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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SABO (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I be permitted first of all, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Niger, to convey to you warm congratulations on the confidence placed in you and your country by your brilliant election to preside over the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your personal qualities and your long experience with international problems provide, in the opinion of my delegation, firm assurances of the fruitful development of our work.

2. May I be permitted also to associate my delegation and my country with the so well-deserved tributes that previous speakers have addressed to Mr. Adam Malik for the courtesy and efficiency with which he presided over our twenty-sixth session, which proved so delicate in so many respects.

3. I should also like to convey to the Secretary-General of the United Nations an expression of the confidence that the Government of Niger places in him. Since he was appointed to this high post he has demonstrated by his energy and his courageous initiatives that he intends to assume to the full his exceedingly difficult role.

4. Year after year we meet in this august Assembly with representatives of an ever-increasing number of nations. But year after year we find ourselves grappling again with the same serious problems that still have not been solved. What is even worse, some of the most burning questions, questions on which the peace of the world depends, do not appear on the agenda of our session.

5. Once again we must note the ineffectualness of the United Nations in an area considered as of primary importance by its founding fathers and affirmed in Article 1 of the Charter: that is, the area of the maintenance

of international peace and security. Increasingly, this has appeared as the privileged preserve of the super-Powers. We must accept the evidence. Everywhere where there is no convergence of interests among the super-Powers disputes remain unsolved. That is a situation whose seriousness escapes no one. Thus, certain serious problems have been frozen for decades: here, large countries remain artificially divided in two; there, entire nations see themselves refused the right to self-determination or to the free choice of a government; elsewhere, cruel wars are raging with no end to them in sight.

6. During the past year, however, we have witnessed some encouraging signs. The two parties in Korea have sketched out a rapprochement, or at least a relaxation of tension. The Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have begun conversations. The Governments of India and Pakistan, despite a particularly painful dispute, have met together again. At the great-Power level, we have witnessed some events but we cannot yet estimate their implications. However, as of today we can congratulate ourselves on the arrangements concluded at Moscow on the limitation of strategic weapons. We would like to hope that this will come to represent a first step towards more general disarmament, which will relieve humanity from the spectre of war and free for peaceful and constructive work the vast sums swallowed up each year in military expenditure in almost every country.

7. But these few signs of relaxation of tension cannot lead us to forget the troubled areas. In Viet-Nam, where last year we thought we saw a glimmering of hope for a peaceful settlement, the fighting resumed a few months ago, intensified beyond any level we had witnessed before, causing incredible destruction and human suffering. And we still do not see any end to this tragedy of a whole people, while the United Nations, for a whole series of reasons, hardly participates as effectively as could be desired in the efforts made in various quarters to achieve a negotiated solution.

8. Neither can we discern any gleam of hope in the Middle East. Last year, at this time, we hoped at least for a partial, temporary solution concerning traffic through the Suez Canal. Unfortunately, this feeble hope seems today to have been abandoned. The Jarring mission appears to have been compromised. Now it is absolutely essential to reactivate that mission or find some other approach likely to get the negotiations out of the impasse in which they are bogged down now.

9. Niger for its part abides by Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and considers that the great Powers should be in a position to impose its strict application, with all the desired guarantees for the establishment of an equitable and

lasting peace. That is a responsibility which they cannot evade.

10. Niger is aware that it has always sought to maintain the best of relations with all the independent countries of the world, at least so long as others refrained from intervening in our domestic affairs.

11. What is more, President Diori Hamani has acquired the reputation of being an impartial and wise mediator and his action to restore harmony among the African States has been decisive on more than one occasion. Quite recently we had the pleasure of helping neighbours and brothers to clear up a painful misunderstanding which had developed between their Governments.

12. Moreover, we try to work as closely as possible with our African neighbours in order to pursue, by successive stages, the ideal of African unity. Whether this be within the framework of the Council of the *Entente* or in the wider framework of the African and Malagasy Common Organization [OCAM], or the Organization of African Unity [OAU], Niger is convinced that it has chosen the path of realistic and brotherly co-operation. At this very moment it is seeking to create with its neighbours of West Africa, a large economic community which would be in a position to encourage the development of this vast geographic area by binding more closely together the nations that make up this region.

13. In North Africa, in Central Africa and in East Africa, similar groupings are emerging. We welcome these realistic events with hope and confidence.

14. It is with the same hope and the same confidence, and in the same spirit of essential solidarity, that my country, adding its voice to the already numerous voices of so many others, appeals with all its strength for the holding of a world conference on freedom of navigation and the common exploitation of resources of all sorts which lie on the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the territorial waters established by each State. It is in this way and this way alone that the land-locked countries will be able, in justice, to play their full role in international trade.

15. Unfortunately there is another vast region of our African continent, southern Africa, which is a matter of concern and scandal to us.

16. Although world public opinion is becoming increasingly sensitive to the problems of decolonization and racial discrimination, and although from time to time it has succeeded in imposing its will on international bodies, we are compelled to note that the Portuguese Government, the racist régime of Pretoria and the illegal Government of Southern Rhodesia have in no way altered their attitude and their policy. For more than a decade now despite innumerable debates, despite all the resolutions adopted by the Assembly on *apartheid*, on decolonization, on Rhodesia and on Namibia, these colonial Governments, which are the remnants of an era that we had thought long past, are flouting international public opinion and making a mockery of the United Nations community.

17. But it is obvious that this incredible arrogance, this permanent affront to international morality is made pos-

sible only by the culpable inertia of the big Powers, inertia which sometimes extends to complicity. There is no doubt in our mind that if the principal Western Powers, by common agreement, would withdraw their overt or covert support from these régimes—and their support of Rhodesia is the most scandalous—they would quickly be brought to terms.

18. We call upon the great Powers to understand and to seize this historic moment and to cease their support of these anachronistic régimes, support which they justify by what are often fallacious arguments. We call upon them to find a solution to these painful problems. They have just been given a fine lesson in this sense by the World Council of Churches at its recent meeting in Utrecht. It decided to boycott companies and banks operating in South Africa, in Rhodesia and in the Portuguese colonies and has called upon all churches to support the appeal of the African Council of Rhodesia for the convening of a national convention in that country. We congratulate ourselves on these initiatives of this eminent international body, which enjoys vast moral prestige. In the long run, they will certainly not fail to have a decisive influence—at least we should like to hope so—on the Governments on which in the final analysis the solution of these problems will depend.

19. The Government of Niger expects the South African Government to respect the resolutions of the United Nations, particularly that which set up a committee on the question of Namibia. It firmly expects that this committee will be set up without delay and that it will facilitate the access of the people of Namibia to full sovereignty in the shortest possible time.

20. As for the Portuguese Government, which stubbornly insists on pursuing its inhuman and anachronistic colonial policy, when will it understand, and when will its Western allies finally make it understand, that it is vain to try to hold back the inexorable course of history? The independence and accession to full sovereignty of Angola, of Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique are inevitably inscribed in the records of the world's history. Any attempt to set back the date not only affronts the universal conscience but also submits the people of Angola themselves to the most criminal deception in its history.

21. With respect to Southern Rhodesia, my Government calls upon Great Britain to take the full measure of its responsibilities and to draw the necessary conclusions from the recent failure of the agreement concluded with the illegal régime of Ian Smith. It immediately became obvious that the terms of that agreement had been rejected by the vast majority of the population. To continue to close one's eyes to the state of affairs is tantamount to forcing the black majority to have recourse to violence as the only way out of this unjust situation.

22. Turning to the item inscribed in the agenda at the request of the Secretary-General, namely, international terrorism [item 92], the Republic of Niger, while rejecting terrorism as a means of combat, believes that it must be defined very carefully in legal terms because we must not confuse terrorism with the legitimate struggle which people are waging, as an extreme solution, to conquer the rights of which they have been deprived.

23. Any effective measure should in our opinion strike at the roots of the evils known as armed struggle throughout the world, colonization and *apartheid* in Africa—in a word desires for intolerance, hegemony and human passions.

24. Finally, in an area which is very dear to our hearts, our disappointment has been very great indeed. I refer to the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*] which was held a few months ago in Santiago, Chile. Despite intensive preparations, despite the appeals and the warnings from all sides, uttered not only by the representatives of the poorer countries, but also by enlightened minds within the group of industrialized countries, that confrontation at the world level, which could have resulted in a global development strategy, ended in a thinly disguised failure.

25. None of the major claims of the developing countries was accepted: neither the commitment of the wealthier countries to devote a greater part of their gross national product to investments in the third world, nor the promise to associate the poorer countries more closely with far-reaching monetary decisions that affect them as much and even more than the developed countries, nor even the glimmerings of an organization of the trade in commodities which would halt the continuing deterioration of the terms of trade between the industrialized countries and the poor countries.

26. To what extremes, therefore, must the poor be reduced before the wealthier countries, suddenly enlightened as to their true interests, will finally agree to come to grips with these problems with all the urgency and seriousness that they require?

27. The only positive decision taken by the Santiago Conference was the selection of the 25 least favoured countries which should receive preferential treatment. Since Niger was placed in this category some might tell us perhaps that we are ill-placed to complain about the results of the Conference. To this I would answer that it is our duty to speak in solidarity, in the name of all of the States members of the group of under-developed countries, since it is precisely because of a lack of solidarity that we have not succeeded in having our just claims recognized heretofore.

28. Those are the few brief thoughts that my Government instructed me to put before the General Assembly because, in Niger, despite the inevitable setbacks encountered along the way, our hope in the United Nations remains firmer and more resolute than ever.

29. Mr. SAKKAF (Saudi Arabia):¹ In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate.

30. Mr. President, it is my privilege, on behalf of my Government and delegation, to tender to you our congratulations on your election to the high post of President of the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly.

31. I cannot let this occasion pass without expressing my deep gratification for the efficient and serene manner in

which your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, conducted the work of the previous session.

32. It also is most appropriate at this juncture to greet our new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has indeed distinguished himself not only in his country but also in the international field. We sincerely wish him success in his highly responsible post, which requires constant vigilance and dedication in upholding the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

33. Much as we welcome the relative state of détente amongst the major Powers, we remain concerned that the foreign policies of States, large and small, are still predicated upon the basis of balance of power and spheres of influence, a policy which has changed little since the founding of the United Nations. To clarify this statement, I venture to say that quite often we find that justice and equity are subordinated to paramount national interests.

34. In illustration of what I mean, I only have to cite the tragic situation in the Middle East, of which this Organization has been unremittently seized since the right of self-determination, a corner-stone of the Charter, was flouted in 1947 and continuously thereafter.

35. The mere fact that the neighbouring Arab countries became involved in the conflict brought about by hordes of immigrants of foreign national origin does not, and should not, make us forget that the indigenous people of Palestine have a distinct personality, and although many of them were dispersed outside the borders of their land, they have not for a moment lost their national identity.

36. It was to serve the interests of certain great Powers that the usurping State of Israel was created by pressure and immoral manoeuvring at the second session of this same General Assembly, in 1947.

37. In this connexion I would like to recall what His Majesty King Faisal ibn Abdul Aziz declared, word for word, during the 1947 session of the General Assembly:

“Remember that in the preamble of the Charter you have pledged before God and history that you would stand firm against the aggressor and direct your effort to establish world peace and international security. Is not what is being attempted in Palestine a case of flagrant aggression? Is it not tyrannical that an international organization is intervening to partition a country in order to present a part of it to the aggressor?”²

38. In spite of all this, the Charter of the United Nations was disregarded, and Palestine was partitioned by immoral and arbitrary pressure, which enabled Zionist immigrants, mostly victims of Nazi and other European persecution, to establish themselves in Palestine, thanks to the British Mandate.

39. Even the British, who pursued an equivocal policy of “divide and rule” during their perfidious Mandate, imposed on the Palestinians without their consent at Versailles in

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

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Plenary Meetings, Vol. II, 125th meeting, p. 1337.*

1922—thereby setting aside Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations—and who were the benefactors of Zionism, were themselves the victims of Zionist terror.

40. Who murdered Lord Moyne? Who hanged British Tommies from trees in Palestine? Who blew up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem and tried repeatedly to kill the British High Commissioner in Palestine, Sir Harold MacMichael, and succeeded in wounding him? Who murdered Count Folke Bernadotte and his French assistant in Jerusalem?

41. And have we forgotten the highly organized Zionist terrorist gangs such as the Irgun Z'vai Leumi, the Stern gang, the Haganah and other splinter terrorist organizations, acting in concert or independently?

42. And who can forget the massacre of Deir Yasin, whose population was subjected to total genocide? It was that horrible massacre which terrorized helpless people and forced them to leave their homes, thereby enabling the Zionists to establish themselves in Palestine.

43. No one, including ourselves, condones terrorism and acts of violence; nevertheless, we note that some circles believe that a people like the Palestinians, struggling for their freedom and inalienable rights, should abide by certain rules and regulations which are observed in conventional warfare. But it is precisely because the United Nations was paralysed by Zionist arbitrary actions against the Palestinians that many of those Palestinians had no choice but to go underground to fight in a manner not dissimilar to that which had been adopted by Zionists in order to attain their goal.

