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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ABU ZEID (Jordan): Mr. President, it is my privilege to join all my colleagues in extending heartiest congratulations to you on your election to the high office of the presidency of the General Assembly at its current, twenty-seventh session. Your high qualities of statesmanship will be of great value as you steer the work of this session to the successful conclusion to which all Member States aspire.

2. I should like to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who, since his assumption of this key position, has worked tirelessly, with selfless dedication, towards fulfilling the resolutions and recommendations of this august body.

3. There are many people who believe that the United Nations is ineffectual in matters pertaining to the ultimate issues of human welfare. For this reason proposals are being made for amending the Charter. But it is often overlooked that it is the Member States that lay down and implement policies, and not an abstract body called the United Nations. This must be stated clearly and forcefully if the United Nations is to live up to the challenge which animated its founders more than a quarter of a century ago. They intended to ensure a supranational structure dedicated to peace with justice and to the unity of mankind.

4. There must be something wrong somewhere when the overwhelming will of this all-embracing body is flouted with impunity, as is the case in the Middle East. Peace and justice are indivisible, and the rule of law, whether in national or in international affairs, is likewise indivisible. This is the essence of collective responsibility, as well as the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

5. If my words reflect misgivings, it is not my intention to sound a counsel of despair. Both under the United Nations and independently of it, there is emerging in the world community a spirit of détente, which my delegation

wholeheartedly applauds. Many areas which, over the past quarter-century, have been hotbeds of potential confrontation have been turned into areas of accommodation, or at least of peaceful coexistence. My delegation expresses the hope that all States and all nations will join the trend towards abandonment of war as an instrument of policy.

6. One of the issues raised during the current session of the General Assembly is the item on international terrorism [*item 92*]. Jordan is opposed to violence, whatever its source or methods. Jordan is ready to participate effectively in any international measures to protect innocent civilians against violence. At the same time Jordan and, I am sure, all peoples of the world support the right of an occupied people—every occupied people—effectively to resist occupation and colonialism.

7. As I speak on behalf of Jordan and against a background of the problems which my country has been compelled to endure in consequence of the 1967 war, my remarks on the role of the United Nations in resolving conflicts assume a stark and deadly reality. And let me declare in the strongest terms that, with only the tragic exception of Indo-China, the Middle East remains the only area outside the pale of justice, peace and security. In Jordan human beings like you, gentlemen, are daily faced with tribulations violating every principle, concept or ideal to which the United Nations addresses itself. My address, therefore, to this distinguished gathering is far from being an academic exercise and, still less, a sermon on the virtues of virtuous behaviour.

8. What are the basic ingredients in the situation which is commonly referred to as the Middle East crisis? I fully realize that the case has been stated and restated very often, year in and year out; and yet it must be restated, if only because no progress whatsoever has been achieved towards its just and peaceful solution. On the contrary, the passage of years is compounding an already desperate situation and making it intolerable. The basic facts of the case, as of today, are as follows.

9. First, as a result of the 1967 war in the Middle East, nearly half of the citizens of Jordan have been, for more than five years, suffering the bondage and enslavement of Israeli occupation. A similar fate has befallen substantial parts of the territories of Egypt and Syria. Occupation, like slavery, is a curse, regardless of its nature or duration; it is doubly so when the victims are a whole population and when deliverance seems to be receding into an unknown abyss.

10. To us the issues at stake are fundamental: they are nothing less than a mortal threat to the very survival of

Jordan as a State and as a people. Israel makes no pretence about its determination to swallow up at least those substantial parts of Jordan which it already occupies. Peace, to the Israelis, seems no longer anything but an empty expression which is conveniently used in forums such as the United Nations—a use of language to conceal the aim.

11. Experience tells us that the people under Israeli occupation are not looked upon as a community of human beings with a birthright expectation of continuity in their homeland; rather, they are looked upon as things or obstacles, to be removed at the appropriate moment of Israel's choosing; hence the urgency of collective world action to bring about the speediest termination of occupation and the salvation of the multitudes in Israel's bondage.

12. Second, the traumatic consequences of the events of 1948, which resulted in the physical dispersal of well over 1 million Palestinian refugees, have been increased by the events of 1967—a repeat of those of 1948. An additional half a million victims were added to the ranks of the uprooted. They are referred to as “displaced persons” to differentiate them from their own compatriots, the 1948 refugees. But even this differentiation is becoming blurred as occupation continues unchecked. The United Nations resolutions pertaining to the immediate repatriation of the displaced population are being added to the stockpile of United Nations resolutions which Israel consistently ignores.

13. Third, the United Nations and its Member States have, since 1967, made every effort to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the conflict. On 22 November 1967, the Security Council adopted resolution 242 (1967); its points were clear, its intent specific. It reaffirmed the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and called for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories. It provided guarantees for a just and lasting peace. Both Jordan and Egypt accepted that resolution and all the obligations devolving upon them under its terms. Not only did they express their acceptance by every possible means and on every conceivable occasion but they also registered their unqualified acceptance in writing. That was done in the course of replying to specific questions put by the most able and dedicated Ambassador Jarring in the spring of 1969.

14. The Israeli response to Mr. Jarring's earnest mission was not only negative but also misleading and hostile. Israel continues to give such a response to this very day. The Israelis, in effect, have opted for territorial expansion in preference to the long-cherished goal of a just and lasting peace.

15. The United Nations and the world at large are fully justified in asking, why is it that peace seems so remote and elusive in the Middle East? What stands in the way of a solution of the problem which has kept the world on edge for almost 25 years?

16. We are convinced that there will be no solution to the Palestine problem until the problem of Israel is solved. What is the Israeli problem? Simply stated, here is a country created by this very body, the United Nations, when its membership still consisted of only a minority of

mankind. From the date of its birth in the heart of Palestine, over the protest of the Palestinian people themselves and their Arab neighbours and brethren, Israel has been the centre of never-ending conflict. Although a creation of the United Nations, Israel's outspoken defiance of this body and of its resolutions has weakened the power of the United Nations to the point of impotency.

17. Veterans of debates in this Assembly recall only too well the hope for peace that followed the truce of 1948; they recall only too well the subsequent resolution that guaranteed to Palestinians who had been driven from their homes the right to return to them or to be compensated for their losses [*resolution 194 (III)*]. Never did this body feel surer of its wisdom or more confident of its power: within months peace would return to the Middle East.

18. But that was the day that the power of the United Nations was first challenged and began to crumble. That was the day that Israel first defied the United Nations. Israel refused to allow one uprooted Palestinian to return to his home and refused to pay one penny of his losses. And for 25 years hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have lived in exile.

19. Today, of course—except when the budget of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East is passed—we have forgotten all about these refugees. Today our concern is with Israel's defiance of another resolution, the Security Council resolution of November 1967. Called on to withdraw from the Arab territories seized during the June war in return for a lasting peace, Israel has simply refused. Confident that its defiance will meet with no more than mild rebukes, it continues to occupy Arab land, and challenges the United Nations and the Arabs to do anything about it. So I submit that we must bring the Israel question before the General Assembly.

20. What is to become of Israel? Is it to go on from conquest to conquest, fulfilling at last the Zionist dream of a land extending from the Nile to the Euphrates? Despite Israel's past successes, this hardly seems a realizable goal while all the world is watching. Yet in the mind of many a Zionist zealot this is the only way to ingather the 12 million Jews from all over the world. Or will Israel content itself with holding on firmly to the Arab lands it already has: Sinai; the west bank of the Jordan, including Jerusalem; and the Syrian Golan heights? Five years have passed since those lands were occupied, and nothing on the horizon indicates Israel's intention to do anything else but to continue to occupy them.

21. Obviously, either the expansion or continuation of Israel's present course will lead to perpetual conflict. The former, I imagine, would bring others into the conflict. The latter—and this is much more likely to happen—would be the war into which both sides seem regrettably to be drafting. If such a war were fought, it would be to the end. It would lead to the devastation of the whole area.

