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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. PAZHWAQ (Afghanistan): It is a great pleasure for me to congratulate you, Sir, in the name of the delegation of Afghanistan, on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are extremely happy to see that this year the work of the General Assembly will be directed by an eminent son of Latin America, a continent whose people have always stood steadfastly at the forefront of the struggle for freedom and emancipation. Their long history has always demonstrated their determination to associate themselves with all progressive forces for building a world free of discrimination and injustice. Added to these qualities of Latin America, your personal qualifications and your vast experience and knowledge confirm us in our belief that under your guidance this session of the General Assembly will fulfil its great responsibilities.

2. I should like also to extend the sincere felicitations of the delegation of Afghanistan to Mr. Trepczyński of Poland, who skilfully guided the work of the General Assembly during its past session.

3. It is with great pleasure that we welcome the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and greet them in the family of nations. We have traditional friendly ties and relations with the great German people. The history of our relationship is one of close co-operation in the economic and cultural

spheres. We are confident that their joining the United Nations contributes to the strengthening of this Organization and peace and security in the world. They have already set an example in the field of international relations by their policy of peace and conciliation. In fact their admission will enhance this spirit in the world Organization.

4. I wish also to extend the congratulations of the Afghan delegation to the delegation of the Bahamas on its admission to membership in the United Nations. The admission of the Bahamas exemplifies a triumph of the will of people in the process of self-determination, a cause which Afghanistan has consistently supported in all parts of the world.

5. My Government welcomes the independence of Guinea-Bissau and declares that it has been recognized by Afghanistan. The sacrifices endured by the people of Guinea-Bissau in their protracted fight against colonialism have not been in vain. It is a source of gratification for us to witness today the great victory achieved by the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau in establishing their independence and in freeing their country from alien domination. We wish the people of Guinea-Bissau success and prosperity.

6. On 17 July 1973, a great fundamental, institutional change took place in Afghanistan. The monarchy was abolished and a republic was proclaimed. The objectives of the newly created republic, supported by the genuine aspirations and democratic traditions of the Afghan people, are to promote the material and spiritual development of its people and to create a new society founded on justice and equality for all citizens without any discrimination, to allow all Afghans to participate fully and responsibly in the affairs of their country, and to curb the forces that have hitherto hampered the realization of these aspirations. The Republic aims at establishing a trustworthy security within the country that would permit sound and positive economic, social and cultural reforms, and pave the way for political, economic and cultural advancement. This requires the mobilization of all available resources and energy in all fields in the interest of the people.

7. Therefore, the new order has the full and sincere support of the majority of the people. As soon as a new constitution is promulgated, one that will reflect the true aspirations of the people and will extend democratic rights and liberties for the progress and evolution of society, elections will be held in accordance with its provisions, based on the principles of democracy.

8. To overcome economic backwardness, the Government is determined to take new measures as rapidly as possible to bring about basic changes, to create a national economy through effective planning based on modern

science and technology and founded on the principle of full sovereignty over its natural resources. Great importance is attached to the encouragement of national industries, handicrafts and arts and to their protection against competitive foreign products.

9. Since ours is mainly an agricultural country, the new régime, as a major step in its programme to bring about fundamental progress, will institute land reforms in the interests of the majority of the people.

10. In the social field, the situation is in no way compatible with contemporary conditions in the world. Therefore, new programmes for social reform are contemplated, particularly for improving working conditions and the standard of living. A progressive and democratic labour law will be sought to secure the protection of the individual and social rights of industrial and agricultural workers. New and effective steps will be taken for creating equal opportunities for Afghan women in all spheres of life: economic, social, political and cultural.

11. The founder of the Republic, Mohammad Daoud, in his statement of 23 August 1973, said:

"It is evident that economic and social progress are closely linked with fundamental reforms and the establishment of a true democracy. . . . Therefore, Afghanistan, keeping in view the changes in the world, should have a progressive domestic policy."

12. In the international sphere, Afghanistan will remain a peaceful country and will consistently follow the policy of peaceful coexistence with countries pursuing different social systems, and will firmly continue its policy of non-alignment and non-participation in any blocs or military pacts. It will maintain its adherence to and respect for the Charter of the United Nations. It will seek the strengthening of amicable relations with all peace-loving countries in the economic, technical and cultural fields.

