Powers in other areas, such as the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear

Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), which has already received the formal endorsement of four of the five nuclear Powers. The latter should be persuaded also to recognize that only a new structure based on the willing and mutual co-operation of the Asian States themselves and other interested parties can promote genuine peace in that important part of the world.

95. Thailand firmly believes that all countries in the region of South-East Asia must jointly assume primary responsibilities in establishing conditions for political stability, economic progress and social justice and genuine peace in the region. We of the region must be left free to work out our own destiny. It is essential that all countries in the region participate actively in the creation of a new order and contribute directly towards peace, freedom, stability and progress. Together they could make the South-East Asian region free from all forms of interference from outside and ensure freedom with peace, independence and territorial integrity for all States of the area regardless of differences in political systems.

96. In the area of disarmament, improved East-West relations in Europe have made possible the encouraging progress of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). With SALT-II now in the negotiating phase, the anxious world has been promised a slowing down of only one aspect of the arms race. Progress in the field of general disarmament is disappointing, and national defence budgets do not reflect the atmosphere of détente. The proposed World Disarmament Conference has not benefited from early organizational difficulties, which can be resolved only through mutual goodwill and not by political pressure or manoeuvre. Since participation in the Conference by all the nuclear Powers and other militarily important States is indispensable to its success, we should explore every possibility of achieving a compromise and refrain from acting in undue haste.

97. The tenth anniversary of the signing of the partial test-ban treaty¹² passed by without any further movement towards the final goal of a comprehensive test-ban agreement. It may be said that a nuclear-test race is going on at fever pitch, with the more advanced nuclear Powers resorting to underground nuclear testing to maintain their superiority and the newcomers to the nuclear club rushing to develop an independent capability for avowedly defensive purposes. As this situation is a serious danger to mankind, my delegation would urge immediate cessation of all testing as a first essential step in the direction of the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

98. We in Thailand firmly believe that all peoples are entitled to their inalienable rights of self-determination, independence and sovereignty, free from outside interference. We have therefore consistently supported the efforts of the world Organization in the area of decolonization which have resulted in the birth of many new nations and the increase in the membership of the United Nations. However, many problems are still unsolved, especially with regard to Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Cape Verde. Various resolutions of both the General Assembly

⁹ Done at Vientiane on 21 February 1973.

¹⁰ See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 456 (No. 6564), p. 301.

¹¹ See document A/C.1/1019.

¹² Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

and the Security Council have been adopted, but certain Powers still place their economic, political and militaristic interests above their national conscience and human values and thus have neither strictly observed nor implemented those resolutions. Again this year, the time has now come for all of us to appeal to those countries to soften their known positions and to adopt a new policy which will help correct the long-standing injustice done to the peoples in colonial Territories and to hasten the process of self-determination and independence for the people of those Territories.

99. Thailand also supports the legitimate struggle of millions of indigenous Africans against *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa. Despite the fact that this year marks the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, those peoples are still denied their fundamental freedoms and basic human rights. Thailand will therefore continue to work closely with other Member countries of the United Nations to bring about the speedy elimination and total eradication of racism and the shameful practice and policy of *apartheid*.

100. Eleven years ago the General Assembly proclaimed the first United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 1710 (XVI)*] with the expressed aim of reducing the gap between the rich and the poor nations. It is now three years since the Second United Nations Development Decade began; but the gap between the rich and the poor has widened even further. A major task lies ahead for all of us therefore in that the first biennial review and appraisal of the objectives and policies of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] are scheduled to take place during this session. The developing countries have a great stake in the outcome of the review, and my delegation stands ready to give its whole-hearted support to the Group of 77 in the task of breathing new life into the global development effort, the aim of which is to raise significantly the standard of living of the developing countries. This worthy goal must be vigorously pursued in the present decade, if there is to be any hope of lessening human misery and the despair affecting the majority of mankind, thus fulfilling the lofty aims of the Strategy.