22. For the moment Israel has rejected the right choice: the one offered in the 1967 resolution. It may well be that it will continue to reject it, year after year, as the years pass. The mentality of Israel's present leadership should

change to one less conditioned by fixed dogma and prejudice, one which will agree with the rest of the world that in the 1967 resolution lies the one best hope for a political settlement. It came as no surprise at all that the Israeli Foreign Minister, in his misleading speech before the Assembly at its 2045th meeting, chose to ignore the resolution altogether in a calculated affront to those who adopted it.

23. There are innumerable issues which can be intelligently explained only within the context of Israeli ideology and practices. First, there are the undisguised declarations of intent permanently to annex occupied territories of three Member States under the flimsy pretext of security. Does security, in the dwarfed spaces of the modern age, depend on a hilltop here or a little town there? Then, there are the attacks against the adjacent Arab countries, resulting in considerable loss of life and property, mainly amongst innocent civilians. We might add the negative attitude of Israel towards each and every attempt to resolve the conflict in accordance with the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967 and the scores of other related resolutions. Then there are the flagrant violations of the Geneva Conventions governing the rights of civilian inhabitants under occupation; the wanton destruction of villages and towns; and, last but not least, the dispersal of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants from the territories which fell victim to occupation.

24. No discussion of the crisis in the Middle East would be meaningful without emphasis in the strongest terms on the fate and future of Jerusalem, a city hallowed by hundreds of millions of believers—Moslems, Christians and Jews—all over the world. The Israeli claims to an exclusive hold on that great historic city and the systematic efforts since the occupation to transform its unique identity are not only a violation of its sanctity, but also a deep wound inflicted upon the conscience of humanity.

25. It was in recognition of this fact that both the General Assembly and the Security Council adopted specific resolutions for the preservation of Jerusalem. These were in addition to the Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967, which provided for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories, including the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem.

26. The Israelis describe their annexation as unification, ignoring the fact that there can be no unification in bondage, where one community tramples upon the soul, the human dignity, the land and the accumulated culture of other communities.

27. As we declare that we hold on to our rights in Jerusalem, let me emphasize in the name of Jordan and of all peoples of goodwill that believe in the unique sanctity of Jerusalem, that it will always remain the key to a just and lasting solution in the Middle East.

28. One of the most crucial developments that stemmed from the June war of 1967 has been an awareness throughout the world of the magnitude of the injustice that has befallen the people of Palestine. The people of Jordan and Palestine are one and the same. The people on both banks of the Jordan have shared a common national life

over the past quarter-century. The aspirations of the Palestinian people to restore their national identity, which was brutally shattered in 1948, has inspired Jordan to seek ways and means of promoting the constructive expression of a Palestinian identity without destroying the basic unity that binds the east and west banks together. It is sometimes overlooked that almost every family on the west bank of the Jordan has sons, daughters, mothers and in-laws on the east bank, and vice versa.

29. The Israeli occupation of the west bank has resulted in one of the most massive and shattering cases of family separation that history has ever known. The temporary visits to the next-of-kin on the occupied west bank, to which the Israeli Foreign Minister gave a distorted meaning, merely serve to highlight the magnitude of this human tragedy.

30. Inspired by the imperative need to preserve the basic unity of our country without forfeiting the regional identities of the two components of the Kingdom, Jordan has put forward a plan for the creation of a federal State—the United Arab Kingdom.

31. The United Arab Kingdom would comprise two autonomous regions: the Jordanian and the Palestinian. The Palestinian region within the federation would be open as a homeland to every Palestinian wherever he might be. He would then be a citizen as of right and not on sufferance. It is an effort towards the gathering in of the Palestinian people after their inhuman Diaspora. It would be open to unity with any Palestinian territory so choosing. Its capital would naturally be Arab Jerusalem.

32. The plan would not only ensure the gathering of the Palestinians into a territory which is theirs but would also maintain the essential link of that Palestinian identity with the rest of the Arab world, of which the Palestinians are an integral part, through its association with the eastern part of the Kingdom.

33. I should like to stress that the plan would become feasible and capable of implementation only after the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab lands. What stands in its way? It is the problem of Israel.

34. Israel has more than once achieved its military objectives in its conflicts with the Arabs, but not once has it succeeded in achieving the fruits of its successes, or peace. All wars and struggles, no matter how intense or brutal, end in peace. The war which Zionism has waged and continues to wage against the Arab nation is an exception. The reason is what I have called the Israeli problem.

35. Let Israel free itself of the militaristic obsession. Let it free itself of Zionist euphoria and genuinely reach for peace.

36. Already there are internal rumblings that will grow louder in the coming years if only given a proper and just chance. Among those rumblings are: the present openly expressed realization among Israelis that an injustice has been done to Palestinians; strikes and demonstrations against racial discrimination; the steady increase in the emigration of skilled western Israelis back to western

countries; the restlessness caused by the second-class status of eastern-born Jews as compared with European-born Israelis; the growing fear that with no new crisis Western dollars will no longer flow in such a steady stream.

37. These and other signs of inner discontent are troubling the Israeli leadership. But they are giving encouragement to the rest of the world—or at least to part of it—that a new world can emerge in the Middle East.

38. In the struggle to reach such a new world in the Middle East Jordan intends to play no small or insignificant role. It has set its course for a vigorous march to a happy and prosperous future. With wise and courageous leadership, the good will of its people and the support of its friends everywhere, Jordan intends to contribute its share to the future of this world.

39. Mr. VASQUEZ CARRIZOSA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The United Nations continues to be the great hope for mankind to organize relations among States in a system based on peace and the dignity of the human person. On this road towards full justice the world becomes each day more united in its historic destiny. For this reason my opening words must be a greeting to those who constantly serve this ideal and, first of all, to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and to the President of the General Assembly, who is presiding over our work with such impartiality and efficiency. This is the great forum of the nations, whose hallmark is freedom of expression and in which our problems can be discussed.

40. The year that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly has confirmed the trend that we noted towards an almost total liquidation of the so-called cold war. This is a circumstance which is welcomed by all nations despite the difficulties still encountered in the work for peace. But it is a fact that hatreds are disappearing as are also the territorial scars of the frontiers whose recognition by the German nation was, until a short time ago, in doubt.

41. Today there is the possibility of a policy of understanding between Eastern and Western Europe, and the day is not far distant when the once separated blocs will begin talks on a European security agreement. This is a new example of the efficacy of regional security arrangements, which Latin America advocated at the San Francisco Conference as being the true interpretation of the precepts of the Charter dealing with regional arrangements, based on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. At that time this Latin American doctrine appeared to be a heresy from the universality of the principles of the nascent Organization, but time has shown that in the solutions of the problems of peace regionalism is the best way to achieve international co-operation.

42. Furthermore, with the entry of the People's Republic of China the balance between the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, has been replaced by a triangular concept of world decisions. Whatever our position may be with regard to the entry of that great Asian country to the world Organization, the fact is that the road has been opened to multipolarity in international policy, which is further strengthened by the fact that the number

of independent States which have shaken off the tutelage of colonialism and achieved the category of Members of the United Nations has increased steadily.

43. In this last third of the twentieth century we are nearing a truly world-wide political order which has far outstripped the concept of exclusively European international policies. Never before, perhaps, has the United Nations been better able to aspire to universality and to being an Organization which represents all continents.

44. Despite the good omens that encourage understanding among nations there has been unleashed on the world a wave of terrorism which manifests itself in different ways and which in some cases assumes the proportions of virtual political aggression. This violence does not stop at the borders of the countries in conflict, but takes place anywhere in the world, which is tantamount to a continuation of belligerency on neutral soil and makes victims among the peoples of countries completely outside the battle. This singular trend of our day seeks the methods of terrorism to introduce this new form of war among nations. This was the case in the events that recently took place during the Olympic Games in Munich, whose tragic results shook all mankind.

45. Colombia condemns violence in any form—whether it be personal attack, skyjacking, the taking of hostages, or collective massacres—for all of them constitute a return by man to those eras which we had thought belonged to the past: the use of primitive means of violence to achieve political ends.

46. The Charter lays down principles governing normal relations among Member States and we do not believe that they can be applied differently when law, reason and right must prevail over instincts of violence.