13. The new Government attaches the utmost importance to maintaining and creating relations based on the principles of justice, mutual respect and neighbourliness with countries with which we share the same region. The good neighbourly ties of friendship with our neighbour to the north, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, are unflinching. We have friendly and sincere relations with our other neighbour, the People's Republic of China. We have always had neighbourly relations with Iran. I sincerely reciprocate the friendly remarks of the Foreign Minister of Iran in his statement in connexion with the relations between our two countries [2127th meeting, para. 188]. With regard to our relations with Pakistan, I must say that, regrettably, our political differences regarding the issue of Pakhtunistan and the restoration and respect of the inalienable rights of our Pakhtun and Baluchi brothers, remain unsolved.

14. The question of Pakhtunistan, which has emanated from a refusal of Pakistan to recognize the legitimate demands of over 7 million people separated by the military force of a colonial Power from their fatherland. Afghani-

stan, is a national issue. We shall seriously endeavour to find a peaceful and just solution of this problem. A just solution is one that would conform to the best interests of Afghanistan and Pakistan in bringing peace and progress to the entire region. We believe that any solution should be sought on the basis of the will of the people and on international justice.

15. We have strong traditional bonds of friendship with India and Bangladesh. We are desirous of strengthening further these bonds in the interest of mutual co-operation and permanent peace in the region.

16. In the wider sphere of international relations, the Republic of Afghanistan will adhere to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and will continue its unfailing support of its aims and objectives.

17. We shall pursue our policy of political, economic and cultural co-operation with the third world. We are most desirous of following our policy of mutual respect and friendliness with all nations of the world, big or small, near or far, east or west, without discrimination against anyone.

18. The situation in the Middle East is a great source of concern to Afghanistan. The most strategic region of the world is still in a state of war. The resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly remain unheeded. All peace efforts to head off a conflict have virtually come to a standstill. The creeping paralysis of the mandatory resolutions of the Security Council—and not only with respect to the Middle East, but also concerning vital decisions taken on Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies and the situation in South Africa—is eating away at the very foundations of the United Nations as the custodian of both the rule of law and the goal of peace. Peace efforts, particularly those made by the non-aligned nations, have been vetoed and the prestige of the United Nations is threatened even as a symbol of international morality.

19. The occupation of the Arab territories by Israel and the toleration of the acquisition of land by force does not imply the toleration of injustice to the Arabs alone, but threatens the very security of all small countries in all regions of the world. It is inconceivable to expect any peace in the Middle East unless the Israeli forces are withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories.

20. It is true that nothing really effective in peace-keeping can be achieved without the unanimity of the big Powers. But it is most difficult to understand the position of some big Powers that demur from implementing and enforcing the very decisions for which they have voted. The resolution on the Middle East unanimously adopted on 22 November 1967 [Security Council resolution 242 (1967)] is a classic case of this ambivalence.

21. Our position on the question of the Middle East and our full support of the Arab cause and the aspirations of the people of Palestine for the restoration of their undeniable rights has been made clear on all occasions and in all international gatherings.