101. Several events of major importance are taking place which could be of tremendous benefit to the developing countries. First, the multilateral trade negotiations dealing with world-wide trading arrangements under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [*GATT*] have begun in Tokyo. The Thai Government has shared the view that increased and expanded access of exports from developing countries to the large industrial market is one of the essential keys to the accelerated growth of developing countries. Furthermore, developed countries should lower, and eventually eliminate, trade barriers and other practices which have long curtailed the export trade of the developing countries. Such benefits can be attained only through concerted efforts by the developing countries during what will be long and arduous negotiations.

102. Whether the multilateral trade negotiations will have a chance of success, however, is intrinsically linked to the monetary negotiations which have just ended in Nairobi.

Statements coming from the Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues of the International Monetary Fund indicate that a significant step forward has been made, to a point where the over-all shape of the reforms is perceptible enough to allow for greater concentration on the key issues. It is welcomed that the Committee has affirmed the desirability of effecting an equitable transfer of resources from developed to developing countries as a means of promoting the latter's economic development. Here again it is essential that the developing countries should do all in their power to increase their individual and collective bargaining power and so improve their chances of obtaining beneficial results. In this connexion the members of ASEAN have had useful consultations concerning both the GATT negotiations and the Nairobi talks.

103. Of equal significance to developing countries is the United Nations World Population Conference to be held in August 1974 in Bucharest at the invitation of the Government of Romania. The problem of population is of fundamental importance to the future of humanity, and a coherent approach to this highly complex issue is needed to make the best use of our available knowledge and resources. The United Nations has already made impressive progress in this field through the United Nations Fund and Population Activities and it is hoped that the conference will further help us to see this problem in all its dimensions.

104. My delegation holds that economic relations among States should be governed by agreed principles and that a charter of economic rights and duties of States will be of benefit to all countries. One of these rights is the right of States to permanent sovereignty over all their natural resources.

105. We fully support the concerted efforts being made to expand the capability of developing countries to apply science and technology to development, and we consider that the serious maldistribution of the world's scientific and technological resources is a major obstacle to development.

106. Above all, we believe in, and will continue vigorously to pursue the idea of, economic self-reliance with the co-operation of neighbouring countries and within geographical subregions.

107. All of the foregoing come under the purview of the Economic and Social Council, whose task and responsibilities for the co-ordination of all United Nations activities in the economic and social fields have grown both in complexity and scope over the past 25 years. The imminent ratification of the amendment to Article 61 of the Charter should further enhance the Council's leadership role and ensure a broader basis for its activities. It is necessary therefore that this enlargement, coming at a time when the Council has shown a spirit of revitalization, should be used to provide opportunities for member nations that have expressed their willingness to serve but have never had an opportunity in the past to participate in its important work.

108. One of the most challenging questions facing the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly is the progressive development of the international law of the sea.

During the year's session, the Thai delegation was privileged to play a role in achieving the widest possible consensus on various procedural steps that would lead to the substantive phase of the conference on the law of the sea 1974. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, of which Thailand is a member, has met twice this year and has accomplished a certain amount of preparatory work. Further efforts should, however, be made to consider the legitimate and limited interests of others, particularly those arising from geographical factors, be they concerned with land-locked or shelf-locked countries, or semi-enclosed seas, in order to find compromise solutions before the conference takes place. My delegation looks forward to the organizational meeting towards the end of this year and also to the conference itself in the early part of next year as originally agreed.

109. With regard to the exploration and exploitation of resources in the sea-bed area, progressive development in the direction where the legitimate interests of coastal States, countries with special geographical problems and maritime Powers can be harmonized, is not only feasible but beneficial to all. Perhaps it is even conceivable that with the enormous wealth lying untapped beneath the deep ocean it should be possible to share the benefits on an equitable basis without falling short of the aspirations of any State or group of States. However, there can be no derogation from the fundamental principle that every nation, whether small or large, rich or poor, has sovereignty over its own natural resources. The question is, therefore, one of delimiting areas under national and international jurisdiction. My delegation recalls the difficulty encountered in 1958 and 1960 on the limit of the territorial sea, but is confident that this problem can soon be resolved. Thus, it also hopes that the questions concerning the sea-bed outside national jurisdiction and related issues, which have important economic ramifications, can eventually be settled for the benefit of mankind.

