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*President:* Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*concluded*)

1. Mr. NA CHAMPASSAK (Laos) (*interpretation from French*): His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma, our Prime Minister, detained by his many obligations, having been unable to come this year to the rostrum to plead the cause of Laos as he has done each year, has entrusted to me the honour of representing him before this Assembly. Mr. President, allow me, on the occasion of your election, to extend the warm congratulations of Laos. In entrusting to you the burdensome task of presiding over its debates and of directing its proceedings, the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly wished to pay a tribute, first to your qualities as a diplomat, and, next, to your country, Poland, and to the courage of its people and to the realism of its leaders. My country has maintained cordial relations with your country since the Geneva Agreements of 1954, which judiciously appointed the International Supervisory Commission, of which Poland is one of the three members.

2. I should also like to pay a sincere tribute to your predecessor Mr. Adam Malik, who, in an atmosphere of unrest, presided over our debates at the twenty-sixth session with firm and tranquil authority. That distinguished statesman, who has worked so hard for the cause of peace and stability in South-east Asia, also succeeded in arousing

general respect and admiration to the benefit of our Organization. He deserves our grateful thanks.

3. I should now like to turn to our new Secretary-General, to congratulate him on his tireless efforts over the past year to inculcate a universal awareness and a new public spirit, everywhere in the world, in order to rouse this Organization from its chronic passivity. With the admission of the People's Republic of China, our Organization has caught its breath and taken a major step towards the universality so much desired by all.

4. While concern and hope impel each of us to speak of peace in this Assembly, it is in fact violence which has predominated over the past year. In our Asia of monsoons, where we have had the dubious distinction of being the star, war has been raging for 10 years now, with ever-increasing violence, extending the conflict to the limits of Indo-China. In the Middle East where the state of "no war, no peace" persists, where the situation is blocked, the fever of adventurism is increasing the danger of a confrontation. Elsewhere, in Africa, a situation of veiled conflict, born of the aftermath of colonialism, is not about to improve. The world is tainted with violence. Like the revolutions of yesteryear, terrorism is now exported across frontiers. No continent has been spared its outbursts of anger, riots, repression, assassinations, killings, and so forth. There is no longer any haven of peace anywhere. A whole range of terrorist techniques, from aerial hijackings to attempted assassinations by remote control, or even through the post, has been developed and perfected, causing suffering and bloodshed to innumerable innocent victims. Obstinacy on the one hand, and hatred on the other, have created this kind of dialectic of despair which has impelled men to commit crimes of a new kind, far more dangerous because more insidious. Neither is there any assurance that these sacrifices, voluntary or involuntary, have done anything to bring about a real change in the balance of force or changed the real course of events.

5. As Buddhists, we strongly condemn these acts of terrorism regardless of their motives, because they lead directly to hatred, because they inject the virus of blind terror and, quite simply, because they lead to an erosion of international morality. But in the midst of these tempests, reefs and difficulties which rise in our path, visible signs of a rational order founded on a desire for peace and co-operation are beginning to appear.

6. Last year, our delegation declared that it approached the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly with a little more hope than in previous years. This feeling was based on specific observations. Since then bold, courageous and politically very wise initiatives have borne out our

hopes. Truly, the world today has the clear impression that the winds of history are veering around since the great Powers, some of them once resolutely antagonistic, are finally agreeing on principles which could give them a breathing space. This process of active détente and ideological accommodation after the summit meetings at Peking and Moscow has given rise to tremendous hopes everywhere. The recent meeting between Prime Ministers Chou En-lai and Tanaka in Peking, the echo of which was heard across the world, will certainly have beneficial effects in Asia.

7. We are thus far from the age when the great Powers were living virtually behind barricades, with weapons directed against potential aggressors, and the latter doing the same against their potential opponents.

8. The fine language of diplomacy was adorned with invective and sombre prophecies, although such prophecies were always given the lie by facts. The international climate was stifling and dangerous. Small nations looked with astonishment and anguish on the awesome eagerness of blocs and clans to predict the catastrophes which stalked this or that social system, to vaunt the merits of this or that system, as more and more fantastic weapons were constantly prepared for a decisive confrontation between good and evil. For years the concert of nations had become an appalling cacophony in which threats and condemnations predominated, as in certain ancient tragedies.

9. For some time now, it has seemed that we were moving towards a more humane and less adventurist view of politics. After all, what is at stake is war or peace. Although the security of States is the golden rule of diplomacy, it must not, however, be allowed to lead straight to total annihilation. Our delegation therefore welcomes the change in the international climate and the agreements, no matter how meagre, which have been attained by way of corollary. The ancient demons are, of course, difficult to exorcise. We speak from sad experience, since our unhappy kingdom has been under unceasing attack for many years by a country which is 10 times stronger. Does the Assembly still recall our statements from this rostrum concerning this indescribable aggression? Do representatives know that the Ho Chi Minh trail passes through Laos and that it has become an open road to invasion and warfare? That is an important problem which, it has often been said, is not for the United Nations to solve, since the internal affairs of States are not within its competence.

10. We say that the war in Laos, the unhappy expression of the Indo-China war, is indeed an international matter. The two conferences held on this subject were international conferences. Legal subtitles can neither conceal nor distort what is the obvious truth. Thus it is futile to speak of peace and international solidarity when small nations which have no means to defend themselves are left to their fate amid widespread indifference. When there are thousands of dead, vast destruction, hundreds of thousands of people displaced—must legalism be the *ultima ratio* in this Organization, which was established to defend and demonstrate peace? There has been, quite rightly, talk of a crisis of the Organization precisely because of its inability to solve international disputes.

11. This is what the problem is all about. Our Prime Minister expressly wrote to the Secretary-General to this effect some time ago.<sup>1</sup> He said that in his honest opinion the Organization seemed to him the natural place for the settlement of disputes. As the Secretary-General has said, we should have a collective conscience. We believe that, when peace is threatened anywhere, all of us here should be concerned and should help in the quest for equitable solutions, and not simply endorse the *fait accompli* to turn questioningly towards this or that capital. In the case of Laos the origin of the trouble is clear: foreign troops have invaded our territory by entire divisions on a war footing accompanied by armoured vehicles and modern artillery. Is this aggression or a military outing? Does war between North and South Viet-Nam authorize the belligerents to invade a sovereign neighbouring country because it is strategically more convenient to pass through Laos than to cross the seventeenth parallel? A curious hypocrisy, of which I think no one in this Assembly is unaware: the guilty hand of Hanoi, which feigns to respect one frontier in order to violate another.

12. Thus, does the Messianic ideology of a country place it above international law? Does political testament of a national hero permit that country on the grounds of what it calls a sacred mission, no longer to recognize and respect any border? Why must the reunification of Viet-Nam be effected at the expense of other countries? Is North Viet-Nam being attacked and invaded by the forces of Laos, Cambodia or even Viet-Nam? Of course not.

13. My country asks you to give further thought to those questions. They are indeed within our jurisdiction. They are our moral responsibility, because by the very reason of our hesitation and caution those who have committed aggression against us have been able cynically to declare that we are serving the policy of the imperialists—which in their eyes justifies their deploying their divisions, without admitting it, throughout Laos and mounting the attack of which we are today the victims. Thus it is that in Indo-China and elsewhere, little by little, the principles of the Charter and the principles of Bandung are eroded; thus it is that, little by little, small nations have the feeling that their protests and statements made before the United Nations have become a purely academic exercise and, being unable to obtain justice, they had better seek other means. Thus it is that the crisis of the Organization has continued over the years. It is a crisis of conscience, and only through a galvanizing of this collective conscience, which has failed us, can our institution truly be the monument of hope.

14. So far as our country is concerned, however, we still have hope, because it is precisely in South-East Asia, which is so threatened, that the peoples are beginning to be aware of their common destiny. Nothing that happens or may happen in the Indo-China peninsula can be a matter of indifference to the great masses of people who live close to these warm waters, which are sailed by so many vessels, some of which have been following the same routes for decades. We would even say that the political interest is not limited to those coasts alone. So that, if we want peace in

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1972*, document S/10719.

so coveted a region, it must be established soon. Laos therefore welcomed with the greatest sympathy the efforts of Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Singapore to try and find a solution to the Indo-China conflict. We have made known our feelings on this subject. A global solution must be found for all the nations concerned in the war, for there is a common Indo-Chinese front, which conceals and further burdens the Laotian problem by prolonging it. We also welcome with great pleasure the steps taken by the two Koreas to resolve the question of the unification of that country. Those are examples of great political wisdom by which many a belligerent should be guided. In the case of countries which were once united but which have become different States, we think that in the age in which we are living the identity of nations is such that territorial partition is an inhuman act of political surgery which can only feed rancour and hatred.

15. And if Laos is to serve as an example, at least for the peaceful settlement of the problems of Indo-China, my delegation will recall that we were among the first to opt for neutrality when the storm was breaking upon us. Neutrality does not mean isolation—although we can speak with some bitterness of the state in which our country now finds itself because of the aggression of one of its neighbours and for the reasons mentioned at the beginning of this statement. Political alignment entails ties which cannot be supported by countries which, like ours, lack the means. With the Geneva agreement of 1962<sup>2</sup> we accepted political non-alignment. We have respected our signature, while others have held theirs at naught. But non-alignment cannot itself mean an option in which aggressors and aggressed against are mingled. If non-alignment is a philosophy for a policy of peace, it is necessary to distinguish between those who send their armies to invade other countries and those who respect international frontiers. Ideology is no excuse for doing everything in order to triumph. The export of ideas by force of arms: that quite simply is what we blame the imperialists for.

16. Peace requires the abandonment of unreasonable ambitions and respect for the ideas of others. If North Viet-Nam was not convinced that it was following the direction of history and that it must liberate all the neighbouring peoples of old Indo-China and impose, with its friends, a régime which it regards as the best, the most just and the most humane, it would not have invaded our country. It must be recognized that millions of people are resisting because the attitudes of the North Viet-Nameese have not won the unanimous support of the Laotian and Khmer peoples. North Viet-Nam is quite simply throwing down a challenge to the international community by carrying the war into Laos, allegedly to struggle against the imperialists, who have never entered the country, whereas the first North Viet-Nameese battalions were already in place, having entered our national territory in strength. It is therefore certainly the intention to destroy our society, the monarchy and the institutions which we have established with the assistance of our people and in complete freedom. For two decades we have been denouncing this aggression, which is an insult to law and to international agreements. Our delegation can state that the Royal Government of

Laos has done everything in its power to settle its disputes with the Néo Lao Hak Xat, the political party created and maintained by the Hanoi Government. Recently, again, we accepted the five points of the Laotian Patriotic Front as a basis for discussion. We propose that the use of firearms should be immediately halted under strict and impartial international control. We have reason to believe that if the North Viet-Nameese will ease their pressure and withdraw from our country, the Lao of all parties will soon settle their disputes. The latest messages exchanged between the two Princes seem to mark a step forward in the patient and continuous search for a dialogue opening the way to the reconciliation and harmony desired by all.

17. The negotiations taking place between the principal interlocutors hold out prospects for peace which seem better now than they ever were in the past. May they lead to a global solution of all the Indo-Chinese problems, so that those peoples, decimated by interminable and now pointless struggles, may recover their identity in peace and reconciliation.

18. Our contribution to peace is, therefore, sincere, loyal and continuous. We have given specific and repeated proof of that. The Government of Hanoi alone has opposed it, through the Néo Lao Hak Xat, which is now prisoner of its political choice.

19. If there is any collective conscience in this Organization it must now awaken and become aware of Laotian realities. It is a matter of urgency that, as we said last year,

“It is imperative for all international bodies which are mindful of the need for peaceful coexistence and for the signatories to the Geneva agreements, who are responsible for their application, to decide at last to assume their fundamental responsibility.” [1943rd meeting, para. 54.]

20. This year again we reiterate our wish and our appeal on behalf of the people of Laos, in the name of the sufferings they endure, in the name of the solidarity which here should unite us when one of us suffers injustice, when one of us sees with despair part of our people scattered and wandering, our towns destroyed, and murderous and arrogant foreign legions coming to lay down the law in an independent and sovereign country—we reiterate our appeal for an end once and for all to the sad chapter of this long march in torment and in blood, so that we may at last together usher in the beginning of a new era of concord and peace.

21. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am very happy to express the gratification of the Cuban delegation on your election as President of the General Assembly. We are happy at your nomination not only because of the skill with which you are conducting our deliberations but also because you represent the Polish People's Republic, linked as it is to Cuba by close ties of friendship and fraternal co-operation.

22. The general debate is now drawing to an end. Each year it helps to show up the grave problems confronting our peoples. From the general debate with overwhelming accuracy, we realize that the world is still confronted by the same situations as at previous sessions; that the most acute

<sup>2</sup> Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

problems of the moment are still awaiting solution; that peoples still continue their indefatigable efforts to create a world based on independence, on full respect for national rights, on the eradication of social injustice and on the achievement of progress for all.

23. However, the yearly statement of those problems and their constant stigmatizing has served little purpose. The repeated efforts made here to ensure full respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter have led to but meagre results. The efforts of the majority of the Members of the Organization to establish a new international order based on the principles that underlay the creation of the United Nations have come up against the attitude of the imperialist and colonialist Powers, which try by all means to perpetuate their exploitation of other peoples, to despoil them of their wealth and impose their will upon them.

24. In Indo-China, in the Middle East, in Africa and in Latin America we see taking place a unique process of open warfare without quarter between the emerging peoples and the reactionary forces which are obstinately determined to halt the inexorable march of history.

25. The aggression against Viet-Nam is still the main international problem. The crimes committed by the United States Government go beyond the limits of human imagination and beggar Nazi barbarism. The Yankees have directed against the people of Viet-Nam all the resources of a technology which serves infamy and their plans for universal enslavement and domination. The bombing of dikes and irrigation systems, the indiscriminate destruction of Viet-Nameese towns and villages, the mining and blockading of ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the mass use of toxic chemical substances—all these call for the most resolute and outraged condemnation by all peoples. The Government of Mr. Nixon is guilty of the most monstrous crimes. Civilized conscience and history have both condemned him for genocide, biocide and ecocide and call upon the international community to take energetic action to put an end to Yankee brutality, to clip the claws of the Pentagon, and to assure the Viet-Nameese people of their sacred right to independence and to decide on their future.

26. There is no other solution to the problem of Viet-Nam than acceptance of the seven-point programme submitted by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam. That programme enjoys the support of international public opinion, which was made clear at the recent Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Georgetown, Guyana, from 8 to 12 August 1972. The Conference demanded the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all North American troops, military personnel and war equipment from Viet-Nam and the cessation of intervention in that country, and called upon the North American Government to take part seriously in the Paris talks and to give a favourable response to the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam and of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. By admitting as a full-fledged member the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Conference evidenced its commitment of solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Viet-Nameese people and once more affirmed that that struggle has earned the admiration and support of

all peoples. In that way the countries meeting in Guyana made it clear, moreover, that the incomparable stubbornness of the Viet-Nameese people which has culminated in their memorable victory over Yankee brutality constitutes the greatest contribution to the cause of the emancipation of all countries of the so-called third world.

27. Hence, all peoples of the world joyously greet the successful achievements of the Viet-Nameese fighters and hail like a personal triumph the defeat of the Yankee policy in South Viet-Nam and in all Indo-China. North American imperialism has been thoroughly defeated in its filthy war of aggression. In its insane arrogance, however, Washington goes on seeking to increase the sacrifices called for from that indomitable people. Aware that there is no alternative for them but that of total withdrawal from Viet-Nam, the Yankees are leveling everything, eradicating from the land of Viet-Nam even the last trace of life; they travel all the roads of infamy towards their diabolical aim of annihilating the people that beat them to their knees and wrecked their plans for domination. Some day all mankind will sit as a unanimous Nuremberg Tribunal in judgement on those who have thus befouled the human spirit.

28. Indignantly, therefore, we listen to the lying allegations of the head of the North American delegation. It is the last straw to have the United States try to place the responsibility for the continuation of the war on the Viet-Nameese side. The United States Government never had any reason whatsoever to interfere in the affairs of Viet-Nam; it never had and never will have any right to interfere in the life of that people or of any other. The world is no longer so easily hoodwinked. It knows perfectly well that if an end is to be put to the conflict, the United States must withdraw from Viet-Nam completely and give up its dreams of imposing the Thieu administration, the creation of Yankee intervention, on the Viet-Nameese. What is difficult to understand is why Mr. Rogers comes to this rostrum to repeat arguments that absolutely no one believes.

29. To restore peace to Indo-China there must also be an end to the North American aggression in Cambodia and Laos. The solution of the conflicts in both those countries can only be possible with the acceptance of the political programme of the National United Front of Kampuchea and the programme of the Laotian Patriotic Front. The non-aligned countries also took a position of solidarity with the Cambodian and Laotian peoples in their struggle against imperialist aggression. The recognition of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia as the sole and legitimate representative of that country within the non-aligned movement constitutes yet another proof of the growing co-ordination among the anti-imperialist forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and a further proof of the bankruptcy of North American policy. With the restoration of its seat to the legal Government of Cambodia, the non-aligned countries not only performed an act of historic justice and confirmed their adherence to the anti-imperialist principles which gave rise to that movement, but also and at the same time recognized a fact that cannot be disregarded: the Lon Nol clique—barely holding out in the Cambodian capital, kept going solely by foreign invaders—represents nobody and is the deceptive shadow of a fugitive nightmare. The General Assembly must draw the conclusions

from all this: it must drive out the usurpers and restore its seat to the legitimate representatives of Cambodia.

30. The Korean peninsula continues to be a source of tension in the Far East. It is indeed deplorable that once again North American intrigue has succeeded and that it has not been possible to include in our agenda the item regarding the creation of favourable conditions for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. Cuba reaffirms its position of principle in this matter: the Assembly must insist upon the immediate withdrawal of all North American troops from South Korea, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and the cessation of all interference in the internal affairs of that country.

31. A grave situation generating tensions and threats still exists in the Middle East. The Cuban position on this matter is very well known. Only the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from territories which they have occupied since June 1967, together with full respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, can possibly restore peace in that area.

32. No one can turn a blind eye to the constant provocation and hostile acts of every nature constantly being perpetrated against the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. This conduct is encouraged by imperialist interests, particularly North American imperialism, and by the feudal circles in the area, afraid as they are that the example of the Yemeni revolution might encourage the Arab masses to try to set up truly revolutionary and popular régimes.

33. The European continent, the breeding-ground of conflicts and of antagonisms throughout history, today offers a promise of peaceful coexistence. That encouraging prospect is the result of the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and of their tenacious efforts for peace and international security and the establishment of relations of co-operation among the States of the region. Cuba supports the initiative of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, for the holding of a conference on European security and co-operation.

34. The normalization of relations in Europe and the overcoming of tensions inherited from the last war all call for full recognition of the German Democratic Republic, a sovereign State that is destined to play an outstanding role in the world of today. For the sake of the welfare of all and the cause of international peace, an end must be put to the discrimination against socialist Germany. The admission of that State to the United Nations, and to all other international organizations, is an urgent and necessary measure which brooks no delay.

35. On the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly there are a number of items which touch upon the strengthening of international peace and security. Cuba reaffirms its support for the holding of a world disarmament conference open to participation by all States. We owe the Soviet Union a debt of gratitude for having taken this initiative as well as for its initiative with regard to the question dealing with the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the use of force in international relations.

36. Among the basic problems also to be included in the agenda is that of the elimination of military bases set up by imperialism all over the world, that are so many spearheads of its policy of expansion, subversion, domination and aggression. As Latin American examples I refer you to those set up in Panama, Puerto Rico and the naval base of Guantánamo in Cuba.

37. Cuba shares the deep interest of all nations in peace, and thus we support any measure this Organization may adopt leading to general and complete disarmament, the destruction of all nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them, the liquidation of all existing arsenals and the cessation of the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons. But in so doing we must draw attention to the fact that these efforts will meet with mighty obstacles as long as the policies of imperialist aggression and exploitation survive in the world. The peaceful endeavours of the United Nations will only be crowned with success when conditions are such that security, independence and the territorial integrity of all States, great or small, are guaranteed; and this can be possible only through the overthrow of the aggressive plans and purposes of imperialism.

38. The retrograde interests of colonialism still stand in the way of the achievement of the Declaration contained in resolution 1514 (XV). In Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, in Angola and in Mozambique, the Portuguese colonialists, armed and supported by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and with international mercenaries, pirates and bandits, ruthlessly put down or fight against the liberation movements. Yet the latter respond daily with more overwhelming blows against their oppressors. The people and the Government of the Republic of Guinea are constantly on the alert, ready to turn back and put down imperialist aggressions. The masses in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa are putting up resolute resistance against Fascist colonialists. Threats and plots by the imperialists continue against the Republic of Guinea, the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. The people of Puerto Rico too, encouraged by the recent decisions of international support for their just cause, are widening their struggle against North American colonial domination.