47. We could never condone any type of attack or violence as licit forms of the struggle to solve international differences. Our civilization, already sorely beset by so many elements of violence, by individual crimes, by drug abuses, and even by the befouling of the air we breathe, will be even more seriously threatened—and I would say doomed—if those who practise sports, cultivate the arts and letters or proclaim peace are included among the belligerents in a conflict that is not of their making.

48. But all violence has a cause, and the United Nations cannot overlook the fact that one of the aspects of the conflict in the Middle East—the destiny of the Palestinian people—is still awaiting solution. The problems involved in that long war are many, and a careful study must be made of all of them, as well as of the possibilities for peace which Colombia advocates and hopes will be based on justice and equity for the countries concerned, as stated in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which calls for the integrity of States within secure and recognized frontiers.

49. Terrorism has also assumed the equally dangerous guise of skyjacking, whose stigma as a specific crime will remain a simple academic matter until a clear procedure for extradition—which we still await—is evolved. While there exist countries that serve as privileged sanctuaries to the kidnappers, this other type of useless violence will persist.

50. Solidarity among all nations must be tightened in order to eradicate the use of terrorism as a political weapon, as well as other forms of violence. But this presupposes the widest possible exercise of the self-determination of peoples as the guiding and basic tenet in the life of nations. The very Charter of our Organization sets forth this principle.

51. Colombia has defended ideological and even economic plurality as facets of a policy of tolerance and respect for the self-determination of peoples regarding the choice of their own systems of government, and we feel that an effort that has been neglected for over 10 years—that of determining of rights and duties of States—should be resumed in order to draft a treaty to complement our Charter, which has left many blanks in the clear-cut definition of the true rights and duties of all States.

52. Colombia is firmly convinced that self-determination of peoples is the key to peace, and its denial the beginning of war. Intervention is another ancient aspect of international life that has become anachronistic, now that powerful nations which fought in the last World War and which today represent different ideologies are tied by links of friendship and the Organization has approved so many declarations on peace and the rights of States by universal consensus.

53. More than 60 nations that were mere colonies during the last World War have since become emancipated, and this process is irreversible and cannot be stemmed or interfered with by interventions that create fictitious situations. So the war in Viet-Nam cannot be left as a war, with neither end nor victory for either of the belligerents until the right of self-determination of that people is fully recognized.

54. New generations know well that war pays no dividend and that in a nuclear age it is as dangerous as to play with fire in an ammunition dump. Strictly local wars are a thing of the past, and whenever they may occur there is the inevitable fear of their spreading and of the indefinite continuation of the conflict where both troops and civilian populations suffer equally.

55. War today is more cruel and destructive than before because of the sophistication of the weapons and the use of chemical and technological means for the extermination of the adversary. Today the entire nation is the battlefield—the nation with its open cities, its industrial complexes, its irrigation networks and its crops. “Total war”, which in 1914 seemed an apocalyptic nightmare, has today become an everyday reality, a more harsh and cruel reality for those masses who are not to blame for living so close to the inferno. Thus we wonder whether the lessons of Korea—today on the way to unification—might not serve as a blueprint for the two parts of Viet-Nam which, after more than 10 years of destruction and scorched earth, lies desolate and wasted as the result of a war which General de Gaulle foresaw would leave only the dead, without victors or vanquished.

56. The world in which we live is in essence a plural society in which no other stand is valid but that of the full recognition of the tangible and visible reality of the existence of a multiplicity of political and social systems.

Colombia has understood this fact and entertains relations with Governments of the most diverse ideologies and social disciplines, with the single and special understanding that none will interfere in our domestic affairs, as we would not interfere in those of others. For many years the Latin American regional system has been based upon precisely this recognition, as we stated during the visit to Bogotá of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile, my eminent friend Mr. Clodomiro Almeyda, when we proclaimed the need to recognize ideological diversity.

57. The political régime of no country can be an exportable commodity. If we admit this irrefutable fact of our day, we will have made significant progress towards the building of a new international order characterized by mutual tolerance, respect for human rights and the general exercise of the right of self-determination of peoples. We must transfer to the international arena the same evolution that has taken place within the democratic and representative state, where parties coexist as organized elements for political and public action within the framework of the law.

58. That same pluralism is carried over into the field of economics. The variety of systems in the world also applies to economic and social matters; and international organizations must start with the premise that their primary task is to build bridges between different types of society. World exchange is necessary among all countries for, when all is said and done, we live in a society in which progress must be intensively speeded up in order to cope with “revolution of rising expectations” which is occurring everywhere.

59. Colombia has been following this practice and applying it constantly to our relations with other continents and in our own Western hemisphere, where, with the countries of the Andean region, we are making headway in our experiment to integrate our economies and harmonize our economic practices in order to make joint plans to do away with tariffs simultaneously and to set our common industrialization targets.

60. Generally speaking, international treaties and agreements must be able to withstand the acid test of changes of government, for they cannot be considered as applying to specific persons or parties, ceasing to exist when these disappear, as were the family agreements of the monarchic period of the eighteenth century.

61. An era of negotiations has, in fact, dawned in relations between the great Powers, quite in keeping with the system which we have termed the triangular system of world decisions. Those negotiations have borne visible fruits in the relations among those great Powers and obviously they have a beneficial effect on peace.

62. The triangular system is extremely restricted, extending to a very few nations, and overlooks the rest, the medium-sized and smaller countries. Special envoys are reminiscent of the diplomacy of the last century, when there were no world or regional organizations of many nations linked by legal statutes establishing methods and ways of approaching the international problems and the means of solving the differences among States. Chapters VI and VII of the San Francisco Charter, which deal with the peaceful settlement of disputes and actions to be taken in

case of threats or breaches of the peace or acts of aggression, seem to have been shelved. Excessive pragmatism on the part of the great Powers in the handling of world affairs has produced the strange phenomenon of the eclipse of the Security Council as the supreme body of the United Nations and the guide of the world political system as originally intended at the San Francisco Conference.

63. The immediate prospects for the United Nations are not encouraging. Progress towards peace is not paralleled by the same progress in international institutions. The San Francisco Charter is tending to be replaced by a system of secret negotiations among the powerful nations, and a new Charter of an exclusively political nature is being formed through tacit agreements among the great Powers, relegating the earlier institutions set up by the Charter to a secondary place. And thus in a few years we might well be confronted by two statutes, the nominal San Francisco Charter, and the more real and effective Charter elaborated by the great Powers.

64. This is a disturbing thing for the medium-sized and smaller nations, as has been recognized by our Secretary-General when, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, he notes that the United Nations has "proved to be of limited value as an instrument of collective security" [*A/8701/Add.1, p. 1*]. Without overlooking the special responsibilities resting on the great Powers, the Secretary-General quite rightly goes on to state:

"The world order that we are striving to build in the United Nations must meet the requirements of such a society"—a world society, that is—"and any other system, however effective in the past, obviously cannot be acceptable, in the long run, to the peoples of the world. The interests, the wisdom and the importance of the vast majority of medium and smaller Powers cannot, at this point in history, be ignored in any durable system of world order." [*Ibid., p. 2.*]

65. The United Nations is limited by the circumstances that I have mentioned and, particularly, by the exclusive interplay of the interests of the great Powers themselves. Surely, we do not lack principles—nor do we want for basic norms for peace—but we are simply faced by the desire to consider them as nothing but a series of academic rules.

66. We do not for a moment imagine that we can alter that triangular system which rules world affairs at the moment. But we do believe that we should at least try to revise some of the basic aspects of the Charter of the United Nations. Colombia pledged its unreserved support to the United Nations from the very first years of the Organization's creation and, despite the limitations we have mentioned, we are still of the opinion that in the San Francisco Charter lie the keys to peace and to understanding among peoples.

67. The problem does not lie in new and solemn declarations of principle, but rather in a readjustment of outmoded procedures and models of conduct. No social organism can permit itself the luxury of immutability or of staying on the sidelines while great changes in the structure of countries and in the physiognomy of continents take

place and when basic modifications in the technological capacities of mankind occur.