44. Let me assure this Assembly that Palestinian organizations are not accountable to any Government—Arab or non-Arab—and nobody can compel them to disclose their secret plans. Furthermore, the Arab Governments are not responsible for what the Palestinians have undertaken to do. Therefore, any false accusations thrown at Arab Governments of promoting Palestinian operations are, indeed, malicious in the sense that those accusations are calculated to cover extensive aggressive acts against certain Arab States.

45. I do not think that the world should forget the recent aggressive acts perpetrated against our Arab lands. I would mention the bombardment of the region of Abu Simbel in Egypt, inhabited only by civilians, and the Egyptian school in Bahr Al Baqar which was destroyed, with all its innocent children murdered. What about Zionist aggression against Beirut Airport and the destruction of all the civil aircraft there?

46. But have such treacherous acts ceased to threaten the security and stability of the region? We have only to recall the recent Zionist invasion of Lebanon, during which hundreds of innocent women and children were killed or wounded. How can we forget the continuous acts of aggression, including the usurpation of Syrian and other neighbouring territories, which are still being subjected to Zionist aerial bombardment, without sparing towns, mosques, churches and even bridges which are vital for the livelihood of people dwelling in small towns and villages?

And how can we forget the Holy Places, revered by hundreds of millions of Moslems and Christians as a legacy of mankind, which have been desecrated by the Zionists? All this has happened while the whole world has been aware of it but has not, however, taken the least initiative; nor do the people of the Middle East ever hear a murmur of protests about, or condemnation of, such desecrations.

47. But when a small group of individuals, driven as they are by sheer despair and bitter frustration stemming from their tragic situation, takes action against another group, the whole world is thrown into commotion and voices cry to the high heavens but no attempt is made to find out the underlying causes which led to such tragic events. Why are not similar voices raised when hundreds—nay, thousands—of innocent people are killed in various regions of the world as a consequence of the acts of those who seem to ignore the United Nations Charter, which was meant to bring justice and equity to all mankind without any exception?

48. It is, therefore, up to the United Nations to rectify the gross error committed in 1947, by recognizing the people of Palestine; and also, instead of mollifying the Zionists, the United Nations should bring pressure to bear on them to accept a solution which would take into account the collective will of the Palestinian people. Otherwise, there will never be peace in the Middle East and we shall witness more unnecessary suffering and tribulation. We shall witness more innocent people being sacrificed and we may possibly be confronted by a situation fraught with incalculable consequences, not precluding a global conflagration. Hence, the troubled situation in the Middle East should not be considered as arising principally from a state of war between Arab States and the Zionists; for, indeed, this troubled situation essentially emanates from the deprivation of the Palestinian people of their own homeland.

49. Let us face the facts, no matter how distressing and unfortunate those facts are. Let us not beguile ourselves by merely treating the symptoms, but let us get to the root of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which “lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair” and which cause some people “to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes” [*see A/8791/Add.1*]. Those are the very words of our Secretary-General, words which were endorsed by the General Assembly in including this item [*item 92*] in its agenda.

50. For many years now the United Nations has been dealing with several items of the utmost importance. These items have a direct bearing on the lives of millions of people around the world. In spite of the fact that the United Nations has been continuously preoccupied with such questions as disarmament, racial discrimination and the elimination of colonialism in all its forms, I submit that very slow and limited progress has been made towards finding satisfactory solutions to most of these problems. Indeed, the world is still engaged in an unflagging armaments race and nations continue to increase their stockpiles of lethal weapons.

51. On the other hand, racial discrimination, particularly in certain parts of Africa and elsewhere, is not only

rampant but unfortunately still shapes the policies of a number of Member States that ignore the preamble to the Charter, which decries such nefarious policies. Added to all this, some of the worst forms of colonialism are still extant in several regions of the world. It is saddening, therefore, to witness the impotence of the United Nations to uphold the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination, and to find those peoples ruled arbitrarily by an oppressive minority, as is happening in South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

52. Apart from all this, and in a different context, I must not forget to mention the tens of thousands of Pakistanis still languishing in Indian prisons.

53. Certain international organizations have been established with the sole purpose of ensuring the greatest possible human welfare and prosperity. Two of those organizations are the OAU and the International Islamic Organization. The purposes and principles of those organizations are in total harmony with those of the United Nations. We cannot but take pride in the leaders who participated in founding those organizations; the more so since their noble goals on both the regional and the international level fall within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

54. In this connexion, I am happy to state that the International Islamic Organization, to which I referred in my statement during the last session [1961st meeting], consists of 32 Moslem countries. In spite of the short period since that Organization came into being, we consider its achievements to be of high historical importance and we take particular pride in the fact that it is owing to the consistent efforts of His Majesty King Faisal ibn Abdul Aziz and his brethren the kings and Presidents of other Moslem States that the Organization is having such a salutary impact on the whole Moslem world.

55. In conclusion, let me assure you that the International Islamic Organization was founded with the purpose of bringing about peace, which is the essence of the sacred mission of Islam. That Organization is one of the largest in the world. Its principles are based on justice unto others and appropriate support for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, while none the less endeavouring to raise the social and economic standard of living for Moslems and non-Moslems alike so as to include the whole of mankind.

56. It is on this basis, therefore, that we take pride in supporting the OAU in all that it is doing to establish universal peace and the type of development that will lead ultimately to world stability.

57. Finally, we express the hope that the United Nations will eventually be able to live up to the expectations of all the peoples of the world and we also sincerely hope that conditions in the world will be such as to enable this Organization to play the historic role for which it was founded.

58. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, permit me on behalf of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist

Republic to offer you our warm congratulations on your election to the important office of President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly and to wish you every success. We are particularly gratified that this high honour has been conferred on you, the representative of a neighbouring socialist country, with whose people the Ukrainian people are linked by ties of fraternal co-operation in the struggle for our common ideals.

59. We should also like to extend our greetings to the Secretary-General and express our best wishes for the success of his work.

60. Despite all the differences of approach to the assessment of individual international events, the present debate highlights, as a characteristic feature of the period which has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly, the undeniable fact that peaceful coexistence is becoming a palpable, living reality on our troubled planet.

61. Of course, this is not a spontaneous development. It has grown out of the arduous struggle between the champions of peace and their opponents. But the idea of peaceful coexistence between States is gradually winning over more and more countries and Governments. In this connexion, it can be said that, in the final analysis, the debate in the United Nations is promoting a better understanding of positions and arguments and is helping to narrow the differences between points of view and, in a number of cases, to remove certain historical barriers on the road to mutual understanding.

62. It is clear that the peoples cannot be satisfied by mere words, no matter how high-flown and eloquent they may be.

63. Life has always put actions above words, especially when questions of peace and international security are involved. In this context, it is appropriate to refer to one of the pronouncements of V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of which will be celebrated by all Soviet peoples in December of this year. Lenin said that it was precisely on such a question as the struggle for peace, which was so vitally important for all peoples, that it was desirable:

“... to see a minimum of general declarations, solemn promises and grandiloquent formulas and the greatest possible number of very simple and clear decisions and measures which might really lead to peace, if not to the complete elimination of the danger of war”.³

64. The past year has marked a new stage in the relaxation of international tension. Quite a lot has already been done in the way of the practical and business-like, purposeful solution of questions relating to the establishment of lasting peace. This makes our hope that the principle of peaceful coexistence and non-use of force in relations between countries can and will be raised to the status of an immutable law of international life appear all the more realistic.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineny* (Collected Works), 5th ed., vol. 45, p. 241.

65. The Ukrainian SSR attributes the positive results which have been achieved principally to the successful implementation by the Soviet Union of the programme of peace put forward at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the vigorous foreign policy activities of the socialist countries and to the fact that the Governments of a number of other States have adopted realistic peace-loving policies. That is why the cause of peace can now count to its credit such momentous developments as the entry into force of the treaties concluded in 1972 by the Federal Republic of Germany with the Soviet Union and with Poland, the further expansion of co-operation between the USSR and France and other States, specific action in the preparation of an all-European conference on security and co-operation, the initiative regarding the convening of a world disarmament conference, the proposal regarding the establishment of a collective security system in Asia, and so on. Special mention should be made of the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States which resulted in the conclusion between those two countries of important agreements the implementation of which will clearly serve the interests of all States and the cause of universal peace. Even those who continue to slander the Soviet Union and its peace-loving foreign policy have been compelled to acknowledge the importance of this event.

66. At this point I should like to stress that the Ukrainian people, in common with all Soviet people, ardently supports the practical measures which are being implemented by the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union and by the countries of the socialist community with a view to bringing about détente and the further strengthening of peace and security.

67. We all know that the policy of peaceful coexistence does not eliminate the contradictions, particularly the ideological contradictions, between the two social systems. But the vitality and effectiveness of this policy lies in the very fact that it is designed to exclude the solution of conflicts by military means. Thus, the encouraging purport of the positive actions I have referred to gains even greater significance: they demonstrate the strength of the very principle of peaceful coexistence and they militate against those who would wish to aggravate the international situation and prevent détente.

68. In this connexion, we consider that the General Assembly can record the achievement of positive results in the implementation of the basic provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. However, we cannot fail to express our deep concern at the continued existence of hotbeds of war in various parts of the world. We think that the General Assembly might call upon all States to take effective measures to facilitate the elimination of existing hotbeds of war and prevent armed conflicts.

69. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR holds the view that the adoption by the United Nations of the Soviet proposal on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*A/8793*] would be an important political step towards a decisive diminution of the menace of war, the elimination and prevention of acts of armed aggression and the threat

of a nuclear holocaust. In his statement [*2040th meeting*], Mr. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, put forward exhaustive arguments in support of this important political proposal.

70. The Ukrainian delegation fully supports the Soviet draft resolution on this matter [*A/L.676*], and is convinced that the solution of the vitally important problems raised in it will undoubtedly meet the aspirations of all peace-loving peoples.

71. Attention at this session is focused on a number of important contemporary problems, but one thing is clear: the proposal on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons is of supreme importance for the whole of humanity. Indeed, if relations between States are based on the principle of the non-use of force and if at the same time there is a permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, no one will be able to resort to the use of either nuclear or conventional weapons. What will then prevent humanity from entering upon an era of lasting peace, genuine international security, and general and complete disarmament?

72. Of course, we must not forget that peoples are fighting against colonial subjugation and imperialist invaders or that there exists the danger of new acts of aggression. The Soviet proposal in no way infringes upon the right of peoples to defend themselves against aggression and to carry on the struggle for national liberation, by armed force if necessary. And there is no contradiction in this, for the United Nations has also reaffirmed this right in its decisions and declarations. Thus, the Soviet proposal, advocating the prohibition of the use both of force and of nuclear weapons, takes into account the vitally important interests of all nations and States, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, developed and developing.

73. From this lofty rostrum, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR calls upon the representatives of all States Members of the United Nations to support the USSR proposal on non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of nuclear weapons.

74. Nowadays, perhaps, there is no need to try to convince anyone that the establishment of a security system in Europe is the key to the strengthening of peace throughout the world. We are all aware that many of the obstacles erected by certain NATO circles to the convening of an all-European conference and the establishment of collective security in Europe have already been removed. At the Assembly of Representatives of Public Opinion for European Security and Co-operation, held at Brussels in June, the powerful voice of the peoples of Europe cried out for a positive solution to this problem. The necessary pre-conditions have now been created for business-like multilateral consultations on the immediate preparation and holding of the conference.

75. It is natural that the Government of every European State should make its contribution to this common effort, if it really cares about the security of its country and wishes to transform our continent into a land of peace and fruitful co-operation.

76. This is precisely the approach of the German Democratic Republic—that powerful bulwark of European and world peace. We know from experience that many important world problems cannot be solved effectively without the participation of the German Democratic Republic. Moreover, the new political situation taking shape in Europe, the interests of the further strengthening of peace and international co-operation and the interests of enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations all demand, more urgently than ever before, the immediate admission of the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations. The question of the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations must be resolved at the same time.

77. The general trend towards the easing of tension and the strengthening of regional security is also having a favourable effect in other parts of the world, including Asia. Events taking place in the Far East are of significance in this respect.

78. It cannot be disputed that the interests of peace in that part of the world demand an improvement in the situation on the Korean peninsula and the reunification of Korea on a peaceful, democratic basis, without any kind of foreign interference. An important dialogue is now in progress between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea. In these circumstances the United Nations should have felt itself obliged to promote the creation of conditions for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

79. Unfortunately, we have had a show of political nonsense. Under the influence of forces opposed to the easing of tension, the General Assembly has once again decided to postpone consideration of the Korean question until its next session. Once again the policies of those who oppose the withdrawal of the troops stationed in Korea under the United Nations flag and the dissolution of the infamous United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea have prevailed. Thus, the obstacle to the realization of the national aspirations of the Korean people has not yet been removed.

80. The flames of armed conflict on the Indian sub-continent have been extinguished. Constructive negotiations are now in progress between India and Pakistan. The further strengthening of peace and security in that part of the world will depend on good-neighbourly relations between the countries in that region. As we all know, out of this dramatic situation has been born a new peace-loving State—the People's Republic of Bangladesh. We think that the opposition of those who, because of their great-Power chauvinistic ambitions, are obstructing the admission of that State to the United Nations will be overcome and that the Republic of Bangladesh will inevitably occupy its place in the United Nations.