22. At the last summit conference of non-aligned nations,¹ we called for the strongest measures to be taken in connexion with the implementation of the Security Council resolution, including the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people as a basic prerequisite for the establishment of a lasting peace in the area. We emphasized the necessity of the individual and collective measures to be taken against Israel, not only by the non-aligned nations but by all Member States of the United Nations, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Here, in this Assembly, we emphasize once again that the unanimous recommendations of the non-aligned nations should be endorsed by all Member States.
23. There is no need for us to explain at length the policy pursued by my Government with regard to the elimination of colonialism and the securing of the right of peoples everywhere to self-determination and independence. This policy is well known. We shall always remain at the vanguard of the struggle against alien domination and colonialism.
24. Colonialism comprises all forms of alien domination, and not only that which is referred to as Western colonialism. The classical form of Western colonialism is perhaps gradually drawing to an end, but, regrettably, the domination of certain peoples and territories, quite often by countries which themselves have suffered from colonial occupation, continues. This state of affairs creates tensions and causes concern and anxiety. The imperialistic designs of Western Powers during the heyday of their colonial advance created artificial frontiers without regard to the rights of the peoples.
25. These legacies of the colonial era persist in some regions, impeding the development of a better understanding among nations. Vestiges of Western colonialism should be terminated without the tensions that would hamper friendly relations among countries and peoples.
26. The apparent failure of the United Nations to implement its own resolutions concerning the elimination of the colonial administration of Portugal and to put an end to the inhuman and repressive policies of *apartheid* in South Africa, as well as to the illegal racist minority régime of Southern Rhodesia, can be construed only as a disturbing example of non-co-operation by certain countries with the United Nations, countries that are Members of this Organization.
27. My delegation reiterates its support for the right of the people of Angola and Mozambique, as we did in the case of Guinea-Bissau, to self-determination and independence, and shares the view that the continuation of the policies of *apartheid* by the Government of South Africa and its extension to Namibia has now reached a point which can no longer be tolerated by the international community. We fully support the aspirations of the liberation movements in the defence and restoration of their undeniable rights.
28. A basic characteristic of the present international situation is a relaxation of power politics in some areas and persisting crises and manifestations of power politics in others. While we welcome the positive tendencies manifested in relations between certain big Powers, we cannot at all dismiss lightly the concern of the small countries of the world. Evidently there seems to be an inclination towards bypassing the United Nations, in which the small nations form the majority of the membership and represent the interests of the majority of the people of the world. From our point of view, *détente*, like peace, is indivisible.
29. We were very impressed by the statement of Mr. Walter Scheel, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, in which he said that "universality also means universality of obligations" [2119th meeting, para. 154] and that "*détente*, is not meant to be exclusive . . ." [ibid., para. 157]. It is evident that peace will remain precarious without the full participation of all countries in all matters of world peace and security.
30. We have arrived at the right time to expect and urge the international community to direct its efforts towards complete disarmament. We welcome the success of the various stages of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. We wish to see the machinery of the United Nations fully used in all matters of disarmament and to see this session of the General Assembly make a decision as to the date and venue of the World Disarmament Conference. We hope that the present session of the General Assembly will prohibit nuclear tests in all environments and pay special attention to the question of nuclear disarmament.
31. But we are no less concerned about the stockpiling of conventional arms and the flow of such arms to other regions. There is no doubt that the security of smaller—particularly non-aligned—countries is threatened by conventional armaments. In our region the balance of power is already seriously threatened by important stockpiles of conventional weapons that can be acquired only by countries with privileged geographical or political positions, by countries which belong to a military alliance, or by countries which have acquired financial strength.
32. I had that situation in mind when I stated at the summit Conference of non-aligned countries in Algiers that the recent acquisition of enormous quantities of sophisticated conventional armaments is a matter of grave concern to us. The political declaration of the summit Conference of non-aligned nations noted this with concern. It noted: "that the flow of conventional arms to non-nuclear States, which is a threat to the security of non-aligned countries and which gives rise to tension in some regions, is continuing" [A/9330, p. 17]. And then the summit Conference demanded that an end be put to the flow of such armaments.
33. Referring to one of the items that has been proposed for discussion at this session, I should like to say that the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan welcomes the item proposed by the Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during his statement in the general debate [2126th meeting, para. 131]. The item I am

¹ Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

referring to is entitled: "Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries" [item 102]. We note with satisfaction the timeliness of the Soviet Union's initiative and hope that it will be supported by all peace-loving and progressive countries and that meaningful measures will be taken in this regard by the General Assembly.

34. Regarding the economic situation, we shall take the opportunity to deal with most of the questions related to it when they come before the Second Committee. Here I shall mention only that the failure of the first United Nations Development Decade and the unsatisfactory application of the recommendations adopted at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], together with the disappointing results of the years that have elapsed since the coming into force of the Second United Nations Development Decade, means that the International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)] cannot be viewed without profound anxiety. We note with regret that the attitude of some of the developed countries has not in any way been conducive to an international economic order in compliance with the target set for the International Development Strategy. The burden of heavy external debts on the economies of developing countries is increasing while the flow of external assistance is decreasing in proportion to the growing needs of the developing countries. Meanwhile, the arms race, as I mentioned before, continues to absorb large sums of capital.