39. By the expressed will of the vast majority of its Members, the United Nations has defined its unequivocal support for the right of all colonial peoples to independence. Year after year, from this rostrum, the Organization constantly condemns colonialism and resolutions are adopted reiterating the need to put an end, once and for all, to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

40. And yet, the decolonizing work of our Organization faces resistance, stubbornness and obstacles well known to all. In the last few years the alliance of the reactionary forces of colonialism and racism and imperialism has been tightened in order to stem the process of the emancipation of the subject peoples, to reduce the United Nations to impotence and to perpetuate the slavery imposed for centuries over a considerable part of mankind. The fight against colonialism has thus reached a critical stage. The General Assembly must now consider concrete measures to ensure fulfilment of its decisions in all those Territories that



have yet to achieve their independence. It is now up to the General Assembly to adopt the decisions necessary to break the back of colonialist-imperialist resistance and guarantee to all peoples the exercise of their indisputable right to national independence.

41. Action by all socialist and non-aligned States must be concerted in order to overcome the fatal influence still exerted by North American imperialism and its reactionary customers. Only thus can the United Nations start along the road of effective and decisive assistance to the peoples fighting for their emancipation.

42. The Georgetown Conference defined the joint programme of the non-aligned nations for the complete and final eradication of colonialism, and very clearly set forth the reason why this disgraceful vestige of the past still survives in much of the African continent. That reason is none other than the political and diplomatic support, the financial and military backing which colonialism and racism receive from the main centres of capitalist power in the world, and particularly from North American imperialism. It is the weapons of NATO that shoot at African fighters. It is the Western monopolies, primarily Yankee ones, which exploit the natural resources of the colonies and swell their bank deposits with the blood and sweat of the enslaved masses. It is the pressures and manoeuvres of the Western Powers which hamstringing action by the United Nations in favour of the oppressed peoples.

43. For nations with an anti-colonialist mission, which constitute the great majority of this Assembly, the choice could not be simpler: either they yield to imperialist pressure and slow down the process of liberation, or they attack more vigorously so as to isolate and overthrow the imperialists and put an end to colonialism everywhere.

44. There is no other choice but to redouble our militant solidarity with all national liberation movements and give them all the political and material assistance they require to see their struggle culminate in victory. For us, enemies as we are of colonialism, the liberation movements are the rightful rulers of the colonial territories; it is they who have the sole right to assume international legal representation of their peoples, it is they who comply with the terms of the Charter and United Nations declarations, and it is they who deserve the full support of this Organization.

45. My delegation is gratified at the recent decisions taken with regard to the Portuguese colonies and Puerto Rico by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples because they reflect the determination of that important organ fully to implement the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly and to ensure the emancipation of all those Territories which have not yet achieved their independence.

46. We also rejoice at the important decision of the Georgetown Conference to give seats as observers at future meetings of the non-aligned nations to national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], League of Arab States, and the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico.

47. We are entirely in agreement with the decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 1975th meeting last 27 September to invite as observers the representatives of liberation movements. Cuba considers that representatives of all the subjugated Territories should participate in the work of this Assembly, both in the committees and at the plenary meetings, when items dealing with colonialism, including item 23, are being discussed. No one can challenge the authority of the spokesmen of the combatant peoples to take part in decisions touching on their own future.

48. The Special Committee resolution recognizing the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence and instructing its working group to undertake a study of the specific steps required to implement the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) regarding that Territory [*see A/8723/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 85*] constitutes an overwhelming and crucial victory for the universal cause of the campaign against colonialism. For 20 years North American imperialism barred the doors of this Organization to the case of Puerto Rico. To maintain that situation, the United States Government resorted to all kinds of pressures, manoeuvres and ruses. For 20 years it imposed on this Organization a silence of complicity permitting brutally to stifle the liberating decisions of the Puerto Rican people. For 20 years the United States stood in the way of the fulfilment by the United Nations of its duty regarding Puerto Rico, spurned each and every one of the anti-colonialist decisions adopted here, deceived world opinion, and acted out the grotesque farce entitled "Associated Free State" which the racist régime of South Africa is now borrowing to introduce in the Territories which it usurped and now oppresses and plunders. To do this, the United States violated the sovereignty of some Member States, terrified the fearful, broke the resistance of the weak and bent the will of the timorous. Today it still continues its wretched behaviour. It still tries to snatch their victory from the hands of the Puerto Rican people.

49. Cuba is confident that this Assembly will approve the report of the Special Committee [*A/8723/Rev.1*] and thereby authorize it next year to adopt and implement decisions regarding Puerto Rico. Few peoples in the world have earned such a clear-cut right to international solidarity as the people of Puerto Rico. In an unequal contest with an incomparably more powerful enemy, kept isolated from the general movement which led to American independence, the prey of all the furies of empire, the Puerto Rican people, the Boricuas, never yielded to their colonizers' assaults. Puerto Ricans offered this continent the longest gaoled political prisoners: Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irving Flores, Bernardo Díaz Díaz, Juan Antonio Cruz Colón, Rafael Molina Centeno and Manuel Méndez Candía. Prisoners for over two decades, they are the living symbols of the unbreakable rebellion of that people. For keeping intact the spirit of their struggle, those nine patriots remain incommunicado, subject to all sorts of harassment, the victims of a hateful penal system. Among them there are some of great age, others whose health is precarious. We cannot delay the mobilization of all anti-colonialist forces to demand urgently from the North American Government the immediate liberation of those fighters, who sacrificed

themselves for the ideals of independence long before this Organization proclaimed them. We must not allow the hatred of the colonialists to be vented again on nine heroes who, with unparalleled courage, fought to defend their country's right to independence. Their imprisonment is a disgrace to the anti-colonialist principles so solemnly proclaimed by this Assembly.

50. Puerto Rico, a Latin American nation which is an inseparable part of our common country, will one day be independent. The last of the Latin American nations to be held under the colonial yoke, subjected to more intense exploitation by the monopolies than any other, made a military fortress of imperialism, subjected to the most execrable techniques of oppression, threatened with total absorption: Puerto Rico and its cause deserve the widest and most generous support.

51. While seeking support, the Puerto Rican people continues its struggle, continues its unflagging pilgrimage towards independence. It has covered a long road since the day when Bayoán, the Indian of the first endeavours, discovered that the white man was not immortal. It will continue along that road until it is able to prove that Yankee imperialism is also not invincible.

52. Assistance for the independence of Puerto Rico was a key part of the liberating strategy of Simón Bolívar and a constant theme in the teachings of José Martí. For any self-respecting Latin American it is still a duty not to be shirked. Cuba for one will continue unhesitatingly to do its duty, both within and outside this Organization.

53. Cuba and Puerto Rico were merged by history in a single destiny. A century of lonely fighting together under twin flags sealed the single commitment that would link them for ever. In 1893 José Martí defined this union as follows:

"In the days to come those of Ponce and San Juan will fall in Yara and the Guásimas, and those of Cuba will fall for Puerto Rico."

54. Antagonism between peoples and their oppressors in Asia, Africa and Latin America has reached its most crucial moment. From that struggle will emerge the world of the future, which is already dawning in the socialist countries today, free from exploitation and exploiters. To achieve liberation and to secure their rights the peoples must confront reactionary violence—sometimes brutal, sometimes subtle, but always cruel. Thus to say the least it is unheard of that an item on terrorism should be suggested for inclusion in the agenda, as though that phenomenon did not have very clearly defined roots, as though its causes were not known to all, as though violence in the world today were a geometrical abstraction with neither explanation nor content. Cuba has already made known its views regarding this unacceptable manoeuvre and in due course will continue to fight against both it and any other stratagem used in this Organization to combat the revolutionary movements.

55. International attention is focused increasingly on Latin America. We are living through decisive moments; we are shaken to the very roots by the liberating current that

travels through our shaken geography with increasing speed. But we also confront threats and dangers which must keep us constantly alert.

56. The heroic and tenacious efforts made by our people to consolidate our independence and exercise self-determination in different ways call for and deserve the solidarity of all the peoples of the world.

57. Fraternally we greet and support the Chilean people and the Government of Popular Unity which, under the direction of President Salvador Allende, is resolutely addressing itself to the acts of intervention, pressure, intrigue, sabotage, reprisal and threats from North American imperialism, whose latest act was the arbitrary embargo on a shipment of copper decreed by a French court on the shameless insistence of the Yankee monopoly, Braden Kennecott, which itself has for years siphoned off the fruits of the sweat and sacrifice of the Chilean workers. That criminal economic aggression is a shameful violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the most elementary tenets of international law. We must protest most energetically against this disgraceful affront by Yankee imperialism, trying by most unscrupulous means to undermine and curtail self-determination and the economic development of Chile and other under-developed countries.

58. Cuba welcomes and supports, with fraternal identification, the Peruvian people and the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Force and its President General Juan Velasco Alvarado, who continue with determination along the difficult road towards full recovery of national sovereignty, to regain the wealth of the country and to operate the economic and social transformations that will create the conditions and bases for a new life that will benefit the great majority of its peoples which for centuries had been dispossessed and exploited. My delegation is proud to proclaim that the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Cuba and Peru and the increasing strengthening of the ties of friendship and co-operation between our two peoples and Governments are a milestone in the process of Latin American liberation, independence, unity and progress.

59. We are equally at one with and welcome the unceasing struggle of the people and the Government of Panama in their claim to sovereign rights over the Canal Zone and in defence of their territorial integrity.

60. The events taking place in those three countries are an unequivocal symptom of the fact that Latin America is no longer prepared to submit to the shackles of subordination or oppression by foreigners.

61. I do not believe it vain to stress again that the position of Cuba regarding North American imperialism and its puppets in Latin America and the Organization of American States [OAS] is and will remain firm and unchanging. We say again that we have nothing to negotiate or discuss with the Government of the United States. We demand—and do not discuss—the withdrawal of the United States from the naval base in Guantánamo. We demand an end to the blockade and to subversive action. But as the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government—Commander Fidel Castro—has stated again and again, apart from these unshakable demands, Cuba can never talk with the Yankee

Government until the latter gives up its self-appointed role of so-called policeman of Latin America, and until it puts an end to its criminal aggression against the people of Viet-Nam.

62. Once again we reaffirm that Cuba is ready to renew or establish diplomatic relations only with those countries of Latin America that are truly independent and sovereign and that fight to reconquer their national rights, such as Chile and Peru, which, despite the shameful efforts of the North American Government, have assumed that initiative precisely in the exercise of their independence and sovereignty. Once and for all, we state that Cuba will never return to the OAS, a discredited instrument of the North American domination over Latin America. In a word, Cuba will never undertake negotiations of any nature at the cost of its principles.

63. The international community must condemn the imperialist manoeuvres and efforts to interfere in the decisions adopted or to be adopted by Latin American peoples in full exercise of their sovereignty and in order to meet their legitimate national aspirations. The activities of the North American copper companies, whose holdings were nationalized by the Chilean Government, on organizing economic reprisals against that country, are inadmissible acts of aggression against a developing country that call for the most vigorous repudiation from the Assembly.

64. On this point I should like to read two paragraphs of the Georgetown Declaration. That Declaration was approved by 58 foreign ministers of non-aligned countries on 11 August of this year:

“The Conference examined the situation in Latin America and expressed full support of the Chilean Government of People's Unity bent upon consolidating their national independence and building a new society; of the nationalist measures taken by the Peruvian Government of Peru and its efforts to safeguard the nation's sovereignty and to promote social progress; and also of efforts of the people and government of Panama to consolidate their territorial integrity. The participants welcomed the growth of the efforts being made by the Latin American peoples to recover their natural resources, reassert their sovereignty and defend the interests of their countries. The members agreed that the realization of Latin America's full and true independence is an essential element in the general emancipation process of the developing countries and in the strengthening of international peace and security.”

“The Conference expressed its full support for all those Governments which, in the exercise of their sovereign rights over the natural resources of their countries, have nationalized the interests of powerful foreign monopolies and restored them to their peoples in the interest of their welfare and national development. The Conference, moreover, condemned all pressures, threats and reprisals against those countries, and pledged itself to foster mutual co-operation among developing countries so as to impart strength to their national endeavour to fortify their political and economic independence.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Declaration adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown, Guyana, from 8 to 12 August 1972, paras. 28 and 29.

65. Cuba proclaims its full solidarity with all revolutionary movements that are tearing off the halts imposed on the peoples of Latin America by North American imperialism and parasitical oligarchies. Fighting in their own stronghold the main enemy of the peoples, they are making a decisive contribution to the general process of the emancipation of the third world and the cause of international peace and security. The struggle of the Latin American people therefore calls for mass solidarity by all progressive and revolutionary forces. It is surely a duty to support those peoples that arm themselves to obtain freedom, and those that face the repressive brutality of Fascist tyrannies in Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay. To contain the rising waves of revolutionary movements, imperialism organizes counter-revolutionary repression and erases the borders of States. In that fratricidal undertaking it specifically conscripts Brazilian torturers who, overcome by wild delirium, strive to play the role of a minor partner in the North American imperialistic undertaking of subjecting our peoples.

66. But neither directly nor through the services of hired henchmen can Yankee imperialism dam the revolutionary torrent, nor divert our peoples from the road they are on. The bell has rung for Latin America. Our peoples, formerly mere chattels in history, are now beginning to write it. In the past we suffered history; today we create it with our own hands.

67. Latin America is the stage of the intense stubbornness of imperialism confronting the equal stubbornness of the peoples for so long subjected to it. It was in our continent that the first practices of neo-colonialism were essayed. The peoples of Indian America, dark-skinned half-breeds—which José Martí called “our America”, to distinguish it from the “wily North”—had conquered their political sovereignty with the sword and the machete at the cost of incredible feats, but they quickly saw that independence was an empty shell, that their countries were still the prey of greedy monopolies that seized their factories, devoured their lands, conquered their mines, and put their national dignity in chains. Peoples imbued with fruitful cultures, the heirs of long and rich traditions of unity and struggle, inhabitants of a continent teeming with natural resources, became the vassals to misery and backwardness, divided by imperialism into feudal holdings.

68. The imperialist torturer lorded it over our lands; the Yankee marines trampled our beaches and outraged our sovereignty; the proconsuls of the North dissolved governments, dictated policies, and administered countries, which had now become colonies and factories. It was the period of the ripe fruit, the secured backyard, the docile neighbours; but it was also the time of incessant struggle when our peoples lost their best children in their efforts to obtain their full emancipation.

69. In the Caribbean the Yankee imperialists started their career of villainy, excess and violence. On our beaches they tested their weapons and began to build their empire. They snatched Cuba and Puerto Rico; they controlled the Antilles, and they fell with more force than ever on the lands of the South. José Martí, who understood more than anyone the tenor of the times in which he lived, foresaw the future and called on the peoples of Latin America to fight for their second and true independence.



70. It, too, was destined to be born on the shores of the Caribbean. With the liberation of Cuba in 1959 there began the new and inexorable process of the destruction of an empire that 50 years earlier had first laid its foundations in Cuba. The Cuban fighters who, on the sands of the Playa Girón, made the Yankees suffer their first American defeat, were opening a new era for our continent; behind their rifles stood an anonymous mass of workers and peasants, of Indians and half-breeds, who had been enslaved for centuries, always humiliated, still unrecognized. It was they who would now march with the decision of those who suddenly find their own strength, with the inspiration of peoples that never bent the knee until final victory was achieved.

71. To Cuba fell the historic privilege of starting the historic march and pointing out the road. Destiny placed this task on the shoulders of a small people inhabiting a very tiny island, lacking natural resources, separated by geography from the rest of its brothers in blood. But it was no coincidence that our small island had been the minute homeland of Martí. The Cuban people knew how to repel aggression, to turn away provocations, to overcome a total trade and economic blockade and the isolation from a world that was and always would be its own. My country drew strength from the inexhaustible quarries of revolutionary ideas. It was always aware that it has a historic mission to perform: that it must be the bulwark of the revolutionary, internationalist principles of Latin American solidarity.

72. People and Government are as one in the immense tasks undertaken; with increasing rhythm the Cuban revolution moves towards the full achievement of its economic, social and cultural objectives. From 1971 industrial production has shown growth rates. Despite being afflicted by natural disasters, agricultural production has also increased gradually. Success in the field of the infrastructure has been significant, particularly regarding building of all kinds. Educational policy, both conceptually, based on the unification of work and study, and materially bespeak a real revolution that is already yielding its first fruits. Forty-four basic secondary schools have been started in the field since 20 September 1971. The rate at which schools are built is also increasing daily.

73. More than 100 school-construction brigades are working assiduously to build basic secondary schools, polytechnical schools, schools for teachers, technological institutes and schools for vocational training. It is estimated that by 1980 we will be able to bring into the area of work and study more than a million young people, as well as tens of thousands of teachers and educational cadres. As far as public health is concerned Cuba leads the rest of Latin America, as was recognized at the recent Conference of Ministers of Public Health in Santiago, Chile. The development of the sugar cane industry is also being carried out with true impetus in Cuba.

74. The domestic financial situation has also undergone a healthy transformation. Through its principled policy, the expansion of its international relations with all continents and its fraternal ties with the countries of what is called the third world, as well as the socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union, Cuba has laid down and strengthened an international position of which it can justly be

proud. Our immediate and long-range prospects, in a word, could not be more clear or more promising.

75. We also note with joy today that Latin America is firmly heading toward full liberation. Throughout the continent rebellion is growing, resistance is spreading, peoples are rising to recover their wealth, to consolidate their independence, to wipe out North American tyranny—in one word, to carry out the revolution.

76. But it will not be an easy struggle. North American imperialism will not yield with grace a world that it has despoiled at will. To keep that world it will use all its manoeuvres; it will unleash its power and give free rein to its ferocity. But side by side with that process, there is growing in the very heart of imperialist power itself, a new and growing progressive movement that is anti-imperialist and socialist. In his statement of 28 September, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government Commander Fidel Castro, stated:

“We too will be as one with our revolutionary brothers in the United States, as we were with Angela Davis, as we are now, speaking out for the liberation of Billy Dean Smith, and as we will be with all North American revolutionaries.”

77. Latin America will triumph. No one and nothing can now hold back our peoples because our march is encouraged by and imbued with the memory of entire generations sacrificed to prepare the dawn that is now breaking and because they are called into battle by the immortal example of Ernesto Che Guevara, the undisputed commander who from the very heart of America lights the way, and is a shining beacon guiding our steps to final victory.

78. Mr. OULD MOKNASS (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to associate myself with the preceding speakers in extending the sincere and warm congratulations of the Mauritanian delegation on the occasion of your election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The confidence unanimously shown in you by all States Members of the United Nations constitutes a deserved tribute to your talents and to your statesmanlike qualities and also striking proof of the esteem that the international community holds for your country, its people, and its distinguished leaders. In the accomplishment of your difficult but important mission, my delegation wishes to assure you of its entire and loyal co-operation.

79. My delegation also wishes to pay a sincere tribute to Mr. Adam Malik, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, for the skill, impartiality and patience, and also for the subtlety, dedication and tact, he displayed in presiding over the long and difficult debates of the twenty-sixth session.

80. I should also like to express to our Secretary-General our satisfaction with his efforts to help bring peace to the world and in particular with his eagerness to help the countries of the third world in their struggle to resolve their many problems. We are also following closely his initiatives in reorganizing the Secretariat out of a concern for efficacy and economy.

81. We are also particularly happy to see among us today the delegation of the People's Republic of China, whose presence in this hall we hail after a long wait. I should like to pay a tribute of admiration and sympathy to that delegation and to the great Chinese people. My delegation welcomes the presence of China, and I am happy to say so publicly and sincerely. We are convinced that the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will contribute to the settlement of many problems confronting the Organization.

82. Despite the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, despite the elements of détente that have emerged in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the United States and China, the twenty-seventh session is meeting at a time when grave problems continue to threaten international peace and security.

83. Murderous wars in the purest colonial style continue to rage in various parts of the world. The absence of any real will for general and complete disarmament and the disappointing results of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] are a matter of concern to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and to all countries that love peace and justice.

84. Thus, the African peoples continue to suffer under the savage yoke of Portuguese colonialism, aided by international imperialism. To be sure, these people are organizing themselves and every day the national liberation movements of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique and Angola, testify to their determination to fight to the end to bring down the illegal Portuguese rule.

85. In Zimbabwe, in South Africa, in Namibia, colonialism is compounded by the contemptible system of *apartheid*, which arbitrarily condemns the majority of the population to languish in moral and material wretchedness and permits the racist white minority to live with impunity on the natural and human resources of the majority.

86. It is high time that the international community took effective steps to put an end to this intolerable situation prevailing in southern Africa. The United Nations, if it is not to condemn itself for good, cannot fail to take up the continuous challenge thrown down to it by South Africa, Portugal and the racist régime of Rhodesia. No responsible country, no man of good faith, can feel free so long as millions of human beings remain deprived of their most elementary right to a life of freedom and dignity.

87. Similarly, international peace, security and concord can never validly be established so long as all peoples have not had recognized their inalienable rights to freedom, independence and dignity.