81. We consider that the United Nations should now seek with greater energy and perseverance to achieve the elimination of existing hotbeds of aggression and to put an end to the armed conflicts unleashed by imperialism.

82. The bloody war in Indo-China continues. For the time being those who plan and carry on this war are not seeking

constructive decisions to end the aggression in Viet-Nam but, rather, are trying to prolong and even escalate the war and are devising means of deceiving both their own people and international public opinion. In the guise of speeches about their peace-loving intentions they are continuously putting forward new pretexts and false arguments to justify their aggressive military actions.

83. The United States reduces the number of its land forces in South Viet-Nam, but immediately replaces them with Saigon troops. It has increased to 100,000 the total strength of the armed forces engaged in the war of extermination from the air and the sea, while the bombing of towns, villages, dikes and dams in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is being intensified on an unprecedented scale. This is how the "Viet-Namization" programme which the United States is carrying out appears in practice.

84. The aggressor should understand by now that in today's world the policy of negotiating "from a position of strength" is doomed to failure, for the peoples which have risen up to fight for their freedom and independence are invincible. They have on their side the socialist countries, which are rendering them aid and support in their just struggle; they also have the sympathy and support of all peace-loving peoples and the whole of progressive humanity.

85. The Ukrainian SSR is a firm advocate of the immediate cessation of aggression in Viet-Nam and of the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and the complete and unconditional withdrawal from that part of the world of the forces of the United States and its allies. It considers that the key to a peaceful settlement of the problem of Indo-China is to be found in the constructive proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia.

86. The situation in the Middle East, which has arisen as a result of Israeli aggression, poses a threat to universal peace and international security.

87. The latest acts of aggression by the Israeli militarists against Lebanon and Syria reveal once again the expansionist nature of the policies of the Israeli Government. Using the tragic incident in Munich as a pretext for their notorious acts of "retaliation" and a further build-up of tension, the Israeli leaders have recently been reiterating their intention to seek "substantial border changes". It is no secret that Israel is able to pursue its adventurist policy and defy the United Nations thanks to the backers who render it unlimited military, financial and political aid and support. Surely they realize in Tel Aviv that no lavish hand-outs can save their reckless policy from complete failure.

88. In its demands, the Ukrainian SSR is at one with the forces of peace: the hotbed of aggression in the Middle East must be eliminated; Israeli troops must be withdrawn from the occupied territories; full recognition must be given to the independence and sovereignty of all States and to the lawful rights of all peoples in that part of the world, including the Arab people of Palestine.

89. I should like to add the following to what I have already said.

90. A few days ago, the General Assembly witnessed another of the routine rhetorical exercises of the Israeli Foreign Minister. Its aim was the same as before—to attempt yet again to evade responsibility for the ceaseless acts of aggression against neighbouring Arab States, for the terrorism and for all the crimes committed in the occupied territories.

91. As a result of the growing condemnation of its policies by world public opinion, Israel finds itself in a state of increasing political isolation. It was this, no doubt, which prompted the representative of Tel Aviv to interfere once again, in a crude and impudent manner, in the internal affairs of the Soviet State by resorting to the routine fabrication, as deceitful as ever, about the alleged discrimination in the USSR against citizens of Jewish nationality.

92. We in the Ukraine say of a person who goes about making irrelevant, unfounded and absurd allegations that he “pops up like a jack-in-the-box”. It was in just such an unenviable position that the Israeli Foreign Minister found himself.

93. Our delegation attaches particular importance to the problem of disarmament. After all, it is hardly possible to talk at all seriously about genuine international security without effective disarmament measures and the cessation of the arms race. In recent years a number of useful international agreements have been concluded on arms limitation and on certain measures for partial disarmament, particularly important among which is the recently adopted Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*].

94. The question of the complete prohibition of chemical weapons is next in line.

95. As one of the sponsors of the relevant draft convention [*see A/8818-DC/235, annex B (CCD/361)*], submitted on 28 March 1972 by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for consideration by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the Ukrainian SSR considers that the draft constitutes a good basis for reaching agreement. We cannot regard as tenable the positions of certain Powers which are attempting to impede the solution of the question of the prohibition of chemical weapons by bringing up various technical problems:

96. It is the duty of the General Assembly to call upon all States to solve this problem at the earliest possible moment on the only possible basis, namely, by taking a political decision on the complete prohibition of these weapons of mass destruction. The existence of chemical weapons in the arsenals of certain States and their use against peoples fighting for their liberation make this task one of particular urgency.

97. In its reply to the Secretary-General on the question of convening a world disarmament conference, the Government of the Ukrainian SSR has set forth its views on the

preparation and holding of such a conference [*A/8817 annex*]. We believe that, as a result of the wide-spread support for the convening of a world disarmament conference, this session of the General Assembly will consider and decide questions relating to the preparation and holding of the conference.

98. The agenda of this session includes problems connected with the peaceful use of outer space. While reserving the right to express our views on some of these problems in greater detail at a later stage, we should like to urge all delegations to support the constructive proposal of the Soviet Union on the preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting [*A/8771*]. The adoption of this proposal will ensure that world-wide television broadcasting is carried on with strict respect for the national sovereignty of all countries in the interests of maintaining international peace and security and strengthening co-operation among nations.

99. In their statements, many delegations have expressed concern that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], the programme of action⁴ and relevant United Nations resolutions have not yet been implemented in some parts of the world. Events in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) show that the colonialists are persisting in their attempts to crush the national liberation movement of the African peoples. The ruling circles of some Western Powers and their powerful monopolies, which have long been protecting and lending money to colonial régimes, are now quite openly rendering aid to the rulers in Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon, supplying them with arms and cynically violating the embargo on trade with the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

100. In these circumstances it is essential to give further support to the forces opposed to imperialism and colonialism and to help them to intensify their struggle for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and racism. At the same time, the United Nations must take further decisive action to complete the process of decolonization. The United Nations could make a positive contribution to the implementation of international action in the struggle against racism and the inhuman policy and practice of racism and *apartheid* by adopting a convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid*. It should not be forgotten that the need to conclude such a convention was recognized by the General Assembly in resolution 2786 (XXVI).

101. The developing countries find themselves in a particularly difficult situation as a result of the present acute aggravation of the crisis in the capitalist monetary system and the consequent unhealthy condition of the world economy, for the backward economies which they inherited from colonialism are heavily dependent on external markets and on external sources for many vitally important goods.

102. The Ukrainian people have learned through their own experience that the difficulties facing developing countries

⁴ Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 2621 (XXV)).

can be overcome by firm and consistent implementation of radical social and economic reforms and by establishing a public sector in the economy of the country and changing the structure of social production. This will create the conditions for mobilizing resources on a national scale, speeding up economic development on the basis of modern scientific and technological advances, and strengthening the position of national economies in the struggle against foreign monopolies.

103. By pursuing this policy, the Ukraine, which was formerly a backward, illiterate country, with an economy dependent on foreign capital, has been transformed during the Soviet period into a highly developed industrial Power. The founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a truly historic event in the destiny of our people. The selfless labour of the Ukrainian people and the brotherly friendship and mutual assistance of all the peoples of the USSR have helped the Ukraine to establish an economy in which crises are unknown, to achieve a high level of cultural development and to consolidate social relations based upon genuine social and national equality. Tremendous social reforms in the name of humanity have not been the only result of the unification of the peoples of our land into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That unification, as was rightly pointed out by Mr. Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, has shown the whole world:

“... the only true way to overcome national enmity, to abolish inequality among nations, to guarantee the free development of peoples and to achieve the firm consolidation and unification of their efforts to secure a brighter future”. (From his report to the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine on 27 July 1972, published in *Pravda Ukrainy* of 28 July 1972).

104. We are convinced that the United Nations should promote such measures as would encourage the development of international co-operation in industrial production, the development and utilization of natural resources, the protection of the human environment, and other areas of mutual interest. This is the way to raise the economic standard of all countries and achieve the further strengthening of security and trust among nations.

105. At this session, some States are still advocating the revision of the United Nations Charter. It is argued that our Charter has become “obsolete”, and some people even assert that it does not reflect the positions of the dozens of new States which have been admitted to the United Nations since its foundation.

106. The Ukrainian SSR, one of the founder Members of the United Nations, well remembers the arduous battles against fascism in which was forged the victory which made possible the establishment of this international Organization. That victory cost our people incalculable sacrifices and sufferings. Consequently, the cause of peace and international security, a cause which is fully served by the provisions of the Charter, its spirit and its letter, is especially dear to us.

107. No, it is not the “obsolescence” of the Charter or a revision of the Charter or a revision of its principles that we

should be concerned with! A careful analysis of United Nations activities during the past 27 years will show that they might have been immeasurably more fruitful and effective if all Members had adhered unswervingly to the letter and spirit of the Charter and if all States without exception had conducted their foreign policy strictly in accordance with its principles. The shortcomings in the activities of the United Nations are not due to the Charter in its present form, but rather to violations of its provisions. The Charter cannot fail to correspond to the interests of the young developing States, for it gives legal confirmation to the progressive principles of international law—equality of rights, self-determination of peoples, sovereign equality and respect for human rights—the very principles which have served and continue to serve young developing States as reliable legal instruments in their struggle for genuine national independence.

108. To attempt to revise the Charter is to undermine the fundamental principles of the United Nations embodied in our Charter, which is a modern code for international co-operation between States on the basis of equality or rights.

109. A number of the problems submitted for consideration at this session are of supreme importance for the cause of universal peace. They are the problems of life itself, dictated by the fundamental interests of peoples thirsting for peace, prosperity and progress. The United Nations bears a great responsibility at this time, when powerful forces of peace are compelling us to direct our efforts towards détente and the strengthening of co-operation. The Ukrainian delegation considers it the primary duty and immediate task of the United Nations at the twenty-seventh session of its General Assembly, not to let slip the opportunity to work out and adopt at this session such decisions as will promote the development of far-reaching international co-operation based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

110. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): Mr. President, the delegation of Cyprus takes particular pleasure in associating itself with the previous speakers who have extended congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. This election is a just recognition of your great personal qualities and of your outstanding career, as well as of the important place that your country occupies in international affairs. I wish also to express our full confidence that, under your wise guidance, the deliberations of this session will lead to fruitful conclusions. May I on this occasion add my delegation's deep appreciation for the effective manner in which your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, carried out his functions during the past session.

111. We meet at a time when the political climate of the world shows the first definite signs of auspicious improvement. Two years ago, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the world outlook was rather dismal. The period since then has seen significant developments in international affairs and in the United Nations. Among the most important has been the progress achieved towards an East-West détente between the great Powers and the major achievement made in the direction of the universality of the

United Nations when the People's Republic of China became represented in this Organization. That great country, with its rich heritage of the past and its enormous present-day potential, is already making its important contribution to the work of the Organization. Still a third signal event has been the successful outcome of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in June, which demonstrated world awareness of the implications of a new and vast threat to human welfare and even human survival.

112. The East-West détente constitutes a bold move forward out of the negations of a long-standing cold war. It is reflected in recent developments, such as the ratification of the treaties concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany with both the Soviet Union and Poland. These should pave the way towards better East-West relations and facilitate the now more realistically contemplated European security conference. Within this context comes also the hopeful improvement of the relations between the two German States. In Asia also there have been noticeable accommodations: between North and South Korea; also on the subcontinent, with the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan, both renouncing the use of force in their bilateral relations; and more recently, the hopeful establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Japan.

113. Thus what has been for many years an unchanging pattern of cold war, military confrontation and political recriminations has now entered a tentative period of contact and dialogue offering the hope of more concrete results. This relaxation of tension, if continued, might be expected to create a new climate that would vitally improve the functioning of the United Nations and particularly the Security Council. As we all know, the failure of the Security Council to meet the requirements of the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security has been largely attributed to the absence of unanimity among the permanent members in the wake of the cold war. The present détente opens the possibility for better co-operation between the great Powers in the Security Council, which might lead to the desired unanimity on major issues as envisioned in the Charter. The road towards that goal may still be long and arduous, but the first important step appears to have been taken.

114. There seems to be, however, an apprehension, rightly or wrongly felt, that parallel to the détente a trend may grow towards co-operation among the great Powers outside the United Nations. The fear is that such co-operation may not strengthen this Organization in the solution of problems, but rather follow the pattern of the nineteenth century Concert of Europe. We do not share this apprehension. Such retrograde development, ignoring the rest of the world, would run counter to the very spirit of our democratic times which, in an increasingly interdependent world, compellingly call for international organization. It would also be against the true interests of the big Powers themselves. Our belief is that an improved international climate would bring new vitality to the Security Council and strengthen the entire United Nations. This seems particularly necessary at a time when the effectiveness of the United Nations is most needed in order to cope with the immensity of new challenges that face the international community.

115. Yet there is a tendency in some parts of the world, as the Secretary-General remarks in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [*A/8701/Add.1*], to downgrade the United Nations and criticize the Organization too readily for any failures anywhere. It should not be overlooked, however, that the failures are not of the Organization as such; they are failures in commitment and obligation by the Member States. For the United Nations cannot possibly produce more than it is allowed to by its Members.