68. One indispensable condition for the correct functioning of United Nations institutions is that the idea of disarmament should be made a reality. While countries of all the continents spend the astronomical figure of \$200,000 million a year on armaments, as U Thant, then Secretary-General of the United Nations, pointed out not many months ago, no thought can truly be given to the full implementation of the legal processes established in San Francisco for the solution of international disputes that lead to so-called local wars.

69. The excess of armaments in the world is one of the main obstacles to the true fulfillment by the United Nations of its political and universal mission and it is one of the reasons for the survival of poverty and misery in many parts of the world. With an annual investment of \$200,000 million, a considerable restriction is placed on the amounts that could be assigned for peace and the progress of the hungry, the illiterate and the disease-ridden peoples.

70. In the Organization of American States, Colombia has raised the question of the need, even on the smaller scale of Latin American armaments as compared with those of the great Powers, of laying down proportionate yardsticks to avoid increasing unnecessary military expenditures.

71. Disarmament is the corner-stone of the edifice of the United Nations. Any revision of the Charter requires and presupposes this condition which is as imperative for the great Powers as it is for the medium-sized and small States.

72. Apart from the above, the basic Colombian idea can be summarized as the desire to eliminate outdated provisions of the Charter such as the mention of "enemy States" in Article 53, which resorts to a language that dates back to the Second World War of more than 30 years ago.

73. We also believe that the powers of the Secretary-General, according to Article 99, should be strengthened. In this way, he would be able not only to "bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security", but also to ask for the convening of a meeting of the Security Council whenever he deemed it appropriate. Because of his special experience and responsibility, the Secretary-General should be endowed with the power permitting him to call for a meeting of the highest body of the United Nations on questions of security and the maintenance of peace. We also seek greater decision-making powers for the General Assembly in the designation of the Secretary-General, allowing it to make a selection from a three-name slate submitted by the Security Council.

74. On more important matters, Colombia has suggested: The widening of the universality of the United Nations by making it a right for all States to become Members, rather than a favour, as it is at present; the consideration of a new category of "Associated States" in order to settle the problem of the so-called "mini-States", thus making it easier for such States to enjoy economic and social co-operation—and even co-operation in the political field and in that of security—while not imposing on them the

burdens of membership, which might be too onerous for them; the revision of the rules of the Security Council so that the unanimity of all five permanent members is not necessary in the case of simple elections to fact-finding committees or bodies dealing with humanitarian problems; the establishment of a peace force that will not be a fighting army, but a body intended to give military assistance in order to prevent certain areas from being totally unprotected or to guarantee peace formulas between former combatants; the updating of the functions of the Trusteeship Council in view of the fact that now only two territories of only relative importance fall under its jurisdiction and that even these territories are due to achieve autonomy in the very near future, when the Council will have no further duties and could be entrusted with trusteeship over human rights; the consideration of a closer relationship between the International Court of Justice and the tasks of peace as well as the creation of specialized branches for questions of a regional nature.

75. A special matter which should be discussed in the Assembly, in an endeavour to equip the United Nations to meet the needs of the times, is that of co-ordination between the many and varied existing economic organs. The proliferation of international organs is far too well known to require further comment, but the multiplicity of economic organs both inside and outside the United Nations does call for comment. The delegation of Brazil has proposed that the Economic and Social Council, expanded and reorganized, should become the equivalent of the Security Council—on economic questions. In principle, my delegation and Government support that idea since it offers us an opportunity to ponder co-ordination among boards, conferences, commissions, bodies, all of which, in one way or another, deal with the same matters and come to different conclusions.

76. The United Nations was created when less than half the countries that today compose the third world were in existence—when there was no hint of the claims submitted by the developing countries later at the three sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held at Geneva, New Delhi and Santiago in 1964, 1968 and 1972 respectively. The changes that have since occurred have completely transformed the nature of the discussions on international trade and economy.

77. Therefore, it should be only natural for the Economic and Social Council to serve as a body to co-ordinate and make decisions on matters within its competence without prejudice to UNCTAD continuing to be the forum for discussions between the industrialized nations and the third world.

78. One of the lessons that can be learned from the third session of UNCTAD is that the items to be discussed and dealt with among 140 countries of the most diverse economic capacities and geographical size should be more specialized.

79. The 22 items included in the agenda for the third session in Santiago were in point of fact an agenda not only for one, but for two, or even three, conferences of that type. The items were so extensive and difficult—items such as the trade and economic aspects of disarmament; the

repercussions of environmental matters on trade; the present international monetary situation; the encouragement of exports; non-tariff barriers—and even one item that belongs more properly on the agenda of the Security Council: the closure of the Suez Canal.

80. We fear that these international conferences may easily lead to world-wide pandemonium, or to compromise resolutions that treat conflicting positions equally and refer them to study groups.

81. Apart from this, the questions raised at the third session of UNCTAD were all so closely linked to the international monetary situation, that, without a solution to the latter great problem, it is almost impossible to speak of doing away with barriers and obstacles to increased trade. An international trade policy is basically a policy of prices and of remuneration for labour in all 140 countries that were represented at Santiago. That fair-price policy for labour in the developing countries must take into account the monetary fluctuations of the great Powers and the lowering of the purchasing power which these bring about.

82. The disparities between the price system for industrial goods and the poor payment for raw materials are still all too obvious, and therein lies the major problem confronting the economy of the world.

83. Without dwelling on individual decisions of the third session of UNCTAD on the various items on its agenda, what was most notable there was the will of the countries of the third world to participate in bodies whose decisions affect their economies—that is, ultimately, the very fate of their peoples.

84. The bad precedent of a few and powerful countries possessing the power of decision on international monetary questions that affect all countries must be considered outmoded and should not be repeated.

85. International democracy cannot be a mere skeleton—lifeless and still—nor should it be only a literary subject worthy of mention at the inauguration of conferences and in welcoming speeches.

86. The developing countries are beginning to take a decisive part in the international discussions on the law of the sea, whose evolution had, until a few decades ago, been subject to the control of the more powerful and wealthy nations.

87. Narrow territorial waters and freedom of navigation had been the ideal set-up for the great maritime Powers in order to ensure them unhampered entry into all seas and the exploitation of the oceanic wealth of all continents. That situation, so typical of the colonial enterprises of the nineteenth century had, as one of its mainstays, the three-mile limit that some countries proclaimed as a principle of international law. But colonialism is no longer a reality of our day.

88. As of 1945, and more noticeably since 1958, after the first United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the developing countries conceived new formulas that constitute a trend towards reviving the rights of the coastal States

and their sovereignty over the wealth of the seas adjacent to their shores. This was due to very special situations which must be conceded by the great Powers, and among these was the need to protect the plankton that serves as feed for a great number of sedentary or benthonic species against the reckless exploitation and exhaustion of these resources.

89. Following this line of thought, Colombia, together with 15 other countries of the Caribbean, formulated the doctrine of the patrimonial sea in the Declaration of Santo Domingo [A/8721, annex I, sect. 2], approved at the meeting of the Ministers of the Specialized Conference of Caribbean Countries on Problems of the Sea in June of this year. That doctrine is the most constructive and carefully weighed contribution made to date to find regional solutions on the basis of the existence of an economic zone and of the sovereignty of the coastal State over the exploitation of the resources of the sea adjacent to its shores.

90. Our view is that the formula that is most closely akin to the legal realities of all continents is the one that recognizes an initial security zone, or territorial sea, of 12 nautical miles and an adjacent zone of primarily economic significance of variable widths up to 200 miles, depending on the width of the maritime areas and the location of archipelagoes in narrow seas like the Caribbean, where 200 miles cannot be drawn in all directions without infringing the sovereign rights of other States. The issue here is that those zones should allow freedom of navigation—the *jus communicationis*—and not become closed seas, and that at the same time, a unilateral proclamation should not infringe the sovereign rights of States with adjacent or facing maritime zones. We believe that those zones should be defined in international law, for we want to pass from the stage of purely unilateral declarations of claims by States to the stage of regional agreements governed by international law.