88. Confronted with this extremely painful situation, imposed on our brothers in southern Africa by the colonialists and racists, with the effective support of international imperialism, my country would like once again forcefully to reaffirm its support and militant solidarity with our African brothers in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, in Mozambique, in Angola and in

Guinea (Bissau), in their heroic struggle against injustice and arbitrary rule, for freedom, in peace and dignity.

89. This arduous but determined struggle will surely triumph despite the fanatic stubbornness of Portugal and the white minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia which refuse to look reality in the face while continuing to offer insolent defiance to the United Nations.

90. Before leaving decolonization, I should like to mention a final problem to which my country attaches special importance since it is of direct interest to ourselves. I refer to the question of the Sahara under Spanish rule.

91. This problem is indeed one of the major concerns of my Government since it is a problem which intimately and deeply affects the Mauritanian people. It concerns us by reason of every kind of tie—historical, geographical, human and cultural—which binds us to this part of the Sahara. It also affects us because between our people and the brother people of the Sahara there is more than one reason for common feeling, more than one link of solidarity and common life. It is precisely because of this common past, this community of life and destiny that my Government, back in 1957, made the decolonization of this north-west part of the Sahara one of the fundamental objectives of its policy, but decolonization in all friendship and co-operation with the administering Power. This policy, decided on immediately following the formation of the first Mauritanian Government still under the colonial régime, has always been ours and we have made it known constantly and consistently.

92. Since our accession to independence and since our admission to the United Nations, we have never ceased, particularly from this rostrum, to make known our determination to safeguard the territorial integrity of our country and to consolidate the unity of our people. It is therefore for valid and legitimate reasons that independent Mauritania concerns itself and must concern itself primarily with the decolonization of the north-west part of the Sahara, known both as Rio de Oro and Saguia el-Hamra. But despite the legitimacy of our position, we have thought and continue to think that the settlement of this problem by peaceful means—that is to say, in understanding and co-operation—remains the path most in conformity not only with the principles and purposes of the Charter, but also with the interests of peace and stability in the African north-west subregion. It is our loyalty to these principles and objectives and our devotion to peace which naturally impelled us to accept the prospect for a peaceful solution through the implementation of the United Nations resolutions concerning this territory. That is why we hope that the Spanish Government, within the framework of the good relations, old and new, which bind our two countries, will at last implement, as it has undertaken to do, the relevant provisions of these resolutions. Such an attitude on the part of the Spanish Government would further strengthen the traditional friendship and the bonds of every kind which exist not only between Spain and Mauritania, but between Spain and each of the other countries in our north-west African subregion.

93. For it was in the framework of this quest for a peaceful solution that my country had the honour to

receive at Nouadhibou, in September of 1970, His Majesty Hassan II and Houari Boumediène. The three heads of State, from Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania, resolved to co-ordinate their efforts with a view to bringing Spain, through dialogue, *entente* and co-operation, to implement the resolutions of the United Nations regarding the territory. As far as we are concerned, in Mauritania we remain true to the spirit of that conference of Nouadhibou and to the undertakings there entered into and we continue to believe that this attitude remains that of the other parties to the policy of co-operation and good neighbourliness.

94. In other words, Spain, which in the past has conducted itself positively in the matter of decolonization, has every interest in heeding this spirit of understanding between the States of the subregion, and also in accepting the irreversible nature of the decolonization of the Sahara.

95. The continuance in Africa of this dangerous situation must not make us lose sight of another hotbed of tension, which is in the forefront of our concerns: namely, the Middle East crisis.

96. In the Middle East the Zionist authorities of Tel Aviv continue to trample underfoot the fundamental principles of the Charter and the decisions of our Organization. Their troops continue to enjoy the fruits of their cowardly aggression. The vast territories of the Arab Republic of Egypt, of the Syrian Arab Republic, of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, continue to suffer under the most barbaric military occupation. The criminal burning of the famous Al Aqsa mosque over two years ago aroused the indignation of almost all the world. This burning, for which the Zionist occupation authorities are entirely responsible, reminds the world of the very grave threat to the holy places of Islam, Christianity and Judaism represented by the completely illegal decision taken by the Zionist authorities regarding the annexation of the Arab part of the city of Jerusalem.

97. More than five years have elapsed since the Israeli aggression of June 1967. Since that date vast Arab territories have been occupied by an unscrupulous and inhumane army. The Arab population which has not been expelled is living an unendurable calvary. Houses are destroyed and fields are transformed into barracks or military bases. Colonies of Zionists are replacing Arab villages. A major campaign is under way in Europe and America to get the greatest possible number of Jewish immigrants to come and settle in the occupied Arab territories. This colonialist policy was denounced in Israel itself at a protest meeting held at Kibbutz Kerem-Shalom, where it was emphasized that the Bedouin farmers had been expelled to make way for Jewish settlers. The writer-journalist Amos Kenan stated:

“We must stop using these euphemisms such as ‘creation of Jewish agricultural agglomerations’ when the correct term is ‘colonization’.”

He continued:

“If we want to stop the growth of this colonialist, militarist and Pharisaical Israel that we see taking form before our eyes, we must here and now declare to the

leaders of our country that we will not fight in the next war which they are preparing with their own hands.”

I repeat: this was not an Arab speaking; it was a distinguished Jewish writer and journalist, Amos Kenan.

98. Furthermore, in support of what Amos Kenan said, a member of the Central Committee of the Labour Party, Mrs. Shulamit Aloni, wrote the following in an article in *Yediot Aharonot* on 18 April 1972:

“... Jewish farmers newly installed in the Gaza zone are employing in the fields Bedouins expelled from their lands.”

She concluded: “...here we are confronted with a colonialist-type annexation”.

99. The barbarous action of the Israeli army is not confined to those violations of the *jus gentium*; on the contrary, Israel is still daily violating the air space of neighbouring Arab countries. Its naval units regularly bombard peaceful Arab villages, killing innocent civilians. Its incursions across frontiers of this or that neighbouring Arab country have become an everyday practice. This situation constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles of justice, equality and territorial integrity of States and absolute respect for their sovereignty—principles which are the life-blood of our Organization.

100. Everyone in this hall now knows that for the Zionists of Israel principles have no value except in so far as they can use them in the interest of their dark designs. If the authorities of Tel Aviv had the least respect for principles they would have applied the pertinent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the Middle East question, particularly Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which they have nevertheless accepted. If the Tel Aviv authorities had the least respect for principles they would have co-operated with and assisted in the smooth functioning of Ambassador Jarring's mission instead of blocking it. If the authorities of Tel Aviv had the least respect for principles they would have accepted the mediation of the 10 members of the Committee of African Heads of State, members of a committee appointed by the OAU and chaired by the Head of State of Mauritania, then President of the OAU. If the authorities of Tel Aviv had the least respect for principles they would have permitted the United Nations commission appointed to investigate the lot of Arab prisoners to do its job.

101. It is clear to us all that Israel has the utmost contempt for the United Nations. As we have seen, Israel remains deaf to all appeals and all memoranda. Today the international community can no longer doubt that this state of affairs exist. Confronted with this situation, the international community must do everything possible to impel Israel, in the interests of international peace and security, to implement all the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967)—the only way of definitively and peacefully solving the question of the Middle East.

102. The legitimate liberation struggle carried on by the Palestinian people to recover their usurped homeland enjoys the active support of Mauritania and all peoples who love

freedom and justice. The courage and self-sacrifice of the valiant Palestinian people, which is carrying on the liberation struggle in extremely difficult conditions, merit the admiration and encouragement of the international community. For too long there has been a desire to ignore the Palestinian people and to reduce them to inhabitants of refugee camps. Today they exist and are organized as a dynamic and embattled liberation movement. They are on their feet, weapons in hand, and have taken charge of their destiny. Henceforth it will therefore be futile to seek a solution to the Middle East conflict without their essential participation.

103. No authority—whatever it may be—is empowered to speak or deal on behalf of the Palestinian people. This responsibility will henceforth be incumbent on the liberation organization of Palestine alone.

104. In his speech to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the Mauritanian Head of State said:

“We all know that a final and durable solution cannot be found, whether voluntarily or not, if the Palestinian people are put into brackets. We must also cease using euphemisms and referring coyly to ‘refugees’. The Palestinian people, chased from their lands by the Zionists who have taken over those lands by force, has a right to its existence. That people does exist even if this fundamental right, enshrined in the Charter which governs our life, is denied it. The Palestinian people, therefore, is courageously waging its fight for national liberation and refuses the role of accepting international charity and living in camps. There is no doubt whatever that its cause will triumph. Therefore, wisdom and realism demand that we should hasten the realization of that goal, which is inevitable and which will put an end to misery, bereavement, suffering and death, and bring about the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people.” [1877th meeting, para. 13.]

There is the only realistic solution, the only wise solution to the Palestinian tragedy. Any other approach will be doomed to failure. The Zionists must be convinced of this.

105. In a recent book *Le pays du cerf*, edited by Am Oved, Deputy Arié Eliat, member of the leadership of the Labour Party—the Party in power—draws up the most complete and most damning indictment of the official line, as follows:

“An attempt to ignore this problem is vain, since it is impossible to pass over in silence such a tragedy, both human and national . . . ; the Palestinian problem is at the source of the conflict; it is the root of the evil which has given rise to the Jewish-Arab hostilities. It is a festering and bleeding wound, from which their blood and ours flows.”

Eliat adds: “There will be no real peace, no end to the Israel-Arab conflict, until the Palestinian problem is solved.”

106. The Palestinian liberation movement, like any other liberation movement throughout the world, will continue by every means at its disposal the struggle imposed upon it, until it has recovered all its rights. The attempts of the

Zionists and their accomplices to alienate from that movement the sympathy of Western public opinion will not weaken its resolve; quite the contrary.

107. All those not blinded by racism and by the taste for domination, all those who believe in equality and fraternity among men, in the right of peoples to self-determination and to live in freedom, all those who cherish peace, all those who reject oppression and the law of the stronger, all those who are aware of the crimes that have been committed and are still being committed by the Israeli Zionists against the Palestinian people, all those will understand that the Palestinian patriots are completely different from the image that the militarist Zionists of Israel give of them.

108. The terms “terrorist” and “saboteur” now used to describe those who are struggling in Africa and the Middle East for the independence of their countries and the dignity of their peoples cannot distort the reality they conceal. That is also the view of Deputy Arié Eliat, a member of Mrs. Meir’s governing party. Eliat protests against those who describe the Palestinian fighters as “bands of terrorists” and he writes:

“Israel should not ignore or underestimate the Palestinian armed resistance . . . It must no longer underestimate the morale and the courage of the Palestinian organizations . . .”

And the author adds: “. . . the Palestinian Arabs are our fiercest enemies, but that is no reason for not calling them by their name . . .”

109. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania cannot but be indignant at the taking of innocent human lives, but it has the right and the duty to say that those who are truly responsible for such acts are those who, by their policy of domination and intolerance, by their policy of the massacre of civilian populations, the destruction of peaceful villages and the kidnapping of persons, those who by their policy of racism and colonialism lead peoples to despair and violence.

110. The United Nations, if it is to be realistic and consistent, must root out the evil or face the consequences.

111. This tragic and dangerous situation in Africa and in the Middle East must not make us forget the extremely grave situation prevailing in South-east Asia, where the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos are carrying on, with a determination never belied and a courage never equalled, a heroic struggle to secure respect for their sacred right to an independent, free and worthy life.

112. Despite the Paris negotiations and the hopes they have aroused, the Viet-Nam war becomes daily more barbaric, more murderous. The mining of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the stepping up of the indiscriminate bombing of its territory constitute a particularly grave escalation in the war which the United States is waging against the industrious Viet-Nameese people.

113. Confronted by this situation, in which a small people is in danger of being annihilated by the greatest Power in the world, which insists upon trying at all costs to impose



its will on that people, the international community has the urgent duty to do everything possible to put an end to the war so that the people of Viet-Nam may at last live in peace.

114. However, peace will never be effective until the American troops and those of other foreign countries have accepted the peace proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam in its statement of 11 September 1972.

115. I take particular pleasure here in reiterating to the valiant people of Viet-Nam the unreserved support and militant solidarity of the party, Government and people of Mauritania. We would like to take this opportunity of expressing our deep conviction that its just cause will inevitably triumph over all the obstacles in the path to its independence and freedom.

116. Our unfailing and unreserved support and solidarity go also to the people and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam in the courageous and self-sacrificing struggle they are waging for the dignity and freedom of man in Viet-Nam.

117. The situation in Cambodia deserves, as much as any other, the attention of the international community.

118. In that country, foreign forces are obstinately opposing the aspirations of the valiant and peaceful Khmer people, struggling for the triumph of their noble ideals of peace, justice, freedom and dignity.

119. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, under the enlightened leadership of Prince Sihanouk, today controls over 80 per cent of the territory and the population of the country. It ought to have been possible to liberate the rest of the country by now, had it not been for the foreign forces in the country. Therefore, anyone can see where legitimacy lies, and who represents the will and aspirations of, if not the whole, then at least the overwhelming majority of the Khmer people.

120. The international community should draw the necessary lesson from this incontestable reality. For our part, we should like once again to assure the people and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia of our unfailing support and entire solidarity, at the same time expressing our deep conviction that their just struggle will surely triumph.

121. In regard to Korea, my country welcomes recent developments in relations between the South and the North of the country and earnestly hopes that the contacts already made will continue and will result in the peaceful reunification of the country. Nevertheless, it is clear that such reunification, so eagerly awaited by every Korean and by all who love peace and justice, is the exclusive concern of the Koreans themselves and, consequently can only be validly achieved after the cessation of all foreign interference in the affairs of Korea.

122. The United Nations has the right, and above all the duty, to assist in the course of the present session in creating conditions favourable for accelerating the indepen-

dent and peaceful reunification of Korea. Independent reunification means without any foreign intervention, but peaceful reunification also through the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea, whose presence is not likely to create a peaceful climate in which the talks now taking place between the two parties can usefully proceed.

123. It was the duty of the General Assembly—for it had the right and the opportunity, at this session—to help remove all the obstacles to the essential reunification of Korea. It could, at this session, have decided that the flag of the United Nations should no longer be used to camouflage the presence of foreign occupation troops in Korea. It could also have re-examined the mandate and the activities of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, since it is now clear that that Commission, far from promoting rapprochement, is a divisive element and also represents a heavy and unnecessary burden on the Organization's budget.

124. It is therefore exceedingly regrettable that the General Assembly has decided to postpone consideration of this important question of Korea to a later session. My delegation deeply regrets that the General Assembly did not take the opportunity offered to it of contributing to the solution of a painful problem whose existence is due essentially to political and military intervention by the United Nations.

125. The concerns of my delegation are not confined to the grave problems I have just mentioned; far from it. We think that the problem of disarmament is very urgent, and its importance escapes no member of our Organization. The stockpiling and further improvement of weapons of mass destruction represent a grave danger to development and even to the survival of mankind. The vast sums devoted to armaments dangerously reduce the investments available for the economic and social progress of the developing countries. My delegation, for its part, will therefore support any international effort to bring about genuine general and complete disarmament.

126. If the grave problems I have mentioned are important, since they bear in themselves the seeds of conflict and therefore directly threaten international peace and security, if those grave problems require our attention and the search for solutions in conformity with the principles and purposes of our Charter and the aspirations of peoples, there are others, too, which must also be the object of our concern.

127. My delegation finds it impossible indeed to address this Assembly without referring to the grave economic and social problems with which the developing countries tragically find themselves confronted. It is regrettable that, on this fundamental level of mutual assistance which should characterize relations between peoples and nations, the co-operation of the wealthy countries is cruelly lacking.

128. The disappointing results of the third session of UNCTAD, the failure of the first United Nations Development Decade, the decision-making monopoly held by certain developed countries as regards the international monetary system—all this testifies to the absence of a

political will to take the necessary measures to establish, in the interest of all Members, a genuine international economic co-operation profitable to all.

129. In such circumstances, with fluctuations in the prices of raw materials and constant increase in the prices of manufactured products, the already scandalous gap is continually widening.

130. Our Organization has the duty to redouble its efforts and to ensure that the rivalry among the great Powers is confined to the peaceful and elevating field of scientific research in the service of improving the lot of mankind.

131. As has been emphasized from this rostrum, close to \$200,000 million are spent annually on armaments, whereas the flow of capital from the rich countries to the poor barely amounts to \$10,000 million. This is a scandalous disparity that should not be tolerated in our day and age.

132. For its part, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is convinced that no country can truly triumph over under-development without having a vigorous grasp of the truly gigantic efforts and sacrifices required of both the nation and the individual.

133. That is why from this rostrum we wish to say that we are fully aware of the necessity of bilateral and multilateral assistance, but no less aware that we must first of all count on ourselves before counting on others. In this regard, Mauritania believes that the countries of the third world must not allow themselves to take the easy but dangerous way out, that of looking to foreign assistance for everything.

134. The industrialized countries, in both their own long-term interest and that of mankind as a whole, of course have the duty to work out a genuine international economic co-operation that would serve as a factor for peace and understanding among peoples, and also as a powerful factor for a real implementation of the rights of man, whoever and wherever he may be. But as we have just said, such co-operation must be accompanied on our part by an awareness of the obligations of work and sacrifice.

135. With regard to the continent of Africa, the people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania see in the rallying of countries around common objectives a potent means for speedily advancing their economic growth. We believe, therefore, in the usefulness of groupings at the subregional, regional and continental levels. Such groupings, through the markets they create, through the opportunity they provide for the member States to harmonize their development plans, represent an adaptable and useful framework the creation of which deserves to be encouraged by the United Nations. Such activity is perfectly consistent with the social and economic programmes of our Organization.

136. Reference to the political and economic difficulties and the conflicts that sometimes darken the international horizon should not cause us to forget the positive role played by our Organization in the restoration and maintenance of peace in the world.

137. We express the sincere hope that we may see every Member State work for respect for the principles of the Charter and for application of the decisions taken by our Organization. Thus there will be a rebirth of the confidence—now somewhat shaken—of peoples in this world Organization, for the greater good of all humanity.

138. Mr. HAILE (Ethiopia): It gives me great pleasure that you, Mr. President, a distinguished diplomat of a friendly socialist country with which Ethiopia has the best of relations, should be at the helm of the Assembly while I am speaking today. Your election to the presidency is a fitting tribute both to your country's contribution to the work of the United Nations and to your personal qualities as a public figure of distinction. Please accept my heartfelt felicitations.

139. I should also like to pay a tribute to Foreign Minister Adam Malik of Indonesia for his wise and able leadership of the last session of the General Assembly.

140. All of the previous Secretaries-General have left an enduring mark on world affairs. U Thant will best be remembered for having built up the moral stature of the office of the Secretary-General to great heights.

141. In the 10 months he has been in office, Mr. Kurt Waldheim has justified the confidence we have shown in him by electing him to be our Secretary-General. In keeping with the tradition of his predecessors, he has worked tirelessly to lend the moral force of the United Nations and the instruments of its diplomacy to the solution of some of the problems besetting the world today. I know we all recognize that in this endeavour he needs all the support and encouragement that we can give him.

142. Once again we are engaged in an exercise of introspection. However much we may exhort each other to be candid with ourselves, I do not believe that any of us can claim today to have the remedy for our ills. The problem is in our vision; we all tend to look at the world through the coloured glasses of our national history and experience; our perspectives seem to be affected by our geographical position.

143. If the general debate at the United Nations has proved anything in the past, it has been that no one has a monopoly of truth. It is therefore necessary that we should refrain from what we may believe to be righteous indignation; we should rather concentrate on explaining problems as we see them from our particular vantage-points. If we succeed in doing this dispassionately and with the minimum of recrimination, there might be some hope that we can begin to understand each other's positions a little better.

144. Our assessments of the international scene this year may differ, but we must agree that never before have developments given more cause for hope and disappointment at the same time. Some of the big Powers which only a year ago were hardly on speaking terms not only have begun to talk to each other but have also opened up the areas of trade and accommodation. Those big Powers which used to speak to each other with raised voices have lowered their voices and have begun to listen to each other, while exploring together grounds for agreement and common action.

145. The seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations; the visit of the President of the United States to the People's Republic of China and the opening of channels of communications between the two countries; the visit of the President of the United States to the Soviet Union and the agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States to limit strategic nuclear missiles; the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin—all these are significant and positive developments.

146. In the wake of big-Power rapprochement others have followed suit. The two Germanys and the two Koreas, which for long have remained estranged from each other, have begun talks. Determined to end their long confrontation, India and Pakistan began negotiations on the morrow of hostilities.

147. Indeed, if one were to judge the improvements that have taken place in the last year in relations among the big Powers by the yardstick of post-war history, these developments could be considered important break-throughs. Under normal circumstances, such salutary developments would have been strong enough to create a self-sustaining momentum for peace. But these are not normal times. Regrettably, for every positive development we have observed we can point to another which has complicated the search for solutions to conflicts.

148. It is both pertinent and timely to ask this Assembly why the recently manifested détente in the relations of the big Powers has not led to a significant lessening of tensions everywhere.