116. The Secretary-General, in his introduction, further observes that the United Nations "plays a key role in the co-operative effort to tackle long-term social and economic problems, but in the political sphere the Organization's place is more uncertain" [*ibid.*, p. 1], and invites the earnest attention of all Member Governments to this vital question. The Secretary-General thus raises for discussion the important issue of the rule of the United Nations.

117. There can be little doubt that the political function of the United Nations is in some cases disregarded by Member States in the solutions of problems and even in the maintenance of peace. The United Nations, however, cannot be respected in some of its functions while ignored in others without its authority being undermined. Nor can it be downgraded, as the Secretary-General pertinently points out in his introduction, without dire consequences to the world community.

Mr. Kröyer (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

118. This is a reality and an intuitive appraisal that is deeply rooted in the conscience of the world's peoples. For, indeed, the overriding influence of the United Nations in international affairs is undeniable. All nations, large or small, whether Members of the Organization or not, strive to justify their international actions by picturing them as conforming to the Charter. We believe that any occasional attitudes of disregard of the United Nations are but a passing phase in a transitional period.

119. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that we are in an era of rapid change and that the United Nations finds itself in a period of transition from a traditional world of unlimited national sovereignty to a new world of effective international authority. A decisive move toward effecting such a transition has to be made. It is therefore obvious that the United Nations cannot remain static. We feel that it is the duty of all Members not only to uphold and strengthen the Organization morally and politically, but also to contribute to its dynamic development into a positive instrument for promoting change "effectively, humanely and reasonably" [*ibid.*, p. 5], to quote the Secretary-General, so that the international community may meet the emerging new challenges and adapt itself to the growing needs of the times. Perhaps a hopeful sign in that direction is the positive outcome of the recent United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, particularly in the sense of emphasizing the need for a reappraisal of old values and for a new global ethic.

120. Turning now to the less positive side of the balance sheet in international developments during the period under review, we find conflict in several areas of the world still

unresolved and still persisting. The situation in Indo-China continues to be one of intensified war, although certain developments, including high-level contacts between North Viet-Nam and the United States, offer some hopeful indications that a way to mutual accommodation may yet be found so that this devastating war may come to an end.

121. The Middle East situation shows hardly any signs of improvement. This is a complex problem aggravated by its emotional background and the intensity of feelings and constituting by far the gravest threat to world peace and security today. It merits the concerted and urgent effort of the international community to find an agreed accommodation. In our view, a solution can and should be found on the basis of the principles of the Charter and of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. If concrete steps could be taken towards even a partial accommodation, at least on the more urgent aspects of the problem, this would help to defuse the situation and open the way to a better understanding, leading towards an over-all solution of the basic problem. My delegation stands for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). This resolution, unanimously adopted and virtually accepted by all sides, provides the basis for a peaceful and just solution of the Middle East problem. Differences in respect of its interpretation can be overcome. For the resolution in its context is clear and unambiguous. We therefore express the hope that a reactivation of the mediation of Ambassador Jarring will achieve positive results in its next round.

122. My country, Cyprus, lying within the area and having friendly relations with all the parties, is particularly interested in a peaceful, just and sound solution of the Middle East problem in accordance with the tenets of justice and the principles of the Charter.

123. I would now like to say a few words on the policy of Cyprus in the United Nations and on its own problem. Since its independence and admission to the United Nations in 1960, Cyprus as a Member State has constantly and on all occasions demonstrated its unswerving dedication to the principles of the Charter and its whole-hearted support of the Organization. As a small, non-aligned country free of any commitment to military power or political blocs, and relying on the United Nations for its freedom and security, its primary commitment has been and is to the United Nations and its Charter.

124. As to the problem of Cyprus, while it is not an item on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly, it falls fully within the purview of the United Nations through the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

125. I do not propose to enter into the merits of the case at this juncture. They are well known from the lengthy discussions in this august body and in the Security Council. They resulted in the relevant resolutions, General Assembly resolution 2077 (XX) and Security Council resolution 186 (1964), which reaffirmed the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus; we firmly stand by these resolutions as the only sound basis for a solution. The reactivated and expanded bilateral talks, with the participation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the presence of constitutional

experts from Greece and Turkey—as provided in the formula of the former Secretary-General, U Thant, and put into application by the present Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim—are currently taking place in a good atmosphere. We trust that, in a spirit of justice and mutual understanding, the provisions of a workable constitution for an independent and unitary Cypriot State will be worked out in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the aforesaid United Nations resolutions, in a manner ensuring a lasting solution on the positive basis of conciliation and co-operation.

126. My Government is determined to show all goodwill and explore all possibilities toward accommodation in that direction. However, constitutional provisions that create sharp distinctions and divisions among our people that, are, in whatever form, inconsistent with a unitary State and will inevitably lead to friction and conflict, will have to be carefully avoided. Thus, in a positive spirit of co-operation among its people, Cyprus may be able to become a link of unity in the world and not an arena of division and conflict. We confidently trust that in this task the Government and the people of Cyprus will have the unreserved support of all Members of this Organization.

127. We deeply appreciate the protection afforded by the United Nations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus at critical junctures and its contribution to the pacification of the island through a United Nations Peace-keeping Force, as well as its efforts toward normalization and a solution of the problem.

128. We express our appreciation and thanks to the Secretary-General and his associates, both in New York and in Cyprus, for their dedicated and untiring efforts, which recently resulted in the reactivation of the local talks. Our thanks go also to the Commander of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus and his assistants for their devoted services. We are grateful to the countries whose contributions in military personnel and financial assistance made possible the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Cyprus.

129. A wide range of problems is on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. Old problems remain unsolved and new problems are added to them. I shall deal briefly with four main problem areas: peace and security, economic development, human rights, and environment.

130. Peace and security have been and remain major urgent problems. In the prevailing conditions of radically changed methods of war, these are problems that particularly require a new approach. Because of the unlimited destructiveness of present-day weaponry, nations can no longer effectively provide for their own defence through armaments, or ensure their cities' safety from attack and total destruction. It has become increasingly obvious that real national security now depends upon international security through the development of the United Nations into an adequate instrument for the maintenance of international peace, as envisaged in the Charter.

131. Efforts at disarmament over many decades without parallel efforts towards ensuring international security have proved fruitless. Disarmament cannot, therefore, be ef-

fectively promoted independently of progress in the peace-maintaining and peace-making functions of the United Nations. The provisions of the Charter contained in Chapter VII, which have remained practically dormant over the year, may possibly be in some way activated. Meanwhile in the present improved climate more effective efforts might be centred on the development of the existing peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, which have rendered most useful services to the cause of peace around the world, including Cyprus. We hope that the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations will find it possible in the present improved climate to make further progress toward formulating guide-lines for such operations. These guide-lines should, however, be developed with a view to the goal of an organized system of a permanent United Nations peace force with direct allegiance to the Organization. The financial requirements might perhaps be met by the establishment of a special peace fund for the purpose.

132. The peace-making functions of the United Nations, on the other hand, also have to be given parallel attention. Article 33 of the Charter provides for the means of peaceful settlement of disputes, among which are negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial decision, but the modalities and machinery for the practical application of these means are still lacking. Such machinery, however, is indispensable if the means are to be practically applied. It is certainly true that, without the will to settle international disputes peacefully, the mere existence of the modalities will not act as magic, but their absence is nevertheless a major impediment to the peace-making progress of the United Nations. We therefore hope that this important aspect of the United Nations peace-making functions may be given equal consideration through the setting up by the General Assembly of a special committee or in some other manner.

133. Within this context falls the review of the role of the International Court of Justice, an item on our agenda [*item 91*]. My delegation will, as in the two previous sessions, support all efforts designed to render more effective the legal arm of the United Nations by its wider use on problems having a legal aspect.

134. Regarding disarmament proper, the primary concern has been the spiralling arms race and the ever-continuing nuclear tests underground and in the atmosphere. The dangers to the world are obvious, and the psychological influence of this arms race, apart from the tremendous financial drain involved, also has to be reckoned with. We therefore warmly welcome the important accords reached between the super-Powers in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks which have at least arrested the momentum in the deployment of defensive strategic arms. While we fully appreciate the efforts made towards this positive result, we cannot overlook the fact that these accords have not affected in any significant respect the production and deployment of new and improved offensive strategic arms. Consequently the arms race, in effect, continues unabated, particularly in its qualitative aspect. It may be recalled that the world spends \$200,000 million annually for weapons of war while to the institutions of peace and social progress less than 0.5 per cent of that amount is applied.

135. We hope that in the forthcoming second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks there will be substantial

steps towards the achievement of an effective halt in the arms race. We also hope that agreement among all the nuclear Powers will yield a long-delayed comprehensive test-ban treaty.

136. Regarding a world disarmament conference, as proposed in resolution 2833 (XXVI) of the General Assembly, my Government fully supports the convening of such a conference, which we consider useful and desirable, provided it is open to all States and that it is attended by all major Powers. To be successful, such a conference will, no doubt, have to be carefully prepared not only procedurally, but also psychologically. Great hopes will be pinned on it as the last resort in the disarmament effort. It cannot, therefore, and should not fail in its main objectives.

137. Turning to the problem of world economics and the growing disparity between the developing and the developed world, the recent disappointing reports indicate the pitifully low standard of living of millions of people, while the gap between the developed and the developing countries has widened further. World population statistics showing an increase by 340 million from 1965 to 1970 point out that by far the greatest rate of increase took place in the developing countries, so that 70 per cent of the world population now lives in the developing regions.

138. The adoption two years ago of an International Development Strategy for the 1970s [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], will, we hope, make the Second United Nations Development Decade more successful than the first. Also, the recent third session of UNCTAD held in Santiago, despite its frustrations, has been wholesome in solidifying the wishes and will of the developing world. The discussion at that session of the link between development and disarmament emphasizes that only a 5 per cent shift from arms to development would make it possible to reach the target for official development assistance set by this Assembly.

139. From another aspect, technological innovations have opened up the possibility of the exploration of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction for the benefit of all mankind. The General Assembly Declaration⁵ has established this historical principle which, if finally implemented, could release resources from the depth of the sea that could diminish the scourge of poverty in the world and substantially help to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor countries. Here is indeed a new and vast economic potential for the international community which would allow it to solve so far intractable economic problems through the establishment of a world legal order for the first time in history over a part of this earth—its marine expanse.

140. In the light of the encouraging results achieved at the recent Geneva session of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, it is hoped that the Committee will continue its present positive work in a spirit of constructive consensus in order to achieve a successful

⁵ Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (resolution 2749 (XXV)).

conference on the law of the sea which would remedy the current unsettled situation in the relevant international law and make possible concrete results toward the goal of the eventual equitable exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed for the benefit of all mankind.

141. From the aspect of human rights, next year the world community will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the historic Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is hoped that this will prove an important landmark in the quest for human rights, particularly having regard to the achievements recently made through the United Nations in that field, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX)*] and the International Covenants on human rights. In this connexion, I may in all modesty mention that Cyprus had the honour of being one of the first to sign and ratify both these vital instruments for human rights.

142. Although much progress has been made toward decolonization since the adoption of the epoch-making resolution for the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], the continent of Africa is still suffering from the remnants of colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese territories and is burdened with *apartheid* in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia.

143. Namibia is at present the only area in which there seems to be a glimmer of hope for improvement as a result of the skilful diplomatic action of our Secretary-General. This slight crack in the door of Namibia must be further opened by continued and determined action through the United Nations.

144. Cyprus, having itself emerged from colonial rule, has all along supported fully the granting of independence to colonial countries, the ending of the abhorrent practices of *apartheid* and stands in full solidarity with all people still deprived of their inalienable rights of freedom, independence and human rights. Concerted efforts should be made to eliminate not only colonialism, but also neo-colonialism in many parts of the world. The recent decision taken by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1721 (LIII) to study the multinational corporations is a sound initiative.

145. The problem of the human environment, global in nature, pre-eminently reflects the necessity for effective global control. The winds and the waves have no national character, respect no national boundaries and respond to no national pleas. They carry pollution to the remotest corners of the earth. No people and no country, whatever its geographical situation, can be immune from the dire effects of the growing destruction of the environment. The interest, therefore, is common and the duties and responsibilities collective.

146. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm made a most heartening beginning toward effectively tackling this planetary problem, which was hardly even contemplated a very few years ago. We take this opportunity to express once more our appreciation to the Government of Sweden for its original

initiative and effort to bring about this Conference. In its results the Conference produced more than 100 recommendations in its Action Plan,⁶ adopted a historic Declaration⁷ and recommended the establishment of a 54-nation governing council for environmental programmes.⁸ These accomplishments in Stockholm are welcome evidence not only of the resilience of this Organization, but also of the wisdom, persistence and dedication of the Conference's Secretary-General, Mr. Maurice Strong, to whom we wish to pay a highly deserved tribute. We must not, however, merely extol the Stockholm Conference. We have to proceed in the same spirit of dedication to establish the governing council and give it the personnel and particularly the finances it requires.

147. The protection of the environment, involving as it does the very continuance of life on this globe, is a matter of such vital importance to all nations and people that no effort should be spared to obtain a consensus for appropriate measures to ensure that, while economic growth and development could proceed uninterruptedly, they would be closely co-ordinated with the adequate protection of the environment.

