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Address by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will hear this morning a statement by the President of the Republic of Cyprus. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): Mr. President, it is with particular pleasure that I extend to you sincere congratulations upon your unanimous and well-deserved election to the high office of the presidency of this General Assembly session. Your election is a tribute paid to you personally for your outstanding qualities of statesmanship, experience and diplomatic skill and, at the same time, it is an added recognition of the leading role played in world affairs by your country. We, in Cyprus, have always attached great importance to the very close ties we have maintained with Yugoslavia, reinforced through many years by the friendship between our late President, Archbishop Makarios, and President Tito, two of the co-founders of the non-aligned movement, born at the historic Belgrade Conference¹ at which I, too, had the privilege to participate. We have always felt that in Yugoslavia, as indeed in the non-aligned movement as a whole, Cyprus has a friend in its hour of need.

3. Likewise, I wish to pay a warm tribute to Ambassador Amerasinghe, the representative of Sri Lanka, another fellow non-aligned country, for the outstanding way in which he discharged the onerous responsibilities of the presidency of the General Assembly during its last session. We trust that, as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, he will continue to offer his effective leadership and unique experience towards the early and successful conclusion of this very important undertaking of the international community.

4. I should also like to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his endeavours for

¹ First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961.

the promotion of the objectives of the Organization generally and, more particularly, for his untiring efforts with regard to the solution of the Cyprus problem in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and its relevant resolutions.

5. I also wish to express gratification at yet another step towards the universality of this Organization through the admission to membership of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti, and to welcome them in our midst. We are convinced that their presence will have a favourable impact upon international relations and will positively contribute towards peace, co-operation and mutual understanding.

6. As we embark upon this important session of the General Assembly, it is relevant to address ourselves to the fundamental questions which the Secretary-General raises in his report on the work of the Organization.

“What . . .”, he asks, “is the real position of the United Nations in the affairs of the world? Is it really a central element in the foreign policies of most Governments? Do its hard-fought resolutions, decisions and guidelines have a strong bearing on the conduct of nations?” [A/32/1, sect. II.]

7. I cannot, of course, speak for others but in so far as my own country is concerned we have always held the firm conviction that to all these questions the answer should be a resounding “Yes”.

8. The principles of the Charter have always been central to our foreign policy. We have supported positions consistent with such principles and have invariably maintained that the various international problems and issues considered by the United Nations should be solved through the implementation of its resolutions. Since its emergence to independence from colonial rule—and not only from the time we have been faced by a dire problem ourselves—Cyprus has been United Nations-minded, endeavouring by word and deed to enhance the effectiveness of the Organization and to promote the universal application of its principles and the full implementation of its resolutions.

9. In saying this, I do so not only in answer to the very pertinent questions posed by the Secretary-General but also because I strongly believe that this basic philosophy of making the United Nations and its principles and resolutions central to the foreign policies of Member States is—or ought to be—common to all Member States, and especially to those which emerged to independence from colonial rule and are politically non-aligned, economically developing and militarily weak. I believe that this philosophy should be

shared by all, and indeed the Charter in legal terms is equally binding on all if the United Nations is to become truly effective and achieve its basic objectives for collective security and economic development.

10. In this respect, the convening of a special session of the General Assembly in 1978 on disarmament constitutes a major development.

11. The special session can prove a success if the opportunity is taken for a more thorough and enlightened examination of the problem of disarmament in its close relation to, and dependence on, international order and security through the United Nations, as provided in the Charter.

12. Progress on disarmament presupposes the cessation of the arms race, but nations cannot abandon their armaments in a vacuum. There must be an effective system of international security through the United Nations in accordance with the Charter so that nations may feel safe in abandoning the course of armaments. In our technologically advanced world of close interdependence, the security of nations can no longer rest on the outdated concept of the balance of power, which is tantamount to a balance of weapons, since that inevitably implies an ever-escalating arms race in the effort to retain the balance. In consequence, this race has resulted in astronomical figures of wasted resources in preparation for a war which, if it should occur, would mean total catastrophe for mankind.

13. The pattern of world order provided for in the Charter depends on the effective functioning of the Security Council. According to the Charter, the Security Council shall not only "determine the existence of any . . . breach of the peace, or act of aggression" but also decide what effective measures shall be taken to restore peace and security. Those provisions of the Charter are mandatory, and rightly so, since the availability of enforcement action for Security Council decisions is the corner-stone of international security and legal order through the United Nations.

14. Therefore, no realistic prospect of disarmament can exist until the international community, recognizing the imperative need to comply with the Charter for international security through the United Nations, finds a new approach more adapted to the urgent requirements of our times.

15. The enormous waste of resources resulting from the absence of an agreement on disarmament brings into focus the widening gap between the rich and the poor, which is one of the main sources of tensions and conflicts in the world today. The developing countries have become more and more dependent on unpredictable and exogenous factors and, consequently, their sustained development is becoming increasingly more difficult.

16. Our position is that the international community must take a global view of development. Just as in any particular country richer regions help and contribute to the development of the poorer regions, in the world community of multilateral organizations richer countries and countries

endowed by nature with ample resources have a corresponding duty to help poorer countries. It is only thus that progress can be achieved towards the establishment of a new and fairer international economic order, which in the long term would also be in the interest of the developed countries.

17. It has been rightly observed that, perhaps more than in any other field of international activity, in the field of human rights we face the wide gap between idealistic declarations and hard realities. This is no doubt due to the failure to translate declarations into actions, in spite of the fact that respect of individual dignity and fundamental freedoms is a solemn undertaking expressly contained in the Charter as well as in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

18. It is a source of satisfaction that the International Covenants on Human Rights entered into force in 1976 and, therefore, the review mechanism provided by them has already been established, thus offering additional guarantees for the protection of human rights by the States legally bound by the Covenants. We would therefore express the hope that the countries which have not as yet ratified the two Covenants will soon do so.

19. The effort to ensure universal respect for human rights and the struggle for the elimination of racial discrimination in general and of *apartheid* in particular have been given a new impetus following the signing on 1 August 1975 in Helsinki of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the adoption of the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*.²

20. Turning to a more specific issue, we welcome the recent signature of the Panama Canal treaties. They represent, we think, a fair and reasonable agreement arrived at through negotiations in accordance with the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes on an issue involving fundamental points of principle. This is an event of historic significance and furnishes an excellent example of how long-standing, thorny and potentially explosive international problems can be solved if approached by those concerned with goodwill, a spirit of compromise and genuine respect of each other's position and legitimate interests.

21. As very aptly stated by the Secretary-General in his report,

"The situations in southern Africa, the Middle East and Cyprus are serious in themselves and also have very special implications for international peace and security."
[A/32/1, sect. III.]

Indeed, in all three situations fundamental issues of principle are involved and striking similarities exist.

22. In South Africa the situation has deteriorated because of the intensification of the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and has resulted in massacres of the African population in Soweto and elsewhere. My country has always by word and

² See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

deed demonstrated its solidarity with the African people. We unreservedly condemn the policy of *apartheid*. We have fully complied with the United Nations resolutions with regard to the South African régime, and we are resolutely opposed to the creation of artificial, bogus States—in itself an invidious form of partition—in a calculated effort by the racist régime to perpetuate its oppressive rule and to rob the African population of its birthright. In Namibia the illegal occupation by the Pretoria régime must be terminated, and its people must exercise the right to self-determination as prescribed in the relevant United Nations resolutions. In Zimbabwe there should be no independence before majority rule, and we welcome the efforts currently under way to achieve a negotiated solution, which should conform with the fundamental positions of principle contained in United Nations resolutions.

23. In our neighbouring region of the Middle East the systematic defiance of the decisions of the United Nations and the illegal occupation of Arab territories continues and is in fact being consolidated through systematic efforts to change the demographic composition of these territories and through illegal settlements. We firmly support a just and lasting solution based on the relevant United Nations resolutions and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as defined in those resolutions. We also favour the early reconvening of the Geneva Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In this respect we welcome as a step in the right direction the recent joint statement of 1 October 1977 by the Secretary of State of the United States and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union.

24. For the fourth consecutive year the question of Cyprus is included in the agenda of the General Assembly as a major international problem.

25. The membership of the United Nations is therefore not unaware of the series of devastating calamities brought upon the people of Cyprus, Greek and Turkish alike, through the double aggression and invasion by Turkey in July and August 1974. The membership is also fully aware that the Cyprus problem in its essence is one of aggression by Turkey, a large and militarily powerful State, against the Republic of Cyprus, a small and virtually defenceless non-aligned State. It is indeed because the problem of Cyprus involves the violation of the peremptory principles of the Charter regarding interstate relations that the United Nations is concerned with it.

26. At its twenty-ninth session in 1974, the year of the invasion of Cyprus by the Turkish armed forces, the General Assembly, voicing the grave concern of the international community over the Turkish aggression and the serious situation created thereby, unanimously adopted the landmark resolution 3212 (XXIX). In its primary and key provisions this resolution calls for respect of the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, for the speedy withdrawal from its territory of all foreign armed forces, for the cessation of foreign interference in its affairs, and for the urgent return of the refugees to their homes in safety.

27. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly, with Turkey also casting its assenting vote. And it should be noted that it stands endorsed by resolution 365 (1974) of the Security Council, and is thereby rendered mandatory. Regrettably, the attitude of Turkey towards these resolutions has been one of contemptuous disregard.

28. The aggression against Cyprus and the systematic violation of the fundamental human rights of its people proceeded to increase before the eyes of the international community without any effective action being taken by the United Nations for the implementation of its resolutions on a matter involving the basic principles of the Charter. And therein lies not only the tragedy of Cyprus, but more widely the unfolding tragedy of an ineffective United Nations.

29. Thus, Turkey, unrestrained by any effective measures, found it possible to pursue a policy of *faits accomplis* and, using the Turkish Cypriot leadership as an instrument, proceeded to the purported setting up of a so-called Federated Turkish State of Cyprus.

30. The Security Council, in its resolution 367 (1975), rejected this unilateral action, reaffirmed its earlier resolution, and expressed its concern over all unilateral actions compromising the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Security Council further called on the parties concerned to refrain from any action which might prejudice the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus as well as from any attempt at partition of the island or its unification with any other country. However, Ankara's policy of sowing intercommunal discord and divisiveness and promoting, through the oppressive presence of its army of occupation, its partitionist designs against Cyprus continued unabated, thus necessitating the adoption of new resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

31. Turkey, in violation of international law, and of its commitments under the Geneva Conventions of 1949, proceeded further to trample underfoot the United Nations resolutions by further expulsions of indigenous Greek Cypriots from the occupied area, thus raising the number of the refugees to 200,000, namely, one third of the total population of Cyprus. Worse still, in their usurped homes and properties it settled colonizing populations massively imported from Turkey. The General Assembly, recognizing the grave threat against the demographic character of Cyprus resulting from the expulsions and the colonization called, by its resolution 3395 (XXX), for the cessation of any action aimed at changing the demographic structure of Cyprus.