91. Colombia has been willing to have talks with other countries of our hemisphere in order to co-ordinate the different interpretations of the 200 miles in a regional agreement. This would be at a conference of the Latin American States that could at the same time serve as a preparatory conference for the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to be held in 1973. Our attitude is one of international co-operation, but we realize that a new phase of this field of law has been reached by the emergence of clear economic needs.

92. The economic zones of the adjacent seas have even become a symbol of Latin American nationalism.

93. The number of items that will appear on the agenda of the forthcoming Conference are increasing considerably. Perhaps the authors of General Assembly resolution 2750 C (XXV), calling for the Conference in 1973, did not quite appreciate the universal scope and the great variety of problems that would arise because of the political and economic realities, scientific progress and the rapid technological developments of the last 10 years. Apart from the purely juridical and political factors that tend to modify the 1958 concepts on the territorial sea, the continental shelf, the high seas and fishing rights, there are now the problems of pollution of the marine environment and international co-operation in oceanic research. If we add to

these the complex questions of the sea-bed, we find that there will be too many subjects for a single conference of limited duration to deal with.

94. Colombia wishes a programme of work for that forthcoming Conference to be prepared here and now. It should not be impossible to envisage subdividing purely scientific questions, such as marine pollution and international co-operation in research, as well as certain aspects of the sea-bed, to form a special category of problems to be dealt with at special meetings within a co-ordinated work-plan, for the Conference must not become fragmented through a proliferation of items.

95. On the other hand, the other legal and political questions would be dealt with as a whole in a programme of work that will avoid confusion in the debates on matters of a complex nature for which delegations will have to prepare themselves, first of all, to decide upon a policy for the sea and then, and only then, to take up the discussion of carefully prepared texts of articles or paragraphs of resolutions or conventions. In the discussion of the problems of the sea, priorities must be established.

96. In one word, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will have to set down criteria of its own on three main aspects: the expanded economic zones, the sea-bed and ocean floor, and the contamination and the ecology of the seas together with related scientific research. But at its present session, the General Assembly could make some progress with the organization of work.

97. My country has a consistent and lengthy tradition of compliance with international law in dealing with all foreign affairs problems. I do not believe I would be overstating the case if I say that our international conduct has always been clearly in keeping with the precise terms of law and of treaties. We do not believe that might makes right, or that violence and intimidation can be instruments of international policies. Our frontiers are clearly marked and we aspire to the territory of no other country.

98. Because of this constant principle of my country, we seek a more just world community governed by the norms and principles of international law. We wish to see co-operation among States developing in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations—not that we need principles and rules, but because we must have the will of all States to put them into effect. The international justice we advocate is not simply theoretical but is eminently practical, and is designed to find the causes of existing conflicts and to promote equitable treatment for the developing nations.

99. The myth of peace must, in this last quarter of the twentieth century, become the effective reality of peace. Despite its obvious shortcomings, the United Nations is still a good means of seeking that goal that is so ardently desired by my country—and the immense majority of men and women of all other countries of the world. The sufferings of the war-torn peoples are the best justification for our appeal for peace—in justice and law.

100. Mr. TEPAVAĆ (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, in congratulating you on your

election to the high office of President of our Assembly, I wish first of all to emphasize the confidence which the Yugoslav delegation places in your outstanding abilities, from which I am certain our session will greatly benefit. In your person I also greet a representative of socialist Poland, a country to which the people of Yugoslavia is linked by ties of deep-rooted friendship and co-operation in all fields.

101. It gives me great pleasure likewise to associate myself with all those who have expressed their appreciation for the wise way in which the Foreign Minister of the friendly State of Indonesia presided over the work of the twenty-sixth session of our Assembly.

102. I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to express to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, at this first session of the General Assembly which he is attending in his capacity as Secretary-General, our appreciation for the active and notable initiatives he is undertaking.

103. It is an undeniable fact that the past year has been exceptionally rich in events and in changes. The immediate future will best show, after all that has occurred, whether the world has good reason to feel more at ease and more secure today, or whether its contradictions have merely been somewhat attenuated.

104. The United Nations has played a great role in preparing and in promoting the current process of negotiation and détente. But it is equally true that a great many events have taken place outside the United Nations and without its participation. Bilateralism in relations among the great Powers can never conflict with the role of the United Nations, with one proviso, and that is that everything achieved by the great Powers in their mutual relations contributes toward the creation of better conditions for the effective solution of the fundamental contradictions of our times. In a world characterized by general interdependence, relations among great Powers affect all international relations to such a degree that even their mutual relations can no longer be regarded as their exclusive business. We have no doubts as to what has already been achieved on the bilateral level, but it is our feeling that the international community as a whole must necessarily be the architect of the peace, the progress and the co-operation to which we all aspire and the ensuing responsibilities and obligations are incumbent upon all of us.

105. In short, we wonder more and more about the nature of the relaxation of tensions, about the negotiations and the détente that are now emerging. What benefits will the smaller and poorer countries derive from the determination of the great and developed countries to avoid conflict among themselves and to normalize their relations?

106. However, developments and tendencies that run counter to détente and the easing of tensions, far from having disappeared, have lost nothing of their fundamental force. Imperialism and other forms of hegemony, of economic inequality and foreign interference, far from being checked, are in fact attempting to impose themselves once more in other forms.

107. The world must beware of tarrying too long at a crossroads where, although general confrontation is not an

imminent danger, the solution of the most pressing problems is likewise not an immediate prospect.

108. For all these reasons, I feel that I am not wrong in saying that a period of new and increased obligations and responsibilities has begun for the United Nations. The United Nations archives are filled with a huge number of documents and decisions, the validity of which no one can question, but the implementation of which is in no wise guaranteed. The United Nations will experience a rebirth only if, in the present détente, it succeeds in finding widening possibilities for asserting its place and its role. The generally more favourable prospects for peace and security should reinforce the safeguards given to all countries and peoples, assuring them that they can be more at ease with regard to their independence and that they can feel greater confidence concerning the acceleration of their material and cultural progress.

109. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, recently held in Georgetown, reflected the needs of the present political moment, aspirations which coincide with the hopes of the greater part of the international community and with the goals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. Non-alignment is not an exclusive club, nor is it a sort of collective self-defence. It is a growing political movement which is becoming an ever more influential factor in international relations. At Georgetown too, the non-aligned nations spoke out in favour of a universal détente and for the elimination of pressures exerted by the stronger against the weaker and for the democratization of international relations; they warned against the danger inherent in the monopolization or regional limitation of the process of détente. At that time too, the non-aligned countries energetically demanded the elimination of force and the use thereof, still so frequent and so brutal, and displayed a strong sense of responsibility with regard to the prosperity and destiny of the world as a whole.

110. Coexistence, co-operation and prosperity must be general or they cannot exist at all. It is difficult to build peace but it is easy to disturb it. There will be no coexistence among the great Powers unless a beginning is made towards solution of the major problems of the present-day world.

111. It is for this reason that Yugoslavia, together with the great family of non-aligned countries which at present constitute a majority of our Organization, calls for an immediate halt to the American bombing in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and for a search for a just political solution on the basis of the constructive proposals submitted by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the seven-point programme of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. The most recent declaration of that Government constitutes one more contribution to the search for such a solution. The five-point programme of the Government of Prince Sihanouk offers a firm basis for the restoration of peace and freedom to the people of Cambodia also. The war in Indo-China must cease. That war is not only a tragedy for the peoples of Indo-China and a financial drain on the people of the United States, but it is also a difficult trial for all of us. As long as it goes on, in whatever form, it will

remain a negative factor in any evaluation of the duration and soundness of the *détente* that we have welcomed with such great hopes.

112. The conduct of Israel meets with less and less understanding. But unfortunately, that conduct continues to be characterized by undiminished aggressiveness, as confirmed again by its recent retaliatory military terrorist acts. All this shows that in actual fact the actions of Israel are not motivated by concern for its own security. For it is quite clear that within its pre-war boundaries, and through peace and co-operation with its neighbours, Israel could obtain the maximum guarantees for its security. These actions are, rather, the fruit of a dangerous ambition to retain territories wrested from the Arabs by force and to deprive the Arab people of Palestine of their legitimate rights forever. The current session of the General Assembly offers a chance to make a decisive effort to overcome the present situation and finally to offer the prospect of an effective solution to the crisis, with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) constituting a confirmed and generally accepted basis for such a solution.