148. In any review of the world situation and its various problems, whether local or global, it emerges clearly that in the last analysis the only way toward their solution is through a strengthened, developed and effective United Nations. We therefore deeply appreciate the efforts of our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, who, on the same lines as his predecessor, U Thant, is wholly dedicated to the cause of strengthening the United Nations so that it may become central to the solution of international problems and to global planning.

149. We wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Waldheim for his inspired leadership, his dynamism and his untiring efforts to impart vigour and effectiveness to the United Nations.

150. In this task Cyprus pledges itself to do all within its modest means to support the Secretary-General and to exert all efforts to make of the United Nations not only the effective international instrument for peace, justice and progress in the world that it was intended to be by the drafters of the Charter, but also the world authority to cope with the planetary challenge of survival with which mankind is now faced.

151. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait):⁹ Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to express to you on behalf of the Government of the State of Kuwait heartfelt congratulations on your election to your high office. I should like to commend the high status you enjoy in international circles as a statesman with wide experience and an outstanding reputation. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, for the manner in which he presided over the past session of the General Assembly. May I also take

⁶ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. II.

⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. I.

⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. III.

⁹ Mr. Al-Sabah spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Waldheim, our Secretary-General, on his assumption of the responsibilities of Secretary-General of the United Nations. His indefatigable energy and zeal and his long diplomatic experience augur well for the future of our Organization.

152. Kuwait welcomes the symptoms of détente and reconciliation which are visible in many parts of the world, especially in the relations between the big Powers. Several recent developments on the world political scene may truly be said to mark an era of change. The Moscow agreements, imposing certain quantitative limitations on strategic nuclear weapon systems, have given rise to great hopes that they will be followed by additional measures in the field of disarmament and open new vistas of co-operation in all aspects of international relations. While expressing satisfaction with the new trend we should, however, express our profound belief that amity among big Powers should never be achieved at the expense of the small countries and that co-operation among the super-Powers should not imply dividing the world into spheres of influence or establishing a partnership in world hegemony.

153. Our attitude is in conformity with the policy of the non-aligned countries which during the Conference of their Foreign Ministers held in August in Guyana, affirmed their adherence to the policy of non-alignment and their anxiety to maintain the international balance of power and to protect the small countries from becoming tools in the hands of the big Powers.

154. The entry into force of the treaties between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin have removed the major obstacles to the development of constructive co-operation among all the countries of the European continent. The preparations for the convening of a European conference on security and co-operation are further evidence of the relaxation of international tension and the improvement of relations between the socialist and Western countries.

155. These political improvements create a favourable atmosphere for the intensification of efforts towards disarmament. Kuwait supported the proposal to hold a world disarmament conference. One of the basic prerequisites for the success of the conference would be to secure universal participation in the conference. We hope that the projected world disarmament conference would provide the right forum for a universal effort to achieve our common goal of general and complete disarmament. However, the conference should adopt as one of its basic principles the necessity of allocating a major part of the resources released by the reduction of military budgets to the economic and social development of the developing countries.

156. May I express the satisfaction of the Government of Kuwait with the encouraging developments in the negotiations for the reunification of North and South Korea? Kuwait, which is opposed to the partition of any country and which steadfastly upholds the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States, sincerely hopes that the reunification of Korea will be achieved

peacefully and without foreign interference and that all foreign troops will be withdrawn from Korea.

157. The goals of the United Nations are of such a nature as virtually to require universal membership for their successful fulfilment. We hope that countries which have not yet been admitted to the United Nations will soon take their seats in this hall. Meanwhile, we would like non-members to take an active part in the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, as no doubt they can make a valuable contribution to the work of our Organization. The restitution of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China was a major international event which brought our Organization nearer to achieving the goal of universality. China has already demonstrated its role as an independent great Power which is not involved in the conflict between the two camps. Its presence among us has reinforced the ranks of the developing countries who see in China a reliable ally and a true friend.

158. The President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development painted a grim picture of the conditions of life for the 40 per cent of the world population who live in the developing countries. He blamed the advanced countries for failing to fulfil the 1 per cent target of providing aid to the developing countries during the Second United Nations Development Decade. He also predicted that the developing countries would not be able to attain the agreed target of 6 per cent of economic growth each year.

159. This is a realistic evaluation following the outcome of the third session of UNCTAD, held at Santiago in April and May, which gave rise to wide disappointment and disillusionment. The ill-will which lurks behind the reluctance of the advanced countries to provide aid and outlets for the exports of the developing countries is a matter of serious concern to all of us as it prevents the fulfilment of the aims of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*].

160. I hope that events will disprove these predictions and that there will be a change of heart among the rich countries, which will realize that much more is at stake than the question of trade and development. Poverty is a deadly enemy of mankind that dwells at the root of most world problems. It is not yet too late to wage a war against poverty and to collaborate in providing for all people the blessings of social welfare and prosperity.

161. Rejoicing over the relaxation of international tension in some areas should not divert our attention from deep-rooted problems in other areas of the world in which no progress towards solution has been experienced, but should rather stimulate redoubled efforts by the international community to deal effectively with those problems, the continuation of which constitutes a permanent threat to international peace and security and a perpetual challenge to the ideals and purposes of the Charter.

162. The international order continues to be confronted with its gravest challenges in South-East Asia, in West Asia and in southern Africa. In each of these regions the rules of

civilized conduct and of international law continue to be violated daily; contempt for the value of human life continues to be manifested in its ugliest forms; and the fruits of modern civilization—organization and technology—continue to be employed for destruction and defilement of those very values and principles without which civilization cannot flourish.

163. The year which has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly has witnessed in Viet-Nam an escalation of violence—in its instruments and methods, as well as in the pretexts for its use. In the Middle East and in southern Africa, on the other hand, it has witnessed continuing attempts to entrench the *faits accomplis* which have been achieved by aggression, usurpation and racist domination, and by continued disregard for the international will.

164. The essential similarity between the régimes which are responsible for the rise and exacerbation of the deep-rooted problems in southern Africa and the Middle East has become quite evident. In each of those two regions we see régimes of alien colonists—established through the usurpation of the homelands and property of indigenous peoples, and the subjugation or dispersion of those peoples in accordance with the precepts of the racist policy which is the *raison d'être* of the régimes in question—meet every struggle for national liberation with ruthless suppression and official governmental terrorism.

165. If we focus our attention on the situation in the Middle East we will observe that it has recently been characterized—as far as the Israeli occupation of territories of neighbouring Arab States is concerned—by two principal features: first, the suspension of international efforts to achieve a political settlement; and, second, the escalation of Israeli endeavours to transform the temporary military occupation into permanent *de facto* control and eventually into *de jure* expansionist annexation.

166. Responsibility for the suspension of international efforts to achieve a political settlement has been formally established by the General Assembly in its resolution 2799 (XXVI), in which “the positive reply given by Egypt to the Special Representative’s initiative for establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East” was noted with appreciation; while Israel was asked “to respond favourably” to that initiative. But Israel’s position has not changed since the adoption of that resolution, and the international initiatives have therefore been suspended.

167. It is imperative that this clear Israeli responsibility for the frustration and resultant suspension of international initiatives aimed at achieving a just and peaceful settlement of the crisis of the Middle East be borne in mind when the renewal of such initiatives is considered. For it was Israel’s rejection of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war or conquest and its rejection of the practical corollary thereof, namely, the mandatory withdrawal from the occupied territories, that was the rock on which all international initiatives have foundered—whether those taken by the United Nations or within its framework, or those taken by individual States or groups of States.

168. Israel’s responsibility for frustrating all attempts at achieving a peaceful settlement of the problem also reveals the spuriousness of its claimed longing for peace.

169. Questions or doubts in the mind of observers of the Middle East situation about the reason why Israel deliberately aborts every international effort to attain a peaceful settlement in the region while its leaders ceaselessly voice an alleged aspiration for peace find their answer in Israel’s policies and practices in the territories occupied since 1967. Those territories have been the scene of tireless Israeli efforts to eliminate their Arab character and to replace it by an Israeli character—demographically, culturally, socially, economically and juridically. This programme, in turn, is calculated to serve the Israeli policy of transforming the status of the occupied territories: from that of territories under military occupation, through a transitional period in which they are annexed by Israel in fact but not in name, to the final status of Israeli territories in the full sense of the term. This is the policy of annexation through conquest, the policy of expansion through war, the policy of the acquisition of territories by force, which is outlawed in the Charter and declared by the Security Council and the General Assembly in a number of resolutions to be inadmissible and incompatible with the principles of the international community and the rules of international law.

170. The Israeli practices of oppression in the occupied territories and the clear-cut violations of the norms of humane, civilized conduct, as well as the rules of international law, particularly those enshrined in the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,¹⁰ are thus but Israel’s means of overcoming the obstacles which stand in the way of its achieving its expansionist aims.

171. It will be recalled that the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, established by the General Assembly, has found that an organic relationship obtains between Israel’s designs to annex the occupied territories, on the one hand, and its violations of the Geneva Conventions, on the other; that the General Assembly has repeatedly condemned Israeli policies and practices; and that the Commission on Human Rights has declared at its latest session that “grave breaches of the fourth Geneva Convention committed by Israel in the occupied Arab territories constitute war crimes and an affront to humanity”.¹¹

172. The crisis in the Middle East is not confined to the situation created by the Israeli aggression of 1967 and the resultant occupation. This aspect of the problem is in fact a derivative; it is the result of the underlying, original problem, namely, the fate of the Palestinian people and its homeland. The General Assembly has in fact shown belated awareness of this obvious fact when it declared in resolutions adopted in 1970 and 1971 that there can be no durable and lasting peace in the Middle East unless the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the rights of return and self-determination, are fully respected and observed.

¹⁰ Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-second Session, Supplement No. 7, resolution 3 (XXVIII)*.

173. The costly and strenuous battle waged in recent years by the Palestinian people for the restoration of its rights constitutes its response, not only to the Zionist usurpation of its homeland and to the displacement and oppression it has suffered at the hands of Israel, but also to the complacency of the international community about Israel's persistent violation of Palestinian rights through usurpation, displacement and oppression. After some 20 years of patient and hopeful expectation, after waiting all that time for some action by the international community to live up to its pledges and to ensure the implementation of its resolutions, and after the frustration of all those hopes and expectations, a new generation of Palestinians has at last arisen to shoulder the burdens of its destiny and to wage its own battle for return, for liberation and for the restoration of its rights.

174. The world—which for 20 years has abandoned the Palestinian people and left it at the mercy of those who have usurped its homeland, displaced it and deprived it of the opportunity to enjoy a life of dignity in its own country and which, contenting itself with reiterating its recognition of the right of return, has done absolutely nothing to make it possible for Palestinians to enjoy in fact the fulfilment of that cherished hope—cannot now absolve itself of its responsibility for the frustration experienced by the Palestinian people or for the desperation that it generates or the extremism to which it may lead.

175. The United Nations is indeed called upon to engage in earnest soul-searching and bold self-criticism, and to admit its share of responsibility both for the fate suffered by the Palestinian people and for such consequences as it has already begun to generate.

176. Israeli outcries have recently been heard about what Israeli propaganda chooses to call Palestinian terrorism. Clearly the objective is to divert attention from the terrorism perpetrated by Israel itself in and across the occupied territories. At the same time, Israel hopes that by misrepresenting the true nature of the Palestinian national liberation movement it may succeed in neutralizing some of the sympathy which that movement has elicited from all those who believe in the liberty of peoples and uphold their right to struggle for the restoration of their rights. Nor is it far-fetched to assume that one of the purposes of the current Israeli campaign is to provide in advance justification for some new expansionist venture in Arab territories long coveted but not yet conquered by Israel.

177. Whatever the aims of the Israeli campaign of vilification may be, the incontestable fact remains that Israel is not so much the victim as the author of terrorism in the Middle East. For it was by means of terrorism that Israel was established. It was by means of terrorism that Israel came to acquire the lands it now occupies and it now exploits. And it was by means of terrorism that Israel transformed an innocent people living peacefully in its own ancestral homeland into a people half of which is displaced and dispersed outside its homeland while the other half suffers deprivation and humiliation under Israeli rule or military occupation.

178. Nor was the terrorism through which Israel was founded transitory, or the product of passing circumstances

or momentary impulses. Nor indeed was it the aberration of a small group of dissident extremists outside the Zionist mainstream. It was, on the contrary, a purposeful, planned and organized terrorism. It was an official terrorism, methodically practised and carefully calculated in its timing, its methods, and its targets.

179. There is a vast difference between the two situations. In the one case a people struggles for the liberation of its land and the restoration of its rights; and deprivation and desperation drive a handful of its members to acts of terrorism against the usurpers of its land and rights. In the other case the Government of a Member of the United Nations has systematically practised terrorism, not only since the birth of that State, but also long after its establishment and up to this very day.

180. In the period preceding the establishment of Israel the Zionist terrorist acts were attributed to, and admitted by, some organized groups, notably the Irgun and the Stern organizations, which pretended to constitute the opposition within the Zionist movement and posed as dissenters from the Zionist programme of action. But documents released at that time by the Mandatory Government and the memoirs published later by the leaders of those organizations themselves authoritatively give the lie to those pretences, and reveal irrefutably the full dimensions of the collusion and co-ordination which obtained between the so-called extremist organizations and the official agencies of Zionism in every terrorist act perpetrated by the former.