32. Last year, as a result of the continuing refusal of Turkey to comply with the aforementioned United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, the General Assembly, considering thus that the Cyprus crisis constitutes a threat to international peace and security, adopted resolution 31/12, by which it expressed the hope that the Security Council would consider appropriate steps for the implementation of its unanimous resolution 365 (1974).

33. Recent developments regarding the attempts at colonization even of the new Famagusta area, which since 1974 had been sealed off pending arrangements for the return of its legitimate inhabitants to their homes and properties, further aggravated the already serious situation in the island. The Security Council, as recently as last month, by its resolution 414 (1977), disapproved of this action and expressed concern at the situation thereby created in the new Famagusta area. It further called once again for the urgent implementation of its resolution 365 (1974), endorsing General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX).

34. I now turn to the intercommunal talks which, as provided in the resolutions, have as their subject-matter the internal aspect of the problem. All rounds of talks, despite the commendable efforts of the Secretary-General, have, two and a half years after their commencement, failed to produce any positive results due to the attitude of Turkey, which, by dictating the Turkish Cypriot position in the negotiations, has never allowed a constructive and meaningful dialogue to develop. And, in consequence, the negotiations were not freely conducted, as provided for in the relevant United Nations resolutions. Thus, the only purpose the talks have so far served has been to enable Turkey to cover up its *faits accomplis* by a pretence of negotiation and to consolidate its military stranglehold over the occupied area.

35. We have all along held the view that the process of the intercommunal talks is the best available means for the settlement of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem. We have accordingly been supporting the commendable efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, to secure meaningful and substantive negotiations. These efforts, however, have so far produced no results because of the negative attitude of the Turkish side, which has been persistently refusing to submit concrete and comprehensive proposals on the subjects under negotiation, unlike the Greek Cypriot side.

36. No problem is impossible to solve if substantive talks are conducted with goodwill and a common objective. This has been and continues to be our view. It is in this spirit that we welcome any initiative from any country which aims at assisting the Secretary-General in his difficult task, as long as such initiatives are kept within the framework of the United Nations.

37. Similarly, we welcome any initiative aiming at the implementation of those provisions of the United Nations resolutions which refer to the external and international aspects of the Cyprus problem. With this in view we have consistently been supporting the proposal for the convening of a wide international conference on Cyprus, which we believe could make a positive contribution to the solution of the Cyprus problem.

38. The present situation in Cyprus is fraught with grave danger and, if allowed to continue unchecked, could have very serious implications for peace and security in the sensitive region of the eastern Mediterranean.

39. The solution of the problem of Cyprus revolves around the effective implementation of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations. I believe that the time

has come for the General Assembly to impress upon the Security Council the necessity of taking as a matter of urgency all measures warranted by the situation in order to bring about the long overdue implementation of the Council's resolutions on Cyprus and thereby put an end to the long suffering of the people of Cyprus, Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike.

40. Failure of the United Nations expeditiously to promote the implementation of its resolutions might be interpreted as tolerance or passive acceptance of Turkey's aggression and continuing military occupation of territory of the Republic of Cyprus and would run counter to the basic tenets of the Organization.

41. I have come to this Assembly to seek justice for Cyprus and its people, on the basis of respect for the principles of the Charter, of international law and of the human rights of all Cypriots. I have come here to seek justice for the 200,000 refugees who, for more than three years, are forcibly being kept away from their ancestral homes and lands, for all those who are being deprived of their basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, for the families of the over 2,000 missing persons whose fate is unknown. For these persons and on behalf of their families who live in the agony of uncertainty, I make a special plea that every possible effort be made to ascertain the fate of these missing persons.

42. In our interdependent world, it is in the common interest of all Member States, large and small, to strengthen the efficacy and the role of the United Nations as an instrument—the only universal instrument we have—for the achievement of peace, co-operation and progress in the world. The United Nations has ushered in a new era in international affairs by providing objective standards of behaviour based on principles and by democratizing international relations. Its failures are primarily those of its Members and not of the Organization itself. It is up to the Member States to do what they can in order to strengthen the United Nations and render it the dynamic instrument for peace and progress that it ought to be and can be.

43. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

44. Mr. IRAQUI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I first of all express to you, on behalf of the Kingdom of Morocco and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations on your election to preside over this thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

45. Choosing you as the person to undertake this heavy burden is the expression of the confidence and the esteem which you enjoy among us. I am sure that our Organization will find in your qualities and competence the best guarantee for a wise and enlightened guidance of our work, in seeking a significant reduction of the acute crises which loom over the horizon of the international community and

an approach which is both determined and wise to each of the problems before us. Without doubt your election is also the expression of a recognition long due to your country because of its ceaseless contribution to strengthening the cause of peace and international co-operation and its dedication to the principles and ideals which guide our Organization and govern international relations.

46. I cannot fail to express the gratitude of my country to your eminent predecessor, the head of the delegation of Sri Lanka, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, the Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, for his exceptional efforts up to the end to ensure that our previous session closed with tangible results. I also wish to state to him our complete satisfaction with his diligence and the high sense of responsibility with which he presided and, we sincerely hope, will continue to preside over the yet uncertain destiny of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Indeed, a happy outcome of this important international conference, dedicated to the establishment of complete and total order in the law of the sea, will owe much to his outstanding guidance and invaluable personal contribution. His name will forever be linked to that great undertaking.

47. I should like at the same time to express my best wishes and welcome to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and to the young Republic of Djibouti which, by acceding to membership in the United Nations, and by committing themselves to undertake the obligations and responsibilities deriving therefrom, will, I am sure, give full meaning to the universal calling of the United Nations.

48. There is no doubt that our Organization has, within the space of a generation, fully demonstrated its indispensable character as an instrument reflecting the lasting nature of human civilization, and as a bulwark for the highest values of that civilization against a massive return of destructive barbarism. It has to its credit far from negligible achievements in its vigilant safeguarding of international peace and security, even though the obstacles it has had to confront at times seemed unsurmountable.

49. The appeal launched by our Secretary-General, to whom we must pay a well-deserved tribute for the lucidity and devotion he has shown at all times in serving the true objectives of the Charter, represents the aspirations of the international community towards the work of the Organization and the confidence that it will continue to place in its future. No Government conscious of its duties can remain indifferent at this time of major historical changes which are at the same time decisive, perilous and promising.

50. The General Assembly will have to deal with a number of important items on its agenda during this session. Many problems before it, of necessity, remain linked structurally. The number and magnitude of those problems should not lead us to despair of the virtues of patient dialogue and continuous action in harmony, where there is good faith and a real will to reach a viable and constructive solution.

51. The questions of the Middle East and of the rights of the Palestinian people, the situation in southern Africa and of disarmament, the international economic order and development, as well as the universal respect for human

rights—to cite only a few of the burning issues before us—are not the kind that may be continually deferred to other sessions without being given at least a partial solution at present.

52. Among the gravest political questions at the present time, the question of the Middle East remains one of the major concerns of my Government because of Israel's persistent aggression, stepped up as it is day after day, by its military occupation of the territories of Arab States, Members of the United Nations. It also remains a major concern of my Government because the Palestinian people, whose spoliation and intolerable humiliation are the essence of the problem, struggle continuously to recover their legitimate and inalienable rights, in particular, through the building of a sovereign and independent national entity.

53. My Government reaffirms its complete support for its fraternal Arab countries in their efforts to recover their occupied territories and to establish a genuine and lasting peace based on justice throughout the region of the Middle East and, in consequence and above all, on the basis of a solemn guarantee of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

54. The participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole representative of the Palestinian people in every diplomatic effort to solve the crisis of the Middle East, remains the prerequisite without which these efforts cannot reach any decisive results. That is why my Government is particularly pleased about the recent development in relation to the attitude of the Government of the United States of America on the question, and in particular its statement on the need for the participation of Palestinian representatives in all negotiations for peace in the region.

55. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that Zionist leaders, by increasing their provocative initiatives, continue to develop a situation which represents a danger to world peace and security.

56. My Government strenuously objects to the Israeli measures intended to establish new settlements on occupied Arab territory in a senseless attempt to modify their legal nature, their geographical characteristics and their demographic composition.

57. The Israeli claims in considering Arab territories as "liberated Israeli territories"—claims criticized by almost the whole international community—are a clear violation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.³ These claims are a threat to the careful negotiations which have been taking place for four years with a view to establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

58. Furthermore, Israel's persistence in violating the principles of the United Nations is an outrage to our Organization and to the international community

59. In addition, my Government vigorously objects to the recent deployment of Israeli forces on parts of Lebanese

³ Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

territory. By invading southern Lebanon, Israel is extending yet another tentacle over a fourth Arab country—and thus allows no respite for healing the wounds of war—whose prolonged tragedy bears witness in the most painful manner to the vast criminal plan being pursued methodically and mercilessly in that region by the Zionist State.

60. Israel's obstinacy in pursuing its expansionist and egocentric policies is a short-sighted view, and its perpetually negative reaction to every initiative to obtain genuine peace on the basis of justice and right inevitably exposes the region to a return of tension and of the turmoil which can only soon threaten world peace and security. It is now more necessary than ever for the international community to review its position on this open rebellion against society's laws and fundamental principles, and even against the most elementary rules which should govern a civilized international society.

61. It is up to the General Assembly once again to reaffirm that a just and lasting peace can only be established by a total withdrawal from all of the territories occupied since 5 June 1967, the return of Jerusalem to its legitimate status, and recovery by the Palestinian people of their full rights, particularly by its right to build up a sovereign and independent nation-State.

62. Jerusalem is and will remain for the Arab and Moslem world one of the centres of its spiritual existence. Its liberation constitutes one of the decisive elements for a just peace and one of the vital conditions for a lasting peace.

63. It is also up to the General Assembly to declare that all measures taken by Israel in the occupied territories to establish settlements there and to apply its laws to the Arab populations in these territories are null and void and can have no legal effect.

64. I could not conclude this vital question without greeting with satisfaction the Joint Soviet-American statement of 1 October 1977, which constitutes a positive step towards a just and lasting settlement of the conflict.

65. What I have said about the policy pursued by Israel in the Middle East may be applied, in the very same terms, to the policy of the "rearguard struggle" of the real "bunkers" of the colonial era in Africa, namely the racist minority régimes of southern Africa.

66. The parallel between the two policies may in the past have seemed bold to some and, for reasons which are more sentimental than objective, may have led to violent and indignant protests. Even if the situation in southern Africa has unfortunately during the past year had to share the spotlight with the situation in the Middle East in their daily efforts to command the attention of world public opinion, it has nevertheless brought into the open the alliance between the rebel régimes of southern Africa and Israel. This *de facto* alliance, which has become increasingly organized and deliberate, is taking on the aspects of a plot, with incalculable consequences for Arab and African peoples and international peace and security.