149. The continuation of the Viet-Nam conflict and the frozen situation in the Middle East have undoubtedly limited the scope of the détente. Our failure to make a dent in the last citadel of colonialism in southern Africa has also dampened the enthusiasm which would have been otherwise justified. The rising trend of violence directed against national leaders, diplomatic envoys, international passengers and innocent civilians bodes ill for a world which was just getting accustomed to conciliation instead of confrontation.

150. To the extent that one is able to draw up a balance-sheet of such complex developments, one can venture to say that certain developments on the international scene this year seem to portend better times. But whether those portents will materialize in a durable peace will depend on what all of us, and particularly the big Powers, will do to sustain those efforts on a much broader front.

151. It is not only the cumulative force of those small forward steps that will determine in the long run whether we will have a better world; even more important will be what we do to avoid the false steps, the things that can undo what has been painstakingly constructed over a period of several years. Active hostilities, or a situation of near hostilities in some regions, and colonialism cannot coexist for long with improvements in other parts of the world. As has so often happened in the past, those counter-currents will sooner or later win out.

152. For the first time in a long while we have something going for peace. We should not let it stop for lack of momentum. We have to give it all the push we can.

153. It is in that context that we must realize that we have more than ever the duty to resolve the hostilities in Viet-Nam, the near hostilities in the Middle East and the problem of colonialism in southern Africa and move forward in those areas of great concern to the whole of mankind: disarmament, economic development and the establishment of a mutually beneficial system of international co-operation.

154. My Government has always believed that the solution to the Viet-Nam hostilities can be achieved not through their intensification, but through the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the provision of an opportunity to the Viet-Nameese people to determine the political and social system under which they wish to live.

155. We have similarly expressed from this rostrum what in our judgement are the requirements for a just and equitable peace in the Middle East. The present situation of a smoldering stalemate cannot be tolerated any longer, for it contains within it the fuel for sudden eruption. So often have we witnessed the vicious cycle of violence in the Middle East that we should not now fail to realize how the present situation incubates blind violence; how one hostile action invites a counteraction more deadly and destructive than the act that provoked it; how this leads to frustration and raises the level of violence to yet higher and more dangerous levels. If peace is to have any chance, this cycle must be broken and the trend reversed.

156. In this respect we continue to believe that the diplomatic process that offers the best prospect is the one initiated by the Security Council. We also believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contains a balanced set of obligations which all the parties have to accept. The fulfilment by the parties concerned of all the obligations contained in resolution 242 (1967) must be vigorously pursued.

157. By common consensus, the colonial situation in southern Africa has given us no reason for hope; if anything, it has been a source of growing frustration and tension.

158. The African people of Zimbabwe have overwhelmingly rejected the so-called "proposals for a settlement"<sup>4</sup> worked out without their participation by Ian Smith and the British Government. During the days when they were being ostensibly consulted, the world witnessed spontaneous uprisings in several cities in Zimbabwe, uprisings which may be merely a portent of things to come. In the meantime the military alliance between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia has been strengthened, and *apartheid* has been nurtured to spread and deepen its roots in Zimbabwe.

159. Yet nothing has been done to strengthen the one action that promises results, that is, the effective implemen-

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

tation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. On the contrary the sanctions have not only been successfully evaded, but even whittled down.

160. The hostilities in the Territories under Portuguese domination are growing in scope and intensity. Except for information that has been provided by our discussions here and by the United Nations Secretariat, the public at large has been kept in the dark by a conspiracy of silence about the three brutal wars being waged by Portugal. In this regard, the visit of the United Nations Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) has done much to focus attention on one of these wars. The report of the Special Mission [A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, annex I] has also been very informative as to the needs of the liberation movements in Africa and the ways in which the United Nations can help them.

161. Despite the Secretary-General's efforts on behalf of the United Nations, the prospect of independence for Namibia is as remote as ever. Like many others, we have continued to hope against hope that South Africa will yet be prevailed upon to change. But I regret to say that the Secretary-General's latest report [A/8724] does not permit any such optimism. So long as South Africa does not accept United Nations responsibility for Namibia, and so long as South Africa is not ready to transfer power to the Namibians, I do not believe there can be any justifiable hope. We have thus to recognize the wide gulf that still separates South Africa from the rest of the world. We should also be careful not to let South Africa use its talks with the Secretary-General as a public relations build-up.

162. The situation in South Africa itself has in the past year been the object of world-wide attention. The oppression of Africans and Asians and of those white people who have dared to question the wisdom of *apartheid* has increased. At the same time the South African authorities are painstakingly creating an elaborate structure of *apartheid*, transplanting people from one area to another and herding them in what in the language of their reverse logic they call "homelands".

163. The first meetings of the Security Council to be held in Africa, in Addis Ababa, were significant in one important respect: they helped to focus world public opinion on the problems of colonialism in southern Africa and underscored the great concern of the international community with the deterioration of the situation. It also brought the United Nations closer to the people who need its assistance most.

164. The time has come for the United Nations to look at colonialism as one interconnected problem requiring concerted international action. The colonialist régimes themselves have for long realized how dependent their positions have become on concerting their defence against what they consider to be the dangerous onslaught of independence. In the face of that, I wonder how long we can afford to look at these colonial problems separately, and even more, still hope to win the battle against colonialism by resorting to uncoordinated actions.

*Mr. Solano López (Paraguay), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

165. In keeping with this objective we believe that the international community should seriously consider taking concerted action against all the colonial régimes in southern Africa in order to deny them weapons which they can use to suppress the people and in order to sever all economic and commercial ties with them. In this context we should also reject all semantic distinctions between those weapons likely to be used for defensive purposes and those likely to be used for offensive purposes, or between economic ties likely to benefit the majority of the people or those likely to benefit the minority. There are no defensive weapons *per se*; it all depends on how they are used. Similarly, no economic ties which strengthen the oppressor can be, at the same time, of real benefit to those oppressed.

166. What is required is a little more courage. My August Sovereign, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, recalled this poignantly when, addressing the Special Session of the Security Council held in Africa, he said:

"Throughout history it has been the inaction of those who could have acted, the indifference of those who should have known better, the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most, that has made it possible for evil to triumph. The glorious pages of human history have been written only in those moments when men have been able to act in concert to prevent impending tragedies. By the actions you take, you can also illuminate the pages of history."<sup>5</sup>

167. We believe that, if the international community were to show some readiness to move in this direction, if it were only to take, for example, such limited steps as restricting future investments in the economies of these territories, there might perhaps be some hope for progress. But in most of these territories exactly the opposite is happening. Investment is increasing in all the Portuguese territories. With the completion of the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique, more investments, as well as an influx of overseas immigrants, are expected. In Namibia, in particular, large sums of money are being spent on mineral exploration and exploitation.

168. There is no question that, if improvement in the southern African situation is to come, the major trading partners of the colonialist and racist régimes will have to reverse their priorities and be guided by their long-term economic gains, rather than by their calculations of such gains over the short-term. So long as they fail to do that they will continue to assume a particularly significant responsibility for the prolongation of this tragic situation.

169. The African Members of the United Nations have continued to address themselves to the same problems under the aegis of the OAU. They have spared no effort to assist the liberation movements to carry out vigorously their struggle against colonial and racist domination. I wish to express the hope that the United Nations as a whole will adopt some of the measures recommended by the OAU.

170. In the interdependent world of today the battle for peace will have to be waged in all regions and on all fronts. We should not slacken our efforts in prosecuting this struggle.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Year, 1627th meeting.



171. In addition to resolving actual conflicts we have to prevent others from arising. We also have to make constant efforts to promote what the Charter of the United Nations calls "conditions" for peace.

172. Nothing could be more urgent in this respect at this point in time than to work for disarmament, economic and social development, and the strengthening of the United Nations.

173. We cannot allow the world to go on spending over \$200 billion a year on armaments and only \$7 billion for economic aid—one being 30 times more than the other—without inviting instability in much of the world today. Through disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, we should remove one of the principal causes of fear and suspicion. We should free resources that can be used to meet the real needs of people in the rich and poor countries alike. By helping to create an effective system of international economic co-operation designed to help the developing countries develop faster, we also should be removing a principal source of instability and of much of the unhappiness born out of unmet needs.

174. Progress in the past year in these two areas has generally been slow, but some advances have also been made.

175. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have yielded limited but significant results. The agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States to limit strategic defensive and offensive missiles are undoubtedly important arms control measures. They will help slow down the dangerous momentum of the arms race. If followed by other arms control and disarmament measures, they may even signal the reversal of a trend. I cannot emphasize too strongly in this respect that one obvious area which calls for immediate action is the conclusion of an agreement banning the underground testing of nuclear weapons.

176. With the signing of the important Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*], the first real disarmament agreement in the post-war years has been achieved, for this Convention not only calls for the prohibition of all such weapons, but also for their destruction. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament now has before it similar initiatives to prohibit chemical weapons. It is our considered opinion that with regard to chemical weapons a similar approach to the one used in the Convention on biological weapons should be used, that is, the prohibition should be conceived comprehensively rather than selectively, and also the destruction of all existing chemical weapons should be required. When we say this we are not unmindful of the technical and scientific difficulties involved, but we cannot believe that these difficulties are beyond human ingenuity to solve.

177. There is, of course, always the need to keep the question of disarmament uppermost in the minds of the people. We hope the proposed World Disarmament Conference will help focus international attention and concern on one of mankind's most important problems. We also hope that all of the nuclear weapon Powers will be persuaded to

join the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and make the contribution which only they can make.

178. International trade and monetary reforms dominated economic discussions in the past year. More than ever the organic links between trade, development, finance and monetary reforms have been recognized. It is now clear that if progress is to be made on any of these fronts an interconnected and concerted international action will be required.

179. The third session of UNCTAD fell short of the immediate expectations of the developing countries, but its results were not altogether barren. Judged by the new ground it broke, by what it forced all of us to address ourselves to, and, finally, by the trend of thinking which it has set in motion, the session can be said to have marked some progress. Although the benefits may still be limited and other problems remain to be overcome, what has been accomplished with regard to the provision of preferential treatment by the industrialized countries for manufactured goods coming from developing countries is significant. Regrettably, it has not been possible to make similar progress on the primary commodity exports of developing countries.

180. That the problems facing the least developed among the developing countries should have merited special attention and that a special programme of action should have been envisaged to help them are matters of satisfaction to my Government. The need to associate developing countries with the decision-making process in economic matters was also recognized adequately, and the establishment within the International Monetary Fund of the Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues in connexion with monetary reforms is already one manifestation of this belated recognition. We hope that this recognition will go beyond merely associating the developing countries and will find reflection in the decisions that will eventually emerge.

181. We are now approaching the first over-all review of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Already the realization has dawned on us that we may not have succeeded in matching the International Development Strategy we have devised [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] with an appropriate institutional arrangement that will enable us to carry it out. Often when we gather under the aegis of different international institutions we seem to develop a certain bias and tend to look at the development process from one limited angle or another. As we continue to address ourselves to the problems of development it is important that we pay as much attention to how best we can organize our efforts as we do to analysing the problems themselves.

182. The concept of a global village has become more than a figure of speech; it is a reality today. It is not only that physical distances have shrunk; our problems have become common also. International co-operation in the solution of many of our problems is no longer a luxury but has become an obligation dictated by self-interest. Today no one is strong enough to go it alone; every State that contributes to such international co-operation stands to benefit from it.

183. It is in the lasting interest of States Members of the United Nations that they should now create an equitable international order, an order buttressed by a self-sustaining system of international co-operation, in which the interests of the strong and the weak will be taken equally into account. What is required in effect is to strengthen the United Nations, increase the scope of international co-operation already established under it and move forward with imagination and ingenuity to those areas which require further co-operation.

184. It is often suggested that the United Nations has become too big and too unwieldy to be used as an effective instrument for political action. It is also said that the admission of too many small States has diluted the authority of the United Nations. We cannot accept such premises for the improvement of the United Nations. If anything, there is more to be said for a greater participation of small States in international affairs. The Charter of the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of States; it also reflects the reality of international life by conferring special powers on the permanent members of the Security Council. In the world of today all States have an equal stake in the maintenance of peace; the consequences of the disruption of peace would affect all equally. If reforms are to be made to strengthen the institutions of the United Nations these should certainly be directed towards more democratization and not towards more restrictions.

185. It seems to us particularly significant that while improving relations between themselves the big Powers recognize the need to strengthen the United Nations as an instrument for international co-operation and negotiation. Nothing would be more damaging to the international order that we hope to create than to rely on bilateral arrangements based on the outmoded concept of the balance of power. The fact that we have not been distinctly successful in completing the edifice of a system of international co-operation as envisaged in the Charter should not lead us to seek other arrangements which historically have proved to be unsuccessful. In fact, that should give us more reason to work with dedication and deliberate speed to complete the system.

186. We are entering a phase in which the need for new areas of international co-operation and new institutions is acutely felt. The immediate stability of the international community depends on the scope and speed with which we are able to establish this new order. In establishing new principles to guide the behaviour of States and in creating new institutions and procedures for settling disputes before they erupt, we must continue to address ourselves with vigour and imagination to removing potential sources of conflicts.

187. The need to create an equitable system of international co-operation for the utilization of the resources of the sea and the control of environmental pollution hardly requires emphasis. In particular, we cannot for long leave unregulated the question of jurisdictional claims over the sea and the resources of the sea-bed without bringing on ourselves a host of problems. It seems to us that now is the time to move forward, before claims and counter-claims are

advanced to the stage at which they can become sources of serious conflict.

188. As the international community has become more interdependent, so have the means of communication. No country today can survive without air, postal, and telecommunications links. It is a matter of growing concern to the international community that some individuals and groups have sought to disrupt orderly international life. These perpetrators of violence have not hesitated to put the lives of scores of people in serious jeopardy and to destroy life when they cannot have their way.

189. My Government condemns all such acts of violence directed against national leaders, diplomatic envoys, international passengers and innocent civilians. All of us have such a high stake in orderly international life that we cannot fail to condemn them and take appropriate preventive action. It must be clear to all of us that if such violence continues no one is going to remain unaffected. Failure to take effective and prompt international action will breed further violence.

190. My delegation believes that the question of international terrorism should be properly defined and discussed in a correct context. We had misgivings about discussing this matter without giving it sufficient precision. We were seriously concerned that an ill-defined discussion could be used by some to cast doubts on the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom and independence. It is common knowledge that the colonialist régimes in southern Africa very often refer to freedom fighters as terrorists. Nothing would give them more pleasure than to reintroduce confusion as to the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom and independence—a legitimacy which has been recognized by the United Nations. Needless to say, these misgivings persist. Nevertheless we are ready to join in all constructive discussions of the problems posed by international terrorism.

191. Finally, I should like to say that today more than ever the world needs the United Nations. Despite some of the criticisms often heard, the United Nations has been of great service to the international community. A better way to judge its usefulness would be to imagine how the world would have fared without it. What is required of us is to do our best to improve it as an instrument for international peace and co-operation.

192. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Mr. President, my Foreign Secretary had hoped to have been able to address the General Assembly on behalf of the Somali Government, but, together with our Head of State, he has been engaged in a very urgent peace-making mission on behalf of the OAU. Since the mission is in its final stage and requires his presence in East Africa, he has asked me to undertake this task.

193. He has asked me to convey to you his most sincere congratulations on your accession to the office of President of the General Assembly—an honour which you have justly earned and which does credit to your great country.

194. The principles and practical considerations which direct the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic

in its international relations have often been described in this Assembly and can be summed up as a firm belief that the structure of world peace must be built, brick by brick, on the foundations of the Charter and within the walls of the United Nations. In the past we have sometimes expressed great confidence in the ability of the world body to fulfil its mission to preserve international peace, and we have sometimes been deeply pessimistic about the viability of the United Nations. After 12 years of membership and, I believe, of fruitful involvement in international affairs, we realize that neither unrestrained enthusiasm nor undue pessimism are called for. The United Nations, like all living organisms, has strengths and weaknesses. The important thing is that it is alive. The important task for all of us is to ensure that it continues to have vigorous life. For there is no alternative besides chaos to the attempt to build up effective systems of international morality, international law and international government. As the Secretary-General has emphasized, the nations of the world cannot return to old theories of the balance of power that served different times and different conditions.

195. In a world situation dominated by the confrontation of opposing ideologies, by the gap between rich and developing nations, and by the threat of nuclear warfare, it would be folly to suppose that international affairs can be left entirely to the direction of the powerful few or to the unfettered play of national self-interest. And yet, the deterioration of long-standing problems which threaten international peace, and many of the events of the past year show that, however much the ideal of an international system is accepted in principle, in practice that ideal counts for little. We have allowed international political theory to outstrip international political action.

196. This is why, in the opinion of my delegation, the most important of the continuing items on the agenda of the General Assembly is the debate on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [item 35]. That Declaration [resolution 2734 (XXV)] is a blueprint for the practical application of the doctrine of collective responsibility for international peace. It contains the guidelines for action on every major question that comes within the purview of the world Organization.

197. The Declaration was warmly welcomed by the group of non-aligned States, of which Somalia is a member, because it stands squarely for the authority of the Charter and the authority of the principal organs of the United Nations; because it seeks to devise rules of behaviour which will eliminate the use of force in international relations; because it adds a new element to the call for general and complete disarmament by underlining the connexion between the annual world expenditure on armaments and the increasing gap between the rich and the developing nations; and because it condemns the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms caused by colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. It is in the light of the principles enunciated in the Declaration that my Government will state its views on those international issues which are the concern of all Member States.

198. My Government firmly believes that one of the strongest supports of the structure of international peace

which the world Organization is attempting to build is the expanding role of regional organizations. The OAU is engaged in the constructive task of trying to eliminate regional conflicts, of strengthening regional ties and developing regional co-operation. In recent weeks this has been clearly demonstrated in the dispute between Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, and the serious situation that developed between Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania. In the case of the former dispute much credit must go to the distinguished heads of State of the People's Republic of the Congo and of Zaire for proffering their good offices and to the Governments of Gabon and Equatorial Guinea for accepting them. The positive response of the Ugandan and Tanzanian Governments to the peace efforts of my own Government, acting on behalf of the OAU, has arrested a potentially dangerous situation and holds a great promise of restoring understanding and peaceful relations between two States which have always had a unique history of friendship.

199. One area in which international action lags sadly behind international political philosophy is the area of human rights, particularly as this concept applies to the oppressed people of southern Africa. The southern African brand of racism has been condemned by the overwhelming majority of Member States as an affront to human dignity and a crime against the conscience of the world. And yet, racism and colonialism outside of southern Africa join hands with the racism and colonialism of the minority régimes to ensure that white privilege will be maintained at the expense of the basic human rights of the non-white people. The racism that is open and unashamed within southern Africa exists under cover among the allies and trading partners of the white minority régimes. Inside and outside of southern Africa, neo-colonialism either feeds directly on the life blood of the native majority or supports the systems which so unjustly oppress that majority. Racism, expressed as the ties of kith and kin, and neo-colonialism in the form of quick returns on investments based on slave labour—these are the factors which outweigh considerations of human rights and of criminal injustice. These are the reasons why those members of the international community which are most capable of taking effective action in support of United Nations objectives for southern Africa withhold their support.

200. The charge of moral bankruptcy can indeed be levelled at the United Nations for its failure to deal with southern African problems which not only involve human rights but which constitute a threat to international peace and security. It is a sign of moral bankruptcy when the United Nations campaign to eliminate *apartheid* is weakened by the non-compliance of powerful Member States with relevant resolutions, not only of the General Assembly, but also of the Security Council; it is moral bankruptcy when the rebel régime of Rhodesia is encouraged, by overt and covert sanctions-breaking, to intensify the application of *apartheid* policies to the African people of that Territory; it is moral bankruptcy when Portugal, a country waging major colonial wars against liberation forces in all the African territories under its control, is given massive financial and military support by its NATO partners; it is moral bankruptcy when the giant corporations of certain Western Powers, with the help and complicity in some cases of their Governments, join hands

with the South African authorities in using and profiting from the infamous contract labour system in Namibia and elsewhere.

201. The situation in Namibia has, of course, the gravest implications for the authority of the United Nations because of the special responsibility of the Organization for the Territory and because of the ruling of the World Court on the obligations of States in the present situation.<sup>6</sup> My Government has already made it clear that, while it will not oppose any attempt at bringing Namibia peacefully to independence, it will always insist that certain basic principles remain unchanged. Namibia must be a single, homogeneous State, not one divided and weakened by the imposition of Bantustans. The United Nations must never relinquish its responsibility for bringing the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence and the basis for that independence must be full political equality, the elimination of all racial discrimination and equality of opportunity for all the inhabitants of the Territory.

202. The United Nations also has a special responsibility for helping the people of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to achieve independence on the basis of equal rights for all its people. That responsibility was assumed, at the request of the administering Power, when the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, imposed by its resolution 253 (1968) economic sanctions against the Territory in order to put an end to the illegal régime. It is now seven years since that action was taken, but today the Southern Rhodesian problem is as far from solution as it ever was. Indeed, the steady erosion of justice inside Southern Rhodesia seems to be matched by the erosion of some Member States' sense of moral responsibility towards the Territory. Now that the unacceptable settlement devised by Britain and the rebel régime has been firmly rejected by the African majority, neither Britain's responsibility nor the United Nations responsibility for the Territory has ended. But the recent veto by Britain at the 1666th meeting of the Security Council of an African draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia reaffirming basic principles of international action,<sup>7</sup> points to a withdrawal from earlier positions which supported the oppressed people of the Territory. The fact that Britain's friends and allies on the Security Council abstained in the vote on the draft resolution was a further abrogation and a further retreat from responsibility.