110. The rule of law must reign in all fields of human endeavour. The only alternative is anarchy. Nations should, therefore, accept the necessary adjustments to make the international community more responsive to basic human needs as well as more responsible to its final constituent, namely, man himself. The international community should endeavour to avoid catastrophic mistakes of the past and to ensure that man's noble instinct and ideals will not only endure but will ultimately triumph over his foibles and follies. States, therefore, have an obligation not to impede progress in this respect, but must act in concert to further it. In so doing, they have the United Nations to assist them. The Organization's inherent shortcomings are already well-known, and its many accomplishments and useful rule are widely appreciated, especially in the light of the Secretary-General's eloquent introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9001/Add.1]. But whatever the shortfalls are, the world Organization, now composed of 135 Member States, embodies the international community and represents its weaknesses and virtues. Moreover, the United Nations system constitutes the only, albeit imperfect, universal instrument of peaceful change in existence today. It is, therefore, imperative that the international community should try to improve the Organization's efficiency and effectiveness partly by positive

actions of its component States. It was in this spirit that the Thai delegation last year joined with others in sponsoring the draft resolution on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations.¹³ In the present atmosphere of détente, no opportunity should be lost, and we should explore fresh avenues that will satisfy the demands of change and the requirements of contemporary international life. The amendment to Article 61 of the Charter is a welcome demonstration of realism on the part of all concerned. The world has grown, not only in terms of population, but also in political maturity. Although it is a slow and continuing process, the time has come for us to encourage it by every possible means. Indeed, the world Organization, together with the international community which it represents, should be made truly responsive to basic human needs and more responsible to mankind.

111. Mr. AGÚSTSSON (Iceland): Mr. President, at the outset permit me to congratulate you on your election as President of this twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly. I wish you all success in this high office and pledge you the full confidence and support of my delegation.

112. Allow me also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in promoting the cause of the United Nations. I recall with pleasure the visit of the Secretary-General to Iceland earlier this year, which my Government and the people of Iceland appreciated highly.

113. I want to join my colleagues who have spoken before me in welcoming the new Members of the United Nations—the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. We look forward to their valued contributions to our Organization.

114. Now I should like to refer briefly to what we think should be the role of the United Nations in the world today and what we see as the main purpose and objectives of the Organization 28 years after its foundation.

115. Iceland is one of the smallest Members of the United Nations and, since we joined in 1946, we have seen our membership of this Organization as a corner-stone of our foreign policy. A small nation has no less than the big Powers a vested interest in solving the political and security-related problems of our times and in maintaining an effective international organization that can successfully deal with the manifold challenges of international society. Our experience has shown that regional arrangements, however desirable, cannot always meet the wishes and interests of the smaller Members, which gain wider support and sympathy in a world body of a truly universal character.

116. There can be no doubt that the necessity for global co-operation in the political, economic and social fields has never been greater than today. The question is, therefore, how we can best make the United Nations an effective instrument for furthering such co-operation. In this respect we should like to emphasize what Secretary-General Waldheim has said in the introduction to his report on the

¹³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 24, document A/L.684 and Add.1-4.

work of the Organization [A/9001/Add.1], that the United Nations cannot successfully deal with disputes unless it has the full support and political backing of the international community. From the simple fact that this is not always the case stems much of the disillusion and disappointment frequently expressed when the record of the United Nations is debated. We need a much clearer understanding of the fact that the United Nations is not a supra-national government but an instrument of negotiation and multi-lateral diplomacy. Assertions that the United Nations has been ineffective in solving conflicts endangering world peace, such as the war in Viet-Nam, and has so far failed to bring peace to the Middle East must be viewed against this background. This does not mean, however, that we should not strive to make the United Nations a more effective organization with much wider powers than it has now, to enable it to act on its own in times of crises.