67. My Government reaffirms its full and unconditional support for Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their

struggle—which is that of all Africa—to recover their dignity and their legitimate rights to free determination and national territorial integrity.

68. My Government also supports the front-line countries, in particular the Republic of Zambia, which is subjected relentlessly to most savage terrorist raids by the Salisbury Government.

69. As regards Namibia, the scandalous last-minute attempt by the Government of Pretoria to detach the port of Walvis Bay from Namibian territory cannot but give rise to additional concern as to the possibility of a forthcoming settlement that will safeguard the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, to which our Organization remains legally and morally bound. This attempt cannot but remind us of the no less scandalous Zionist attempt in occupied Arab territories, both dictated by the same illusion of gaining time or keeping all options open by hampering the achievement of a peaceful solution in accordance with international law within the time-limit set by the United Nations.

70. The World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, which met in the month of August this year at Lagos, was a vital step in making the international community aware of the need to accelerate, by every possible means, the promotion of the cause of human freedom and equality in southern Africa.

71. It is indispensable to isolate the racist minority régimes and to ensure the full and effective application of United Nations decisions and resolutions with respect to the economic boycott of those régimes and the strictest embargo on the sale of arms to them.

72. We firmly hope that the appeal made in the final declaration of the Conference will be universally heeded so as to eliminate as soon as possible the imminent risk of a generalized explosion, with unforeseeable consequences, in that part of the world.

73. If our African continent appears to be dramatically within the "storm zone", that is due in part to the permanent violence in which it is placed, despite the Charter, by the illegal and anachronistic régimes of racist oppression, and in part to the geo-political time bombs that the colonial era and the era of recalcitrant decolonization which succeeded it in the past 20 years have thoughtlessly planted among its peoples to perpetuate division and create or exacerbate among them, down the years and at the cost of fratricidal struggles, an unnatural antagonism.

74. The Kingdom of Morocco is convinced that African unity remains one of the most positive achievements of the international community. It is thanks to its strengthening that the continent has been spared from becoming once again, as in the previous century, a mere pawn in international relations, a haven for the exercise of big Power rivalries destined to be a mottled chequer-board of so-called zones of influence.

75. In truth, there is nothing more absurd than the introduction of the notion of so-called "ideological frontiers" in an effort to justify an abnormal cleavage among

countries with identical or similar socio-economic problems, countries which, in spite of any self-proclaimed ideological label, share in each of the subregions of the continent a common heritage, particularly when they must, each in accordance with the national course it has chosen for itself and in keeping with its resources, meet the same imperative requirements of rapid and harmonious development and the general social and cultural advancement of their peoples.

76. Nor is anything more perilous for the continental organization and for its capacity for unity, given the real threats to which it remains exposed because of distracting interventions from outside Africa and the deliberate perversion of juridical and ethical concepts and values which have always served and still serve to support the legitimate struggles for national liberation, in order to provide a pretext—odious in more ways than one—for more or less open subversion and aggression against neighbours.

77. That is why Morocco, in accordance with the Charter of our continental organization, maintains more than ever solidarity with all other African countries in the actions undertaken jointly to liberate that part of the world from any form of foreign domination and to resist any illicit recourse to force.

78. This policy has already been demonstrated by the first meeting of the Heads of the African States, which took place in Casablanca from 3 to 7 January 1961 and which, for the first time in contemporary history, laid down for the continent the bases for African unity, co-operation and solidarity, which were three years later endorsed by the Charter of Addis Ababa.

79. It was in this same spirit that the first conference of liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies was held also in Casablanca in April 1961.

80. It is because Morocco is faithful to those same principles that we have twice accepted the shedding of the blood of our sons on the field of honour in Zaire—first in 1960, after the appeal made by the United Nations, and again some months later following the appeal made by Zaire through the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

81. Once the objective had been obtained, the Moroccan troops were each time repatriated in order, discipline and honour, their action having served first and foremost to circumscribe a serious and thorny problem within an inter-African context, thus avoiding the danger of an extension of a conflict which threatened international peace and security.

82. The ninth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Rabat in June 1972, was undoubtedly one of the most notable milestones in the history of the OAU. “The spirit of Rabat” which emerged on that occasion and which represents a means—frank, realistic and cordial, but free of passion—of tackling questions of importance, continues to inspire the policy of my Government in respect to inter-African relations. We cannot doubt that that spirit will continue to prevail in the higher interests of our peoples in the bodies responsible for taking decisions in the plenary conferences of the Heads of

State seeking truly African solutions for the most difficult problems of our continent.

83. Morocco, consistent with the duties of brotherhood imposed upon it by the two halves of its identity, which is at once Arab and African, has always sought, whether within the framework of the League of Arab States or that of the OAU, to promote the peaceful and prompt solution of any disputes of any kind which might arise in the Arab world or on the African continent.

84. It is in this spirit that my Government has seized the two regional organizations of the situation of artificial tension which has been created in the Maghreb subregion since the outcome—11 years after the item was included by Morocco in the agenda of the United Nations—of the process of the decolonization of the Moroccan and Mauritanian Atlantic Saharan provinces formerly under Spanish domination.

85. It is also in this spirit that Morocco supported resolution 81 (XIII) of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government which met at Port Louis, Mauritius, in July 1976. This resolution advocates the convening of a special African summit meeting to study the ins and outs of what has come to be called the “question of Western Sahara”, although the harshest light has been thrown, day after day, on the true nature of that question by the very evolution of events. This in itself enables anyone whose judgement is not obscured by partisan passions readily to see through the subterfuges in which this question has been only too abundantly enmeshed and to see more clearly what is really at stake, in good conscience and with goodwill.

86. Thus, confident that a meeting at this level of responsibility could not be intended further to envenom the situation, already very regrettable and explosive, with regard to present relations among three neighbouring brother countries and, in general, inter-African relations, Morocco was the first to support the proposal of the current Chairman of the OAU, Mr. Omar Bongo, the President of the Republic of Gabon, to convene the special summit that it was planned to hold in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, during the first two weeks of October. We know, however, that at the beginning of the month of September the Government of Zambia made known to all States members of the OAU that it was no longer in a position to act as host to that summit meeting because of the grave circumstances confronting its country and because only two countries had agreed officially to take part.

87. After having placed great hopes in the results that such a pan-African conference, meeting in the required conditions, could have in improving inter-Maghreb relations, Morocco can only profoundly deplore the circumstances which have compelled the Republic of Zambia to rescind its generous invitation. My Government wishes to take this opportunity to repeat to the Government of President Kenneth Kaunda its total solidarity in the trials to which his country is subjected by the racist oppressors of the people of Zimbabwe and its sincere admiration in connexion with the heavy price which the front-line geographical position of that brotherly country obliges it to pay

so courageously in the sacred cause of the freedom and dignity of the African people.

Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Vice-President, took the Chair.

88. The consistently misguided temptations of a certain policy have alone been at the root of the problem of interstate relations existing in our Maghreb subregion and facing the regional organizations to which we belong. They have also, unfortunately and very directly, been at the root of a humanitarian problem of particular gravity, that of the Moroccan and Mauritanian citizens who are at present held against their will in the region of Tindouf. Because of the means and methods by which it was created from whole cloth in the very last phase of a process of decolonization that was difficult and often tedious but juridically and politically inevitable, this problem serves to mask an adverse design, at first modestly unannounced, and then--at the most critical moment when the unanimous solidarity of African brothers should not have been denied us--more and more openly revealed by its actions, which are more eloquent and more revealing than soothing official statements or solemn engagements entered into in conferences of heads of State or the carefully weighed and duly ratified clauses of a treaty of brotherhood and good neighbourliness.

89. The thousands of original inhabitants of the Moroccan and Mauritanian provinces of the Sahara who have returned, having been dispossessed of their homes because of the vicissitudes of decolonization, are innocent hostages of an ill-judged policy that is doomed, through its successive twists and turns, to reach an impasse.

90. The ranks of these displaced persons have been greatly swollen, either by the Touraregs of the central Sahara or by genuine refugees who have fled from the Sahel because of the exceptional drought of the last three years. They have also been led by mercenaries, most of whom had belonged to the Spanish colonial forces and who did not hesitate to offer their services to the highest bidder in the confused situation resulting from decolonization.

91. My Government has absolute proof that the vast majority of persons displaced from the Atlantic provinces of the Sahara and settled in camps in the region of Tindouf have been held against their will. In spite of intensive indoctrination, entire families and armed elements have continued their efforts to regain their homes, at the risk of their lives, ever since the appeal launched by the Heads of State of Morocco and Mauritania, His Majesty King Hassan II and President Moktar Ould Daddah.

92. It is flagrantly obvious that the Atlantic Moroccan and Mauritanian Saharan provinces are peaceful and perfectly integrated in the national life. The vast majority of their populations, according to the last census taken by the former Administering Authority, have remained in their homes and therefore participated normally this year, with a high electoral turn-out, in communal, provincial, professional and legislative elections.

93. It is high time, therefore, to put an end to the isolation and sufferings of these displaced persons. In future

only their interest, health and well-being, and their resettlement among their own people, should determine any action taken on their behalf.

94. It is in this spirit that the Executive Committee of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees adopted at Geneva on 12 October 1976 a decision in which it:

“Took note of the statements made by the observers for Mauritania and Morocco, who drew special attention to the fact that measures were called for with a view to voluntary repatriation, in accordance with the appeal made by the Heads of State of Mauritania and Morocco, and who declared that the persons in question had been brought in and detained against their will;”⁴

and requested the High Commissioner:

“... to continue his programme of humanitarian assistance and at the same time to undertake discussions with the Governments with a view to the speedy implementation, in accordance with the usual policy of his Office, of permanent solutions, including voluntary repatriation and durable settlement”.⁵

95. My Government took note with satisfaction of the decision of the Secretary-General to organize without delay a census of the displaced persons from the former Spanish Sahara. On 2 September we also informed the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that we were fully prepared to co-operate with his Office so that the census could be held on a completely honest and impartial basis and without any delay that might prejudice its humanitarian objective.

96. It is regrettable to note that to date the Algerian Government has not replied to the request for information addressed to it by the High Commissioner for Refugees despite the urgent nature of those requests.

97. Furthermore, my Government wishes to emphasize that the assistance given by humanitarian organizations has done nothing to lessen the sufferings and hardships of the persons concerned. On the contrary, this aid has acted as an encouragement and impetus to a war-like undertaking, systematically sheltering behind displaced-persons camps in violation of multilateral humanitarian conventions and protocols, including the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, signed at Geneva on 28 July 1951⁶ and the OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, signed at Addis Ababa on 10 September 1969. Of this war-like undertaking, the true objectives of which will be a secret to no one, the attacks at Nouakchott and Zouerate are flagrant examples, if any were needed.