203. The African draft resolution sought first of all to reaffirm the principle of no independence without majority rule. This is a principle which is insisted upon by the true leaders of the African majority in Southern Rhodesia; it is a principle that is supported by the non-aligned group of States and had the full backing of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which met at Rabat in July. In addition, it has been overwhelmingly endorsed by the General Assembly [*resolution 2877 (XXVI)*]. I state these facts to show that in vetoing this principle—and

Member States were given an opportunity to vote on it separately—Britain was opposing the consensus of the world community. It was also, in effect, shrugging off the plea of the African people that it should not abandon them until they are firmly established in a position where they can claim the political and social rights that are their due.

204. The draft resolution also sought to establish, as a basis for a new initiative on Southern Rhodesia, that there should be a process of democratic consultation with all the people. Apart from the logic and the justice of this proposal, its necessity would seem obvious, following the complete failure of the attempt to impose a settlement that had been negotiated without any significant consultation with any of the African sections of the population or their political leaders. This eminently reasonable proposal has been rejected, as well as the call for the administering Power to seek ways of according to the people of Southern Rhodesia such accepted norms of political development as universal adult suffrage, secret ballot and the principle of "one man, one vote".

205. Britain's rejection of the principles which must be the basis for any just and lasting settlement of Southern Rhodesian problems, and the indifference of its allies, come as a shock and a cause of deep disappointment to many States, both in and outside of Africa.

206. Another disappointing aspect of the Rhodesian situation is that the United States will continue to break international law and undermine the authority of the Security Council by openly violating the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia which it is pledged to enforce. While the United States is not the only country which has broken sanctions, and its Rhodesian imports are a small percentage of the illegal trade with that Territory, it cannot be denied that its importations of chrome, nickel and other ores is the result of a deliberate decision of the United States Government and sets an example that ill befits a world Power. The United States cannot escape its position of world leadership or the responsibilities of that position.

207. The African States have always held that economic sanctions are not the only means of bringing an end to the rebel régime, but they do believe that sanctions are an important measure and that, having been instituted under the authority of the United Nations, they must continue to be enforced. It was the firm consensus of the Rabat African summit Conference that now, more than ever, the United Nations should keep up the pressure on the illegal régime so that it is forced to struggle for economic survival and to feel the discomforts of isolation. Now, more than ever, the Smith régime should be made aware that its attempts to impose the *apartheid* system on the African people of Southern Rhodesia will be opposed by the world community with all the means at its disposal. Instead what do we find? We find sanctions widely ignored, even by States which claim to observe them, and the United States justifying its open violations on the unseemly grounds that other Powers are equally or more at fault in this matter.

208. Obviously we are witnessing in the case of Southern Rhodesia the same disregard for the authority of the United Nations, the same withdrawal from responsibility on the part of those most able to take effective action, the same

<sup>6</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972, document S/10805/Rev.1.*



drift towards support for the racist régime that characterize the other unjust situations in southern Africa. My Government is convinced, however, that in the course of this session of the General Assembly the moral weight of the world community will be directed towards preventing a deterioration of the Rhodesian situation and towards reaffirming the commitment of the United Nations to the task of seeking justice for the people of that Territory.

209. The challenge presented by racism and colonialism in southern Africa as a whole has never been greater than at the present time. My Government believes that strong emphasis must now be placed on support for the liberation movements of that area. We believe it is necessary for Member States to go a step beyond the mere recognition of the legitimacy of the liberation struggle and to take positive measures in support of that struggle. We fully support the Mogadishu Declaration, adopted by the leaders of East and Central African States, which concluded that, since all avenues for a just and peaceful settlement of the problems of southern Africa had been rejected by the minority régimes, there was no way left for the liberation of the region except armed struggle.

210. There are many who belittle the role and the motives of the freedom fighters, but this can only be through the bias of racism. The freedom fighters of southern Africa are not less justified and not less heroic in their struggle than the members of the European underground who fought their Nazi oppressors in the Second World War and who are still held up as examples of courage and self-sacrifice in the cause of patriotism.

211. Moral leadership in this matter has been given by the World Council of Churches and by the grass-roots movements of individuals and non-governmental organizations in many of the countries which are southern Africa's main trading partners. It is the hope of my Government that that example will be widely followed.

212. The problems of southern Africa of course loom large in any consideration of colonialism, but it would be unfortunate if these problems were to overshadow completely the problems of smaller Territories in other areas which are also still caught up in the struggle for independence. These countries must continue to receive the attention and support of the United Nations. In addition to its interests in other colonial situations, my country has made it a cardinal point of its policy to advocate the right of self-determination and independence for the people of French Somaliland. This year two important international resolutions supporting the political rights of the people of that country were adopted by the international community. The first was in Rabat, in June 1972, when the summit conference of the OAU affirmed its support of the right of the people to self-determination and independence and called upon France to create the conditions—as France had done in the past in other colonial Territories—so that those rights could be freely, equally and fully expressed. The same resolution was subsequently endorsed by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries during its meeting in Georgetown, Guyana, two months later.

213. The Middle East question, that perennial source of violent conflict, presents another example of how the best

efforts of the world community to bring about just settlements can founder on the rock of national intransigence and can be frustrated by the determined refusal of a State to act within the framework of international law that it is pledged to uphold.

214. The retention by Israel of Arab territory, illegally seized and held since 1967, is a setback to the development of international law; it is a hindrance to the strengthening of international security. The Israelis have now publicly admitted what the world has long known, that they initiated the war of June 1967, that theirs was the first surprise attack. Even within Israel itself there is recognition of the fact that violent conflict with Arab neighbours was not inevitable and that the tensions existing then could have been reduced by international diplomacy. Armed aggression against other States, forceful and illegal territorial acquisitions, contravention of international agreements on the treatment of occupied territories, defiance of the clearly expressed consensus of the international community and of the Security Council—these are some of the grave offences against international law and order that have been committed by Israel.

215. But the root-cause of the continuing violence in the Middle East over the past 25 years has been Israel's refusal to accord to the Palestinian refugees their rights, an obligation which was clearly a condition of Israel's recognition as a State by the United Nations, an obligation which is clearly spelt out in numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and an obligation whose fulfilment is called for by Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Wrongs left unrighted inevitably create an expanding circle of violence and counter-violence. Of one thing we can be certain: there will be no peace in the Middle East until the wrongs done to the Palestinian people have been righted and until Arab territory illegally seized by Israel has been returned.

216. One of the most distressing failures of the United Nations, in the view of my Government, and one which was highlighted during the recent 1661st meeting of the Security Council meeting requested by Lebanon, is the increasing unwillingness of some members of the Security Council to put the cessation of hostilities between States above considerations of national self-interest. The recent use of the veto at the Council's 1662nd meeting by a permanent member to kill a resolution which merely called for an end to armed hostilities in the Middle East region is a case in point, and the misrepresentation of this issue by the news media in this country did nothing to improve an unfortunate situation.

217. One would think that the primary purpose of the Security Council would be to try to put a stop to hostilities, particularly when these are being carried out by the armed forces of a State over which that State has direct control. The question of what might have constituted provocation of the hostilities was a separate matter and any member of the Council was free to bring that matter before the Council. In the view of my Government—and this view has been expressed on several occasions in the past—the use of the veto to inhibit the Security Council from exercising its primary responsibility for peace-keeping was most deplorable. It was a serious blow to the development of the peace-keeping capacities of the United Nations.

218. The world-wide phenomenon of terrorism, which has many aspects, national and international, political and non-political, has become one of general concern, and the Secretary-General's initiative requesting that this matter be debated by the General Assembly [*A/8791 and Add.1*] reflects that concern. It is now, of course, widely recognized that this question is a difficult and complex one and that its study must be undertaken with certain important guidelines clearly in view.

219. Some of these have been indicated by the Secretary-General in his statement in support of his request for a debate on terrorism [*A/8791/Add.1*], and it is important that they be carefully followed. He has pointed out, for example, that the underlying causes of terrorism cannot be ignored and that a clear distinction must be maintained between terrorism and the struggle of people fighting for their freedom and independence—rights that are supported by the Charter.

220. It has been asserted by some speakers in this debate that international action against terrorism would obviously not be directed against liberation movements such as those of southern Africa. None the less, the need remains for clear-cut safeguards of the rights of those engaged in the struggle for basic human rights and for self-determination. The liberation fighters of southern Africa have been labelled "terrorists" by the white minority régimes and are considered as such by some of their friends and allies, even though the southern African liberation struggle has been declared legitimate by the United Nations. It would be a tragic blow to the cause of freedom and justice in southern Africa and elsewhere if the forces of racism and colonialism were to be given an opportunity to cover with an air of legality their harsh suppression of all who oppose their policies.

221. As far as isolated acts of terrorism which involve innocent people are concerned, my Government deplores them and holds that they cannot in themselves be condoned. But we do not believe that those acts which are politically motivated can be divorced from their root-causes when those causes include the suffering of long-standing evils which have been recognized by the international community but allowed to continue without hope of redress; when those causes have given rise to struggles that have been recognized as legitimate and when every avenue of peaceful change has been closed to those who seek justice.

222. A few years ago the historian Arnold Toynbee, on a visit to the United States, said:

"One of the most serious evils in the world today is violence. You have to shoot somebody, burn yourself alive, do something violent in order to get any attention at all, however good your cause or causes, however patient you have been, however well you have put your case. There is an absolute stone wall of indifference all over the world."

223. My Government will consider carefully all proposals that are put forward as part of the world Organization's effort to end or contain international terrorism. But it is against this stone wall of indifference to the pleas for

justice from the oppressed and the dispossessed that we would like to see the most vigorous efforts of the United Nations directed.

224. The General Assembly must view this question of terrorism with a sense of historical perspective. While the world Organization has a duty to use the peace-keeping machinery at its disposal to deal with all forms of violence, including international terrorism, it must be realized that this phenomenon is not new; it has only been brought closer home because a world which had accepted violence and terror as the natural lot of the poor, the weak and the oppressed, is shocked to see these evils applied to the rich and the successful. And where shall we place terrorism in relation to violent conflict as a whole?

225. The difficulties inherent in defining terrorism can be seen if one considers the war in Viet-Nam. That is an undeclared war; a war in which hundreds of thousands of Viet-Nameese people have been killed or rendered homeless; a war in which a small country has received, at the hands of a great Power, twice the destructive force of all the bombing that took place in every theatre of the Second World War; a war in which the senseless killing, bombing and destruction of human life and national resources go on without any end in sight. And for what purpose? For aims which in their origin were as confused as they were mistaken and which, even if they had ever had any validity, have been rendered completely meaningless by the political developments and events of our times.

226. That is not just the judgement of one small African State; it is the judgement of the majority of the nations of the world. It is the judgement of the majority of the American people. When we consider the innocent human lives that have been destroyed or damaged by so-called terrorism, let us consider also the innocent millions of the civilian population of Viet-Nam.

227. The American-made gravel bomb that killed one diplomat was designed to kill, and has killed, countless Viet-Nameese people—civilian and military alike. Is it more terrible when one such bomb is delivered by mail than when hundreds are delivered by military aircraft? Do the families of those unknown people killed by anti-personnel bombs in Viet-Nam grieve less for their loved ones than the family of someone with a more exalted status? One would think so, judging by the outcry in one case and the bored acceptance in the other. In the view of my Government, the terrorism that is being directed towards the whole Viet-Nameese people is the one that should have the highest priority for concern by the membership of the United Nations.

228. Another unsatisfactory international situation is the manner in which the United Nations continues to be involved in the Korean question. My Government is disappointed that a viewpoint based on outmoded cold-war concepts has prevailed and has once again succeeded in preventing the long-overdue debate on the Korean question. The main reason for the success of the effort to prevent the debate was the misrepresentation of the issue. It was made to appear that such a debate would interfere with the movement towards a détente which is taking place between North and South Korea, when nothing could have been further from the case.

229. The Algerian proposal [A/8752]—which was supported by my delegation—had as its aim the “Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea”, and was concerned primarily with United Nations involvement in that country. It was an effort to complement—not to inhibit or interfere with—the negotiations being carried out between the Governments of North and South Korea.

230. My Government has always maintained that the question of unification and all other internal questions can be decided only by the Korean people themselves. This is precisely why we feel that there must be a drastic review of the role of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [UNCURK] and why the anomaly of a United States force in South Korea under the banner of the United Nations should be ended. The incongruity of the continued presence of that force—which is supposed to protect the independence of South Korea—is illustrated by the fact that South Korea is itself so self-sufficient, militarily speaking, that it has been able to send divisions of troops to Viet-Nam to oppose the liberation forces of that country.

231. It is factors such as these which hinder the reunification of Korea—not a consideration of those steps which must be taken to put the United Nations in a proper relationship with the Korean people. It would have been particularly appropriate if steps had been initiated at the present time when there have not only been talks between Red Cross officials of the two Governments but also when they have taken the important step of declaring the principles on the basis of which they intend to proceed towards unification. It is particularly noteworthy that one of these principles is the desire to avoid all foreign interference or intervention by foreign forces.

232. The normalization of United Nations relations with Korea by the removal of the forces which remain there in the name of the Organization would undoubtedly hasten the process whereby old patterns of hostility would finally be eroded.

233. If the weakness of the United Nations is that it has so far made very slow progress in effecting the acceptance of new norms of morality and law in international politics, its strength is that it has been quietly and steadily promoting the concept of global co-operation in other fields. The achievements of such examples of international co-operation and planning as the third session of UNCTAD and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment may have fallen short of the goals set, but they are immensely valuable as exercises in the kind of co-operation that must eventually prevail in our interdependent world.

234. There is an increasing awareness of the fact that we, the nations of the world, are all partners in the business of planetary survival. One of the serious concerns of today which strongly necessitates a global view is the question of population, and my Government welcomes the increasing involvement of the United Nations in this area. We note also the rapid growth of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and the expansion of its assistance in population matters to over 70 countries. Every support should be given to the Fund to enable it to respond to all

requests from countries embarking upon serious population programmes.—Although not yet supported by the entire United Nations membership, the Fund has adopted guidelines which we regard as entirely correct in that it grants assistance only at the request of Governments and it does not advocate any particular approach to the solution of population problems.

235. It is often repeated that closing the gap between the rich and the developing nations is one of the ways in which international security can be strengthened. While this is yet another area where there is still a wide distance between practice and principle, yet the United Nations has set up and continues to devise machinery for closing the economic gap. What is necessary, in economic as in so many political problems, is the will to work for the goals set by the Organization—the will, for example, of the developed countries to implement the decisions taken at the third session of UNCTAD and to increase the scope of those decisions which still do not give the developing countries the equitable trading conditions necessary for economic growth and economic independence.

236. In this same context, my Government will give its support to the establishment of a revolving fund for research into, and development of, the natural resources of developing countries. The majority of the third world countries have rejected direct financial aid as a primary source of national development and seek to establish national self-sufficiency. This can best be done by the development of their natural resources. My Government hopes that when the question of the revolving fund is discussed in the Economic and Social Council it will be seen in its proper perspective: as part of the process of strengthening international peace and security through the building of economically stable societies.

237. We see that task not only in the perspective of self-interest but also from the point of view that a State must put its own house in order if it is to meet its international obligations successfully. Under-developed countries like my own are beset by a multitude of problems, chief among which are the colonial legacies of illogical geographic or ethnic boundaries; economies hobbled by restricted trade and communication patterns; non-existent or sketchily built infrastructures; and alien political and cultural traditions. Since independence, most of us have struggled through a period of continued dependence on the aid, methods and cultural impositions of the former colonial Powers. As pioneered by the leader of our own revolution, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, we in the Somali Democratic Republic are going on now to the development of national pride, to the encouragement of dependence on our own resources and to the arousing in all the people of national identity and purpose. It is my firm belief that this kind of national approach, this kind of reconstruction, is an essential basis for the carrying out of international obligations which all Member States of the United Nations have assumed.

238. In conclusion, I should like to reject, on behalf of my Government, a current view that the political issues which threaten international peace are better reserved for the so-called realities of super-Power politics, and that the United Nations would do better to confine itself mainly to

the social and economic aspects of international co-operation. While most of us, and particularly those of us who are developing countries, have benefited, and continue to benefit, from the work of the United Nations agencies, while we are grateful for the campaigns to eradicate malaria and illiteracy, it seems obvious to my Government that the surest guarantee for the enjoyment of those benefits is a United Nations which is geared to preserve international peace and security, and whose Members, large and small, accept the rule of law as set forth in the Charter. That document, after all, has shown itself to be a durable and flexible instrument. It is capable of providing the basis for action in all the great issues of our times and of the foreseeable future, whether those issues are regional or global, political or humanitarian, social or scientific. The Charter's full potential must be developed to meet the needs of our complex and interdependent world.

239. Mr. MBAYA (Malawi): Mr. President, on behalf of my President, and therefore of the Government and the people of Malawi, I wish to associate myself with the warm tributes and sincere congratulations addressed to you on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. From what we know of you, from what we have seen of your ability and from what we have witnessed of your exemplary performance in directing and supervising the debates and the discussions that have taken place so far, I can say with honesty that we could not have chosen a better President for this session than yourself. Naturally we are happy and delighted that a candidate whom we supported succeeded in being elected. The Malawi delegation will therefore continue to render every assistance and to co-operate with you in the very important task that lies before you.

240. I should like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, who has finished his term of office and returned to concentrate his many talents on the affairs of his great country, Indonesia. My delegation watched with appreciation and admiration the high standard of direction of last year's session, when Mr. Malik was its President. Once again I wish to pay our most sincere tribute to him for a good job very well done.

241. May I also take this opportunity to pay a further tribute to the former Secretary-General, U Thant, for his modesty, integrity and unassuming character which, among other things, greatly contributed to making him an ideal international civil servant. His devotion to duty and his relentless search for solutions to puzzling problems deserve our unreserved praise. Although he is no longer with us, I can assure him that we wish him continued health and much happiness in the years that follow his well-earned rest and retirement.

242. To the new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we extend our heartfelt appreciation for his performance which, so far, has revealed that his ability and experience as a former diplomat and Foreign Minister of a medium-sized neutral country is, indeed, an added asset to his credentials. He can count on our co-operation and support in the discharge of his duties, as his country did when he was being considered for election.

243. We are meeting here in the Assembly to try and find solutions to the many problems facing the world today.

The very fact that we are meeting and airing our views contributes very considerably to reaching a stage where different points of view can be listened to, considered, analysed and decided upon. Clearly what decisions we arrive at in regard to the many problems we will discuss may represent no more than a consensus of views and ideas from different human beings exposed to different environments, circumstances, philosophies, and so on, all of which are factors influencing their thinking. It is in that context that all that I shall say with regard to the problems we are currently facing should be viewed.

244. Malawi is in southern Africa. It lives with the problems that are inherent in the political climate and situation that prevail in the region. What we are going to say here is not based on what we have heard and read from expatriate scholars or journalists who are regarded by most non-Africans as specialists or experts on African affairs, but on what we have seen and experienced.

245. The Government of the Republic of Malawi wishes to associate itself with Member States in expressing sincere appreciation for the manner in which the United Nations has continued to address itself to the chronic problems of southern Africa. It is a matter of deep concern to us that, despite those efforts, southern Africa remains a problem area and, as such, a continual threat to international peace and security. As one of the countries that believe that international peace and security are necessary prerequisites for the economic development and social progress of any nation, Malawi will continue to exert its efforts towards the achievement of peace and the creation of a political climate that is conducive to economic development with its concomitant social progress and the resultant happiness for mankind.

246. We believe that, basically, the problems of southern Africa have been those of decolonization and racial discrimination. Although our Organization has discussed and debated those problems for the past two decades or so, so far little conspicuous success has been achieved that could directly be attributable to the rhetorical efforts of the United Nations. It was as a result of that realization that we began an earnest search for a possible solution that could be either supplementary or alternative to all previous attempts at resolving the problems in question.

247. Malawi's approach to the question of racial discrimination has not changed. We are as opposed to it as any Member State here present. However, we are convinced that the most effective and positive way to combat such policies is to seek changes in people who hold such attitudes—by example, by persuasion and by social contacts, as well as by diplomatic exchanges. It is in an attempt to initiate those changes that Malawi has formulated and consistently followed the policy of contact, dialogue and association with the rulers of southern Africa. Indeed, it was in that spirit that my President paid a State visit to the Republic of South Africa in August last year—a visit that was reciprocated in March this year.