117. What we want is not a debating club or a forum for pursuing narrow national policies but an organization which can play a strong and active role in finding solutions to the most controversial problems of our times. This might mean restructuring the United Nations machinery, but the gain would be a stronger instrument of world order capable of safeguarding the common interests of mankind. We must remember that the United Nations was created nearly 30 years ago to cope with a world in many respects very different from the one we live in today. While turning the United Nations into a much more effective instrument for world peace, we must adapt to new needs and interests, foremost among them being those of the newly independent countries whose position and voice in the Councils of the United Nations should be strengthened. The concepts of colonial times, with their legal and moral anachronisms, must be eliminated.

118. However, if it is sometimes necessary to focus attention on the shortcomings of the international institutions and their achievements, we can note with satisfaction definite progress on a number of highly problematical international issues since we last met in this Assembly hall.

119. The Korean question has long been one of the difficult and most controversial issues in the United Nations. With the start of direct talks between North Korea and South Korea a welcome change has taken place which has led to the invitation to both Governments to come before this Assembly and state their cases. After 23 years the United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has in its report to the Secretary-General [A/9027] recommended its own liquidation. That will be another positive step in normalizing relations between the two Korean States. There remains, however, the question of the United Nations Command in South Korea. Its future is a question to be resolved by the Security Council, as it has a direct bearing on the maintenance of peace in the area. We hope that the time will soon come when we can welcome the Korean States as new Members of this Organization.

120. A major step forward was the joining of the Organization by both German States. This event represents the pinnacle of the tireless efforts for the normalization of relations on the European scene, crystallizing in the accords between the two German States, and between the Federal

Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland. These have been among the most hopeful signs of our times and have greatly contributed to the general search for peace in the world.

121. Similarly high hopes are fixed on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which opened in Helsinki in July this year and is now in its second stage in Geneva.

122. The time has come to eliminate the barriers that have divided the peoples of Europe in spite of their common history and cultural heritage. We must strive not only for a mutual reduction of forces in this area, but also for greatly increased co-operation in the economic field and closer contacts among the common people. The goal is a unified Europe which can contribute greatly towards the establishment of a lasting peace in the world.

123. We see a long list of items of concern to the international community on the agenda of this General Assembly. The question of decolonization merits special mention. We cannot but recognize the fact that millions of people are still living under the yoke of colonialism, deprived of their fundamental human rights. This is so in spite of repeated efforts by the United Nations throughout the years. The major blame must be put on the Governments concerned which have, year after year, consistently ignored the resolutions and directives of the United Nations, in particular with respect to southern Africa.

124. The process of decolonization must be accelerated and every pressure put on those Governments that persist in refusing to grant peoples under their domination basic human rights. As a country that has been under foreign domination for 500 years and that has become only recently independent, we fully appreciate the appeals from those still under foreign domination. Withholding freedom and independence from millions of people, not only in southern Africa but elsewhere, constitutes a major obstacle to the relaxation of international tension and may indeed lead to armed conflict if persisted in. We address an urgent appeal therefore to those nations that still practise oppression and colonialism to adhere to the course charted by the United Nations in these matters.

125. Indeed, the United Nations should strive to persuade Governments to live up to the universal Declaration of Human Rights, which certainly is one of the most important documents created by this Organization. We must also try to make the United Nations a more humane Organization, concerned not only with the problems of States and high-level diplomacy, but also with the hopes and aspirations of the common man, under whatever system of government he may be living.

126. In the field of economic and social affairs the United Nations has a record of long and praiseworthy accomplishments, one of them being the establishment of the United Nations Environment Programme at the last General Assembly [resolution 2997 (XXVII)]. There is an urgent need not only to protect the human environment but also to conserve and wisely husband the world's dwindling natural resources. This can best be done by ensuring effective control by each country over its natural resources, be they

found on land, on the sea-bed or in the superjacent waters. Only a few weeks ago the meeting of the non-aligned countries in Algiers proclaimed that any infringement of the right to effective control by each country over its natural resources "is contrary to the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter and hampers the development of international co-operation as well as the maintenance of international peace and security".¹⁴

127. Indeed, at its last session the General Assembly spoke out with no uncertain voice on this subject. By adopting resolution 3016 (XXVII) with 102 votes against none, the vast majority of the nations of the world reaffirmed the right of States to permanent sovereignty over all their natural resources, including those of the sea-bed and the marine resources of the superjacent waters.