98. Nevertheless, the Treaty of Mutual Defence, which has united Mauritania and Morocco since 13 May of this year, confirms the determination of the two countries jointly and

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 12A*, para. 119 B (c).

⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 119 B (e).

⁶ See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189, p. 137.

in solidarity to protect their national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, in accordance with article II of the Charter of the OAU.

99. Morocco solemnly reaffirms its determination to stand by its Mauritanian brothers and to spare no effort to assist them in safeguarding their refound unity and reconstituted territorial integrity.

100. Any attack directed against either of the two countries would, in the eyes of the other, automatically constitute an attack against its own unity and be a violation of its own territory.

101. If I have taken the liberty to dwell at such length on the abnormal situation created in our Maghreb subregion during the last two years, it is in order to make it understood that this situation has reached a crucial point where there is a choice between, on the one hand, the obstinate pursuit of a policy of "reasons of State" totally lacking in any normal reasoning, and which, moreover, if continued would constitute an insult to our common past and the recent struggles of the people of Maghreb, and on the other hand, once the page of errors and offences has been turned, a new start in the building, on a basis of mutual respect, of a common future which will for us represent, both rationally and emotionally, something that is historically inevitable.

102. One cannot speak, furthermore, about the "Maghreb of the peoples" and persist in ignoring a genuine national liberation cause—the will of a people so clearly expressed as that of the peoples of Morocco and Mauritania, who will spare no sacrifice to defend their respective dearly-bought unities.

103. To quote His Majesty King Hassan II, who said this quite recently:

"One cannot live as neighbours by turning our backs on each other. Every politician who considers such a possibility would be of a reprehensible frivolity . . .

"In blocks of apartments there is a manager who settles problems among the tenants; in the Maghreb the manager is the unwavering will of its population . . .

"Even if we did not desire this aim, the population would desire it because it is the dream of the preceding generation. And it is our dream. Furthermore, it is our well-being. It is vain for each of us to seek our own resources, our own opportunities, in development or elsewhere for we cannot hope, at a time when the world is uniting economically in regional groups in order to survive, to live in isolation, in separate islands. The will of our peoples is the true manager of the building to which I referred."

104. My Government is concerned to avoid anything that may be irreparable, and wishes to lay solid bases of good understanding and co-operation in our subregion of the Maghreb; we accordingly rejoice at the opportunity offered by the States members of the Conference on European Security and Co-operation to participate with other Mediterranean Arab countries in the work of the forth-

coming session of that Conference at ministerial level which is to be held in Belgrade.

105. It will be recalled that in 1973 that Conference had asked its First Committee, in article (15) of its final recommendations that:

"In considering questions relating to security in Europe, the Committee will bear in mind the broader context of world security and in particular the relationship which exists between security in Europe and in the Mediterranean area."⁷

106. Morocco, geographically the closest to Europe, is impelled to bear witness to its constant interest and its encouragement of the historic enterprise that Europe is undertaking to eliminate the vestiges of the past and to replace confrontation and challenge by dialogue, so as to consolidate, in an irreversible fashion, peace and co-operation in that part of the world.

107. However, in the light of past and present events, those efforts seem to be limited in their objective and scope. We are convinced that, to become more active and effective, détente cannot be limited only to the European continent but should, on the contrary, be extended to all peoples living on the shores of the Mediterranean.

108. More than ever, the Mediterranean represents one of the axes on which the destiny of Europe turns. It is still a crucial area particularly sensitive to any factors which affect the destiny of Europe, which in turn is immediately sensitive to any deterioration in the conflicts in the Mediterranean.

109. Any attempt to separate the security of the two shores of the Mediterranean would seriously jeopardize that security; to leave it incomplete would be to leave it fragile and more apparent than real.

110. We hope that in the months and years to come a Mediterranean conscience will develop at the political level, in order to realize the region's vocation to be, as it has been called, a "lake of peace" and a unique centre of coexistence, or, even better, of convergence, among civilizations and cultures, in the same way as coexistence spontaneously developed at the technical level, so that the Mediterranean can preserve its marine environment and marine resources from irreversible deterioration.

111. We consider that the restoration of harmony in the subregion of the Aegean Sea, including the reconciliation between the two Cypriot communities that is being actively pursued under the auspices of the United Nations, to be one of the most decisive tests of the maturity of this "Mediterranean conscience".

112. The international community now views the problems of disarmament as being the most agonizing problems of our time. It is entitled to expect the utmost from the special session to be held on this item next year. While final solutions may be too much to expect, there must at least be an urgent plan to stop the feverish arms

⁷ See *Final Recommendations of the Helsinki Consultations* (Helsinki, Valtion painatuskeskus, 1973), p. 7.

race which is now taking the form of a headlong dash to the edge of the precipice.

113. The human race should take no pride in the fact that armaments is its most flourishing industry. Our community can hardly be expected to achieve its aims on the basis of ideals and principles of the Charter so long as the relations which govern our contemporary world continue to be determined mainly by military and strategic considerations.

114. As our Secretary-General said in his report: "The task ahead is immensely difficult and complex..." [A/32/1, sect. IV.]. With him we hope that in the years to come the United Nations: "...will be able to show its collective determination to fulfil them" [ibid.].

115. The close link between a solution to development problems and a global disarmament policy has been perceived with a reasonable degree of certainty. The special session next year will have to consider these priority questions on its agenda.

116. Since the sixth special session, the plan for a new international economic order has proceeded from the stage of an idea to that of a sufficiently specific concept, both in its regional and sectoral aspects, without, however, yet becoming operational.

117. For this we must pay a tribute to the President of the Republic of France, Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, for having taken the initiative to convene in Paris the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in order to try to give real content to some of the generous but rather vague and indefinite goals of the plan of action.

118. Thus, despite the scepticism manifested at the closure of debate, we consider that the Conference has produced results which industrialized and developing countries should consider to be positive. The Conference never claimed to lay down an operative scheme that would lead to the immediate establishment of a new international economic order nor to overcome the differences between groups of countries on such delicate subjects as energy or the indebtedness of developing countries.

119. We consider that the Conference is a gain for the international community. We shall do everything we can in the international agencies to bring about a project, the technical content of which has been defined but whose realization remains subject to the political will of the industrialized countries.

120. Now that the North-South dialogue is under the auspices of the United Nations, it must continue of necessity on the basis of broader concepts of North and South both here in the General Assembly and in UNCTAD.

121. We consider that all forms of agreement, Euro-Arab and Afro-Arab dialogues in particular, are sectors of rapprochement and solidarity, not only between wealthy and poor countries but also among the developing countries themselves.

122. As regards the Euro-Arab dialogue, I must add that from the Arab point of view this dialogue must be

wide-ranging and not restricted to the economic and political areas. One must enlarge the viewpoint that usually prevails in the drafting of political charters, trade agreements or cultural conventions and to engage in this dialogue looking to the future, as the stake in this enterprise demands.

123. If the aspirations to a new economic order have not been totally dashed during the past year, it is due largely to the Arab-African conference on co-operation, held in Cairo,⁸ which has demonstrated the sincere desire of the Arab countries to work for a harmonization of development efforts in the Arab world and on the African continent.

124. Only with the passage of time will we be able to assess the importance of this first Arab-African conference for the maintenance on a solid basis of an equitable balance between countries with financial surpluses and those which have not.

125. It is however to be deplored that the most advanced countries have been so inert in bilateral or multilateral negotiations and seem more prepared to act on the basis of expediency rather than to change their structures.

126. The protectionist reactions of the advanced countries in respect of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from the developing countries reveal reflex actions rather than reflection. They are the clearest and most irrational manifestation of what an enlightened economist called the "great fear of development", which sacrifices to short-term interests the common prosperity to be gained over the medium term. Because trade remains the major law of industrial development and, conversely, industrial development, as it progresses, leads to trading conditions favourable to the parties concerned, small wonder that the bulk of international trade takes place among the industrialized countries.

127. We are pleased that our partners in the European Economic Community have finally had the foresight to reconsider the most restrictive measures taken this year. The world trend nevertheless remains disturbing. Unless it is reversed in the spirit of GATT and unless public opinion and the legal bodies of the most advanced countries are not told, as they should be, of the nefarious consequences of such a choice, we very much fear that all opportunities to correct the most flagrant anomaly in international economic relations, that is the continued deterioration in the terms of trade, will be lost.

128. The upheavals in the world economy in past years have affected the structure of the international monetary system to such an extent that one can speak of dislocation. Despite this structural turmoil, there have been important changes in a positive direction in the activities of IMF.

129. We consider that it is encouraging to have an agreement on the principles and procedures applicable to a firm supervision of the exchange systems and practices of

⁸ First Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, held at Cairo from 7 to 9 March 1977.

member countries. We hope that IMF, in applying these procedures, will take into account the circumstances of the developing countries.

130. As regards the use of IMF resources, we again urge that the conditions for drawing upon IMF should be applied with flexibility so that as many of our countries as possible may benefit from financial assistance. Because of this we attach the utmost importance to the seventh general review of quotas, which would enable the Fund not only to acquire additional resources but also to authorize member countries, particularly the poorer ones, to receive increased aid.

131. I cannot better conclude than by reaffirming the unflagging faith of my country in the sacred principles upon which our institutions are based and our determination to work together with those who believe in the future of the United Nations so that peace, understanding and solidarity will for ever prevail in international relations.

132. It is in this context that we are in favour of prior agreement, objective dialogue and a positive attitude which will of necessity lead to positive solutions, if everyone submits to a strict observance of the rules which we have ourselves decided on, and the principles which add to the wealth of our supreme law.

133. The Kingdom of Morocco, aware of its responsibilities, true to its commitments and vigilant about the respect of its rights, will spare no effort to see that, beyond passion, pondered logic, fruitful moderation and active solidarity prevail in seeking the best solutions.

134. At a time when, in many parts of the world, armaments seem to have become the only form of debate, it has become more than ever essential solemnly to invite nations to a more humane conception of international life and to a more rigorous respect for the sacred values of our civilization.

135. I venture to hope that the present session of our Organization will, with all necessary vigour, remind one and all of the vital need for respect for the rule of law.

136. I believe that our common, sincere and determined efforts will once again prod the consciences of those who bear responsibility throughout the world regarding the moral obligations which they have freely entered into.

137. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): May I congratulate Mr. Mojsov on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly.

138. It is with great pleasure that we greet the admission to membership of the United Nations of two new Members: the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti. We should like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to wish the heroic Vietnamese people success in their efforts to consolidate the victories they have achieved for the progress and prosperity of their country. We also wish the people of the Republic of Djibouti success in their efforts to strengthen their national independence and freely and independently to develop their country.

139. As at every session of the General Assembly, the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania wants to express the views of its Government on several important international problems which preoccupy the peoples of the world. We think that in the assessment of the situation existing in the world today there is no room for complacency and still less for euphoria. Events show that the international situation continues to be turbulent and fraught with dangers to peace and security.