181. Indeed, no sooner was Israel established than the mask was lifted: the organizations formerly described as "extremist" were merged into the regular Israeli army and their leaders brought into the ruling establishment, some becoming members of parliament, others ministers, and others deputy prime ministers. Thus those who planned or executed the assassination of Lord Moyne, Count Bernadotte or Colonel Serot, the blowing-up of the King David Hotel over the heads of its residents or the massacre of Deir Yasin came to occupy high civilian and military positions in Israel. Overnight, professional terrorists were transformed into statesmen occupying key positions in a Government which readily embraced the practice of terrorism as though it were a legitimate instrument of national policy.

182. The bond which, before the establishment of Israel, had linked Zionism with terrorism was not severed after the rise of Israel and its admission to membership of the United Nations. All that happened in the new era was that Zionist terrorism underwent a metamorphosis, a change of form but not of substance.

183. It is true that in the first few years following the signing of the general armistice agreements the Israeli Government tried to continue the pretence of the pre-Israeli period, attributing the raids conducted by its regular armed forces across the armistice demarcation lines and the accompanying massacres to imaginary groups of irregulars—as it did, for example, in the cases of Qibya and Nahhalin. But United Nations observers confirmed in every instance that it was the regular armed forces of Israel that made the raids and perpetrated the massacres.

184. Before long, Israel abandoned the pretence and took to open, unmasked terrorism. Beginning with the attack on

Gaza in 1955 and the massacres of Kafr Qasin and Khan Yunis in 1956, Israel unleashed a series of attacks which reached their climax on the eve of the aggression of 1967 in the Sammu'i raid.

185. The aggression of 1967 ushered in a new era, in which Israel's participation in official terrorism escalated. It involved its air force in terrorist actions, unleashing without restraint its airmen against civilian populations and civilian establishments to rain death upon labourers in Egyptian factories and children in Egyptian schools, and upon women and old men and children in the villages and towns of Jordan, Lebanon and Syria and the refugee camps in those countries.

186. Moreover, a new field for Israeli terrorism was opened up in that era. I refer now to the occupied territories. This Assembly has received official reports containing ample evidence of this category of Israeli terrorism: including torture under interrogation and torture in detention; detention of thousands without trial; arbitrary demolition of homes; expulsion of people from their homes, their villages and their country; imposition of collective punishment; detention of the families and kin of freedom-fighters as hostages in desert concentration camps; and similar arbitrary and inhuman practices.

187. Nor was Israel content with these varieties of terrorism. It has been committing actions which are normally the hallmark of gangs operating outside the pale of law and order. Thus it has stooped to kidnapping civilian and military personnel from the territories of neighbouring Arab States, refusing to release some of them despite urgent demands from the Security Council. It has taken into custody Arab passengers on international aircraft making unscheduled landings in Israel, holding them for long periods. And it has dispatched its saboteurs to civilian airports to destroy planes on the ground.

188. And now, after this long record of terrorism—organized, planned and purposeful terrorism—Israel raises its voice in righteous indignation against terrorism in an attempt to incite the world against the Palestinian people in its entirety, even though Palestinians are in truth the collective victims of Israel's own governmental terrorism.

189. Kuwait does not condone practices of terrorism, regardless of who is their perpetrator and who their victim. Kuwait regrets the shedding of innocent blood, whoever the victims may be, and grieves over the indiscriminate subjection of man, any man, to murder or agony or torture.

190. Having stated this, I must at the same time recall the fact that violence is alien to the character of the Palestinian people, whose history, both remote and recent, has manifested their humane virtues of tolerance, brotherhood, hospitality and generosity. Even if we put aside the remote past in an effort to avoid marshalling masses of details, it is sufficient to recall the recent past. The scene is one of a peaceful people, which finds itself exposed to an invasion aimed at nothing less than its displacement from its ancestral homeland, rising heroically to repel that invasion, waging for decades a battle of self-defence, with honour and dignity, and resisting every temptation to engage in indiscriminate violence.

191. If frustration and desperation, caused by its abandonment by the international community, have prompted some of its members to counter official Israeli terrorism with individual acts of terror, it would be unfair to hold the patient and struggling Palestinian people as a whole accountable for those acts.

192. However, even if we were to assume for the sake of argument—and I emphasize that it would be a completely false assumption—that the whole Palestinian people had come to embrace terrorism as a programme, we would nevertheless feel constrained to ask, is the international community entitled to expect those whom it has deprived of the protection of the law to abide by that law, or to expect those whom it has deprived of the blessings of public order to be concerned for the security of that order? Does the international community have the right to expect those to whom it has denied the opportunity to enjoy their inalienable, elementary rights to acknowledge obligations towards it? Does the United Nations have a right to expect from those with respect to whom it has betrayed the principles of its own Charter and whom it has relegated to a limbo outside the framework of the new world order which the United Nations was created in order to promote—does the United Nations have a right to expect from these people loyalty to that order?

193. It is anomalous that the tragedy suffered by the Palestinian people for a quarter of a century and directly affecting the life of every single Palestinian without exception should have no place on the agenda of the General Assembly while an item said to be inspired by certain actions performed by a few members of that people appears on the agenda. It is astonishing that the tragedy of the Palestinian people, to the creation and aggravation of which the United Nations has contributed, continues to be absent from the agenda of the General Assembly while some of the consequences of the desperation generated by that tragedy appear before it as an independent item.

194. Is this because some believe that terrorism when perpetrated by individuals is worthy of arousing the concern of the United Nations, whereas systematic terrorism perpetrated by the government of the United Nations is not worthy of arousing the concern of the Organization? Or is it perhaps because the fate of two and three-quarter million Palestinians, victims of Zionist-Israeli terrorism, is less important in the view of some than the fate of a few dozen Israelis? Or is the explanation for the anomaly to which I have just alluded to be found, alternatively, in the fact that there are some who are aware of the events of the moment, but who forget—or ignore—the background of those events, even though it is of continuing reality and relevance? Or are there among us some who fancy that results can be effectively dealt with even when no effort is made to deal correctively with the causes which produced them?

195. What the General Assembly is called upon to do, before proceeding to consider the question of contemporary terrorism, is to pause for some quiet reflection—bold, wise, judicious and impartial reflection. Bold reflection provides us all with the opportunity to exercise some badly-needed, harsh self-criticism, which alone can enable us to take cognizance of, and to correct, the mistakes,

whether of omission or of commission, made by the international community. Wise reflection enables us to view the events of the moment within the context of, and not in isolation from, their causes. Judicious reflection would not permit the treatment of effects to divert attention from the treatment of their causes. And impartial reflection refuses to equate the aberrations of a handful of deprived and desperate individuals with the sins committed formally by the government of a Member of the United Nations in accordance with carefully laid-out plans.

196. Only after a pause such as this and through such reflection can the General Assembly, and through it the international community as a whole, be true to the premise on which the Charter rests—that there can be no peace without justice—and find the path to true and durable peace.

197. Mr. IBINGIRA (Uganda): Mr. President, I have already, on this rostrum, had the pleasant occasion to welcome your election and the appointment of our illustrious Secretary-General. Let me now take the opportunity to bring you and this Assembly the good wishes for the success of our deliberations of my President, General Idi Amin Dada, the Government of Uganda and all our people.

198. As a direct result of a horrendous global conflict this Organization was founded with the firm resolve that never again should mankind engage in an even more suicidal war.

199. It is true that a hard look at the international scene still reveals unresolved areas of conflict, but it is equally true that this Organization, by providing a meeting point for potential antagonists over a quarter of a century, paved the way for the current détente among those with the capacity to decimate this planet. When we reaffirm our support and belief in this Organization, therefore, it is not a platitude but our deeply rooted conviction that this Organization has no equal for the preservation of the peace of mankind.

200. My delegation welcomes the current, and apparently genuine, efforts among the big Powers to replace confrontation with dialogue: between Washington and Moscow; between Peking and Washington; and, coming up, between Moscow and Peking over their frontier disputes. The solutions to the German and Berlin questions should contribute towards a stable peace in Europe and in the world.

201. We cannot, however, oversimplify the price for peace. Despite the strategic arms limitation agreements between the super-Powers, defence experts continue to show us that the arms race is still on, and that billions of dollars are still being spent on armaments which, we are told, would never be used. Nuclear tests still continue to negate the spirit and philosophy under which the nuclear test-ban Treaty was signed. While we have made a promising beginning in the search for peace, it is the view of my delegation that we should not rest this search permanently on a false premise—on the premise of a balance of terror, as Winston Churchill called it.

202. The existence of great armaments must surely undermine the eventuality of using them. As long as they exist,

despite all the well-meant steps taken to establish peace, they could be used to devastate our world. The better premise for world peace, therefore, must remain the total destruction of all nuclear weapons and a permanent ban on them together with a ban on other highly destructive weapons. So long as big Powers continue their military industrial complexes their products must find use and markets that are provided by war.

203. My delegation joins the peace-lovers all over the world in demanding peace in Viet-Nam. The staggering waste in this war, in terms of human and material resources, has no justification in a world community that, more than ever, so widely shares a common need for peace and justice. The United States should set the example to us all and show us that a super-Power can exercise self-restraint and respect the independence of others, even if they are small and poor States.

204. It is our hope, too, that the current winds of peace that are blowing across this planet will sweep through the Middle East to provide a just and lasting solution. As we stated here last year [*1943rd meeting*], it is the view of my Government that any fair and lasting solution to the Middle East problem must be based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The occupied Arab territories should be vacated *in toto* by Israel and, in turn, the Arab nations must comply with the conditions of that resolution. It remains a sad commentary on our times that force is still an instrument for acquiring territory or settling international disputes. It seems so clear to us, too, that no lasting solution to this problem on a fair and just basis can be attained without a fair answer to the Palestinian refugee problem. Justice demands that Israel comply with the wishes of the Arab nations.

205. We in East Africa are directly and adversely affected by the closure of the Suez Canal. Most of our trade goes north to Europe, traditionally through that Canal. Its closure has meant long voyages around South Africa. The undesirable but inevitable consequence has been to enrich the obnoxious minority régimes in southern Africa, as they provide the ports of call. Freight costs have obviously increased. We therefore have a right to demand of Israel that it submit to a fair settlement which would involve the opening of the Canal.

206. It has now become a tradition that whenever we meet we must talk about decolonization, we must condemn minority racist régimes, we must censure the collaborators with them. But there is something disturbing about all this. Our eloquence in speech, our resolutions on paper in the organs of this Organization, have been as conspicuous as our actions in their actual implementation have been few and feeble.

207. The number of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on decolonization given in the documentation constituting the basis for the meetings of the Security Council held in Addis Ababa early this year, was impressive. These two organs have since then adopted several other resolutions on various steps to be taken for establishing self-determination and ending minority rule. Little, if any, action, regrettable to say, has followed.

208. In Rhodesia, 5.5 million Africans continue to be dispossessed of their fundamental liberties by a minority of a quarter of a million whites. Crimes depriving the majority of their rights continue to be committed by the Smith régime. Millions of Africans have been arbitrarily and forcibly evicted from their lands which they have owned from time immemorial, in order for that land to be reserved to a few whites. Their dwellings and fields have been set on fire by the thousands to effect this eviction. Their leaders have been indefinitely locked up without trial. There is no security to speak of for them. In total disregard of United Nations resolutions on the matter, the United Kingdom, which claims the sovereign right over Rhodesia—a claim that this Organization recognizes—has refused to assert its authority and ensure human rights and self-determination in Rhodesia. It has totally disregarded the hardships of and overwhelming humanitarian considerations respecting the 5.5 million indigenous Rhodesians; instead, to our amazement, it has attempted to rush this Assembly, supposedly on humanitarian grounds, into action for the benefit of only 65,000 of its nationals who are being legitimately asked to quit my country. What a double standard in international affairs!

209. There is a saying in English law that if you seek justice in equity you must come with clean hands. The United Kingdom has appealed to this Assembly—not formally now, but continuously in private—saying that it is seeking justice for the 65,000 or so people who have been requested to depart from my country. But we should ask, does the United Kingdom come to this Assembly with clean hands? Does it come when it has invariably recognized humanitarian considerations wherever they have affected other peoples, not just the 65,000 who are nationals of the United Kingdom? Does it come after having fulfilled the obligations I have just referred to in relation to the 5.5 million indigenous Rhodesians who are totally dispossessed and in quite a helpless situation? Does it come after having rectified all these things, to ask for justice before this Assembly?

210. You will answer that; and I am quite convinced that, with the facts set before you, you will answer that the United Kingdom, rather than coming with clean hands, comes with arms shoulder-deep in complicity with the racist régimes and Rhodesia in its course of independence without justification, in complicity with the racists who are depriving our brothers in southern Africa of their rights. I have no doubt that this Assembly will render a judgement that is worthy of it as a world forum for justice.

211. It seems clear that the United Kingdom Government is in fact making it possible for the Smith régime to establish legitimacy under the umbrella of British protection. The latest British vetoes in the Security Council indicate this. My Government still holds the view, as most Members here do, that Britain should quell the Smith rebellion by force, hold a constitutional conference for all Rhodesians to determine their constitution, and grant independence to a government that is based on majority rule.