35. We support the very important decisions unanimously made in Algiers, with special emphasis on the essentiality of giving more consideration to the group of countries referred to as the least developed. The Conference of non-aligned nations adopted a resolution with respect to special measures in favour of these countries [see A/9330, p. 81]. In that resolution the Conference recommended that international economic action should be given top priority and that top priority should be given also to the urgent implementation of the programmes adopted by UNCTAD at its third session and by other international organizations, especially in the area of trade, and that efforts should be exerted towards formulating and implementing new measures in all fields. It also requested the speedy implementation of the various resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations and its related agencies, as well as the continued review of the implementation of the measures.

36. Another resolution was adopted which I would like particularly to mention, with respect to the special measures related to the particular needs of land-locked developing countries [see A/9330, p. 77]. In that resolution it was recommended that a set of special provisions should be urgently considered and implemented in order to ensure the right of land-locked developing countries to free access to and from the sea, and to provide the international assistance necessary to remedy their special situations.

37. It is our hope that the subject of these resolutions will be given urgent attention and consideration at this session.

38. In conclusion, Mr. President, the Afghan delegation places itself at your disposal and at the disposal of all

members of the Assembly for co-operation in the work ahead. We look forward to the realization of our wish for a successful twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly under your guidance.

39. Mr. WILLESEE (Australia): I would first like to extend to you, Sir, the warmest congratulations of the Australian delegation on your election as President of the General Assembly. There has been for many years now a growing sense of community between us in Australia and our Latin American neighbours across the Pacific Ocean and a developing sympathy, understanding and awareness of our common problems and mutual interests.

40. The history of the United Nations since 1945 has been marked by outstanding contributions from a series of distinguished representatives from Latin America and none more so than your own. Your profound experience of the United Nations spans two decades, in the second of which in particular you have been able to play a guiding role in a wide range of United Nations activities. It is fitting therefore that we should now have this opportunity of saluting you as President of the twenty-eighth session of the Assembly.

41. I might begin by recalling that the present Australian Government came into office less than one year ago, towards the close of the last session of the General Assembly. This is thus the first opportunity for a minister of the present Government to appear at the rostrum of this Assembly and explain its broad philosophy and the policies it is pursuing now and for the future. I regard it as a privilege to be here and to be able to take advantage of this opportunity.

42. I want to emphasize first that those ideals which inspired the Australian delegation in helping to draw up the Charter in 1945 are valid today. At the San Francisco Conference the Australian delegation saw the United Nations as an instrument for peace and for human welfare everywhere. We conceived of its Charter not only as a charter for politicians and diplomats but as one aimed especially at promoting the dignity and well-being of the ordinary man and woman. We saw this Organization as a means for leading dependent peoples towards independence and as a means of eliminating discrimination of all kinds, including discrimination based on race. These are all clearly written into the Charter, and through such instruments as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights they have received further expression in this Assembly and in other United Nations organs as the years have passed.

43. We hold fast to these ideals, and the philosophy that guides the Australian Government today is a positive philosophy of faith in the United Nations, in its enduring principles and in its ultimate capacity to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of all mankind.

44. We are living at a time of constant change in the international scene, not all of it rapid, not all of it for the better, but much of it directed towards the end that we all ardently wish for, which is peace and security everywhere and the promise of a better life for peoples everywhere. In spite of disappointments and frustrations we can at least sense an atmosphere of relief from old tensions and an easing of old postures. I have in mind the European security

pact negotiations, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the various movements towards peace and neutrality in Asia. The international community has been enriched by the full and energetic participation of the People's Republic of China.

45. On the debit side I need only mention as examples the seemingly intractable situation in the Middle East, the continued fighting in the countries of Indo-China and the recent grievous developments in Chile.

46. Let me try to identify the main principles and guidelines that set the general direction of Australian policies, and to place them in the context of the United Nations, its purposes and its operations. There have been some changes in Australia's outlook on the world and consequently in its national policies—changes which we have considered necessary and indeed overdue and which reflect our conception of a new and dynamic approach to our domestic affairs and our international relationships.