140. The imperialist Powers, above all the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are persistently continuing their policy of war and aggression; they are threatening the freedom and independence of peoples, trying to stamp out wars of national liberation, dividing peoples and sovereign States and pitting them against each other in order to stir up incidents and even armed conflicts among them.

141. At the same time, United States imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the other reactionary forces are exerting strenuous efforts to exploit, in their own interests, the political and economic situation and the backwardness of some countries. In particular, that is being done to the detriment of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The imperialist Powers are seeking to preserve at all costs the privileges that they have secured through violence, plunder and exploitation on those continents; they are trying to hamper their independent economic development and to inhibit the development of productive forces. They never willingly renounce their aim of keeping oil and other raw material resources under their control in order to dictate their prices on world markets.

142. However, imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction are not in a position to stamp out the struggle of peoples. We are witnessing a great development in the whole of international life and international relations, represented by the increasing growth, in both content and intensity, of the national and social consciousness of peoples. The struggle of the peoples for liberation, for the affirmation and for the defence of their independence and national sovereignty, and their efforts to become masters of the assets stolen from them by the imperialist Powers for centuries, to root out the remnants of colonialism, to cut the tentacles of multinational monopolies, to defend their national traditions and culture and to develop them further, are all playing an important role in the present historic world process.

143. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania unreservedly supports the revolutionary and national liberation struggles of the peoples, and the efforts of democratic and progressive States to defend and affirm their national independence and to exercise their complete sovereignty over their national assets. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said:

“Today, the majority of the peoples of the world are exerting great efforts and opposing by force colonial laws and neo-colonialist domination, rules, practices, customs and unequal agreements, old and new, established by the bourgeoisie in order to perpetuate its exploitation of peoples, its hateful distinctions and discriminations in international relations. The two super-Powers are trying by all manner of means to preserve and perpetuate those

laws, to secure privileges for themselves and to enslave various peoples. The progressive peoples and democratic States which do not put up with that situation and are fighting for the establishment of sovereignty over their national assets, which are struggling to strengthen their political and economic independence and which are for equality and justice in international relations enjoy the complete solidarity and support of the Albanian people and State.”

144. The Albanian people have been and continue to be in solidarity with the just cause of the peoples of the whole world; in particular they are the friend of those peoples which are fighting for their freedom, independence and national sovereignty. They have great respect for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who have ancient cultural traditions, who have a great yearning to live free and happy and who are courageously fighting for those lofty objectives.

145. Many of those peoples today are at war not only with the external enemy, which is made up of the super-Powers and the other imperialist States, but also against internal reaction. The external enemy, which in particular is represented by the two super-Powers, is the common enemy that should be fought by all, and especially by the peoples of those continents that languish under its domination or are threatened by it. The Albanian people, who have liberated themselves from their external and internal enemies and who hate foreign oppression and exploitation, want to see all the peoples which are fighting for their freedom and national independence free, independent and sovereign, and they are in complete solidarity with their just struggle.

146. We have never interfered, nor will we ever interfere, in the internal affairs of others; but we stand against all the reactionaries who, linked with the big imperialist Powers and playing their game, have become an obstacle to the peoples fighting to win their freedom and independence, to escape from poverty, to enjoy a new life and to utilize the assets of their countries for their own benefit. Nothing can unite the peoples in their struggle with the interests of the imperialists and the local reactionary politicians.

147. The Albanian people express their ardent desire for the complete freedom of all the fraternal peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who have militant traditions and an advanced culture that in various epochs has flourished and shone forth from the pages of history. We are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the world, and we support their just cause, despite the hostile stand adopted towards us by some of their ruling cliques, which we too hate as anti-popular. Our alliance with the peoples is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism and on the policy of supporting the liberation movement; this is the reason for the existence of this friendship, solidarity and understanding between the peoples of the world's continents and little socialist Albania. Socialist Albania feels strong not only because it relies on its free and monolithic people—and that is of great importance—but also because it enjoys the support of the freedom-loving countries and peoples of the world. The Albanian people are friends with all the peoples; in particular they are linked in close friendship with the great

Chinese people. In support of its rights socialist Albania has the sympathy of hundreds of millions of people in the world.

148. Herein lies one of our strengths, and this strength is directed against imperialism, social-imperialism and against all reactionaries and revisionists. Imperialism, social-imperialism, the revisionists and international reactionaries are striving to set up new empires, to forge new chains for the peoples. We are against these new chains; therefore, we love peoples, and they love us with all their hearts and fight together with us on one front.

149. In the present conditions it is more necessary than ever for the sovereign, freedom-loving and progressive peoples and sovereign States to increase their vigilance, to thwart the plans of their enemies, to prevent themselves from becoming pawns in that big and dangerous game which is being played by the imperialist Powers on a world-wide scale. Every day new events occur which show that one State is in conflict with another, and as soon as one fire is put out another flares up. This is clearly shown by the events in the Middle East, the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia, the events in Angola and the strife in Zaire. Who is fanning these fires? Who is causing these conflicts? Is it the peoples? No. The conflicts which exist today among some African countries and in various areas of the world have their roots primarily in the “divide and rule” policy of United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The peoples aspire to solidarity, love and brotherhood. And when we say so, we are not in the least indulging in idealistic dreams, but assessing things realistically. These situations arise because there are exploiting classes which fight against the exploited because, on a national as well as an international plane, there is a clash of conflicting and irreconcilable interests between these classes.

150. The interests of the peoples call for a courageous and determined struggle to strengthen independence and sovereignty against political, ideological, economic and military aggression, against imperialist intrigues and intervention. In order to keep in check the activities of big and powerful enemies backed by numerous resources, solid unity and true solidarity among the freedom-loving, progressive and democratic peoples and States is essential. The peoples achieve this unity and solidarity through determined struggle and concrete actions against all their enemies. The attempts to ignore essential differences among political forces in the world in the name of the unity and solidarity of the peoples and to reduce the question of unity to heterogenous groupings of States expressed in algebraic and arithmetic figures, with the most varied political régimes and options ranging from those maintaining anti-imperialist stands to those imposed by imperialism on some peoples and countries—these attempts create confusion, leaving the imperialist Powers and some reactionary régimes a free field of activity to speculate on the aspirations of progressive peoples and States and to weaken the genuine anti-imperialist unity of peoples. The successes achieved by the various countries struggling for their independent political and economic development are not the result of the fact that they are united in various groupings, but are the result of their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Imperialism and social-imperialism cannot

be fought with success nor can complete freedom and independence be secured if those in their service are not combated as well.

151. Likewise it would be dangerous for the peoples and countries which have recently shaken off the colonial yoke if, in their efforts to strengthen their independence, they agree to join the old colonial Powers or the groupings of the imperialist Powers, which are maintaining not only many economic, cultural and military positions there, but are also trying to occupy new ones. The colonialism of former times has suffered defeat. But imperialism, whether old or new, lives on and the methods it employs to establish and extend neo-colonialism are even more refined and dangerous.

152. Life has borne out quite convincingly the fact that the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are equally dangerous, to the same extent and in the same degree, to the peoples and their freedom. Even if under certain conditions one of them is forced to change tactics because of the blows dealt it by peoples, that does not mean that it has become less dangerous and that it is abandoning its aggressive and expansionist policy. Experience has shown that when a people or a nation is threatened or oppressed by one super-Power, it does not mean that the other super-Power no longer poses any danger to them and, even less, that it has become their "friend". Events in many areas of the world, such as the Middle East, in Africa and in other parts, prove quite well that both super-Powers have the same aggressive and hegemonistic intentions and are feverishly seeking to share the spheres of influence or to snatch positions from each other. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has said:

"... both when the super-Powers work together and when they quarrel, it is others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the super-Powers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy: to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world. They pose the same danger and this is why the two super-Powers are the main and greatest enemies of the peoples. That is why one must never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other."

153. Peoples are becoming ever more convinced that their liberation struggle can be crowned with success only when they fight unwaveringly and uncompromisingly against United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, that the independence of States and national sovereignty, security and peace can be preserved and strengthened only by maintaining an unwavering stand in the face of the two super-Powers and the other imperialist powers.

154. For several years the two imperialist super-Powers have been indulging in demagogy and have been resorting to various machinations in order to force the peoples into accepting the dangerous idea that every country must seek protection under the umbrella of United States imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism, that they have no recourse but to accept the protection of its "umbrella". Of course, the peoples cannot accept placing themselves under the tutelage of one or the other super-Power or joining one of them in order to oppose the other only because they are beset with

feuds and contradictions in the framework of their rivalry for domination and hegemony in the world.

155. The indignation of the peoples at colonial exploitation, tutelage, *diktat* and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination will rise to a boiling point. The subjective factors have already arisen and will also arise in the future, and the moment will come when the peoples will be free of all shackles. Shaking off the yoke of all foreign occupiers, the peoples themselves will achieve their national liberation and social emancipation. Socialism will achieve successes everywhere, for the peoples want it and dream about it, it is what they desire. Of course this can only be achieved through their joint efforts and resolute struggle, because the imperialists will never willingly lay down their arms.

156. The unity of the peoples in their fight for freedom, independence and social progress is essential. Unity is one of the main weapons of proletarian internationalism. The countries which are building socialism should do all they can to help the peoples fighting to achieve and preserve their national independence, as well as other peoples that aspire to advance on the road to socialism.

157. The so-called "aid" which the Soviet revisionists give other countries is not all sincere and free of self-interest; on the contrary, it is part of a policy of subjugation and coercion, of a chauvinist policy of a big State towards small nations. The revisionists' views about small nations are not in the least different from those of the imperialists. We say this advisedly, for we have had personal experience of it.

158. We are striving, and we shall always strive, to see that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are given sincere and disinterested aid which is free of any political condition and with no hidden motives. Only thus can true friendship be understood. Our Party and our State of the proletarian dictatorship have fought and will go on fighting courageously in that spirit and they are not alone in following this course. The peoples of the world are fighting together with them, among them the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

159. The concept of the relationship between the large States and the small States, between the large nations and the small nations, interpreted in the sense that the small must submit to the large is a deadly disease, a chauvinist concept, a survival from the past, a heritage of the capitalist-imperialist world outlook.

160. The progressive and freedom-loving peoples are waging and must continue to wage a ruthless struggle against this point of view. We will appreciate the importance and the role of the large States and large nations, but one should also have a thorough and correct grasp of the importance and the role of the small countries and nations, no matter how small they may be. Every nation, whether large or small, makes its contribution to the cause of the freedom and progress of mankind. Life itself, practice and struggle make things clear, distinguish people, sort out who is on the side of the peoples and who is against them.