212. The responsibility resting on Portugal for Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) is no less clear. That such a small, distant and relatively poor European State

should hold out for so long in its African colonial wars is sad testimony to the manner in which the declared words of some Members here are contrary to their deeds. If some Member States did not directly aid Portugal's war effort, the colonial wars would by now be over. We therefore appeal to them, in particular to the United States of America, to desist from giving material help that will prolong these colonial wars. Whatever happens, it remains an ineluctable fact of human history that the freedom-fighters will ultimately triumph. Our talk here, really, is about what price they should pay for their freedom.

213. My delegation urges this session to examine more closely, not how many resolutions on decolonization should be adopted, but what action should be taken to implement those already adopted. There are many in the world who are feeling some disillusionment because we have so far failed to match our speeches with deeds. We are facing a credibility gap of increasing magnitude. We owe it to ourselves to do better.

214. Closely associated with decolonization in Africa is the problem of *apartheid* in South Africa. The resolutions passed and the documents compiled in this Organization on the unspeakable crime of *apartheid* are matched only by those on decolonization, yet there has been so little done in practice to implement them. The failure is due not only to the *apartheid* régime itself but also—and this is more important—to powerful external support for that régime.

215. No amount of words by those who hold great investments in South Africa will convince us that they are serious about restoring justice and equity in that society. Indeed, it is true that through their economic interests they, more than any, hold the key to perpetuating or dismantling *apartheid*. The world will not tire of demanding constructive action from them.

216. We welcome the recent appointment by our Secretary-General of an experienced diplomat to set the ball rolling towards Namibia's independence and self-determination. But we hold no illusions: the road is long and hard and any emissary walks along it with great difficulty. Yet it is a beginning. We will not wait for a decade to give Namibia freedom. All the organs competent under the Charter have pronounced the illegality of South Africa's hold on Namibia. It is up to the Member States to give practical meaning to those pronouncements.

217. My Government will continue to give material and other aid to all freedom-fighters in the Territories I have mentioned. It is the least we can contribute to their struggle for freedom.

218. Let me turn to the world economic situation. As a developing nation, still largely dependent on a few agricultural commodities for the world market, it is crucial for us to have a stable world economic situation. In this connexion the enlargement and consolidation of the European Economic Community will be significant for Africa in general and my country in particular. While we do already have some preferential treatment, the range of items is far too limited and the conditions leave much room for improvement.

219. The European Economic Community, because of its historical past, has a duty to Africa. It is our sincere hope that this newly found economic cohesion in Europe will be used not to perpetuate under-development among our nations but rather to inject more developmental aid to accelerate our economic growth.

220. There should be no monopolized areas of trade in a rapidly shrinking world. The socialist countries and the United States could help a good deal more than they have hitherto done in the field of economic aid to developing nations.

221. It was with some regret that my Government noted the results of the third session of UNCTAD, but the fundamental difficulty was not with that session but with the member nations, which alone hold the key to releasing more generous terms to developing nations, both for commodity prices and for foreign aid.

222. It is too late in the day to have a planetary concept whereby the rich get richer and the poor poorer. We are so interdependent that even those who call themselves super-Powers could not exist without the host of intermediate and small nations of the world.

223. In this regard it is vital to curtail armaments, in order to release those billions for the betterment of all mankind. Then, truly, the big donors and the big nations of the world would be worthy of greatness and respect. There can be no genuine pride and respect if greatness—if greatness it can be called—is based principally on one's capability to destroy our planet, including oneself.

224. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June, was a landmark. It is the duty of us all to avoid so upsetting the delicate balance of life and nature on earth that we could soon become a dying planet. My Government is committed to undertaking whatever is essential, in the light of present and future knowledge, to maintain and protect our environment. In this connexion developing nations, not yet saturated with the polluting factors of the industrial States, could make good use of the latest anti-polluting knowledge and techniques and so avoid committing the errors of the industrial States. But the foreign companies exporting technology from the old to the new areas of industry must be rigidly controlled and required to establish new industries in accordance with the best and latest environmental techniques. Old polluting methods should be banned in developing nations and a concerted effort should be made to establish uniformity in this.

225. It is the view of my Government that the deterioration of the environment in industrial nations, where it is more acutely felt, is accentuated by established economic methods of production, which through self-interest do their best, sometimes, to resist new inventions that might help restore health to such environment. This is an urgent and fundamental problem which the governments concerned must face with honesty and courage.

226. The issue of outer space is becoming increasingly important. My delegation welcomes the efforts of those Member States which engage in the utilization of outer

space for the betterment of our world. We have supported the relevant treaties on the subject and will in principle support those that are to come. While we rightly engage actively in discussing problems indigenous to our earth, let us not be unmindful that throughout history outer space has had a profound influence on the human race. Who among us has not been struck, on a clear night, by the stupendous majesty of the heavens? Which culture on this planet does not, directly or indirectly, have legends of gods from outer space, influencing the great religions or mythologies of us all?

227. Today, man moves into outer space, not in imagination and thought as before, but in physical reality. These adventures may yet hold the most profound consequences for our planet. It is now generally accepted by most scientists that earth man may not be the only intelligent being in the universe. For that reason my delegation holds the view that those among us who explore outer space have a duty to keep us all fully informed of their findings.

228. Should we, for instance, seriously believe that the American moon programme is principally designed to collect moon dust and rocks; or that the Soviet probes to Venus and elsewhere are primarily interested in ascertaining the high temperatures and related climatic matters? We say we are behind you in your explorations, but let us share all your important findings because sooner or later, if they bear relevance and significance to our planet, we are surely bound to do so.

229. Though a land-locked country, Uganda shares the active interest in the exploitation of the resources of the oceans for the betterment of mankind. We have followed the proceedings of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction with close interest, as it is now universally held that those natural resources beyond the limits of sovereign jurisdiction constitute the common heritage of mankind. My Government will support an effective international policy for the exploitation of these resources for the benefit of all.

230. Let me now turn to an issue that has become of direct concern to my country.

231. In his statement on 27 September [*2042nd meeting*] the British Foreign Secretary urged this Assembly to support a British move in demanding of my President that he revise his policy of expelling nearly 60,000 foreign nationals, about 55,000 of whom are British citizens. Although I made my reply to him from this rostrum then [*2043rd meeting*], because I realize that many members of the General Assembly may have been absent I should like briefly to recount the history of this problem, without which it remains distorted and unfairly exploited by anti-Uganda propaganda.

232. Towards the end of the last century, when the United Kingdom still ruled a colonial empire engulfing the Indian subcontinent and some East African countries, including my own, it systematically organized and promoted an exodus of its subjects from the Indian subcontinent to many of its colonies, including mine. These

people were originally brought to East Africa principally to provide the labour for constructing the railway from Mombasa, on the Indian Ocean coast, to my capital city, 850 miles inland. After this, the British organized them and engaged them to settle and to provide an instrument for promoting colonial trade and commerce. By 1900, although there were 2,000 British Asians in the country, they had already established their mastery over our trade and commerce.

233. The British, who administered Uganda until 1962, systematically ensured that their nationals of Asian extraction continued to dominate our economic life, without any reasonable effort to promote the interests of the indigenous people in this field. The pressure among the Africans became so great that in 1946 and 1947 there were serious riots in my country in protest against this British policy of systematically keeping the Africans out of the economic life of the country. The British colonial officers, instead of looking at the root of the problem, reacted by imprisoning the leaders of riots and suppressing their activities.

234. Since this did not provide the right answer, there was an extensive boycott of all Asian businesses in my country in 1959 which was so effective that it almost paralysed the economic life of the country. Again, because we were still under British rule, the authorities, instead of recognizing and promoting the legitimate aspirations and interests of the overwhelming majority of the people of Uganda, chose to solve the problem by once more locking up the leaders of the trade boycott and suppressing it.

235. In 1962 Uganda became an independent sovereign State and was admitted as a Member by this Organization. But the economy was still almost totally dependent on these foreign nationals. If these British nationals had chosen to identify themselves with our country, to which they came poor and in which they made great fortunes, this problem would never have arisen at all. Indeed, I was myself witness to a number of occasions when the illustrious Prime Minister of India, the late Pandit Nehru, urged these British nationals to identify themselves with the countries of their habitual residence. His daughter, the present Prime Minister of India, before she was Prime Minister paid a visit to East Africa and repeated this call. In doing so, these foresighted leaders were in fact echoing what the leaders of my country and other neighbouring countries had since independence been urging these British Asians to do, without success.

236. On independence, a Ugandan citizenship was created. All the indigenous Africans in Uganda automatically became Ugandan citizens. So did any Asian who was born in Uganda and one of whose parents had been born in Uganda. This covered some of these Asians, but not all. In addition, however, anyone among these British Asians could become a citizen by registration, if only he asked the Uganda Government between October 1962 and October 1964 to be registered as a citizen of our Republic. This offer of citizenship would have covered everyone among the people under consideration. Those who registered, or those among them who were qualified by birth, to be citizens have no problem, and they are citizens of my country, with as many rights and duties within the State as any of us has.

237. It is rare, you will agree with me, that a country offers its citizenship so generously and with so few demands to such a large group of aliens. But it remains a fact that the majority of these people who today are the subject of considerable discussion in fact deliberately, of their own volition, rejected the offer of the Uganda Government to grant them citizenship. Considering that they had made their fortunes in Uganda and that most of them had lived there for so many years, this rejection was not only painful to us, but an insult to our hospitality and to our worth as a nation. We were, in other words, expected to continue to play the role of a host for parasites, without any feeling of obligation on the part of our exploiters. Much damage has been done to our economy as a result of the conduct of these people, who control about 90 per cent of our economic and commercial life but who owe allegiance to foreign Powers. Despite our attempts to block all avenues for transporting money from Uganda, somehow they have always been one step ahead in beating the officials. The result, both unfavourable and regrettable, has been the outflow of money that should otherwise have been used and is so badly needed for our own development. All these factors have combined to give no alternative to my Government but to take the step, long overdue, of asking these aliens to depart for their countries of nationality.

238. I am aware that, quite cleverly, the United Kingdom is not impeaching our right to ask these people to go, but rather is attacking the method by which we have asked them to go. First, they cannot impeach us for asking aliens to go, because it is our right under the Charter to do so. Therefore, our impeachment before you, our censure, must be carried out, in the United Kingdom's view, by reliance on what is called "humanitarian considerations". But you cannot discuss this and get the sense of the problem in its totality without taking into account the story I have just told.

239. I am aware that the United Kingdom speaks of some thousands who have become stateless among these people. Regrettable as this may be, it was no fault of the Uganda Government. The laws of Uganda on citizenship clearly require that anyone who registers for Ugandan citizenship must renounce his previous citizenship within three months of his registration. These people who are now called stateless were mostly British subjects. When they registered for Ugandan citizenship, they did not comply with this provision requiring them to renounce their previous citizenship within three months. The result was that they purported to become citizens of two countries, which, members here would agree with me, it would be most unusual for any State to permit, most particularly a young State which needs and deserves all the loyalty it can have from its nationals. When the moment came and they were required to present their papers to my Government, it was discovered that these people had not renounced their previous citizenship within a period of three months as stipulated by the Ugandan citizenship act. They therefore had never become citizens of Uganda. We hold that they must revert to their nationality of origin, which was British, or that of other countries which they used to hold. But, to our surprise, we were informed in the General Committee that these are stateless persons. Whether, however, they are stateless, or whether they belong to any State, my

Government does recognize one fundamental postulate: that they are, like all of us, human beings.

240. Arising from the agitation of the United Kingdom Government at this session on this matter, lodging complaints, some of which were founded on "facts" gathered from newspapers, my President has communicated by his letter of 3 October 1972 to the Secretary-General the position of the Uganda Government on the most sensitive allegations made against us before this Assembly and at the bar of world opinion.

241. My President has given the following specific assurances, which were never really in doubt on our side, but which were distorted by biased powerful interests.

242. First, all the foreign nationals asked to go are being allowed to take personal belongings as well as reasonable amounts of cash with them, which is to be delimited by our financial resources.

243. Second, there has never been, contrary to astounding allegations of the British Secretary of State, no confiscation of any property belonging to any of the departing aliens. All those who have property in Uganda have been asked to make an inventory of such property on forms which have been provided by our Ministry of Commerce and on the basis of which such property will be sold and the proceeds credited to the accounts of its owners. With regard to those who have bank accounts, such accounts are intact and the money still belongs to them.

244. Third, it is not the intention, nor has it ever been the intention, of the Uganda Government to maltreat the departing aliens. Their transit out of the country, from the capital city, Kampala, to the international airport from which they fly out, is protected by well-organized police escorts to avoid any embarrassing incidents.

245. Fourth, it is not, nor has it ever been, the intention of the Uganda Government to maltreat or otherwise oppress any non-citizen who at the end of the deadline of 90 days might still remain in Uganda. This is a critical undertaking which should satisfy all those concerned. It means that those aliens who will still be in the country at the end of the deadline will still enjoy their lives as human beings and that my Government, in recognition of its international obligations, will still accord to them the same protection as it accords to all other foreign nationals resident in our country who are staying there. This, of course, will be so provided that efforts to facilitate the exit of the departing aliens to their new homes are not deliberately slowed down or frustrated.