47. It was during an earlier period of office of the present Australian Government that the late Mr. Evatt, our then Foreign Minister, took a leading part in the drafting of the Charter. Nobody will claim that the Charter is perfect, but bearing in mind the transformation undergone by the United Nations since 1945, it has proved a remarkably durable and adaptable instrument. At the same time we acknowledge that there is room for modification of some of its provisions to accommodate changes that have taken place in the balance of influence of Member States. We will view with sympathy and support efforts in this direction, while recognizing that there are limits to what can be achieved.

48. One conspicuous element in Australia's faith in the United Nations is the enduring principle that discussion and dialogue are essential to the work of the Organization. We accordingly welcome as a major development the decision that, after a lapse of three years, the question of Korea should come under scrutiny and discussion in this Assembly.

49. Australia, as a member of the United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [UNCURK] in Seoul, has been seeking to prepare the ground so that the Assembly's handling of the Korean question may help to lessen tension, facilitate accommodation and improve the prospects of Korean reunification. UNCURK itself has taken a timely initiative in recommending, in its annual report to the Secretary-General [A/9027], that it should now be dissolved. Australia's efforts have been directed towards promoting conciliation and consensus on the Korean question. We wish to ensure that the renewal of the Korean debate should not be a polemical confrontation which would only be detrimental to the spirit of harmony and good relations which we are seeking to promote. We hope that the parties will be able to adjust to each other's positions without trying to push each other into a corner, and that the Assembly will arrive at a constructive consensus.

50. We have been active in extending our bilateral relationships throughout the broad region to Australia's north and east. In addition to establishing diplomatic relations

with the People's Republic of China we have moved quickly to establish diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and have begun trade and other exchanges with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We have at the same time sought to broaden and deepen our long established relations with the other Asian and Pacific countries including the group of States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations and our close neighbour, Indonesia.

51. This twenty-eighth session of the Assembly marks a further notable step towards the attainment of the ideal of universality of membership of the United Nations. My delegation has been most happy to welcome the admission to the United Nations of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, both of which now have diplomatic relations with Australia. Their presence here is a symbol and a measure of lessening ideological tensions and a re-endorsement of international coexistence.

52. We also warmly welcome to membership in the United Nations the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, which on its attainment of independence earlier this year we have already welcomed as a fellow member of the Commonwealth of nations.

53. We in Australia have been sufficiently encouraged by the recent progress in negotiations among the countries of the south Asian sub-continent on their difficult and complex problems to hope that the remaining obstacles may soon be removed to the admission of another Commonwealth country, Bangladesh, to membership in the United Nations.

54. Our Government is deeply conscious that to realize the full benefit of our philosophy we must eliminate some of the heritage of the past, such as colonialism and racism, before the welfare of people around the world can be improved. Australia believes that it can take some modest credit for its part in ensuring that the chapters on economic and social welfare were included in the Charter. Those chapters provide the United Nations with the incentive and the means to advance human welfare and to adapt international action to the needs of the present. We know that some of the paramount objectives have fallen far short of achievement. We have poverty in most of our Member countries. We do not have the stability in trade and financial relationships among United Nations Members that we would like. But we have the means available to us to formulate solutions to the problems of the developing countries and to the problems of stability among all countries. The Australian Government believes that we should utilize these means to the full.

55. Our Government's purpose of promoting human freedom, human dignity and human welfare calls, of course, for domestic as well as international action. We aim to enlarge welfare and social security and especially to protect the more exposed sections of our community. We are concerned not only with welfare in the broad sense but also with removing discrimination and with looking after those of our people, including particularly our aboriginal people, who have suffered from discrimination in the past.

56. During the present Assembly we will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights. This anniversary of one of the most significant and enlightened achievements of the United Nations gives governments an opportunity to rededicate themselves to the promotion of human rights in their own societies and internationally.

57. It is a fundamental objective of Australia's approach to ensure that our own policies are soundly based on respect for and the protection and enhancement of civil liberties and basic human rights. When our present Government came to power, it immediately began to examine all the international instruments concerned with human rights with a view to determining what action we should be taking to give effect to them. Already this year Australia has ratified a number of Conventions of the International Labour Organisation dealing with the right to organize and bargain collectively, equal remuneration for men and women, and the elimination of discrimination in the fields of employment and occupation. We have put in hand action to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

58. Respect for human rights and opposition to discrimination lead naturally to positive support for the process of decolonization.