113. The divergence between what is spoken aloud and the actual situation with respect to decolonization and *apartheid* has not been narrowed in any way. Will anything really be done in the new climate in order to overcome resistance to the implementation of the decisions on the liberation of Portuguese colonies, of the Zimbabwe people, of Namibia and of other Territories? Will greater support and assistance be extended to the liberation movements?

114. Unfortunately, the questions that I have asked are not new. And perhaps this already says much. No added weight should be given to doubts that the peace which now exists is too onerous and that the only purpose it serves is to have old aims achieved by new means.

115. My Government shares the concern at the intensification of international terrorism which threatens the lives of innocent persons and jeopardizes normal international relations and co-operation. Yugoslavia, whose citizens and representatives abroad have frequently been victims of threats, violence and terrorist acts, has been warning against such dangers for a number of years. Unfortunately, there was no appropriate response, although it must have been perfectly clear that such activities were directed not only against Yugoslavia and the safety of its citizens, but also against the citizens of countries in which the perpetrators of such acts often enjoy protection and often even direct support.

116. The time has come for the nature and causes of this disquieting phenomenon to be defined, and for co-ordinated action to be taken effectively to combat it. We believe that the United Nations is the most appropriate place for this problem to be dealt with. International co-operation and, above all, the willingness of Governments to fulfil the obligations deriving from international law and the Charter constitute a fundamental prerequisite for such action. The taking of innocent hostages, attacks against the machinery of international relations, and upon the transport facilities of countries not involved in military conflicts are all acts that we must condemn and towards whose eradication we must work. It is intolerable that under the

pretext of democratic freedoms the defeated Fascist elements should be allowed to organize for the purpose of committing terrorist acts against independent countries.

117. Even less can we allow the word "terrorism" to be applied to organized resistance against terror or used as a pretext to obstruct a justified and legitimate struggle which is inevitable when there are relations of subjection, domination and injustice in existence. In opposing terrorism we have always condemned individual acts of terror, convinced that they actually cause more harm to liberation movements by leading them astray and reducing the support they should receive in their just struggle. We would defeat the ends we seek if the condemnation and repression of international terrorism were to benefit those who practise the terrorism of colonization or mass reprisals against entire peoples, since it is this type of action which is the primary source of despair and terrorism against individuals.

118. The improvement of conditions in Europe is a significant and favourable factor in the present world situation. However, this process is being hampered by trends seeking to perpetuate the existing division of the European continent into blocs and to divorce European *détente* from the world context. The conference on European security and co-operation will prove to be of great significance if it reverses this trend. Europe cannot be an island of peace and *détente* in a turbulent sea of upheaval and conflict. Therefore, while endeavouring to establish relations that would guarantee to all European countries the right to develop independently irrespective of size, geographic position or socio-political system and the possibility of doing so, Europe must be one component of an identical process throughout the world. Otherwise, sooner or later Europe would suffer the reverberations of conflicts and antagonisms in other parts of the world.

119. The results of the European conference should provide fresh incentives and create new possibilities for co-operation in the Balkans, where European contradictions have always manifested themselves in an intensified form. European *détente* also implies the recognition of the intimate link between Europe and the Mediterranean, a link which can no longer be denied. One of the initiatives flowing from this relationship has been undertaken by the non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean. This initiative remains open to all nations sharing the same concern and having the same needs.

120. Despite certain initial achievements in the field of disarmament and in spite of bilateral agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the arms race has not ended. Nothing can diminish the role and the responsibility of the United Nations as the body most directly concerned with disarmament, because solutions affecting all countries—in fact the entire world—should not be sought or prepared outside the world Organization. For that reason Yugoslavia supports the convening of a world disarmament conference with the equitable participation of all States in all phases of its preparation.

121. The third session of UNCTAD and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment have clearly shown that there are more important issues of concern to mankind and have shown to what extent the

manufacture and use of modern weapons undermine the material and even the biological existence of man.

122. In the field of economic relations the main problems have now been pinpointed and the avenues to their solution clearly defined. Unfortunately, the distance between the definition of a problem and its solution is sometimes very great. The third session of UNCTAD did not achieve the expected results. Solutions must be sought at the broadest international level. I am thinking particularly of the need to reform the world monetary and trade systems. This does not, of course, imply that other outstanding issues have lost their importance—above all the urgent problems relating to access to the markets of developed countries, international financing, shipping, and so on. However, if we attach specific importance to the monetary and trade problems it is because they constitute the touchstone of the capacity of the international community to adopt a new system which should be universal and serve the interests of all the members of the international community, regardless of differences in levels of economic development and socio-economic systems.

123. Because we believe in the universality of this world Organization, my country, in response to the desire of the Government of Bangladesh, has actively supported its application for membership in the United Nations. We consider it unquestionable that the new independent, sovereign and peaceful State of Bangladesh meets the criteria and fulfils the conditions laid down by the Charter for the admission of new Members. My Government sincerely believes that the admission of Bangladesh to membership in the world Organization at the present session would greatly contribute both to the independence and international status of that State and to the stabilization of international relations in that part of Asia.

124. The democratization of international relations is one of the most important requirements of the contemporary world, and in this regard the United Nations constitutes a lever of vital importance. The effectiveness of the Organization will, to a large extent, depend on how its Member States succeed in co-ordinating our essentially common interests, regardless of how irreconcilable those interests may sometimes appear. Any analysis must inevitably confirm the fact that the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter provide even today a sound basis for the solution of the complex set of economic, social, political, humanitarian and other issues of the present-day world.

125. Basically, conflicts between States are the result of a failure to solve social contradictions within the States themselves. Peace is a prerequisite for social progress; but social progress itself is a prerequisite for peace. International conditions should not restrict or impede possibilities for any country's domestic development or national emancipation. There can be no such thing as peace if it is a peace which perpetuates the external obstacles to independent internal progress.

126. The freedom of nations and the freedom of the individual are one and the same aspiration. The demand by man to participate in social progress and the demand of countries to take part in world affairs really merge into one.

Yugoslavia believes in this and it is for that reason that we are exerting every effort towards that end.

127. The worth of our Organization will be measured by its ability to assist peoples and nations to progress in peace and freedom towards the goals that they cannot and will not give up.

128. Mr. DIOUF (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I am particularly pleased to have the opportunity today to associate myself with the speakers who have preceded me in offering to you the warmest congratulations of my delegation and expressing to you our deep satisfaction at seeing an eminent representative of Eastern Europe, ardent defender, moreover, of the cause of oppressed peoples, presiding over the destinies of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

129. I also wish, in accordance with the traditions of equity of this august Assembly, to pay a tribute to Mr. Adam Malik for the tact and competence that he displayed during the work—which is now history—of the last session of the General Assembly, work to which he brought so much intelligence and nobility of spirit.

130. To our Secretary-General I wish to express the gratification of my delegation for his excellent introduction to the work of the present session. Since his election to his responsible post he has continued to show the measure of his authority and his competence in the face of the important affairs of a world in a constant state of flux.

131. Today we are gathered in a climate which is propitious for fundamental changes, harbingers of a new era in international relations. The most striking illustration of this radical transformation in international order is surely to be found in the following significant events: the Sino-American rapprochement, which took the form of an official trip by President Nixon to China; the determination proclaimed by the Governments of Pyongyang and Seoul to promote the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea; the equally evident will of the two German States to modify their fundamental relationships; the prospect for détente in Indo-Pakistani relations as a result of the Simla Agreement of 3 July 1972 and subsequent talks; and the determination of Japan and China to normalize their relations.

132. It is nevertheless essential in this ever-changing world—whose transformations are frequently beyond our understanding—that we not let ourselves be carried away by the illusion of apparent security.