128. This basic principle has since been reaffirmed by two other United Nations bodies, first by the Committee on Natural Resources at its third meeting in New Delhi last February, and then by the Economic and Social Council at its fifty-fourth meeting, last April and May, in resolution 1737 (LIV).

129. There need therefore not exist the slightest doubt that it is the will of the United Nations that nations enjoy full sovereignty over the marine resources of the continental shelf and the sea-bed area far beyond the old 12-mile limit. And it behoves me to draw attention to the fact that such resource jurisdiction is precisely what the Government of Iceland has promulgated through the adoption of our 50-mile fishery limit last year in partial implementation of our 1948 Continental Shelf Law. We have, therefore, acted in complete conformity with the tenets proclaimed by the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly regarding permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources. Indeed, the adoption of resolution 3016 (XXVII) by over 100 States is an implied recognition by the international community of extended fisheries jurisdiction over the continental shelf waters.

130. In resolution 3016 (XXVII), it is furthermore declared that all actions by States aimed at coercing other States in the exercise of their sovereign rights over their coastal resources are in violation of the Charter.

131. A year ago [2047th meeting] I drew the attention of the General Assembly to the dangerous situation which already then prevailed in the waters around Iceland, where my Government had adopted fishery limits of 50 miles from the coast. It is with great regret that I now must report that the situation not only has not been improved but has greatly deteriorated. It has been intensified through continued British trawling in the area under the protection of British vessels of war. These vessels of war, furthermore, operate in co-operation with British military aircraft surveying the area and reporting to the war vessels the position of Icelandic coast guard vessels. The war vessels have repeatedly ignored international rules of navigation and rammed our coast guard vessels. This constant and hostile behaviour has already led to the loss of human life. And, obviously, such a state of affairs is not only intolerable now, but could

easily lead to further serious consequences. My Government has continuously protested against these warlike activities and demanded that the warships be withdrawn immediately. But so far that request has fallen on deaf ears. My Government has informed the British Government that if these activities continue, we will feel ourselves obliged to sever diplomatic relations. In view of our traditional friendship with the British people, I sincerely hope that this measure will not become necessary.

132. I want to emphasize in this connexion that my Government, before the extension of the fishery limits, indicated its willingness to negotiate a practical interim arrangement which would meet the problems of the British trawler industry because of the extension. Negotiations for this end had in fact led to considerable progress in finding a solution when the Royal Navy of the United Kingdom was sent to the area. The British point of view is that this was necessary because the British trawlers fishing within our limits were being harassed by our coast guard. The coast guard was in fact to a very limited extent trying to prevent illegal fishing within our fishery limits, which were respected by all nations other than the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. I want to make it clear that we are still negotiating with the Federal Republic of Germany for a practical arrangement for their trawlers and it seems that a satisfactory solution is now in sight. We have already concluded agreements with Belgium, Norway and the Faroe Islands for continued fishing for a limited period by a specified number of their vessels under licence. Until we had concluded these agreements, our friends from Belgium, Norway and the Faroe Islands respected our 50-mile limit and stayed outside.

133. In fact, no fishing vessels from any country other than the United Kingdom have continued fishing inside our limits under the protection of vessels of war. Only the British trawlers have done that, and are still doing that. This I have to report to the General Assembly of the United Nations today.

134. This unfortunate state of affairs shows the urgent need for avoiding any unnecessary delay in convening the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Therefore, I want to use this opportunity and this occasion to summarize the views of my Government with regard to that urgent matter.

135. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction has devoted much time and effort to the preparation of the Conference and its report will soon be discussed in the First Committee of the Assembly [A/9021 and Corr.1 and 3]. Under the terms of its resolution 3029 A (XXVII), the Assembly decided to review at this session the progress of the preparatory work of the Committee and, if necessary, to take measures to facilitate completion of the substantive work for the Conference and any other action it may deem appropriate. In the same resolution, the General Assembly decided to convene the first session of the Conference at New York for a period of approximately two weeks in November and December 1973, for the purpose of dealing with organizational matters. It was also decided to convene the second session of the Conference for the purpose of dealing with sub-

¹⁴ See the Economic Declaration adopted by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

stantive work in April and May 1974. My Government attaches great importance to the observance of this schedule or at least to avoiding any unnecessary delay.

136. The argument has been advanced that further preparatory work is required since the sea-bed Committee has not been able to produce draft articles for the Conference. In the view of my Government it must be kept in mind that the sea-bed Committee has worked on the basis of consensus. No voting took place on the various proposals submitted. It was, therefore, never to be expected that uniform draft articles could be produced by the Committee. On the other hand, the Committee has thoroughly discussed all the problems involved and alternatives are available on most issues. Perhaps the number of such alternatives might be reduced through further work, but that work could just as well be performed by the Conference itself. This problem will, of course, be further examined and discussed in the First Committee, but I repeat that, in the view of my Government, it is of the utmost importance to avoid any unnecessary delay in convening the substantive phase of the Conference, although we would not be opposed to a short delay of two or three months for the purpose of further preparation, if that is generally considered useful.

137. Fifteen years have passed since the 1958 United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Neither that Conference nor the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea of 1960 was able to solve the problem of the extent of coastal jurisdiction. Since then the progressive development of international law has been rapid, and it should now be possible for the forthcoming Conference to proceed with its work on the basis of the alternatives and consolidated texts already available. A great deal of work has been done in order to clarify the issues, and certainly the major problems are evident and ripe for treatment at the Conference.

138. The international sea-bed area is the common heritage of mankind and it must be delimited so as to make it a worthwhile concept for the developing nations, and machinery must be established with sufficient powers and functions to ensure the practical implementation of that concept. Valuable texts dealing with these problems are available.

139. The problems of pollution and scientific research must be solved in the light of the valuable work of the sea-bed Committee. The important problems of islands, archipelagos and land-locked States also have been discussed at length. Within the confines of a relatively narrow territorial sea of up to 12 miles, the problems connected with straits used for international navigation should not be insurmountable.

140. The obsolete system of dealing with coastal jurisdiction over resources in terms of a territorial sea designed for military purposes is now replaced by a functional solution in terms of an economic zone, beyond the territorial sea, of up to 200 miles, which already enjoys overwhelming support in all regions of the world. Certainly the concept of the exclusive economic zone is quite compatible with the right of navigation. Freedom of the seas has for a long time been used as an argument to protect the special interests of the powerful maritime nations, including their distant-water fisheries. That idea has now been replaced by the principle of the protection of the vital economic interests of the coastal States in their natural resources. This is clear from the positions of States in the preparatory work for the Conference, in which the representatives of 90 States and observers from 30 States—120 States in all—participated. And after all, it is the practice of States and their policy declarations that are mirrored in customary international law. It is now the task of the Conference to codify that practice.

141. The Icelandic delegations to the sea-bed Committee, on 5 April 1973, submitted a working paper which reads in part as follows:

“A coastal State may determine the extent of its exclusive jurisdiction and control over the natural resources of the maritime area adjacent to its territorial sea.

“The outer limits of this area shall be reasonable, keeping in view the geographical, geological, ecological, economic and other relevant local considerations, and shall not exceed 200 nautical miles.”¹⁵

142. Other delegations have made similar proposals and it is now clear that the concept of an economic zone of up to 200 miles enjoys ever-increasing support from all regions of the world, as evidenced by proposals and policy statements from a great number of States in all regions of the world—Africa, Asia, Australia, Canada, Latin America and Europe. This progressive development has reached such proportions that it will not and cannot be stopped.

143. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has had its work facilitated by years of tireless preparatory work. Its own work must now start and it must proceed with confidence and courage to ensure the success of the great task entrusted to it.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

¹⁵ See document A/AC.138/SC.II.L.23.