246. In this connexion, I wish to point out that the British Asians themselves are satisfied with the arrangements of the Uganda Government, pending their departure. I shall quote from an interview in *The Times* of London of 27 September 1972, given by a Mr. V. V. Radia, a former Chairman of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce, when he said, together with a colleague:

"It is the British High Commission"—that is, the British Embassy in Kampala—"that is holding up the exodus of the Asians, not the Uganda authorities, who have set up excellent machinery. . . .

"Among a number of specific demands, they"—that is, Mr. Radia and another person—"asked that the British High Commission should remain open 'around the clock'.

"The two men claimed that the High Commission is open only five hours a day during the week and is closed at weekends. In contrast, they pointed out that the Bank of Uganda and other local government offices were remaining open throughout weekends to deal with the Asians. . . ."

One can therefore realize from this that my Government intends to discharge its own share of obligations, but those others involved must correspondingly do likewise.

247. Let me, on behalf of my Government, express our deep appreciation to those countries which have offered entry to these departing aliens. We have given these aliens sanctuary for over 80 years, and we recognize your goodwill in offering to share our problem. A few speakers from this rostrum made some remarks that were most unbecoming to their positions. But, obviously, our opinion of them must have been quite exaggerated.

248. I cannot conclude this general statement without reference to the OAU. The Uganda Government attaches great importance to the role that regional organizations can play in facilitating the implementation of the objectives of the United Nations. A strong and purposeful OAU will add immensely to the purposefulness and effectiveness of this Organization.

249. The last Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU at Rabat took some well-considered and specific decisions¹² on the issues that have for so long engaged us in this Assembly; the issues that concern the rights of many millions in Africa who still labour under the despicable yoke of outmoded, indefensible, unpardonable, atrocious colonial rule, and the rule of minority racist régimes. We expect this session to take up the substance of the decisions made at Rabat and to give them practical meaning.

250. Members must be aware of the current events in East Africa which seemingly show a very disturbing trend for our region. But it is our hope and belief that the efforts by our brothers within the OAU that are already underway will provide a solution to this and other problems, to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned, since the heritage we share in that region far exceeds any transitory misunderstandings we may presently have.

251. The OAU has not been just a talking club. It has, within less than a decade of existence, demonstrated its practical value in its ability to defuse or solve potentially grave situations on our continent among its member States. It is the intention of my Government to continue strengthening this role of the OAU.

252. Finally, as a general observation, let me reaffirm the belief of my country in the role that the non-aligned

¹² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10741.

countries can play to promote world peace and understanding. True, most of the non-aligned world consists of developing nations. But it is our hope that none here will, either publicly or secretly, equate superior technology with superior wisdom, or, put differently, that none can seriously contend that because we are technologically under-developed, we are therefore under-developed in human wisdom and common sense.

253. Let us recall that the greatest sages of all time, men we today constantly turn to for reference and guidance on human problems, like Socrates, Plato, Confucius, Mohammed, Buddha or Jesus, did not live in a mechanized world; they lived in conditions that could today be called primitive by our standards. But they possessed a profound understanding of human nature which, regrettably perhaps, has changed so little over the millenia.

254. Similarly, from the non-aligned may well come some contribution to a better world which the big Powers would do well to ponder. We diminish rather than crystalize polarities. We offer a meeting point, in ideas and action, that might be impossible to attain by either side in the ideological contest. But we have no desire to be a battleground because, as we say in Africa, when two elephants fight it is the grass that suffers.

255. In a real sense the United Nations is not weak nor has it failed. If it seems to be weak, it is because its Members are weak in their resolution to make it strong. If it seems to have failed, it is because self-interest among Member States transcends their will to make it succeed. Rather than turn on the United Nations in anger and frustration at its impotence, let us direct our indictment where it is properly due, to those Member States whose declarations of high ideals are equally matched by their capacity to deny them fulfilment.

256. It is the hope of my delegation that this twenty-seventh session will rise to its high calling, as the world expects it to do; that at long last, no matter how difficult, it will begin to seek to implement the multitude of resolutions that the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted on varied topics over the years. Let us restore faith in this Organization among all the millions on our planet.

257. Mr. ALVARADO PUERTO (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I extend to every delegation here and to the peoples of whom they are such worthy representatives the welcome of a Central American nation that wishes to live in peace with justice. Peace is born in the hot fire of freedom and is strengthened by democratic equality and the enlightenment of culture and it becomes stabilized through the equitable distribution of wealth. Justice should be founded on reason in evaluating the irrepressible evolution of peoples and respect for the rules of law, both in the relations of the State with man and in the coexistence of nations.

258. I am standing now on this lofty rostrum, which is a sounding board for world political thought, as the representative of the people and Government of the Republic of Honduras. On behalf of that people, of that Government and on my own behalf, I wish to convey my congratula-

tions to Stanisław Trepczyński on his election to preside over the General Assembly at this current session, and I also congratulate this Assembly for having made such an unquestionably wise choice in his election.

259. The Republic of Honduras fits its activities into the framework of the rules governing the inter-American system. In order to be consistent in morality and in politics with the precepts of the United Nations, we must remain faithful to our regional institutions which, on the basis of our history and geography, we have created freely as a function of our sovereignty.

260. What is permissible from the standpoint of regional groups is equally permissible from the universal standpoint. In the same way what is punishable within the regional area is also punishable at the international level. That is the criterion that the Republic of Honduras upholds as the rule for its international behaviour.

261. The highest aspiration of all peoples is to live in peace with democracy. But it turns out that no word is used so much as the word "democracy" by large and small countries, strong and weak countries and free and oppressed countries. Everyone invokes it in the present, past and future. They all advocate it in good faith—and some even in bad faith. And this persistence proves at least that democracy as a political goal provides a system in which human coexistence and well-being are possible for a greater number of the members of society.

262. Whatever may be the techniques and doctrine, it is obvious that a society is a democracy if it is made up of free men. Slavery among men and colonialism among nations are incompatible with the primary function of the Organization that was founded to promote peace and understanding among nations. The peace that is just and lasting is the peace which emanates from the consensus freely arrived at among men at the national level and the free consensus among nations at the international level.

263. Economic or political colonialism, with domination by the metropolitan country and partial or total submission on the part of the colonies, is nothing more than a manifestation of imperialism, intervention or conquest.

264. My country, as an active member of the international community, needs and wishes to express its views on certain matters of general interest which, as is the case with other States, affect us directly.

265. An item of the utmost interest is that which concerns world monetary policy. It is essential, in deference to strict justice, that the small countries should be heard and heeded when decisions are made about the world monetary system. Ideally there should be no privileged currencies. But this does not imply that we should overlook the reality which the world teaches us, that in the world some countries are leaders in economic and military matters; rather we should try to ensure that this leadership takes into account the rights to which, in justice and equity, all the nations of the world are equally entitled. What I have said is nothing more than a reaffirmation of a positive principle of international law such as the paragraph in the Preamble of the United Nations Charter which says that the peoples of the world,

in adopting that Charter, reaffirm their "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . .".

266. Freedom to trade peacefully with any country in the world is the inherent right of any country, which no political or economic consideration should restrict. But freedom should be defended both by the developing countries as well as by those that have attained a larger measure of development.

267. International trade presupposes a correlation between cause and effect within the international community. The practice of international trade should be conducted within the ambit of an exceedingly important task of the United Nations, which in this field should be to foster understanding and unity to stimulate and encourage production and progress—the basis of well-being and harmony—through mutual co-operation among the countries that are its members.

268. We are concerned about our domestic problems, but we are also interested in those which affect other areas of our planet—the problems of the Middle East, and the Far East—and we would hope that understanding and justice could open the way that will lead to solutions which can restore peace for the good of all peoples.

269. Honduras considers it appropriate emphatically to affirm that it does not recognize, nor will it recognize, the acquisition of territories through the threat or use of force. Moreover, we also state with equal emphasis that we trust in the peacemaking efforts of the United Nations.

270. We are deeply concerned and upset by the recurring outbursts of terrorism which, with exceedingly varied and dramatic features, are seriously affecting many countries. Honduras condemns those passionate and violent forms of action. It considers that international co-operation is essential to eliminate such actions, and we feel that States should vigorously assume the obligation to defend the legal order in their respective jurisdictions and within the international community.

271. In the interests of the application of the principle of universality, we believe that all legally constituted peoples—always provided that they are States which accept and are ready to discharge their responsibilities as members of the international community—should be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

272. Honduras, which has always pursued a peaceful tradition in its international relations, expresses its hope that normality will return to the Central American region in the near future.

273. The solution of the problems which emerged from the armed conflict in which we found ourselves involved with a neighbouring country today has reached a very advanced stage. In continuing talks in a calm and cordial atmosphere with representatives of the parties concerned, we are discussing appropriate formulas to reach an overall settlement, falling within the seven resolutions which emerged from the Thirteenth Consultative Meeting of the

Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States on 27 October 1969, which provide a solution to all the existing differences, including the question of the determination and demarcation of the frontier between the two countries.

274. We believe that those portions of the frontier line on which we cannot reach agreement by direct settlement should be submitted to arbitration. Arbitration is an eminently legal tool, recognized in international law and universally accepted for the settlement of disputes between States. We American States have specifically proclaimed that principle in the Pact of Bogotá.

275. In international law today the concept of frontiers is of significant importance. It no longer merely marks the limits of the jurisdiction of a State, but it has come to constitute a factor for rapprochement and economic and cultural development between nations. Clearly defined frontiers constitute a common good of the adjacent countries and that is why States should lend their co-operation to ensure the accurate definition of their frontiers and to resolve their territorial disputes by the means established under international law.

276. During recent years and in statements made before this General Assembly, my country has reported on the negotiations in which my Government was engaged together with the Government of the United States of America, to gain recognition of Honduran sovereignty over the Swan Islands, which are also known as the Santanilla or Santillana Islands.

277. Today I am gratified to be able to state that our dispute has been settled on pleasant terms. In the city of San Pedro Sula, Honduras, on 22 November 1971, the Government of Honduras and the Government of the United States of America signed a Treaty, article 1 of which provides that the Government of the United States of America recognizes Honduran sovereignty over the aforementioned Islands.

278. That treaty was approved by the legislative Powers of Honduras and of the United States of America, and once the necessary instrument of ratification was deposited in Washington, Honduras took over possession of those islands in a solemn and important ceremony held on 1 September of this year. In making this announcement, I should like to emphasize that the settlement of the aforementioned controversy is an irrefutable example of the fact that disputes between States can be solved within the broad rules of international law, when the parties to the dispute have the will to reach peaceful solutions and have an understanding of the meaning of peace and harmony between peoples and Governments. Honduras sincerely hopes that other countries that have similar disputes will be able to reach satisfactory solutions such as that which I have had the honour to describe to you today.

279. Honduras attended the Specialized Conference of the Caribbean Countries on Problems of the Sea, convened in the Dominican Republic in June 1972, which was attended by representatives of countries which today are represented in this General Assembly, and on 9 June signed the Santo Domingo Declaration [A/8721, annex I, sect. 2]. That

Declaration, which had in mind not only the present but also the future of peoples and which beyond question constitutes a new contribution to the evolution of the law of the sea proclaims principles which should certainly be carefully considered by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which is to be convened shortly.

280. My country was also a member of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment which met in Stockholm, Sweden, from 5 to 16 June of this year. My Government considers that if its results are to be given practical application with the urgency that is required and if we are to preserve the earth's resources for the benefit of present generations and as a vital legacy for future generations, an intergovernmental body should be established which would stimulate and guide international co-operation in the area of the human environment.

281. My comments on Central American economic integration deserve a separate paragraph in this statement. Honduras is sincerely devoted to integration. This is a historic truth and a present reality. But integration does not signify the total renunciation by a people of its territorial, political and economic personality. Integration does not mean resignation by a people to suffer permanent disadvantages. Integration means the establishment of business not only for the good of the producers, but rather for the good of the great consumer masses, which are the human foundation of nations. No, integration is the common effort of States, with clearly and permanently defined frontiers, to promote harmonious, accelerated and balanced development, to strengthen their democratic systems and to

improve the social and economic conditions of their peoples.

282. All integration is and must be, in its origins and intentions, a common good. To integrate is to form a whole from parts which are separate but identified: "to integrate" means to search for and to apply complementary relationships; it means to organize, in harmony and justice, a superior economic unit as a result of the union.

283. For this reason, the notion or concept of economic integration implies the idea of mutual and balanced benefit. If that were not so the alleged integration would be distorted and the process would degenerate and become evil, so that it would lose its perspectives and its original ideals, and give way to the emergence of sordid interests which have greed as their common denominator.

284. I have said all of this because the programme of Central American economic integration has, at the present time, suffered a serious setback from which it cannot emerge until it has been subjected to a genuine and far-reaching restructuring which will reorganize its legal machinery, revise its postulates and establish goals which, in the last analysis, will be translated not merely in an increase of trade but also in benefits for all the classes that are participating in the generation of wealth in Central America.

285. Mr. President, the Republic of Honduras, its people and its Government repeat to you their warm and cordial welcome.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.