59. The Australian Government supports the principle of decolonization for all dependent territories and is participating fully in the efforts of the international community to induce the metropolitan administering Powers to take all steps necessary to ensure that peoples in dependent Territories are enabled to exercise their right to self-determination. Suiting the action to the word, Australia in January of this year rejoined the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, of which we had been an original member.

60. The most acute of the colonial problems remain centred on southern Africa, although the processes of decolonization are still to be worked out in many other areas as well. I have personally had the honour to be received with notable hospitality and generosity in seven African countries during visits undertaken to further Australian sympathy, knowledge and understanding of African problems.

61. We have been working as a member of the Security Council for the strict enforcement of sanctions against the illegal racist régime of Zimbabwe. Indeed, we see these sanctions as a test of the sincerity of Member nations to act in accordance with the principles and obligations of the Charter. We in Australia are determined to enforce them in full, and we will continue to deny the illegal régime any recognition or respectability.

62. We also see as a test of the sincerity of Member nations their attitude to the intolerable practice of *apartheid* in South Africa. This is a practice which we utterly reject. We shall continue to take every opportunity to condemn it and to co-operate with all those seeking responsibly to eliminate it.

63. We understand the frustrations that have led the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the non-aligned countries to adopt the position that armed struggle is essential to

end colonialism and racial discrimination. While we sympathize with the aims of the national liberation movements in southern Africa, we ourselves stop short of endorsing the use of force to attain these and indeed any other objectives. We hope that, through the application of the principles of the Charter, liberty and equality may be achieved without the tragedies of war.

64. Australia values its continuing co-operation with the Special Committee and the Trusteeship Council in the Territories for which Australia is still the administering Power.

65. Our principal residual responsibility as an administering Power rests in Papua New Guinea, the largest and most populous Territory remaining within the United Nations Trusteeship System. The termination of the Trusteeship Agreement is now in sight. In close co-operation, the Government and House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea and the Australian Government are moving purposefully to bring Papua New Guinea to sovereign membership in the family of nations.

66. Since 30 April 1973 the ministers of the Papua New Guinea Government have had effective control over virtually all aspects of the internal government of the country. Formal self-government will come on 1 December this year; certain policy functions such as defence and foreign affairs will not, for constitutional reasons, be transferred until independence, but these functions are already being exercised by Australia only after the fullest consultation with, and advice from, the Government of Papua New Guinea.

67. Earlier this year the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly affirmed its right as the duly elected parliament of the people to decide when independence is to come. The Australian Government acknowledges that, on the question of independence as on the question of self-government, the House of Assembly should give effect to the wishes of the people. We expect Papua New Guinea to proceed to sovereign independent status by 1975 as a politically unified nation with a freely elected central government. We have pledged substantial and comprehensive help to the Government and people of an independent Papua New Guinea, which will naturally have a special place in the affections of the Australian people and in our network of political and other relations. Australia is not seeking any exclusive relationship with Papua New Guinea, which will want to find its own place in the international community.

68. The principle that well-to-do countries have an obligation to help those that are poorly off ranks high in the estimation of our Government, and we have taken a fresh look at our policies and programmes of development assistance with the aim of making them more sensitive and responsive to the requirements of the developing countries. To that end we have decided that there should be a separate government agency to administer Australia's development assistance programmes. We intend that our programmes of bilateral assistance should be increasingly directed to activities that will have the effect of spreading social and employment benefits.

69. We are also particularly conscious of the wish of developing countries to increase their exports and to bring bilateral trade more into balance. Our recent decisions to

effect an across-the-board 25 per cent reduction in tariffs and to revalue the Australian dollar for the second time in nine months taken together represent a constructive attempt to play our part in liberalizing international trade. The tariff cuts are to be accompanied by significant new tariff preferences for imports from developing countries, which will greatly extend and elaborate Australia's scheme of generalized preferences first introduced in 1966. We are also giving improved technical assistance to developing countries to help them exploit their opportunities in the Australian market.