161. Here in the General Assembly the great Powers have said quite enough about small nations. When one listens to

the statements of the representatives of the great Powers, the impression is given that their only concern is how to do good to the peoples of the small countries, how to take care of their progress and prosperity. But all this honey coming out of their mouths, all this alleged "concern", is but a sinister deception. The big Powers like to take the smaller countries by the hand, as if they were not able to walk on their own feet. They want to be their teachers and to treat them as if they were barbarians of the era of slavery, whereas they regard themselves as belonging to the nuclear age. They formulate a great number of proposals; they advocate the setting up of all sorts of organizations, allegedly to protect the peoples, particularly the smaller countries, from harm. In fact, what they desire is to put them under their own "umbrella" and to embrace them in order to suffocate them. All this "concern" shows that the big Powers are afraid of the small countries, hence each of them seeks to paralyse the militant energies of the peoples of these countries, to lead them astray from their just struggle, to set one against the other. But the great Powers are bound to fail; for the times when the small nations used to be impressed by myths and empires are gone. Peoples are masters of their own destinies. They will never accept chains, but will break them once and for all.

162. They attack Socialist Albania because it speaks the truth. It is true that we are small in number, but we are not afraid of the attacks of our enemies, for we know that today the true words of a small people are listened to with sympathy and respect by all honest men and the peoples of the world. The strength of small peoples lies in their militant spiritual unity with all the peoples fighting for their rights without sinking into intrigues, in their determination to carry through to the end their struggle for the fulfilment of their aspirations, against the aims of the imperialists and the revisionists.

163. In recent years many events have taken place which demonstrate that the so-called *détente* is a slogan invented and spread with the purpose of misleading the peoples, creating illusions that, in the world today, the chances of establishing peace and calm are allegedly greater than the dangers of war.

164. For years on end whole speeches from the rostrum of this Assembly have been devoted to the praise of "*détente*". But what is the real situation? The world has never been at peace. What we see in the world is not *détente*, but aggravation of contradictions, increasing conflicts and rising dangers of war. Not a single session of the United Nations General Assembly has been held without some grave crisis or a hotbed of war somewhere in the world created by the interference of the imperialist Powers. The so-called *détente* is but an aspect of the relations between the two super-Powers at various stages of bargaining between them. But bargaining between the imperialist Powers can in no way be considered as easing of tension. It is a source of danger for the peoples, and for international peace and security.

165. For some time the Helsinki Conference on so-called "European security" has been presented as a model of *détente*. But, just as expected, the Helsinki Conference brought no good to Europe. Not a single positive change has taken place on this continent. Nothing has changed in

the policies, the designs or the practices of the United States and the Soviet Union; on the contrary, the two super-Powers have intensified their efforts to strengthen their positions in their respective zones of influence and to challenge each other. Now it can be said with greater assurance than ever that even the decisions adopted at Helsinki have remained dead letters. The fiasco of the Helsinki Conference is evident also from the fact that the two sides are reduced to hurling accusations at one another for non-observance of the commitments entered into with so much ado in the Final Act of the Conference. One cannot but be surprised at the political actions of a Government which seeks to broaden the Belgrade conference through the participation of the countries of the Mediterranean area at a time when that same Government is providing the Soviet and American fleets with innumerable facilities in the ports of its own country.

166. The Albanian delegation states once again that for real steps towards true European security to be taken the first step must be to liquidate the aggressive military blocs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty, to compel the United States and Soviet troops to withdraw from the territories of European countries, to dismantle their military bases and to prohibit their military manoeuvres in the vicinity of the borders of the European countries.

167. In the Balkan peninsula, the situation is such as to give no grounds for satisfaction either. The two imperialist super-Powers are renewing their attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the States of this area. The peoples of the Balkans, who have suffered much from the games of the big Powers, regard those actions with legitimate concern and demand that the interference of United States imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in their internal affairs be stopped, that they be deprived of the possibility of using the Balkan States, as their instruments, against one another, or of using the territory of a Balkan State as a bridge-head for the realization of their aggressive plans.

168. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has spared no efforts to contribute to the cause of peace and security in the Balkans. More than once it has declared—and this it has borne out with facts—that never, and in no way, will the slightest evil come to neighbouring countries through its territory. We uphold the opinion that in the present situation the aspirations of the peoples of this area can be served better through the development of bilateral relations.

169. The continuing tension in Cyprus and the complications deriving from this situation are instigated and utilized by the two imperialist super-Powers for their intentions and interests. As always, the Albanian Government is of the opinion that a just solution to the Cyprus problem must be found by the interested parties, allowing no interference whatsoever by the imperialist Powers, and in compliance with the sovereign rights of the Cypriot people and the interests of the two communities living on the island.

170. The peoples of the Mediterranean countries have many proofs to convince them that their aspirations to turn the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and tranquillity cannot be realized as long as the aggressive military fleets of

the two super-Powers stay in that area. Therefore, a determined effort must be made to compel the United States of America and the Soviet Union to withdraw their fleets from the Mediterranean, and to refrain from providing anchorage or support bases for these fleets. For tranquillity and understanding to be established in the Mediterranean, every Mediterranean country must refuse to play the game of the two super-Powers in this area.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.

171. In the Middle East, the two super-Powers are becoming ever more embroiled in their interests, and are resorting to all means, wiles and intrigues in order to preserve their present positions and to penetrate deeper into this strategic area so rich in oil. With the powerful support of the United States of America, Israel continues to keep the Arab territories under its occupation and is becoming ever more intransigent. While the Soviet Union feigns to give support to the Arabs, it is really trying to deceive the world for, in fact, it is backing Israel and its aggressive policy in various ways.

172. It is clear that the plans of the imperialist Powers, such as the "step-by-step" solutions, the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, or the creation of a Palestinian mini-State, are nothing but dangerous manoeuvres prejudicial to the Arab peoples. These are meant to trample underfoot the rights of these peoples, to fan quarrels and divisions among them, to put down the just struggle of the Palestinian people and to liquidate their cause.

173. The Arab peoples are seeing ever more clearly that the Middle East crisis cannot be solved by the United States imperialists or the Soviet social-imperialists, who have provoked it and who keep it ablaze, and that their just cause will triumph by their relying not on the super-Powers, but on their own determined struggle, on the strengthening of their unity.

174. The Albanian people, who have been and will always be on the side of the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the other fraternal Arab peoples, are convinced that these peoples, with so glorious a tradition, will in the end emerge victorious from the protracted struggle against their numerous enemies.

175. The peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania, and Namibia have intensified their just liberation struggle against the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury, which are propped up by the United States of America and the other imperialist Powers.

176. The Albanian Government supports the just struggle of the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia and of the other African countries against the racist régimes, against *apartheid* and racial discrimination, against neo-colonialism and the brutal interference of the two super-Powers. It firmly condemns the policy of savage oppression and exploitation practised by the racist régimes in Africa. It also condemns the armed provocations of these régimes against the neighbouring States. The struggle of the African peoples enjoys the powerful solidarity and support of all the peoples of the world; it is a just struggle and it will triumph.

177. The Korean peninsula has been and remains a centre of tension and a danger to peace and security in Asia because of the aggressive policy of United States imperialism and the presence of its troops in South Korea. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always supported and continues to support the just struggle of the Korean people against United States imperialism and its instruments, and for the independent unification of the homeland.

178. The United Nations has been dealing with the question of disarmament for a long time, and quite a few resolutions have been adopted. Notwithstanding frequent talks, both overt and covert, and despite innumerable resolutions on disarmament, the armaments race is continuing at an ever more feverish pace and the two super-Powers are manufacturing more lethal weapons. The war budgets have been inflated as never before. Arms trade has assumed unprecedented proportions.

179. The Albanian delegation holds that the demagogic propaganda on disarmament, which the two super-Powers are conducting, must be exposed in the eyes of international public opinion. Imperialism and social-imperialism do not even think of disarmament. On the contrary, they are seeking to have a recognized right to uncontrolled and unlimited arming and uninterrupted perfecting of their weapons of mass extermination. They are trying to disarm others while preserving and increasing their stockpiles of weapons in order to bring permanent pressure to bear on peoples.

180. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is building socialism successfully and is forging ahead, firmly trusting in the principle of self-reliance. While Albania has received and may still receive some internationalist aid from a socialist country, this aid is by no means decisive for the fate of the socialist construction of the country and in no circumstance whatsoever can it become a cause for infringement of the independence and sovereignty of our country. Never before, and even less so today, has the People's Socialist Republic of Albania based its existence, freedom, independence and sovereignty on others. Albania has enshrined in its Constitution the fact that it desires to have political, economic and cultural relations with various States on the basis of equality, respect of sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit.

181. We do not stand for autarky and have a correct idea of what commercial relations among various countries should be. Those relations must be correct, equal and mutually beneficial, according to the "give-and-take" principle. We will be for trade with all those who want to develop trade relations with us. Of course, we do not base the development of our socialist economy on foreign trade, but on the all-round development of industry and agriculture, relying mainly on our own forces; therefore, the fact that we engage in trade with other countries by no means implies that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is dependent on anybody.

182. We will also promote cultural relations with other countries, in compliance with the principles and norms defined by our country, provided they are acceptable to the

other party, too. We will maintain such relations with those States which wish us well, in fields such as the exchange of literature, artistic presentations, films and the like. We should like cultural and artistic activities of other countries that take place in Albania to have a progressive, freedom-loving and popular spirit. There is no doubt that we have welcomed and will continue to welcome such activities with pleasure because they are a suitable means of communication and strengthening of friendship with various peoples and countries of the world.

183. The foreign policy of socialist Albania has been and is a correct, principled, above-board and consistent policy, the independent policy of a free and sovereign country. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has not traded on principles and will never do so. The imperialists, the social-imperialists and the other reactionaries are trying in vain to spread diabolic slanders about Albania; they are trying to create the impression that, under the pressure of international events, Albania will be compelled either to choose isolation and separation from the world or abandon the road it has been following to date. We declare openly and not in diplomatic terms that nobody should cherish illusions that "Albania is not an isolated country", that "it cannot live without foreign aid", or that "it will be compelled to stretch out a begging hand to anybody".

184. The imperialist Powers must entertain no illusions about that nor must they follow their ambition of imposing their will on socialist Albania. Nobody can impose his will on Albania; it does not threaten anybody, nor does it allow anybody to threaten it. It will successfully oppose any aggressor that may dare to violate its sacred borders. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania lives and will live on free, independent and enjoying full national sovereignty.

185. Albania is a fully independent country; it has long ago denounced the Warsaw Treaty and will never have military alliances with any State. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and its armed people will always successfully guarantee the defence of the freedom, national independence and territorial integrity of the country, because the policy of socialist Albania is a correct unequivocal policy opposed to any form of aggression, rapacious war, *diktat* or hegemony, tutelage or colonial exploitation, national oppression or racial discrimination. Albania has taken every measure to cope with any danger successfully. It will stand rock-firm, in the first place because its people are led by a strong and truly Marxist-Leninist party and because there is unbreakable unity between the Party and the people. Under the leadership of the Labour Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, our people are successfully building socialism and vigilantly defending the victories achieved.