248. During these visits much was discussed about what diplomats term "matters of mutual interest". What these matters were must be left to diplomatic discretion but suffice it to say that some aspects of them involved



discussions of problems between black and white South Africans from all walks of life. We followed this method of approach because we feel that it is more effective to tell Governments about one's thinking concerning their policies through contact and quiet diplomacy than through mere rhetoric from a distance. Indeed, we are happy to say that, since we embarked on our policy of contact at different levels of the political and social strata, the racial situation in South Africa has shown some signs of slow but conspicuous change. This method may be slow in producing appreciable results, but we feel that it is more positive, more effective and more peaceful than are isolation, denunciation and force, which would lead to bitterness and long-lasting hatred among all the parties concerned.

249. On the future of the Trust Territory of South West Africa, we welcome the major break-through that has been made through the efforts of the Secretary-General in opening up a dialogue with the Government of the Republic of South Africa. The fact that South Africa is willing to talk to representatives of the United Nations is in itself a positive development towards finding a solution to the problems of southern Africa. In wishing the Secretary-General's representative every success, we sincerely hope that a just and equitable solution will be found which will lead to the attainment of self-determination under a government acceptable to the majority of the people of that Territory.

250. As for the Portuguese Territories in Africa, Malawi has continued to have discussions with the Government of Portugal, particularly in regard to Mozambique. We believe that only by talking to Portugal, by persuading the Portuguese Government that its lasting interests lie in a Portuguese commonwealth formed of free and inter-dependent sovereign States, and by proving that what happened in Brazil can easily be repeated in Africa can a greater impact be made with regard to changing the attitudes and mentality of Lisbon.

251. It is not without significance that some change of attitude is taking place in Portugal's colonial policy. I know that in some quarters the change has been interpreted as a token gesture to quell criticism. But our Organization would be doing the Government of Portugal an injustice if it did not recognize this change as a political step with great potentialities.

252. By "changes", I am referring to the recent constitutional legislation which the Government of Portugal has just promulgated in its Organic Law.<sup>8</sup> It has been learned that, according to these changes, the Portuguese Territories of Angola and Mozambique will no longer be referred to as "provinces" but as "states", which implies organic separation from metropolitan Portugal. In addition, legislatures are said to be in the process of being established in each State, with the membership of the legislatures to be drawn from all races of the local population. It is probably plausible to argue that for the first few years the elections to these legislatures may not meet the basic tenets of the principle of "one man, one vote". However, we hope that whatever qualitative standards Portugal may prescribe as a

prerequisite for membership in the legislatures will be such that they will be able to be improved to a point where Angola and Mozambique can become cosmopolitan States in the style of Brazil, so that people of all races can in those countries genuinely regard those States as their own.

253. On the question of Rhodesia, it is a matter of great concern that the deadlock still continues. But in reaffirming our conviction that the Rhodesian problem is primarily a British responsibility, we wish to express the hope that the door to negotiation will remain open and that all efforts will be made to induce the two sides to come to the conference table again.

254. There is no dispute among States Members of this Organization that what is required in the Rhodesian problem is a constitutional arrangement which will prove to be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole and which will eventually lead to the attainment of democratic independence. There are those who still register their impatience because force has not been used by Britain against Rhodesia. They insist that only boycott, isolation and force will bring the Smith régime to its knees. In this regard, Malawi's position has not changed. We are still opposed to the use of force against Rhodesia, both from a practical point of view and from a consideration of simple military logistics. Similarly, economic sanctions are not very effective unless they are comprehensive, mandatory, effectively supervised, and complied with by all States. Indeed, isolation and boycott have only helped to make the Smith régime more intransigent, and the victims of this have been mainly our African brothers.

255. Malawi believes that different tactics should now be used if the Rhodesian crisis is to be solved. We remain convinced that the responsibility of everyone who would like to see an acceptable solution to the Rhodesian crisis is to assist the British Government in every possible way in its search for constitutional changes acceptable to the majority of the Rhodesian people.

256. If we move from southern Africa and come to the next area to the north of us, we arrive in Uganda, where a lot has happened recently. While we respect the right of the Government of that country to initiate and execute its policies in the way it sees fit, I think most of us are agreed on the fact that the hardship and the distress now being experienced by Ugandan Asians holding British passports must be a matter of concern to humanity at large, in the context of some of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

257. I am making this point because during the eight years that we have been privileged to be a Member of this Organization we have heard time and again that, while certain Governments in southern Africa have the right to legislate on matters that concern their countries and territories, the effect of their legislation and the practices arising therefrom are matters of concern to the whole world. Surely, what is unjustifiable in respect of one country must equally be unjustifiable in respect of any other country. If we in Africa are not to be accused of double standards, we must view world problems in an objective perspective and act accordingly. It is for this

<sup>8</sup> See Ministério do Ultramar, *Organic Law of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces, Law No. 5/72, 23 June 1972* (Lisbon, Agência-geral do Ultramar, 1972).

reason that we in Malawi did not consider it proper to comment on what the Government of Uganda found it necessary to do but, nevertheless, we found it desirable to open the door of our small country to some of the suffering members of humanity, so that the modest resources at our disposal could be utilized by some of those people who we believe, and sincerely believe, were in need of help.

258. We are also aware that problems that seem localized in nature have in reality great implications for international peace and security. The problems of the Middle East and South-east Asia, and the German question, are such that this Organization cannot afford to disregard them. In the Middle East, we would like to see Security Council resolution 242 (1967) implemented. This is because one of the most important aspects of that resolution is that the parties concerned were asked to establish contacts, under the auspices of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, in order to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement. Although these efforts by the Organization have so far not been as successful as originally anticipated, we feel that through contact it will be possible to come up with some acceptable compromise if the parties concerned avail themselves of Mr. Jarring's services. We are not underestimating the seriousness of the problem in the Middle East, but if the States in the area are to live in peace with each other, it is essential that contact and dialogue be established between the two groups.

259. With regard to South-east Asia, Malawi has always maintained that the parties involved should together find ways and means of coming to acceptable answers to the problems that prevail in the area. We are pleased to note that the Paris peace talks on the question of Viet-Nam are still going on and that North and South Korea are slowly establishing contacts aimed at solving their mutual problems. It is our hope that these efforts will not have been made in vain, but that some solutions will be found to the almost chronic problems of the area. We are as anxious to see a solution to these problems as are the parties concerned.

260. The German question has been with us a long time now. However, this does not mean that the world has lost hope for an answer to the problem. It is gratifying to know that the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin was signed last year and was aimed at lessening the tensions created by a divided Berlin. We feel that this was a landmark agreement that may be a remarkable beginning towards finding answers not only to the question of Berlin and Germany, but also to some of the most pressing questions on the continent of Europe.

261. Last but not least, we appreciate all the efforts being made by some of the major Powers in an attempt to make this world a safe place for mankind. We hail with great enthusiasm the contacts established between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. We welcome the continued dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States. Indeed, we cannot remain indifferent to problems that affect the well-being of humanity.

*Mr. Trepczyński (Poland) resumed the Chair.*

262. These problems involve international peace and security. If the United Nations is to devote ample time to

the problems of colonialism, discrimination and other conflicts, it should operate within a world that is relatively free from the dangers created by such things as the arms race. This is why my Government regards the question of the arms race and disarmament as one of the most important prerequisites for the maintenance of international peace and security. Thus Malawi has followed the progress of the various conferences and talks on disarmament with great interest.

263. Malawi would like to see progress in respect of bilateral as well as multilateral agreements leading towards complete disarmament. There is, indeed, a great need for more information and publicity regarding the question of disarmament so that Member nations could be kept informed about developments that are taking place. We are aware that, although this Organization and a few other well-intentioned nations are striving hard to reach an agreement over the question of disarmament, there are still obstacles to an acceptable agreement for complete disarmament. Malawi would like to appeal to those concerned to rethink the matter and to align themselves with the wishes of all mankind for the sake of peace and security, which would eventually create a favourable atmosphere for the implementation of measures dealing with the problems of disease, hunger and poverty. We believe in a policy of contact and dialogue in order to achieve this end. Malawi believes that a settlement can be achieved not through the show of arms, but through peaceful coexistence for the maintenance of peace and security, the cardinal principles of this Organization.

264. Malawi has also noted with satisfaction the destruction of bacteriological weapons by some Member nations and hopes that many of those which own such dangerous and destructive weapons will do the same. It is hoped that the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI)*] will help to make many nations destroy what they already have and completely stop the manufacture of such weapons.

265. We welcome the progress made by the United States and the Soviet Union on the bilateral Strategic Arms Limitation Talks for the limitation of the production of certain arms and the destruction of at least some of the stockpiles of such dangerous weapons. We hope that reason will prevail. It is time that mankind began to be convinced of the futility of the existing arms race.

266. I should like to state also that Malawi would like to see the observance by all nations of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. For this Treaty to be fully meaningful, all of its provisions must be fully implemented and the proliferation of nuclear weapons must stop. Greater efforts should be made towards the application of nuclear energy for peaceful uses as well as for the exploration of outer space for the benefit of all mankind.

267. Before I come to the end of my address, I want to thank the Assembly very much for its patience in listening to my country's views on some of the most pressing problems of our time. On my part, I wish to put on record

that my delegation has been enriched by the deliberations and will continue to benefit from the views of representatives gathered here during this session. May the spirit of contact between nations and the communication of ideas practised here in this Assembly find an echo in the world that we by our joint efforts represent!

268. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, in electing you to preside over its twenty-seventh session, the General Assembly has asserted its confidence in you and no choice could have been more justified. This is a further recognition of your great country, with which Algeria enjoys privileged relations of friendship and co-operation, a country that has constantly been respected at each milestone in the history of man. But it is also a tribute to your personal worth.

269. In your delicate post you succeed Mr. Adam Malik, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, a sister and friendly nation, as close to our hearts as it is distant geographically. We would venture to tell him again how proud we were to co-operate with him and to express our admiration for the invaluable contribution he made to the prestige of the Organization.

270. For the first time, a familiar figure is absent from our debates. U Thant stepped down with all the modesty and simplicity to which he had accustomed us. However, we cannot forget his great contribution to the Organization, and we take this opportunity to express to him our gratitude for the constant devotion with which he served the cause of peace and understanding among peoples.

271. Algeria is gratified that the General Assembly elected, to succeed U Thant and to continue his work, the new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whom we wish to assure of our friendship and whole-hearted co-operation. Mr. Waldheim has, we know, one of the most difficult of all tasks, but he will bring to bear the qualities of heart and mind which we know him to possess, for by the force of circumstances he is called upon to share our worries and assess the scope of our real problems. We know in advance that we can count on his understanding and sympathy. And because we are aware of the weight and complexity of his responsibilities, he can be sure today as at all times that we will support him and assist him when we can.

272. The last session of the General Assembly began under the symbol of hope and understanding, but the year that has elapsed has only confirmed the apprehensions then voiced at length from this rostrum. In fact, at a time when a healthier atmosphere seemed progressively to prevail in the relations among the great Powers, increasingly serious crises were affecting other parts of the world.

273. Without prejudging the true motivations of the great Powers in overcoming the obstacles of the cold war, we had hoped that the evolution of the world would take a new tack, where the fundamental principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations would finally be fully implemented, to the benefit of the international community as a whole.

274. Unfortunately, everyday reality dispelled that illusion. Everything contributed to strengthening that am-

biguous tendency in international affairs which develops on two levels: on the one hand, the priority given to the harmonization of relations among the more advanced nations; and on the other, the complacency when it is a question of settling crucial problems confronting the peoples of the third world and bearing on their very survival and the elementary respect for the human person.

275. This is a basic contradiction. It undermines an international system which we are trying to free of the sequels of the post-war period. The initiatives taken to this end are confronted with the tacit acceptance of the law of the strongest and the rewarding of aggression. Furthermore, aggression seems to have a chosen arena—inevitably and always the third world.

276. The changes during the last few years in relations between the East and West indicate a promising period of evolution. These changes, because they have done away with the difficulties of confrontation and favour the appearance and strengthening of new poles of attraction, should have encouraged a true democratization of international relations.

277. The conference on European security and co-operation, which is seen as the embodiment of this evolution marked by its first step, the agreement on Berlin, has been followed by the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union and Poland with the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet-United States summit conference, and the partial agreements on strategic weapons, surrounded by a framework of scientific and trade co-operation. Furthermore, the establishment of a dialogue between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China and the establishment of new relations between China and Japan all create conditions conducive to a détente in Asia.

278. Thus we are witnessing everywhere a change in the outmoded structures on which world balance earlier rested. The process started in Europe will, of course, have repercussions on international relations as a whole. Such a change in the framework of discussions among partners belonging to different social, economic and political systems will obviously raise complex problems. However, the agreements which must necessarily be arrived at should not be oriented towards a redistribution of responsibilities whose consequences will once again be borne by the third world. Such a fear is all the more justified since the European détente might be reflected in an increase in tension around Europe, and, more specifically, in that Mediterranean which, because of permanent Zionist aggression, appears to be the favourite battlefield for confrontation between the two super-Powers.

279. Beyond the military alliances and their implications, the rivalry of the super-Powers keeps an area where they do not belong in a state of growing tension because of the movements of war fleets, the strengthening of bases, political pressures and economic blackmail.

280. Being a Mediterranean country and naturally concerned at what happens around it, being a non-aligned country which does not look forward to a mere equidistance between the two extremes since it is concerned about everything that touches justice and peace, Algeria works

constantly for agreements among States that seek to guarantee their security and safeguard their independence within the framework of a regional solidarity that might discourage greed and attempts at foreign domination. Basically our efforts are directed towards peaceful purposes and co-operation.

281. Within these prospects the policy of fraternity and good neighbourliness pursued by Algeria with all countries of the Maghreb, since it has eliminated factors of dissension, constitutes a significant contribution to the détente in the western Mediterranean region. The involvement of traditional interests between the countries of Western Europe and the countries of the Maghreb ought to lead the former to a more correct assessment of the price paid by countries to maintain an independence that was so dearly bought by all despite the changes in the world and through the complex play of interests and to maintain a rhythm of development which has made Algeria into a dynamic and serious nation. The necessary definition of new relations between a Europe that is eager to reconstruct itself and Algeria will serve as a test for future relations not only between the European Economic Community and North Africa, but also between the more advanced nations and all those that are doing their utmost to eliminate the after-effects of colonial domination.

282. It appears that our twenty-seventh session has opened in an atmosphere of particular excitement. Among and around us our debates have suddenly acquired a certain resonance. In other circumstances we might well have rejoiced at the renewed attention given by public opinion to our work here and drawn the reassuring conclusion that once and for all we had overcome the indifference and skepticism which thus far had been shown the Organization. Exploited for emotional and doubtless painful reasons, certain phenomena of the national resistance of a people have been isolated from their true motivations, from their objective context, from their primary causes. What is called terrorism and what, under other skies and in other circumstances, has stood for the very symbol of the vitality of a number of peoples represented here, peoples once oppressed by colonial domination, has now by some unknown conjuration of fate become a shameful stigma and naturally—according to some—a manifestation of barbarism. Therefore, when it is a question of countries which have suffered war for decades, where technological power has become the very instrument of violence, when it is a question of countries which suffer from colonialism and racial segregation, by some chance part of international public opinion seems unable to see things clearly or to differentiate between the aggressor and the victim of aggression. Need I stress again that in the world of today revolutionary violence, wherever it appears, is only the condemnation of international society and of the unjust order which prevails? Thus terrorism is not an evil in itself. It seems rather to be a symptom of the diseases afflicting the world of today. It is these diseases that we must dig out if we want, once and for all, to establish a balance that will be freed of fear and violence, because it will be based on justice among men.

283. No one is so great as to stand up as an apostle of violence, but no one can be so strong as to condemn violence when it is placed at the service of justice and

freedom. Unfortunately, the world will be dominated by violence for a long time to come: violence in the behaviour of States, violence in the behaviour of individuals. And mankind seems to be condemned to live in constant fear. Yesterday it was fear of a nuclear confrontation between the super-Powers which might have degenerated into a general conflagration and thus wipe out the human species in one fell swoop. Today it is terror caused by peoples pushed to the limit of patience who, doomed to a slow death, to genocide, to disappearance, to diaspora, might well drag the rest of the world into their holocaust. That is assuredly a mature stage of the diseases of contemporary society, which highlights the urgency of devising a cure. We have, of course, been asked to adopt immediate measures to fight against I know not what sort of international terrorism. Could we then simply wipe out the symptoms of the disease without resolving to eradicate the taproots? If the problem of violence can itself raise, indeed justify, controversies and arguments, then the struggle for national liberation, the resistance of a people, remains today as in the past not only a right but a legitimate and sacred duty. In this specific case, to be imperative and fair, revolutionary violence is the justification of existence itself.

284. Can we merely speak of violence without thinking first of the situation in the Indo-Chinese peninsula? There, American intervention has reached unprecedented intensity and dimensions. Meanwhile, in its declaration of 11 September 1972, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam submitted proposals which were both new and constructive. Without doubt they represent an appreciable contribution to the effort it is making to achieve a just and lasting solution of the Viet-Nameese problem. In proposing the creation in South Viet-Nam of a provisional government of national concord with three equal and united components entrusted with handling matters during the transitional period and organizing truly free and democratic general elections, the Provisional Revolutionary Government has again given proof of its will to find a solution to the internal problem of South Viet-Nam that will guarantee the right of self-determination to the Viet-Nameese people while at the same time offering the United States and its allies a chance to put an end to their political and military commitments in honourable conditions.

285. Obviously this would allow the vicious circle to be broken, and although the Algerian problem of 10 years ago and the Viet-Nameese problem of today are not really comparable from the point of view of origin, nature or scope, nevertheless the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government are reminiscent of the procedural agreement that was arrived at in Evian with our French partner; that agreement enabled the administering Power to disengage itself with honour and the Algerian people freely to decide its future by means of a referendum of free and democratic self-determination organized by a provisional executive body. Thus Algeria achieved sovereignty and became a country deeply attached to its national independence but open to the widest international co-operation.

286. In the same way, in Cambodia, peace is still conditioned by respect for the sovereignty of the Khmer people through the return to legitimacy represented by the Royal Government of National Union of Prince Sihanouk,



which effectively controls the country and, accentuates daily the isolation of the Phnom Penh régime, the maintenance of which is assured only by the presence of forces of aggression. Furthermore, it is clear that the Government of Prince Sihanouk is the sole authentic representative of the Khmer people and it is as such that the non-aligned nations re-established its rights among them during the Georgetown Conference. That decision is a prelude to the victory of the Khmer people; it will lead the United Nations to consider the problem of the representation of Cambodia at the right time.

287. Similarly, in Laos, the solution dictated by events as well as by law remains linked to the constitution of a government of national union, as guaranteed by the Geneva Agreements of 1954, which assure to the patriotic forces of that country their rightful and legal place.

288. Still on the continent of Asia, so beset by tribulations and war, the beginning of the dialogue between North Korea and South Korea has come as a reminder and a warning to our Organization. We should give all initiatives taken towards defining the principles for the peaceful reunification of Korea free from any foreign interference the immediate attention and support they deserve. By encouraging the process which is now under way the United Nations will undoubtedly recover its prestige, tarnished during the quarter of a century during which it has served as a disguise for the intervention of the imperialist American forces and their allies. Be that as it may, the United Nations must no longer act as a cover for a military presence which it cannot control, or keep alive a commission which manifestly can never carry out its mandate.

289. The dangerous evolution of the situation in the Middle East lies at the very root of the passions which have been unleashed. Should we really be surprised that things have reached such a pitch when the effects of the Israeli aggression still exist, when the Arab territories are still occupied and the decisions of the Security Council remain a dead letter, despite the remarkable efforts of Ambassador Jarring? The time spent in the search for a peaceful settlement has only resulted in the aggravation of the consequences of the 1967 aggression. Israel has made good use of that time for its policy of conquest and provocation, carrying out a systematic zionisation of all the Palestinian lands and occupied territories belonging to sovereign States Members of the United Nations.

290. Assured of impunity and benefiting from the support of the United States of America, Israel arrogantly spurns anything that does not fit into the framework of its expansionist policy. In these conditions, what can the international community do but assume its responsibility to ensure the application of its decisions? What else can the Arab peoples do but fight for the liberation of their national territory? What else can the Palestinian people do but struggle everywhere and by all possible means to reaffirm its existence, impose recognition of its national identity and recover its usurped homeland?

291. Be that as it may, it is to turn one's back on reality to imagine that a settlement can be found in a balance of forces or by horse-trading in the demarcation of frontiers. Aware that they play a part in world affairs, the Palestinian

people know today that no just and lasting peaceful solution can be devised without them, and certainly not against them. The international community also bears a weighty responsibility in that situation, but it, too, can contribute to making a settlement easier by taking into account the legitimate claims of the Palestinian people. The problem is far from simple. But that surely is not sufficient reason for ignoring it. It is not only the fate of an entire people that is at stake: it is stability and peace in that crucial region of the world.