70. The current financial year will see an increase in all of Australia's major economic and technical aid programmes, and we are now for the first time giving vigorous support to the efforts of the United Nations in the population field. Although, as before, Australian aid will continue to be channelled mainly to the countries of Asia and the Pacific, we will next year be making increases in allocations to African countries as well as in our contributions to the major United Nations and other multilateral funds. Australia accepts the principal target of the International Development Strategy and will aim to raise its official development assistance to 0.7 per cent of the gross national product.

71. In the past, Australia has taken a cautious approach to the question of the link between the special drawing rights of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and development assistance. The present Australian Government supports the studies on this matter undertaken within the IMF Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues since we are conscious that the overwhelming majority of developing countries believe that their interests would be significantly advanced by some form of link.

72. Australia shares the deep concern expressed during this general debate about the world food situation. Our Government is determined that Australia should make a positive and constructive contribution to the international efforts to alleviate the distress and hardship resulting from this situation. Accordingly, Australia has reacted favourably to the proposal by the Secretary of State of the United States that the Assembly should consider organizing a world food conference in 1974 [2124th meeting, para. 71]. We have noted that the essence of Mr. Kissinger's proposal is similar to that in the action programme for economic co-operation adopted by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 99], which advocates the convening of an emergency joint conference of FAO and UNCTAD on this problem. Australia is flexible about the procedure for organizing the conference, but we are determined to join with others to find the most suitable, the most immediate and the most efficient way of bringing the attention of the international community to the problem of the world food supply with a view to reaching a practical agreement on the way in which it could be rationally and humanely managed.

73. The principles which guide Australia's policy of active support for the United Nations through the protection and enhancement of human rights, through opposition to colonialism and racism and through acceptance of the obligation to help those who are poorly off are all part of a central concern with the kind of life that our people can enjoy

and with the kind of environment in which they are to live. The first responsibility for maintaining a congenial environment for mankind's working and leisure hours must rest with our own and other individual Governments, and Australia for its part is now equipped with an administrative apparatus which is being geared to take sensitive account of our people's interest in maintaining the quality of their surroundings.

74. But there is also much that countries can learn from one another. Placed as we are in a large island continent offering wide extremes of climate and terrain, we believe that we have some experience of our own which we can share with the international community in return for the lessons we can learn from abroad—experience in combating air and water pollution, in preserving our natural heritage and in contributing generally towards a satisfactory, and indeed an improving, quality of human living.

75. And so from the beginning, Australia took a lively interest in the proceedings of last year's United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm. We have declared our support for the achievements of that Conference, and intend to pursue policies that accord fully with the Stockholm principles. We are also contributing substantially to the United Nations Environment Programme.

76. The proliferation and testing of nuclear weapons are clearly incompatible with the outlook of any Government and people concerned with the quality of life. These activities divert into unproductive channels the resources, energies and skills which could much more profitably be expended on programmes for the political, economic and social development of the international community.

77. Australia ratified the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty² in 1963, and our Government this year ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)] and the sea-bed arms control Treaty.³ Australia pledges its full support to the efforts of the United Nations to achieve general and complete disarmament subject to effective means of verification, and our Government is now taking steps to ratify the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction [resolution 2826 (XXVI)].

78. We find it deeply regrettable that the Governments of two nuclear Powers have continued to conduct nuclear-weapons testing programmes in the atmosphere, with associated hazards for present and future generations, despite the repeated expressions of disapproval by the United Nations and other international bodies and by individual countries. I take the opportunity to recall that on 22 June last the International Court of Justice gave an order for interim measures to restrain the Government of France from conducting atmospheric nuclear tests in the Pacific which would deposit radio-active fall-out on Australia.⁴

² Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

³ Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof [resolution 2660 (XXV)].

⁴ Nuclear Tests (Australia v. France, Interim Protection, Order of 22 June 1973), I.C.J. Reports 1973, p. 99.

Australia is opposed to all forms of nuclear-weapons testing in any environment by whatever State, and we fully endorse the statement by the Secretary-General that "the time has now surely come for a general agreement to stop all nuclear-weapons testing" [A/9001/Add.1, p. 6].