186. In conclusion, the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania wants to point out that it will never fail to make its modest contribution to the discussion of the questions on the agenda of this session.

187. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*):

"Peace, security, independence and sovereignty for all cannot be secured by dealing only with the problems of

some. This also means that peace and security for anyone can only be the product of a universal effort in which everyone, small or big, participates on the basis of equality and of equal sovereignty, and when the truly vital rights of every country, however small, are equally respected and its grievances equally attended to."⁹

Mr. President, those are your words; you said that in 1973 in my country where you also represented a nation to which the cause of non-alignment owes so much. Those words express your progressive philosophy and your enthusiasm for the democratization of international relations, and they suffice to explain why Panama and all the countries of the third world are so deeply and sincerely happy at your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

188. The unanimous admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations is, at once, an act of justice and a world-wide recognition of what can be achieved despite tremendous obstacles by the courage, determination and dignity of a country on the road to freedom and nationhood. We also rejoice because of the admission of the young Republic of Djibouti; we wish it uninterrupted prosperity and progress. These are auspicious signs for the work now being guided by you at this thirty-second session.

189. Further, we wish, on behalf of the delegation of Panama, to applaud Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, who is so highly esteemed by all delegations, for his wise presidency of the previous session.

190. I would wish to express, on behalf of our delegation, the pleasure we share with the Spanish-speaking world because of the Nobel Prize conferred last night on Vicente Aleixandre, a Spanish poet. This really is recognition of vital importance of the so-called "generation of 1927" in Spanish culture.

191. On the American continent, it is only fair to say that events have occurred which no doubt will contribute to the establishment of an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and understanding among the countries of the region, which will also be reflected in the enthusiastic contribution which the Latin American countries will make to the work of the General Assembly. I refer to the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977, and the Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal,¹⁰ signed in Washington on 7 September 1977 by the President of the United States of America, Jimmy Carter, and by the Head of the Government of the Republic of Panama, Omar Torrijos, as well as the Declaration of Washington of the same date signed by the States Members of the Organization of American States and the Prime Minister of Canada.

192. As the culmination of a lengthy process of negotiation, the United States and Panama have arrived at a basic

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year*, 1699th meeting, para. 81.

¹⁰ See *Panama Canal Treaties: Message from the President of the United States* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 3-38.

arrangement on the question of the Panama Canal, with the purpose of eliminating the causes of conflict which have cast a shadow over relations between the United States and Panama and Latin America over the past 75 years.

193. The friendly agreement embodied in these treaties is due to the tenacious and constant campaign of the people of Panama, encouraged over the last years by the anti-colonialist attitude of General Omar Torrijos Herrera. Also, it is fair to recognize that it is also due to the democratic spirit and honest conscience of President Jimmy Carter, which finally rendered null and void the monstrous Hay-Bunau-Varilla Convention of 1903, that no Panamanian signed. That Convention, which was only voted later by people enchained by its arbitrary clauses, mortgaged forever the major natural resource of Panama.

194. The Carter-Torrijos treaties constitute a pact on a fixed-term basis, which recognizes the effective sovereignty of Panama over the whole of its territory and ensures the recovery of its jurisdiction over the Canal Zone within a period of not more than three years, assures the United States, as well as all other countries of the world, access for their ships to an open and neutral canal "on terms of entire equality".¹¹

195. In the same treaties, the Republic of Panama, as the sovereign territory, grants the United States a concession for the management, operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal for a period of 22 years.

196. The new contractual relations agreed to between Panama and the United States on 7 September 1977 appear in two Treaties, 3 related agreements, 10 annexes, 3 "Agreed Acts", 52 descriptive maps, 2 navigation charts, 9 exchanges of notes and 1 multilateral declaration.

197. Article IV of the Panama Canal Treaty provides, *inter alia*, that:

"The Republic of Panama and the United States of America commit themselves to protect and defend the Panama Canal. Each Party shall act, in accordance with its constitutional processes, to meet the danger resulting from an armed attack or other actions which threaten the security of the Panama Canal or of ships transiting it."¹²

198. But the vital fact, the irrevocable hope of successive generations of Panamanians, is that on 31 December 1999, the military presence of the United States on Panamanian territory will physically cease. The full historical significance of that fact is enshrined in the Treaties signed on 7 September last, because it is this military presence which in itself limits and undermines Panamanian nationality. It is not a matter of friendship or enmity between nations. What is at stake is the very essence of our national feeling, which has nothing to do with possible tactical or defensive alliances aimed at a specific objective and limited, therefore, by circumstances and other transitory factors.

199. Status as a nation and, as a vital part of it, sovereignty which is its greatest attribute are essentially

antagonistic to a foreign military presence within the national territory, particularly when that presence is one of the mightiest Powers in the history of the world. Specifically because of its weight, such a presence weighs unfavourably, albeit in a friendly and non-aggressive manner, on the soul of the people where it exists, with all that that tacitly implies for the social, political and economic existence of that people. That military presence in the case of Panama, because of the total disproportion of the two parties, is a hegemonic influence to be fought against from day to day at every level of daily life, to prevent the people from the experience of becoming outcasts, so that the nation will not become some hybrid, bastard country bearing no relation to its proper historical, ethnic and cultural traditions.

200. As for the near future, Panama is aware of its responsibilities and is prepared to take over the tasks of operating, administering and defending the interoceanic waterway. To do that, we have as a base of support the human capital represented by the Panamanians, who comprise 75 per cent of the labour force employed by the Panama Canal Company. Benefiting from the progress and the growing development of our educational system and professional resources offered by universities, my country has started to train the necessary technical staff. Furthermore, we are constantly increasing the number of scholarship students in the large technological training centres abroad. At the same time, as regards the defence of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, a major mission will be carried out by the new graduating class of our national military institute "Tomás Herrera", where, encouraged by the nationalistic spirit of the National Guard of Panama, thousands of young men are being trained in accordance with the new democratic concept which will be the most distinguishing factor of the armed forces of the continent.

201. I must now make special reference to the Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal.

202. My country is conscious of the importance of the Panama Canal as an international waterway for world navigation and wishes to invite the attention of Member States of the United Nations to the following, most important provision in article II of that Treaty:

"The Republic of Panama declares the neutrality of the Canal in order that both in time of peace and in time of war it shall remain secure and open to peaceful transit by the vessels of all nations on terms of entire equality, so that there will be no discrimination against any nation, or its citizens or subjects, concerning the conditions or charges of transit, or for any other reason, and so that the Canal, and therefore the Isthmus of Panama, shall not be the target of reprisals in any armed conflict between other nations of the world."¹³

203. In order to perfect the régime of permanent neutrality of the Panama Canal, the contracting parties, under article VII, undertake to open for signature by all the States of the world a protocol whereby the signatory States would make the neutral régime of the Panama Canal universal.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

204. The protocol of the Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal would be an invitation to all States of the world to give universal validity to the régime of neutrality to which both countries have agreed will govern the interoceanic waterway, so as to ensure permanent access to the Canal for the ships of every nation on the basis of complete equality.

205. In compliance with that commitment, this protocol will be open to accession by all States of the world from the date of its ratification and will for each State enter into force from the time it deposits its instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States.

206. The international instruments to which I have just referred are subject to the constitutional procedures of ratification by both parties: in the United States, with the assent of two thirds of the members of the Senate present at the time; in Panama by a majority vote expressed in a national plebiscite.

207. What is of particular significance in this respect is the Washington Declaration signed by the highest officials of the States members of the Organization of American States and by the Prime Minister of Canada, concurred in by a large majority of Heads of States or Government of the region, on the initiative of President Carter. That Declaration represents a new era in hemispheric relations and imprints a seal of continental solidarity on the new Panama Canal Treaties.

208. The Washington Declaration not only paves the way towards establishing a new international economic order in the Latin American developing countries, but is also a positive contribution to peace, security and progress for mankind by recognizing the importance for all States of the world of arrangements to ensure the accessibility and the permanent neutrality of the Panama Canal.

209. The lengthy process of negotiation which was carried out during the last 13 years has been justified before national and international public opinion as the peaceful means to set in motion the process of decolonization in Panama. The negotiations had to culminate in a formula of decolonization to put an end to the colonial enclave embedded in the heart of the territory of Panama.

210. To arrive at that goal, the Government of Panama assigned in the vanguard of our diplomatic front a group of negotiators to serve as spokesman for our national conscience. The agreements reached must be understood in their entirety as a formula for decolonization which is viable and acceptable to both Governments, and which is now subject to the scrutiny, review and approval of both peoples in accordance with their constitutional procedures.

211. It is an act of justice to recognize the patriotism, ability and devotion of the Panamanian negotiators who participated in the negotiations on the new Treaties. Also, equal devotion, ability and patriotism must be recognized as belonging to other citizens who had equally intense Panamanian feelings but who expressed disquiet, impatience or disagreement, or who disagreed wholly or in part with what is contained in the new Treaties.

212. The right to assent or dissent, a basic pillar for harmonizing human relations around national interests in modern States, is recognized as the very essence of the plebiscite to be held in Panama. The alternative is clear. Those who consider that the new Treaties constitute a suitable formula for decolonization will approve them. Those who believe the contrary will reject them. The results, whose genuineness can be endorsed by the United Nations, will bear witness to the desire of the people of Panama for self-determination.

213. Precisely in order that there should be no doubt of that right to dissent within the broad popular support of his administration, the Head of Government of Panama, General Omar Torrijos Herrera, has requested a United Nations presence during the plebiscite on the new Treaties. It is of the utmost significance for my country that the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has agreed to send a mission to Panama headed by a personal representative, to be present during the verification of the national plebiscite, which has been scheduled by law number 33 of 13 September 1977 to be held on 23 October 1977 in compliance with the provisions of article 274 of our National Constitution.

214. In this consultation with the people, Panamanian citizens will decide whether or not they approve the new Panama Canal Treaty, the Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, and the annexed documents, which were signed on 7 September in Washington.

215. In addition to the fact that the Treaties on the Panama Canal are operative in regard to decolonization, "the settlement of the Panama Canal issue", as it is stated in the Washington Declaration, "represents a major step toward strengthening of relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere on a basis of common interest, equality and mutual respect for the sovereignty and independence of every state".¹⁴

216. The Ashmun Canal Convention of 1903, better known as the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, imposed in perpetuity on the Republic of Panama to ensure construction by the United States of the waterway, is the only instrument still in force of the three ominous treaties designed to mortgage the existence of Latin American States whose territories were considered to be cross-roads for the major world maritime routes.