133. It is evident that the most cynical person would be unable to deliver a speech on the state of the world, which we are invited to do at the annual session of the General Assembly, without expressing a feeling of profound misgiving at the growing gap between the noble ideals set for itself by the international community and the melancholy reality. To ensure peace among States, to induce respect for the sovereignty of the weak against the strong through respect for international law, which is the guarantor of freedom for peoples and men: is that not a grandiose task in defence of which all energies ought to be mobilized?

134. And yet what do we see from continent to continent? Everywhere conflicts are breaking out. Numerous bombings with their aftermath of iron, fire and blood still ravage various points on our planet. Millions of innocent victims are dressing their wounds when they are not weeping for their dead. Others continue to live in dreadful poverty, condemned, most frequently, to the darkness of colonial servitude.

135. These atrocities—and I am not saying anything that is not already well known—affect by some irony of fate the countries of the third world, those very countries which are trying to achieve stability and peace in order to ensure their material and moral development. Were we to stop to meditate on this depressing situation we would become bitterly aware of the nefarious role played in the world by selfishness and the wish for power of one or the other of the great Powers, even though they claim to belong to different ideologies.

136. That is why it is already high time to address an urgent appeal to all peoples and men of goodwill to join their energies and bend all their will towards the achievement of justice and peace in the world.

137. In formulating that wish I must turn my eyes towards the ancient continent of Asia, from which so many messages of peace emanated, but which today offers the distressing spectacle of one of the most horrible human tragedies: I refer to the war in Indo-China.

138. The Viet-Nameese people, tragically torn asunder by a horrible fratricidal war of 20 years' duration, have undeniably shown to South-East Asia a spirit of determination and sacrifice, until now unsuspected. Because their thirst for freedom and their refusal to capitulate has surely converted the Viet-Nameese conflict into the martyrdom of an entire people, it appears to us that there, as elsewhere, negotiation remains the only course towards a constructive peace, since it would be freely consented to. Without further delay the United Nations must echo the words of President Senghor, who stated recently:

“It is time for weapons to be silent in Viet-Nam as well as in the Middle East so that a just and durable peace may come, based upon the self-determination of peoples, without foreign intervention.”

This is the prior condition whose realization would make it possible for the Paris conference to embark resolutely upon a decisive course with increased chances of success.

139. It is also the moment for our Organization—in this respect following the clearly expressed will of the Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries—to re-establish as a fullfledged Member of the United Nations the régime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, which not only is recognized by the majority of members of the international community but, above all, controls more than 85 per cent of the national territory, which to this day harbours more than 11 members of the Government.

140. I do not doubt, in the light of events which have taken place recently, that we may at last be on the eve of

seeing, if not an era of peace, at least a certain era of calm in South-East Asia, a region that has long been sorely tried.

141. May the hope for the Far East extend also to the Middle East. As President Senghor has indicated, the painful Israel-Arab struggle amounts to a fratricidal struggle between two branches of the great Semitic family, which has given to the world irreplaceable messages. Suddenly, the unprecedented actions of the “10 wise men” of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], with a view to Ambassador Jarring resuming negotiations, take on a special significance.

142. Unfortunately, the policies of certain great Powers, which seem to accommodate themselves to the proposition of “no peace, no war” in the Middle East, seem, in all likelihood, to spell ultimate ruin for the efforts of the OAU. However, far from despairing of peace in the Middle East, the countries of the third world and also, and especially, the great Powers of the European Economic Community are duty-bound to redouble their efforts towards a prompt settlement of the conflict, a settlement which would be in accord with their interests, especially since the two belligerent Powers are associate members of the Common Market.

143. Just as my Government has maintained and still maintains that there are truths and realities imposed by reason, and the existence of Israel is just such a reality, it is also convinced that the security of the Jewish State will not be ensured in the long run except through dialogue and agreement with its Arab neighbours—the latter having to realize that peace is more than ever necessary to their unity and development. It is therefore pertinent that the advent of peace to the area depends exclusively on a dialogue between Moslems, Jews, Arabs and Bedouins.

144. Accordingly, it is now for the United Nations to require that Israel establish the conditions necessary for such a dialogue through strict compliance with and full application of the pertinent provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), and that it publicly declare at the same time its intention not to annex occupied Arab territories. That would be a decisive step for Israel that would lead to the negotiating table, Egypt no longer being able, at the risk of losing its territorial integrity and identity, to make any further concessions.

145. In referring to this gloomy picture of the Middle East we have to recall, in the case of international terrorism, which everybody agrees must be denounced as a threat to peace, that it is a constant truth that to be radical the eradication of any evil necessarily requires a thorough knowledge of its profound causes.

146. To my delegation it is important first of all to define clearly what is meant by the word “terrorism” and to study all its aspects, including the underlying motivations which engender terror throughout the world, before seeking to determine subsequently forceful measures that might eliminate it as a means of action in conflicts between States. I emphasize, moreover, that my country will oppose in the most categorical fashion any initiative to put the slightest impediment in the way of the noble and just liberation movements that are operating on the African continent.

147. There is a problem of as much concern as that of the Middle East. I am referring to the problem of colonialism, which imperils peace and security throughout the world. Decolonization—in other words, the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination—constitutes, as we know, the most sacred foundation of the United Nations family. This is a fundamental rule—an embodiment of the chief safeguard of human rights which, for every government worthy of the name, must guarantee the certainty of peace.

148. How, therefore, can we endure Africa's continuing to pay a heavy tribute to this phenomenon of decolonization? How can we endure that Portugal, South Africa and the illegal and racist régime in Southern Rhodesia continue with impunity to keep millions of human beings in the fetters of colonial oppression and thereby violate in the most flagrant way fundamental human rights?

149. In Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), Portugal, for the past 10 years, has been pursuing an archaic war of colonial reconquest. Although condemned many times by the Security Council following repeated complaints from African States bordering the Territories under Portuguese administration, the Lisbon authorities have nevertheless shown their determination to be sucked into the quicksand of armed aggression and provocation. In spite of everything my Government, which has welcomed 80,000 refugees from Guinea (Bissau) to its territory, would be prepared to believe that Portugal is not racist, but the logical conclusion of such an absence of prejudice would be, indeed, respect for and strict application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

150. In Southern Rhodesia the minority, illegal and racist régime is still in power—seven years after the unilateral and illegal declaration of independence and two years after the proclamation of the no less illegal “republic”. That rebel régime grows stronger every day in spite of the mandatory economic sanctions dictated by the United Nations, particularly by the Security Council. It is true that, contrary to expectations, those sanctions have not had a decisive effect on the economic situation in Southern Rhodesia and therefore do not seem capable of producing the expected political changes, bearing in mind the assistance that South Africa is giving to the rebel colony.

151. Only a few days ago, under the shallow pretext of the effect it was having on “Olympic peace”, the blacks of all continents were unjustly made the object of vituperation—worse, they were denied some of their victories in the competitions—by a fierce coalition of whites of all convictions unable to accept the unanimous will of Africa to oppose Rhodesian participation in the Olympic Games. We must proclaim to all those who, under the cloak of political disinterestedness, continue to deny the valiant people of Zimbabwe its right to human dignity that it is precisely their unshakable readiness to recognize a white minority domination of millions of blacks that indubitably constitutes the most monstrous political act, since it is dictated solely by racist concerns.

152. Everyone knows that what we are witnessing on the part of the illegal Ian Smith régime at present is a total and

systematic rejection of all pre-existing values and hence the acme of mental aberration demonstrated by its unrestrained and uncontrolled use of the one form of total non-existence available to man—violent death.

153. That is why, following the recent resounding rejection by the people of the “test of acceptability” submitted by the Pearce Commission, it is essential, in order to put a final end to the Salisbury rebellion, to resort immediately to the sort of prompt and energetic action which so serious a situation demands, in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter. It goes without saying that Great Britain, in view of its responsibility for that Territory, must give active support to such action by displaying henceforth greater authority and determination in the exercise of its prerogatives as administering Power.