292. The meetings held by the Security Council in Africa gave rise to perhaps exaggerated hopes on the African continent. But the specific interest shown by our Organization in the problems besetting Africa is itself an encouragement to the movements of national liberation that are struggling against Portuguese colonial domination. For once, the leaders of those movements were allowed to explain and define the situation prevailing in their respective countries and the progress they are achieving in their just struggle. The trust that they have placed in the international community should be echoed, but not merely by pious sympathy and inapplicable or ineffectual resolutions.

293. Colonial domination, racial segregation and *apartheid* are also elements that generate trouble and violence. This is true all over the world whenever racial prejudice rears its head among men in their relations or among peoples in theirs, but the phenomenon acquires more alarming proportions in southern Africa where *apartheid* has been raised to the level of a governmental policy openly applied. The many condemnations of South Africa, and universal condemnation too, have done nothing to change the attitude of the régime of Pretoria, which finds in a policy so in keeping with its racist concepts, an easy and fruitful way of ensuring increased material prosperity for the white minority.

294. As far as we Africans are concerned, this situation became worse when the régime of Ian Smith set itself up in Rhodesia. It strengthened the régime of South Africa and extended to that entire region of the continent the practices of *apartheid* and of racial discrimination. We are aware that the international community as a whole expressed its indignation at that rebellion, that it decided to combat it and to refuse to recognize the independence of Rhodesia until the African majority enjoyed its most legitimate rights and was able to assume its rightful role in the administration of the country. But seven years have elapsed and no satisfactory result has as yet been achieved. The Salisbury régime becomes stronger daily despite the economic sanctions adopted against it by the Security Council, and despite the efforts at negotiations with it on the part of the British Government. The latest of these efforts ended in an open failure, made public in the report of the Pearce Commission.<sup>9</sup> That report made clear the fact that the Africans in Rhodesia have a clear-cut awareness of their position and the way in which their future should be decided. If any lesson is to be drawn from these constant failures, it is that the problem of Rhodesia cannot be solved by discussions with the rebels of Salisbury, but rather by

<sup>9</sup> See *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, Cmnd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

giving the African people of Zimbabwe the chance to express their views and to defend their claims. It is with their authentic representatives that their future must be discussed, and it is only with their agreement that a true solution to the problem can be found. The African countries have made proposals along these lines to the Security Council. In that other question, the culpable veto of Great Britain cannot disguise, and far less minimize, its responsibilities as an Administering Authority.

295. Through the struggles for national liberation, through the joint efforts of the independent countries of Africa in the OAU, our entire continent, with determination, is continuing its work of political and economic emancipation. But Africa is still wide open to foreign interference. The entities created by the colonial Powers to ease their withdrawal within the policy of decolonization today appear lacking and not adapted to the present situation. The systems they set up at that time could naturally be swept away in the groundswell of a youth that is aware, argumentative to an extent but insistent on what it wants, if they are not corrected and revised in time, or rather if they are not completely overhauled with serious far-sightedness, taking into account the transformation taking place and the need to re-establish relations of co-operation.

296. The failure of the third session of UNCTAD has added another reason for disillusion. This frustration is all the greater since certain problems that were considered ripe for decision in Santiago still await decision.

297. One could accept as encouraging the fact that the developing countries forced recognition of the idea of their participation in the study of a new international monetary system. But in this as in other fields, the satisfactions are more formal than true.

298. Surely, we can expect nothing from a situation where the overwhelming majority of the countries are kept outside the discussions and are expected to be satisfied with acquiescing in, and suffering the consequences of, the decisions adopted in their absence and, at times, to their detriment.

299. In the same way, the right of sovereignty represented by the recovery of natural resources should not and cannot be the subject of a challenge in the disguised form of insistence on huge compensations that cancel out the advantages of nationalization. Natural resources are an integral part of the national heritage. It is clear that in many cases their nationalization must lead to equitable indemnities, yet the volume and modalities of these can be fixed only by the domestic legislation of each country. Any outside pressure, regardless of its origin, where it cannot be termed pure and simple interference in the domestic affairs of a State, nevertheless betrays the existence of a neo-colonialist effort and thereby constitutes real economic aggression that international institutions must denounce unequivocally.

300. Ten years ago Algeria, finally liberated, acceded to sovereignty and for the first time took its seat in this august Assembly. It came in, fully confident since it knew that here it would find precious friendships that had been forged in trials and tribulations, and because they were inspired by

the same aspirations that had led the Algerian people to make so many sacrifices.

301. Naturally, in the history of nations, 10 years of international life can be regarded as nothing but a beginning. Yet these 10 years have been devoted, with the same faith, with the same ardour and with the same determination, to safeguarding the ideals of justice, of freedom and of peace set forth in the Charter and to promoting the economic and political progress of the Algerian people. I do not have to dwell here on the virtues of peoples. Like all others, the Algerian people has devoted itself to a constant search for its own specific path, drawing inspiration from its national realities, and to the definition of a code of conduct based upon understanding and co-operation among peoples.

302. Having suffered so much from war, who better than we can appreciate the benefits of peace? Having been so long kept in colonial limbo, who better than we can be attached to national independence? Naturally you can well understand the pride of my country at being selected to act as host for the next summit conference of the non-aligned nations, and this at a time when more and more important countries of the third world are represented among them. The strengthening and constant widening of non-alignment have revealed the awakened awareness of these countries and their desire to play their part in, and bear their share of, international responsibilities. If it is true that the emergence of non-alignment resulted from the separation of the world into blocs, it is equally obvious today that that political attitude is self-defining and not only by reference to some outside yardstick. Non-alignment does not lie in the choice of one position as opposed to the centres of decision that are alien to it; that would be a static position which might be justifiable in certain circumstances, but would necessarily be subject to challenge by any change in the international balance. Non-alignment today is increasingly becoming a voluntary commitment in international action and carries within it its own potential of dynamism and effectiveness. Henceforth it defines a line of force among the components of the international system, and must enjoy participation in the creation of any stable and lasting world balance.

303. Within the United Nations, the major meeting place of all nations, and together with other non-aligned nations, Algeria will continue to seek to ensure that international institutions, far from being playthings of circumstances and of the interests of the strong, must truly and objectively reflect the concern of all peoples and bear within them the safeguards for a future of justice, of progress and of peace.

304. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have now heard the last speaker in the general debate. Before I call on representatives wishing to exercise their right of reply, I give the floor to the Secretary-General.

305. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. President, I thank you for giving me the floor for a few minutes to allow me to express my sincere gratitude to the heads of delegations who, during the general debate, have found kind words for me and for whatever I might have been able to achieve during my first nine months in office.

306. Your expressions of confidence are very important to me, for I take them as a token of your understanding for my difficult task. These first nine months have given me ample evidence of the extreme complexity of the problems with which the Secretary-General is confronted. I have done everything I could to cope with them to the best of my ability and in the interest of the Organization and its membership. My sole goal is to labour for the success of our Organization in which people place so much hope.

307. I shall continue to spare no efforts to make the United Nations relevant to the challenge of our time and I pledge to do my best, with your help, to come nearer to the common objectives which unite us in this great Organization.

308. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now give the floor to representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

309. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): I venture to crave the indulgence of the Assembly to say a few words for the benefit of the representative of Sweden, in order to allay, if possible, his fears concerning the political situation in Greece, fears arising from the fact that it is not shaped according to the models approved in Sweden.

310. Having listened to his brief sermon, I came to one very clear conclusion: the accusations levelled against us, which were prompted by political opportunism, were aimed, in the final analysis, only at satisfying an embarrassing domestic parliamentary extremism. I wonder, nevertheless, whether such a biased motivation can serve as a plausible excuse for attacking others in this Assembly. Exporting one's domestic difficulties and laying them at the door of third parties is in no way a courageous act; neither is it in conformity with the rules of fair play. It is no more than a publicity stunt in poor taste, and of more than doubtful political wisdom.

311. But what seems to me still more disquieting is that the representative of Sweden seems to have lost sight of the fact that this Assembly is not a political forum, like the Council of Europe, and that Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter formally prohibits Member States from interfering in any way in the internal affairs of others. May I recall in this regard a very recent statement by the President of this Assembly, at his press conference on 19 September, stressing the following:

“... I think that the United Nations would not play its role properly were it, on the pretext of defending human rights, to interfere in the internal affairs of States, affairs which are being regulated according to the law existing in a given State, and according to the regulations and laws which are generally considered as being within the domestic jurisdiction of a State.”<sup>10</sup>

312. It is, furthermore, obvious that the introduction in this forum of certain methods reminiscent of a ritual tolerated in other regional organizations would constitute, to say the least, an unheard of innovation, in that it could

well end up, through chain reactions, in exceedingly disagreeable situations. For by opening the flood-gates, by permitting a quasi-internationalization of matters that essentially fall within the sole purview of Member countries, which in turn would inevitably lead to the reopening of certain matters of recent history, one might well reduce the debates in this revered forum to a kind of free-for-all, to the detriment of the prestige of our Organization.

313. In conclusion, may I remind the representative of Sweden that Greece has always been and remains the cradle of true democracy, which has nothing to do with prefabricated models of the North Viet-Nameese type of “Democratic Republic”, which it appears enjoys the approbation, nay, the appreciation, of Sweden. But we do not see any valid justification for the representative of Sweden using the podium of this Assembly to appoint himself censor of the régime of Greece in flagrant violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Besides, these so-called democratic recipes do not appear in the lists attached to our bilateral trade agreements, since they are goods exclusively intended for domestic consumption. They are not therefore exportable to Greece, even as samples of no value. In brief, the Greek people can do without Sweden's opinions, opinions which are too self-interested to be interesting. Furthermore, the Greek people in the course of its long history, from Thermopylae down to our own days, has never hesitated to place itself unconditionally in the vanguard of the defence of freedom, including the freedom of most of our present critics.

314. Mr. President, I apologize for taxing the patience of the Assembly on a matter which falls outside its jurisdiction. I should like, however, to assure you that I have no intention of returning to it.

315. Mrs. DE VINCENTI (United States of America) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation of the United States, to which I have the honour to belong, and as a Puerto Rican American citizen, I must totally and energetically repudiate the statements made by the Cuban representative that Puerto Rico has not yet achieved self-determination. I vehemently object to his continued interference in the internal affairs of the United States and Puerto Rico.

316. It is a great irony that the representative of Cuba should have made the statements he made today in this hall. Perhaps the representative of Cuba, whose people have not seen a ballot box in their country for more than a decade, simply does not understand the meaning of the free electoral process as well as of other democratic institutions which mean so much to Puerto Ricans. It is shocking that it is the representative of a Government which does not allow the exercise of any freedom to the people it is governing, who questions the freedom of the people of Puerto Rico, where freedom is fully guaranteed to all citizens. Were the representative of Cuba to want in any way to disagree with his Government he doubtless would have had to seek asylum in the United States or some other country, for he certainly would not be able to return to his own.

317. In Puerto Rico we know the meaning of self-determination, which we have enjoyed and continue to enjoy; and we know from our own living experience the true

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in English by the speaker.

meaning of freedom. For us, freedom is not just a word; it is a means to an end—and our end is freedom, with well-being, and justice, freedom to ensure a daily improvement in the life of the people of Puerto Rico.

318. Time and time again the people of Puerto Rico have spoken through their free elections; time and time again they have demanded that Cuba cease its interference in our internal affairs. Must the people of Puerto Rico continue to be subjected to the slander we have heard today? These slurs are intolerable and degrading to the people of Puerto Rico and to their free and democratic institutions. Must this Organization continue to listen to such warped judgements and to such malicious statements regarding my people's ability to see and decide the issues for themselves?

319. As a Puerto Rican and as an American citizen, I must categorically reject the deliberately distorted and uncalled-for allegations and the calumnies and slander of the representative of Cuba.

320. Mr. WICKMAN (Sweden): The representative of Greece has complained that my speech earlier today [2062nd meeting] represented interference in the internal conditions of his country, which are outside the competence of the United Nations. I must state that our Organization is engaged in the consideration of problems of human rights and has set up a Commission to deal with such problems. My reference to Greece was placed in the context of United Nations involvement in problems of human rights. I have no further comment to make on the statement of the representative of Greece.

321. Mr. CALERO-RODRIGUES (Brazil) (*interpretation from French*): It is really a pity that it should be necessary at this very late hour to waste my time and that of the President and the Assembly. Unfortunately, I am constrained to do so because of the references made today by the representative of Cuba to my country. I cannot pass over in silence his insulting references.

322. First of all he said that Brazil was a Fascist tyranny; he then said that we were torturers, and, if I understood him correctly, that we were junior partners of imperialism. I regret that I am unable to quote him more specifically because he did not carry his taste for efficiency to the point of circulating the text of his statement, as most other delegations have done.

323. "Fascist tyranny": "Fascist" is a very ugly word which corresponds to a very ugly historical reality. One should not misuse adjectives. Any tyranny, Fascist or otherwise, is bad enough in itself, but Brazil is not a tyranny. A country is not a tyranny when its Government and people work together towards development, which is our common objective.

324. The representative of Cuba found four Fascist tyrannies in Latin America—he could probably have found more if he had taken the trouble. He said that we were torturers. The Government of Brazil has, on several occasions, already denied those accusations. They are absolutely not true. We are not partners in any imperialism; we are partners—yes, indeed—of countries which are working for development. We have friends everywhere,

among the developed and the developing countries. Those are our partners. We accept any partner who is willing to work in the same direction as ourselves.

325. There is one more point that I should like to make. Much has been said about the need for dialogue in the world. We are sometimes asked: "Why not in Latin America too? Why do you continue to rule out one particular country from your inter-American community?" The reply was given to us today by the representative of Cuba. He said that he did not want dialogue, because for him dialogue is possible only with those who are prepared to accept his ideas. He repeated that Cuba's intentions are still to export revolution and subversion. He has told us that he does not want dialogue; so let us take note.

326. In conclusion, I know it is Mr. Alarcón's wont to try and have the last word. So far as I am concerned he can have it. I here and now disavow all accusations, old or new, that he may make or repeat, as well as all the distortions he may make of my words. Whatever he says will not be any truer because he speaks last.

327. Mr. LONG BORET (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Once again I have to resort to my right of reply, and I do it with regret since I have already had to come to this rostrum twice to put before the Assembly the true situation prevailing in my country. However, today the representatives of Cuba, Mauritania and Algeria seemed to feel constrained to echo the imposture and the farce that contend that a group of exiled traitors is the legitimate government of my country.

328. When speaking of territorial control over Cambodia it has been alleged that the so-called government-in-exile of the traitor Sihanouk controls 80 per cent of Khmer territory. Where, then, does the truth lie? I have already stated from this rostrum that there is no army or force of the so-called Sihanouk Government on Khmer territory. There may be some elsewhere, outside the country, but not on Khmer territory. The only army on Khmer soil is the army of our aggressors and those aggressors are called the North Viet-Nameese and the Viet-Cong.

329. I was open and frank enough to inform the Assembly in my lengthy statement of 29 September last [2047th meeting]—and I do not disguise the fact—that my country is at present invaded by aggressors who occupy one third of the territory; one third of our land is in the hands of the North Viet-Nameese but not of the forces of Sihanouk, which do not exist in Cambodia. One seventh of our population, about 1 million of our inhabitants—of our inhabitants—are forced to live under a régime of terror imposed by the invaders. That is where the truth lies.

330. But a second question, and perhaps the more significant one, seems to be whether a government-in-exile that may be composed of 20 or 30 persons, say, can be considered the legal government of a country. In what treatise or manual of international law—could it be a Cuban book?—can one find such criteria whereby a government-in-exile can be considered the legal government of a land? Pursuant to what law is a government elected by universal suffrage in accordance with the provisions of the national Constitution not considered a legal government?



331. However, we know that there is no one so blind as he who will not see, and there is no one so deaf as he who will not hear. It is significant to note, however, that those who interfere in our domestic affairs come from continents far distant from our own. Our Asian friends have never challenged the legality of our government. But for self-centred interests, or from political expediency or opportunism, it has been decided to challenge our Asian realities and deliberately to sacrifice the future and the fate of a tiny peaceful people. However, the vituperation of a representative here will not change by one iota the situation in my country. We know that we are strong in our rights, in the legality of our stand, and that is why the Khmer people continues, and will continue, to fight heroically against those invaders, against those real aggressors, to safeguard the existence of our national integrity and our dignity as Khmers. In the long run, regardless of adverse propaganda, we do believe that truth will out—and is that not the hope of all peace-loving people and justice-loving nations?

332. Mr. GUEVARA ARZE (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is unfortunate that once again I have to go back to the words of the representative of Cuba to say that they by no means reflect the truth of the situation in my own country. Once again the representative of the Government of Cuba, assuming the title of supreme judge, has spoken one way or another of my country and it is obvious that his words constitute an interference which my delegation must vehemently reject for two main reasons, among many others.

333. The first reason is that never has a representative of my country—and the Foreign Minister himself spoke from this rostrum [2055th meeting]—at any time referred to the domestic problems of the Republic of Cuba; and the second is that, as others have pointed out, the Charter of the United Nations itself states that in the General Assembly of the United Nations there shall be no discussion of the domestic affairs of any country. We have complied with that provision of the Charter and have felt that it ill-behoved us to discuss, describe or talk about what has occurred in Cuba or in any other country; and we demand the same from other representatives. Our domestic problems are the problems of Bolivian citizens and we categorically and vehemently reject any allegations or any interference with them.

334. Since I have asked for the floor, I will say that the statement of the representative of the Government of Cuba is totally inaccurate in the light of well-known objective facts which are known all over the world. It cannot be a tyranny or a dictatorship if the Government allows freedom of both the domestic and the foreign press. In Bolivia newspaper correspondents write what they wish to write, and daily articles are published against the Government; foreign correspondents write and send out dispatches without censorship, without control, without limitation. A Government cannot be called a dictatorship when it possesses a Constitution which is in force and where there is a legal régime in force which is applicable to all citizens without any discrimination, especially political discrimination. When I say "legal régime", I speak also of such typical institutions of democratic countries as the right of *habeas corpus*, which exists in Bolivia and is invoked.

335. One cannot call a Government a dictatorship or a tyranny when there is no limitation on freedom of movement, when no one needs to ask for a permit to go from one place to another, when there is freedom to carry on whatever work or profession one wishes, or none, if he so desires.

336. The Government cannot be called a tyranny or a dictatorship if, in the country concerned, the problems of the political parties which together with the armed forces compose that Government, are openly discussed in the full light of public opinion, as is obvious to anyone who peruses the Bolivian newspapers of the last few months. I am not speaking only of the differences between the two parties, though there are historic divergencies between them which are still being discussed and thrashed out, openly and in the light of public opinion, but each party, too, has internal disagreements that are also discussed openly and publicly, in the newspapers, over the radio and otherwise through the mass media.

337. To contend that a country where these facts are a matter of daily occurrence is a Fascist dictatorship is, to put it mildly, an open contradiction of the facts which are open to world public opinion. The trouble is that the Government of my country is going through a period of transition largely attributable, among other reasons, to external circumstances and foreign interferences which, when they took place, did not lead to our supinely allowing ourselves to be oriented or pressured by them. Throughout the long history of Bolivia—which is one filled with upheaval and disturbance, as is the case with most developing countries—there has never been, and I trust there will never be, any acceptance of, or complicity in, a situation where problems within the country are managed directly or indirectly from outside. There may be—there is in fact—economic dependence, as is the case in so many developing countries, but what you will find is that the population of Bolivia does not allow its internal affairs to be guided, decided or even settled from outside.

338. It is precisely an endeavour of that kind that created a situation that might be termed a provisional one. But, despite the momentary nature of that situation, basic, fundamental freedoms for its citizens are still continued; constitutional government still exists; and freedom of the press, of movement, of work and of thought are respected and maintained. We trust that the Bolivian people will resolve soon once again to take up the reins of its own Government and its own destiny.

339. In these circumstances, my delegation must therefore vehemently reject the allegations of the representative of the Government of Cuba.

340. Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): In the course of yesterday's debate, the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan made a statement [2060th meeting] concerning a region of Pakistan, asserting that it had been made a part of Pakistan against the wishes of its people. My delegation has no wish to enter into polemical exchanges with the representative of a country with whose people we have had from time immemorial the closest fraternal relations. But it is our duty to put it on record that the assertion made by the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan does not represent the correct position.

341. The Pakistan delegation had occasion to state its views on the subject during the general debate at the twenty-sixth session [1963rd meeting, para. 194]. That position need not be reiterated.

342. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): I wish I did not have to come here at this late hour to take your time, but I thought it might be taken as a discourtesy if I completely ignored the statement made by the representative of Pakistan.

343. In the speech made by the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan yesterday, as it appears in the verbatim record, he said:

"The right of the people of Pakhtunistan freely to choose their own destiny was denied them when the classical form of Western colonialism ended in the Indian subcontinent . . . The land of Pakhtunistan, in spite of not being part of the subcontinent, was added to one of the two new States without its inhabitants having been accorded an opportunity to exercise freely their right to self-determination." [2060th meeting, par. 17.]

I am here mainly to reaffirm and reiterate fully that position stated by my Foreign Minister.

344. Then my Foreign Minister stated clearly that:

"It is our hope that the question of Pakhtunistan will be solved on the basis of the right of self-determination for the Pakhtun and Baluchi inhabitants of that land." [Ibid., para. 16.]