217. The "La Mesilla" Treaty concerning the border between the Republic of Mexico and the United States, signed at Mexico City on 30 December 1853, which assured on an indefinite basis free transit for the army of the United States through the Tehuantepec Isthmus, was abrogated by the joint action of those two great statesmen, Lázaro Cárdenas and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty between Nicaragua and the United States¹⁵ granted the latter country in perpetuity the right

¹⁴ See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. LXXXVII, No. 1999 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), p. 502.

¹⁵ Convention respecting a Nicaraguan Canal Route, signed at Washington on 5 August 1914. See *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States and Other Powers, 1910-1923* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1923), p. 2741.

to build an interoceanic canal by way of the San Juan River and the great lake of Nicaragua and was abrogated in 1971 by the Heads of Government of the two countries, Richard Nixon and Anastasio Somoza.

218. The Government of Panama has gone beyond the mere holding of a plebiscite by inviting a United Nations presence. On 13 September, the Head of Government, General Omar Torrijos Herrera, addressed a telegram to Mr. Andrés Aguilar, Chairman of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, stating that "the new Canal treaties are a symbol to the world of our desire to eliminate discrimination and injustice", and invited that Commission to visit Panama and report on the actual enjoyment of human rights there.

219. The statement by Torrijos in that document emphasizes the will of the Government of Panama fully to implement the exercise of fundamental human rights among the inhabitants of the Republic in every part of the country. It also reflects the decision to promote the effective functioning, within the jurisdiction of the Panamanian State, of the legal, regional and world mechanisms established to make human rights effective.

220. That is no isolated attitude. The immediate precedent for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted in 1948 by this Assembly, is to be found in the first draft on this question submitted to the General Assembly by the head of the delegation of Panama, Mr. Ricardo J. Alfaro.¹⁶ The ratification by Panama in 1976 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as the Optional Protocol thereto, was decisive in having those human rights Covenants proclaimed by the United Nations enter into force during that same year 1976. It was therefore possible to establish the Human Rights Committee, which affords an unprecedented procedure for the consideration of communications from persons who denounce human rights violations committed by States parties to the Protocol.

221. The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903, considered by many jurists as a political mortgage, as an anachronism, as a social fossil, will be abrogated in Panama when there is an exchange of the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties of 1977.

222. Panama, deprived until now of both its ports of entry to the Canal, has not been able to comply fully with its Bolivarian destiny to assist the sister republics of Latin America to implement the major integration plans of the founders of the republics of our hemisphere. Thus it can be understood how the 1903 Treaty has so far been a barrier to the unity, integration and accelerated economic development of Panama and of Latin America.

223. The origins and clauses of that Treaty have been so hateful that a distinguished historian from Argentina in his historical outline "From the Panama Congress to the Panama Canal" went so far as to say:

"The programme which Bolívar started in Panama in 1826 came to an end in 1903 also in Panama, which was

transformed from the cradle to the grave of the Bolivarian standard."

224. But Panama is and will continue to be a pedestal and not a tomb for the ideals of the Liberator.

225. Bolívar, who made of the isthmus of Panama the centre of his ideals and affection, thought of the city of Panamá as a capital for the Great Latin American Fatherland. Referring to the Act of Independence of Panama from Spain in 1821, he exclaimed:

"I cannot find words to express my joy and admiration on learning that Panama, the centre of the universe, is by itself brought back to life and freed by its own endeavours. The Act of Independence of Panama is the most glorious monument that any American province can offer to history. Everything is contained therein: justice, generosity, rational policy and interest."

226. As host to the Amphictyonic Congress of 1826, the nation of Panama, despite every vicissitude, has never failed to be loyal to the programme of Bolívar for the unity and integration of Latin America. Its most recent achievements in this unifying and integrationist mission were enshrined by the constitution of the Latin American Economic System reached in 1975 by the "Panama Convention",¹⁷ and the establishment of the Latin American Export Bank. This last entity was formally established on the initiative of Panama at the meeting of the Governors of the Central Banks of Latin America which was held this year in Guatemala City and which will start operating in Panama City with adequate financing from the region as an essential element for the sustained development of the Latin American countries.

227. Parallel with the Latin American movements born in the universities and in the major Latin American revolutions, new generations of Panamanians with a legacy of the ideals of all those who victoriously planted the standard of the liberator on the summit of Condorcunca have, without let or pause, pursued their arduous and lengthy road to battle for national claims and to redeem the historic mortgage incorporated in the 1903 Treaty. Among them and in the front line are the heroic teen-agers—the "aguiluchos" of the National Institute, as they are called in Panama—who in 1964 placed a cluster of Panamanian flags in the alienated Panama Canal zone and made it fertile with their blood. Together with them, are the students, teachers, professors, intellectuals, artists, the workers in the cities and in the fields, men and women of every age who have at all times responded to the national call and who are ultimately the Panamanians best entitled to judge what is just and proper in the new Treaties and their annexes.

228. Of course, from a pure, extreme and radical national perspective, some aspects of the new Treaties are not satisfactory. But, nationalities are not fully forged overnight, or by a single generation or group of individuals. Along the way towards the full attainment of a national Panamanian personality, there are obstacles and vicissitudes. To rise above them is the task of this generation and future generations, which must complete the work of the present one.

¹⁶ Official Records of the General Assembly, Second part of first session, Third Committee, annex 17.

¹⁷ Panama Convention Establishing the Latin American Economic System (SELA), signed at Panama City on 17 October 1975.

229. Precisely because of this collective struggle, this joint effort made by people of diverse ages and tendencies called together in this higher level of every civic debate is the element which, in itself, creates national unity for our national interest. Without national unity progress is made difficult. It is difficult to administer public affairs, and the supreme objective of a fully sovereign nation becomes distant in the perspective of time. It is obvious that among its positive advantages, the debate on the question of the new Panama Canal Treaties brings with it the promising possibility for national unity among the vast majority of the progressive forces of the country.

230. In the light of this perspective we have to take into account international circumstances. The Secretary-General, as the eternal champion of good causes, already said so in his report on the work of the Organization. He said:

"I know very well that a miraculous and sudden transformation to a new and better world order is inconceivable. I do, however, believe that we must try, in all our activities, to facilitate and accelerate the evolutionary process by which the relations of Governments in all important matters will be regulated and harmonized with the long-term interests of the world community in view." [A/32/1, sect. I.]

231. Thus, we are living at a time when there are military alliances, large power blocs from which few nations can be free, despite their own power. Fortunately, the spectre of a possible intercontinental conflict becomes ever more remote because of the paradoxical effect of the progress of the technology of war, the balance of terror, and so it may be assumed that the neutrality and operation of the Canal will not be threatened. A promising augury of this is that the Government of President Carter has signed Additional Protocol I of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco). But this is all for the future, for new groups of men and generations.

232. The Torrijos-Carter Treaties, viewed not only as a formula of decolonization but also as a pilot plan for international co-operation between Panama and the United States with a view to improving hemispheric relations, could be a decisive factor in accelerating the integration and unity of Latin America.

233. This new type of hemispheric relations can only prosper harmoniously, however, by complete compliance with the principles which are deeply rooted in the conscience of the peoples of this region and today enshrined in contemporary international law, such as respect for the territorial integrity and the independence of States, non-intervention by a State in the internal affairs of another State, self-determination of peoples, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the renunciation of the use or threat of force, the sovereign equality of States, and the application of fundamental human rights.

234. I would not wish to end without referring to an opposition which an arrangement in the Panama Canal question arouses in some circles in the United States. As was rightly said by Mr. Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the British Commonwealth of Nations:

"... to those in the councils of the United States... who urge that strategic interests should prevail over those principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity which are now part of the heritage of this hemisphere, let it be recalled that no way has ever yet been held—be it overland route or mountain pass or navigable straits—in defiance of the will of those who dwell around it."¹⁸

235. There are some who, with repeated obstinacy, seek to confuse the concept of the neutrality and the defence of the interoceanic way with that of intervention; but intervention has become a dirty word to the Latin American peoples who have suffered and have learned hard lessons from history. It may be said that the provision of international law which is most deeply rooted in the thoughts and feelings of the Latin American peoples is the principle of non-intervention. This has been the basis of relations between the United States and Latin America since in Montevideo in 1933 and Buenos Aires in 1936 the great North American Power renounced the principle of intervention by subscribing to the Declaration of the nations of the hemisphere, to the effect that direct or indirect intervention in internal or external affairs is inadmissible.¹⁹ The United States committed itself, in the event of violation of those principles, to joint consultations with the aim of arriving at a peaceful solution.

236. The United States, as a State party to the Charter of the Organization of American States and to the Charter of the United Nations, is committed to enforcing this principle at the regional level and throughout the world.

237. The Agreement in Implementation of Article IV of the Panama Canal Treaty strictly refers to defence against the danger of an armed attack or other action that might threaten the security of the Panama Canal or of the ships transiting it. This is not, nor can it be, a treaty to regulate the capacity for reciprocal aggression of the parties.

238. Logically the Treaty refers to third States which might commit acts or threats of aggression against the Panama Canal and the freedom of navigation through it. To confuse this situation with the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of Panama is to distort a specific clause, vitiating its semantic, political and legal value. This is totally unacceptable to the international community.

239. Here, of course, we are entering the field of moral assumptions because no one in this Assembly is unaware that, if the great Powers were to succumb to the temptation to abandon respect for ethical and legal rules, there is no public treaty or provision of international law which could stop them.

240. No country can proclaim itself the world champion of the rule of law and the freedom of the citizen claiming

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year*, 1696th meeting, para. 89.

¹⁹ For the Convention on Rights and Duties of States, signed at Montevideo on 26 December 1933, see *Treaties and Conventions signed at the Seventh International Conference of American States, Montevideo, Uruguay, December 3-26, 1933*, Law and Treaty Series No. 37 (Washington, D.C., Pan American Union, 1952), p. 78. For the Additional Protocol Relative to Non-intervention, signed at Buenos Aires on 23 December 1936, see League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. CLXXXVIII, p. 31.

that it stands in the forefront of international democracy and is the defender of the sovereignty of peoples and upholder of peace while, at the same time, suspending those principles in the case of small countries which, like mine, can only oppose force with the deep legal and moral conviction of a David defending his elementary rights.

241. The words I have the honour to address to this august Assembly on behalf of my Government and my delegation would be incomplete and lacking in an elementary sense of justice were I not to express the gratitude of the Government and people of Panama for the decisive support they have received from the world community, and particularly from the sister republics of Latin America and

those nations which constitute the majestic group of the non-aligned. Their support for the Panamanian cause, that has been given unstintingly, has been repeatedly demonstrated within this Organization. When the history of this time is written, when the problems now being confronted by the United Nations are resolved, when the balance sheet has been drawn up showing its actions and influence on world events, it will then be seen that the cause of Panama was one of the decisive proofs of the importance and beneficial action of this ecumenical assembly of free nations.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.