154. In South Africa—and this is obvious—the measures prescribed by the United Nations have not been successful either in ending the fierce repression of the innocent population or in wiping out or eliminating *apartheid*, which is nothing but a complete ideology of rules and constraints erected by a white minority in order to dominate and exploit the Africans. It seems to me unnecessary to refer to the case of Namibia, whose Territory has been illegally occupied by the Government of South Africa for the past six years in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the opinion of the International Court of Justice.

155. But there is something even more serious. For several years we have seen the strengthening of the Lisbon-Salisbury-Pretoria axis. The most salient features of the strengthening of that unholy alliance undoubtedly find their most sinister expression in the political, military and financial support which that trio of colonial oppressors is getting from certain members of NATO.

156. Nevertheless, the international crises of the moment should not cause us to overlook the agonizing question of economic under-development, which is the principal characteristic of three quarters of mankind. As President Senghor mentioned in his famous speech at the fifty-sixth session of the general conference of the International Labour Organisation, “a just and enduring world peace cannot be built on social injustice any more than on disregard of the ideals of the essential solidarity which must unite mankind”.¹

157. For the Chief of State of Senegal, among the problems which confront the third world, problems which are dialectically connected, there is one of capital importance and that is the problem of the deterioration of the terms of trade—of the more equitable distribution of the world's wealth, three quarters of which are unjustly confiscated by the rich nations for their own benefit.

158. “The imperialism of ideology”, to use the words of the most authoritative voice in Senegal, is precisely this economy of concerted domination practised by the great Powers to the detriment of the developing countries.

¹ See *Record of Proceedings of the International Labour Conference, Fifty-sixth Session, tenth (special) sitting* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1971), p. 186.

159. That is why the year which has elapsed, far from revealing any favourable prospects, has on the contrary been a disappointment for the poor countries and thereby for the whole world. The clearest and most recent proof of this dramatic situation is undoubtedly the failure of the third session of UNCTAD held in Santiago, Chile.

160. My delegation has the deep-rooted belief that the failure in Santiago had only one cause—the total absence of political will among the wealthy countries. It is no longer a secret to anyone that, as was stated at the end of the work of the second session of UNCTAD by the eminent economist Raúl Prebisch: the developed countries, with a few exceptions, continue to consider the problem of development to be a secondary problem which can be solved here and there by means of a few inadequate measures and not by bold and resolute action.

161. The verdict on Santiago will have the rare merit of highlighting what, after all, has now become obvious to all. I am speaking of the refusal of the developed countries, be they capitalist or socialist, to accept precise commitments toward the third world.

162. Indeed, no specific agreement can be achieved on improving the terms of development financing, extrication from over-indebtedness and the rules to be established to reduce the harm suffered by the developing countries as a result of the international monetary crisis. The major preoccupation of the Group of 77 developing countries with finding a solution to the tragic commodity crisis through the regulation of production and the stabilization of prices has hardly fared any better.

163. As regards the legitimate claims of the third world for partial disarmament to help development or even the establishment of an automatic link between special drawing rights and assistance to the third world, there again we are bound to record the negative-balance balance-sheet of the work of the third session of UNCTAD.

164. Here we must refer to the appeal for human solidarity launched from this rostrum by the Prime Minister of Senegal on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. He said:

“... in the present state of disharmony in the world, what better activity could the rich countries undertake than to promote the development of the poor countries?” [1872nd meeting, para. 156.]

165. And President Senghor reiterated forcefully:

“It is the duty and in the interests of the rich nations, in order to spare an anguished world a world war in which the proletarian countries, pushed to despair, will have nothing further to lose and nothing to hope for, to put into practice without delay a new strategy for the creation of a new system of trade which will be truly international!—that is to say, more ecumenical—more human because more just. That strategy must be adequate for the planet and the universal civilization which we are building.”

166. Does that mean that, faced with the distressing spectacle of impoverishment in the midst of abundance, we,

the have-not countries, are irremediably doomed to suffer the fate of Tantalus? Must we therefore give way to despair and seek refuge in total resignation? Of course not.

167. My delegation considers that the feelings of frustration born of the third session of UNCTAD must give way, for the rich and poor alike, to an attempt at objective thought and analysis in order to bring about genuine peace, genuine because it would be the fruit of freedom, harmonization and solidarity among all men in all continents.

168. I can assure members that, to the reasons for discouragement systematically maintained by the rich countries, the poorer countries will respond with courage, an awareness that they must stick together in order to integrate their economies rationally within regional and subregional structures, such as the recent inception of the future economic community of West Africa, to the formation of which my country is proud to have made its modest contribution.

169. Senegal remains confident in the great possibilities of the international community, which, properly combined, would contribute, sooner or later, to the establishment of a better world whose common denominator would be a fair and healthy distribution of wealth. We are all the more convinced of the truth of this, as it is not mere lip-service to tradition which makes us survey the gloomy panorama of the international situation in order to find in it some brighter spots which might notwithstanding provide, if not grounds for satisfaction, at least reasons for hope.

170. In the political and strategic field, the slight but nevertheless reassuring détente in international relations appears already as an encouraging sign. Suffice it for me simply to refer to the policy of contacts and negotiations practised in Europe and concretely illustrated by the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin. Moreover, my Government has not failed to interpret the resumption of Sino-American dialogue and the Moscow agreement on the limitation of strategic weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union as the prelude to an era of peaceful coexistence between the three giants of this world.

171. With regard to decolonization, while little progress has been achieved, the meetings of the Security Council in Addis Ababa have nevertheless made it possible for our young countries to refer again, but on African soil, to the bulky file on colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Senegal is particularly gratified since, during the Rabat meeting the Heads of State and Government of the OAU resolved to increase considerably the budget of the Committee of Liberation, and to give priority to aid and effective support for the liberation movements.

172. In the economic and social fields my delegation takes note of the few positive decisions taken by UNCTAD at its third session: those concerning the idea of having developing countries participate in the reform of the monetary system and the special programme of action to be launched for the benefit of the nucleus of the 25 least developed countries.

173. I would add that it is first and foremost for the industrialized countries, which are those deriving the

principal—I might say “the exclusive”—benefit from the iniquitous rules governing the international economy, to shape the priority requirements of development to fit a world-wide context. In so doing they would respond to the appeal of the Prime Minister of Senegal, who said:

“No man should feel happy as long as a single man elsewhere is dying of hunger. No nation can consider that development problems are solved, when other nations are exposed to poverty and misery.” [1872nd meeting, para. 145.]

174. Therefore, we should, in listing the possible sources of development capital, mention the need to rechannel the \$200,000 million annually tossed into the unproductive and bottomless pit of the arms race.

175. Might we recall that some 20 years ago it was proclaimed necessary to establish a link, for the first time, between development and disarmament? Will the time come when our Organization will be able to address to the military Powers a more urgent and more convincing message than our customary resolutions?

176. This ideal of disarmament is undoubtedly beginning to find expression in the reduction of certain military budgets and, as a minimum, in “non-armament”. Nevertheless, we have not yet seen international economic co-operation being enriched by the redeployment of the resources thus liberated. Is this not a symptom of a real weakness in the tissue of international relations that an obligation that is so frequently reaffirmed nevertheless finds no place in the list of priorities?

177. Moreover, we can see in the distance new tasks which can only be fulfilled if even profounder transformations take place in international life, in legal rules and in new international machinery.

178. These new requirements postulate the protection of the environment, the organization of atmospheric space and the ocean depths, the internationalization of science and the control of technological evolution, all new problems and phenomena recently brought to light at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm.

179. These various transformations do not demand that nations forfeit one jot of their sovereignty; they simply suggest a slight modification of the international division of labour.

180. We remain convinced that a harmonious combination of all these facts will definitely make it possible, in the course of the present decade, to use the full potential of the beneficial influence which the United Nations system can have on promoting human dignity. Will the world then be closer to achieving the rightful aspirations of peoples to freedom, justice and peace?

181. May our work express better than at previous sessions of the General Assembly this truth that the way towards justice and peace passes *volens volens* through the harmonious and conflict-free development of nations and, therefore, through the total development of man.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.