I emphasize the words "It is our hope that the question . . . will be solved on the basis of the right of self-determination".

345. I want to say just one or two more words. The representative of Pakistan, referring to positions held by Pakistan in previous sessions, has just now spoken of the close relations between the people of Afghanistan and his country for so many centuries. I agree with him. But this is a relation between peoples. The injustice that has been done was done by the Government of Pakistan. We have the same sentiments, the same fraternal brotherly sentiments towards the people of Pakistan. I am quite sure that if things were left to the people of that country, justice would be done. We hope that that country will one day be in a position to achieve this, for their own good and for the good of that region of the world to which all of us belong.

346. Secondly, I should say that we have not, and never have had, double standards. We base ourselves on the right of self-determination. I think that Pakistan will not be able to tell us that it does not believe in the right of self-determination. I challenge it on this point. If it wants to have the same right in its own interest, it should not violate it against the interests of other people.

347. As we have stated, Afghanistan is not a stronger country than Pakistan so that it could interfere in the latter's domestic affairs. We are not so powerful a country. But again, there is a question of standards, and double standards. If we misinterpret or allow a wrong interpre-

tation of interference in the domestic affairs of another country, I do not think that we, along with Pakistan, will be able to argue justly against Portugal when it makes a claim of that kind. The issues are not different.

348. I do not wish to add anything at this moment, and I hope that our brothers in Pakistan will realize, as they do in their hearts and minds, that we, too, want to have better relations with them—but not at the cost of the interests of our people, who were a part of our country and were severed from us by a colonial Power.

349. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Once again the representative of Cuba has used the general debate to degrade it and to indulge in his preferred activity, that of interference in the domestic affairs of other States. But we are not surprised at this, nor are we really upset, because of the old saying that one does not offend because one wants to; one offends because one can. I do think he might have saved his breath for better purposes than those of systematically violating the Charter of the United Nations.

350. However, at this point, and although he did not really intend it this way, the representative of Cuba has performed the task of clarifying matters because, thanks to his words spoken to this Assembly, we now have an official statement as to who organizes, who supports and who plans the subversive groups spread out over Latin America, which he calls movements of national liberation. But as he himself has proved, they are mere instruments of international interests. In other words, willingly or unwillingly, they serve as instruments of infantile and adventuristic micro-imperialism.

351. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the course of the statement made by the representative of Cuba this afternoon he referred to my country and my Government, in what he thought were offensive terms. However, offences are taken in the context of their origin, so that in this specific case I shall not honour the references of the speaker with a formal reply. I shall limit myself to saying that we, the Paraguayans, follow our own road, true to our own history, to our own destiny and in the full unfettered exercise of our sovereignty.

352. Those who wish to insult us may do so; those who wish to splash us with the mud of their insults may do so. But I proudly say that we are not affected, and if I have come to the rostrum now to say these words, it is only out of the high respect which we have for all the other delegations present in this hall before whom the words of the representative of Cuba were mouthed. And so I say that with this, let the chapter be closed.

353. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): If I am not mistaken, about half a dozen speakers have seen fit to refer to my statement of this afternoon. To comply with your extremely cogent suggestion, Mr. President, that we abide by the decision of the Assembly to conclude our general debate before midnight, my delegation has taken part in this tourney, it is no longer because we feel that now, since the United States delegation has taken part in this tourney, it is no longer necessary for us to reply to the representative of the

Cambodian Lon Nol or to the other Lon Nols who have taken their turn.

354. Today it was given the General Assembly to witness another example of the diplomatic style of the United States Government. In previous years we have seen a parade here of movie stars, cosmonauts, clowns of different social activities, all playing roles as representatives of the United States. Today the delegation of the United States was good enough to confirm to this Assembly the colonial nature of its relations with Puerto Rico, bringing to the rostrum Mrs. Rivera de Vincenti, an American citizen, and very proud of it as she said, repeating thus the usual practice of other colonized Powers of previous years.

355. If the delegation of the United States considers that this sort of manoeuvre is going to confuse anybody in the Assembly, then really it lacks the most elementary respect for the representatives of countries in the Assembly. For many years we have seen persons who were born in Angola and Mozambique present at these sessions and they too, with great pride, asserted their love for Portuguese citizenship and their loyalty to the Portuguese colonial system. This year, suffice it to glance at Portugal's seat to see that the tradition has been kept up.

356. Thus far the United States Government had not taken the same colonialist and traditional path, but we must thank it for having selected this session to confirm its stand on Puerto Rico—that the United States Government's relationship with Puerto Rico is identical to that of the Portuguese towards Angola and Mozambique.

357. My delegation would have thought that having undertaken that long trip from San Juan to New York, Doña Julita—who was nominated by President Nixon to round out the North American delegation to the present session—might have given us a more detailed explanation, with arguments and views that might have enriched the debate on the colonial situation of Puerto Rico, or told us something about the situation of that Territory. We would have been interested to meet her and to watch her in the debate, simply to ask her some questions so that representatives could make up their own minds regarding that degree of self-determination and freedom enjoyed by the people of Puerto Rico according to the Government of the United States and its representative here this afternoon. Within the colonial structure of Puerto Rico—if I am not mistaken—Mrs. Rivera de Vincenti occupies the post of Secretary of Labour. Let us see, Mr. President, if she is any more the Secretary of Labour of Puerto Rico than you or any other representative present here, or than any of the public that is watching our discussion from the gallery for that matter.

358. She has no authority whatever, under the existing legislation of the United States, on any problem dealing with relations between trade unions and employers, which are decided and determined by a Federal Board set up by the Government of the United States. She lacks all authority to decide and determine minimum salaries in Puerto Rico. She has nothing whatever to do with the unemployment problems that affect 30 per cent of the Puerto Rican labour force—or, so that we may not be accused of altering the facts, I shall go by what the colonial

authorities themselves say: approximately 15 per cent of the labour force. She lacks all authority to deal with problems of discrimination, which affect Puerto Rican emigrants living in this country, who constitute a third of the entire population of Puerto Rico. Apparently she has nothing whatsoever to do with strikes which occur in that Territory. Her presence here, her jaunt to New York has merely confirmed this again.

359. I have before me a telegram from the North American news agency, UPI, dated 29 September—a date when Doña Julita, now here in New York, was having cocktails with other representatives in her capacity as a North American citizen—which states the following with regard to a strike that had started at the *San Juan Star*, the only Puerto Rican newspaper published in English: "The present strike is the twelfth one taking place now in the area of San Juan". I must interpolate here that later strikes occurred and the number rises to about 20 now. I return to the telegram: "There were only two days this year, 15 and 16 January, when there were no strikes in Puerto Rico".

360. It is interesting to note that in the midst of such a situation: in a Territory where every day but two this year there have been labour strikes and conflicts, the distinguished Secretary of Labor is able to absent herself for three months to come to New York and participate in the work of this Assembly. The reason is extremely simple: she has nothing to do with these problems that are dealt with as usual from Washington by the North American authorities, and just as they sent the Secretary of Labor on this trip, they might well have sent the rest of the Puerto Rican Government, starting with the Governor himself, yet everything would have remained exactly the same back home.

361. However, my delegation was surprised this afternoon because we would have thought that she would come to this rostrum, as I said before, to give us some views or some basic elements to enrich the debate on the Puerto Rican case. But, frankly, this declaration that was circulated to representatives at the Assembly and almost the entire text of which was read by her—a text which represented an appreciable effort of translation into Spanish of the declaration made at the beginning of last month by Ambassador Bush, although in defence of our language and that of the Puerto Rican people, a language which they have retained for so many decades, we might have preferred a wording that was somewhat different from a mere literal translation from the original—that text, as I said, was already known to us from the lips of Ambassador Bush himself. That is why we cannot interpret the operation which took place this afternoon, of sending a Puerto Rican lady here in order to reread to the General Assembly something that has been read before, as anything but an effort to denigrate the Puerto Rican people, an effort to affect the image of the Puerto Rican people in the eyes of the world, and to make it appear as though that is in fact the people of Puerto Rico.

362. In conclusion I should like to add the following. In the statement I read this afternoon I spoke of an agreement of the Special Committee on decolonization. It was that body, entrusted as it has been by this Assembly with implementing the anti-colonial Declaration in resolution

1514 (XV), which defined the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence. As everybody knows, that decision of the Committee followed a request or initiative submitted previously by Cuba. When Cuba asked the United Nations to examine the case of Puerto Rico it did not rule it out that Doña Julita, or any other spokesman for the present status of the island, or any other Puerto Ricans proud of a nationality imposed upon them by the United States contrary to the unanimous vote in the House of Representatives of Puerto Rico—and since this historic fact does not appear in the English texts circulated by the North American delegation perhaps the proud representative is not aware of this detail; but that fact, nevertheless, is registered in the annals of history—might come to the United Nations and make their case as petitioners when the Puerto Rican issue is considered in the appropriate bodies of the United Nations. Then, in this hall or any other, we might be very happy to hear Doña Julita speaking on her own behalf and not by disposition of Mr. Nixon, not coming from the United States table, not obeying the orders of Ambassador Bush, not reading faulty translations of statements originally drafted in English and previously read by Ambassador Bush, but rather speaking instead as a Puerto Rican, even if to say with pride that she abides by and applauds the colonialism imposed on her country.

363. That is and has been the position of the Cuban delegation, and now it need only state that we reject this colonialist manoeuvre played out once more on the stage of this Assembly, where the administering Power of a Territory it has oppressed for 74 years—an administering Power which has never before sent a representative of that people to speak here on their behalf—is trying to make the world believe that an oppressed people, a colonized people, a people whose rights have been denied them throughout history, is satisfied with colonialism.

364. Neither that manoeuvre nor any other attempt to convince the Assembly that colonialism is pleasing to the Puerto Rican or any other people will ever succeed with the majority of the representatives. Cuba holds a far higher opinion of this Assembly. Cuba has far more respect for this Assembly. Therefore we reject this deplorable spectacle.

365. Mr. KLUSÁK (Czechoslovakia) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, the Czechoslovak delegation is compelled to exercise its right of reply in connexion with the statement made this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden [2062nd meeting]. We regret that the representative of Sweden, a country with which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is prepared to develop proper relations based on the principle of peaceful coexistence—as it is with the other Scandinavian countries—thought it necessary to make references here concerning Czechoslovakia, which we can only consider to be an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of a State Member of the United Nations, contrary to the principles of the Charter. However, we were not surprised by this, because it is not the first time that the representatives of Sweden have acted towards Czechoslovakia in the manner we witnessed this morning. It is regrettable that on this occasion the rostrum of the United Nations was used for such a purpose.

366. Thus, it is all the more necessary for us categorically to reject insinuations of that kind as completely unfounded and as distortions of the reality of present-day life in our country and of the life of our people, as any visitor to socialist Czechoslovakia can see for himself if he observes and reflects objectively and without prejudice.

367. If we are going to discuss Europe in the United Nations it would surely be preferable to discuss it in connexion with the general trend towards détente, and not to arouse artificial conflicts where none exist, but rather to adopt a positive, constructive policy based on consistent recognition of the undeniable fact that there exist countries with different social and economic systems.

368. The Czechoslovak delegation intends to adopt the same approach to this matter as it adopts to other important questions in the work of the United Nations.

369. Mrs. DE VINCENTI (United States of America) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am sorry that I have to take the time of representatives who have been here for many hours, but I cannot leave this hall without referring to what I consider an insult on the part of the representative of Cuba, not only to the people of Puerto Rico and to the people of the United States but to myself, whom he does not know.

370. As I understand it, the statements made by the representative of Cuba were completely out of order. He was discussing personalities, and he tried to turn this into a political forum. Practically all the speakers who have preceded me have pointed out that one of the tactics of the representative of Cuba is to drag in all sorts of alien and outlandish subjects.

371. I shall not explain to you why I did not give you all the information he asked for, in order to enrich the debate. I did not do so because I do not believe this to be the right place for it; I did not do so because the case of Puerto Rico is not on the agenda at the moment; I did not do so because I am not going to give him the satisfaction of continuing to speak of something that is not his business or falls within his competence. He should be more concerned with problems of his own Cuba and should leave Puerto Rico alone. We do not want his intervention; we do not need it.

372. I think it is he who has been disrespectful to this Assembly, when categorizing the persons who came here as clowns or artists, as though it were a crime to be a clown or an artist. I think that the representative of Cuba could show a little more respect for human beings, and for those who do not think as he does.

373. I shall not tell you at this moment that all he said was a tissue of lies. I have all the necessary authority to deal with labour-management relations. I have, in fact, personally participated in the settling of most of the strikes that have taken place in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico and the Minimum Wages Board of Puerto Rico have full authority to fix minimum wages for those industries whose sphere of action is only in Puerto Rico. As regards the unemployment rate of 30 per cent which he mentioned, perhaps the representative of Cuba is misinterpreting and is thinking of Cuba



and not of Puerto Rico, which has never had such an unemployment rate.

374. He says that I lack authority to regulate immigration into the United States. Naturally we are citizens of the United States. We do not need visas. We do not need permits. We do not have to pay anybody to give us a permit to enter or leave Puerto Rico or the United States of America. Therefore there is no need whatsoever to regulate immigration.

375. For the benefit of the representative of Cuba, let me say that there have been many strikes in Puerto Rico and that I, as Secretary of Labour, am proud of the fact that this has been the case since it means that there is democracy in Puerto Rico, that Puerto Rico is a free country. It also means that the workers in Puerto Rico can express themselves, which they cannot do in Cuba. I am sure that there has not been a strike in Cuba in the past 10 or 12 years, simply because the workers are not allowed to express themselves. Consequently I am very proud that last year we had 107 strikes because that means that all the workers in Puerto Rico can claim the rights which are not possessed in other countries of the world. And, also for the information of the representative of Cuba, who said that there were only two days without strikes, I should say that those two days were in January.

376. My nomination to the Assembly was on 19 September, and when a person possesses authority and knowledge, when a person knows managerial administration, that person does not have to be at her office 24 hours a day or seven days a week. The proof of a good administrator lies in being able to leave the office and yet have everything continuing as it should, because that shows that there is organization and that we have the will and the authority to do what we have to do.

377. I shall not follow the representative of Cuba in bandying words. I shall merely recall the words of the representative of Brazil, who said that because one is the last to speak it does not mean that he speaks the truth or that he is to be believed.

378. I believe that before the representative of Cuba continues to speak of the case of Puerto Rico he should really learn about the situation in Puerto Rico and not let his mind become poisoned by what he has heard from only one side which is a tissue of lies. All he did by coming to this rostrum deliberately to insult a lady he has not even met, was to lower his own standing.

379. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am sincerely sorry that the representative of the Government of the United States has now left the hall, since I was going to start by recognizing publicly that her second statement, obviously a more spontaneous one, one obviously not hamstrung by the text of the translation of Ambassador Bush's earlier speech, was a much more eloquent and interesting statement. I should like to make something very clear however because, in a very demagogic way, she stressed the fact of her being a lady and also touched on respect for human beings.

380. I said—and I repeat—that one of the consequences of the United Nations action on Puerto Rico would be that

Doña Julita, or any other Puerto Rican, those who are so proud of their American citizenship, would be able to come to the United Nations, as she herself has done. For many years we had no Puerto Ricans here, as you know. But they will be able to come here and not sit behind the nameplate of the United States, nominated by President Nixon; they will not have to follow the orders of Ambassador Bush, nor read texts badly translated into Spanish in the United States Mission. They will be able to come in a much more respected position, in a fashion that would recognize far more their personal attributes and prerogatives, for that is the way Cuba would like to hear Doña Julita from this rostrum, but not in the lamentable way she was forced to express herself today, by decision of President Nixon, and following orders from the State Department and Ambassador Bush.

381. Furthermore, among other original sallies, she accused me of making this forum into a political forum. Well, I think this allegation does not really call for an answer. All the representatives of sovereign States who, 27 years ago, created the United Nations knew full well that the hope was that their creation, that the Assembly would become the most important political forum of the Organization.

382. The representative of the United States talked about respect for human beings. Although in her statement she limited herself to justifying Yankee policy in Puerto Rico, my delegation cannot today pass over in silence the fact of a representative of the imperialist Government of the United States coming to the rostrum here—however much of a lady she may be—to speak of respect for human beings. She represents a Government that has respected neither persons nor houses nor plants nor animals; that has not respected any form of life, of civilization, of culture; that has spread death and destruction to entire populations. Even today, the General Assembly heard, through a representative who spoke this morning, of some of the hateful manifestations of that policy of destruction and of complete contempt for the lives of persons and things.

383. My delegation thought that the United States delegation when mounting the rostrum would try to reply to the torrent of denunciations made by the immense majority of the Assembly of the brutal aggression against the people of Viet-Nam. We have a cable here that dramatically and vividly depicts the events that took place today in Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, where the fifty-ninth large-scale bombing against the population of the capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam took place. This time the bombing took place in the very heart of the city, causing damage and seriously wounding diplomatic representatives, including the representative of the French Government in that country and an Albanian diplomat.

384. To speak of respect for human beings is a demagogic way of appealing to the noblest feelings of the human beings congregated in the hall. But respect for human beings is something that one certain Government has no right whatever to speak of here or anywhere else whilst it continues to commit the most abominable crimes against the Viet-Nameese people.

385. It is truly sad; it is deplorable; it is a veritable insult to the people of Puerto Rico and to all the combatants in the world that it should have been a Puerto Rican voice that was raised in the service of that criminal imperialism, that genocidal imperialism, that imperialism that has scattered death and destruction all over Indo-China—that came to this rostrum to speak naively on behalf of the United States about respect for human persons.

386. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The general debate which opened the twenty-seventh session of our Assembly has now come to a close. A record number of speakers—125 in all, including two Prime Ministers, two Deputy Prime Ministers, and 99 Foreign Ministers—representing States in all parts of the world, have expressed their views on the great international issues. From this rostrum has been heard the voice of States, small, large and medium-sized, on which the Charter of our Organization confers, on a footing of equality, the right as well as the responsibility to seek and define the paths of mankind towards peace, security and a better future.

387. The speakers have brought out the events which in the course of the past year have contributed to the détente and thereby strengthened the prospects for fruitful international co-operation in the important areas for the development of the human community.

388. Yet the debate has not failed to bring out the darker aspects of the world situation, or to demonstrate that on certain essential problems there are differences of view, differences even of interpretation of the concept of common interest, the concept which should guide our efforts.

389. For my part I draw constructive conclusions from this debate. It is in the diversity and even in the differences of views that the reality of the United Nations expresses itself, the United Nations upon which it is incumbent faithfully to reflect the contradictory trends which exist in today's world. The role of the world Organization is not to conceal this reality under a flood of generous words, but rather to seek means and solutions which will enable all peoples to advance towards a more certain future. The notion of peaceful coexistence, which takes account of differences while making it possible to lay the foundations of international co-operation, offers a realistic solution to the problems posed by the complex aspects of our globe.

390. A preponderant feeling also emerges from the discussion which has just been concluded in this Assembly; I refer to the hope created by the spirit of détente and dialogue, a hope whose breath is now patently perceptible throughout the world. Of course the expression of this feeling has often been tempered—and quite rightly so—by our anxiety over grave problems and international disputes. Suffice it to mention in this regard the Viet-Nam war, the crisis in the

Middle East, the problems of colonialism, racism and violence, as well as the other questions of overriding importance to which the representatives participating in this Assembly have referred in the course of the general debate.

391. The hopes to which a just assessment of the move in international relations towards dialogue and détente give rise are therefore cautious hopes, tempered by a realistic conception of current problems, but hopes no less optimistic for all that.

392. As the representative of a European country, I am happy to be able to state that the move toward détente and the common quest for a peaceful future in our region have helped to create this favourable climate. The efforts of the Eastern European, as well as the Western European, countries are aimed at ensuring lasting security and increased co-operation both on the regional level and as regards the relations of European States with those of other regions of the world. These efforts have not only been noted in the general discussion, but have also received broad support and encouragement from the representatives of many States.

393. The General Assembly is now fully embarked on the most intensive phase of its work. I hope that the enlightened and constructive spirit which has prevailed since the opening of the session will facilitate the search for fruitful solutions to the numerous and difficult problems which are still on our agenda.

394. Before closing the general debate, I should like to take this opportunity of warmly thanking all the speakers who have expressed kind sentiments about myself and who have extended from this rostrum their congratulations on my election.

395. I should like in particular to express my gratitude for the many expressions of friendly feelings towards my country, the People's Republic of Poland.

396. I can only repeat that I regard the honour you have done me in choosing me as President of this General Assembly as a mark of esteem for the peaceful policy of Poland. I ask you to believe that Poland is very appreciative of this recognition of its contribution to the cause of peace and that everything that has been said from this rostrum in tribute to my country has touched its people deeply.

397. Your President will therefore continue to the best of his ability and with your assistance and friendly co-operation to serve this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, so that the work it accomplishes may have fruitful and lasting results for all the nations of the world.

*The meeting rose at 9.10 p.m.*