79. The air and seas of our planet are accessible to all the nations of the world. Just as the international community cannot tolerate misuse of the earth's atmosphere for any purpose whatever, so we must try to ensure that the oceans are not misused.

80. The United Nations has been grappling for almost three years now with the task of preparing for a comprehensive conference on the law of the sea. The fact that progress has not been as rapid as we might wish is a measure of the importance of the subject and of the diversity and complexity of interests that will have to be accommodated in the new system of law.

81. As a matter of priority, the General Assembly must at this session review the progress of the preparatory work and confirm the decisions it took at its last session to convene the conference in 1973-1974. Australia, as a coastal State with interests in every aspect of the law of the sea, has a concern second to none in achieving agreement on a satisfactory convention. We hope that the Assembly, with an appropriate sense of urgency, will reach early agreement to convene the organizational session of the conference later this year and the substantive session in 1974.

82. Few delegations at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 could have envisaged the radical transformation of the United Nations that has taken place. The vast majority of the world's people are now represented here. Australia is encouraged by this remarkable achievement and by the work of the United Nations in promoting the fundamental principles of peace and human welfare. We intend to be as active at home as internationally in giving effect to the basic principles of this Organization. If, as we hope, we are now entering a more promising era of reconciliation, accommodation and peace in international affairs, the United Nations will be able to muster great energies and to concentrate more effectively on the economic and social problems of development and on improving the quality of life everywhere. Those noble purposes call for renewed dedication, unstinting co-operation and a ceaseless effort from every Member of this Organization, and we in Australia are determined to provide all three.

83. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I am very pleased to be able to add the congratulations of the Moroccan delegation to those that have already been addressed to you. The Assembly's choice this year with regard to its presidency is a manifestation of the general esteem and respect that you have acquired in the course of a long career, a goodly part of which has been in the service of this Organization. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil stated at the opening of this session on behalf of the whole of Latin America [2124th meeting, para. 2] it is the expression of a pride which we share with him and which he has voiced on behalf of us all with spontaneity and talent.

84. Since the United Nations displays the truth of its universalist character and its enrichment through diversity

every year, it must congratulate itself on being able to count three new Members with differing political heritages and political and cultural horizons. The Moroccan delegation welcomes with sincere satisfaction the delegations of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and hopes to develop and expand the most cordial and extensive co-operation with these delegations.

85. But if each admission of new Members is in itself a source of satisfaction for the United Nations, may I be permitted to say that there are cases where such an admission assumes the dimensions of an event that is rich in significance both historical and political. The admission of the two German States is one of them. The whole of the post-war period has been marked for Europe and for the world by the complexity of the German question, and Europe and the rest of the world have had to display much courage, political intelligence and patience in order to save—on numerous occasions, and sometimes at the very edge of the precipice—the peace and international security which the confrontation between East and West, particularly in connexion with Germany, have been endangering at every moment. The long diplomatic path that has led to the present happy stage is a positive sign of the reality of a certain détente, first in Europe and also in other parts of the world. We are gratified at this turn of events for the German nation and the two States representing it, with which Morocco is maintaining relations of profound friendship and mutually advantageous co-operation. We are happy in this respect also for Europe, where Morocco has on two occasions lost many of its sons and thus cannot fail to be legitimately concerned for its destiny. We are gratified also at the peace, whose fragility we have felt so frequently both on the Rhine and on the Elbe, consolidation of which in Europe today should make it possible to hope for its extension to other regions of the world where it is still only a *désiré*.

86. If the itinerary that has been followed in the efforts towards détente during the whole of this quarter-century has for some been limited to the brilliant encounters of Peking, Moscow, Paris and Washington, it is in fact a long process in which, for a long time and at serious risk, certain countries have participated—countries whose contributions for safeguarding peace were no less efficacious even though patient and discreet. The policy of coexistence and non-alignment—the only possible policy for all those for whom the confrontation of the two blocs ran the risk of affecting their sovereignty, compromising their independence or affecting their territorial integrity—was not only a defensive policy involving the preservation of their own interests, but a policy of intervention on the world scene every time that the great Powers were unable to emerge from a crisis save through a move that might lead them towards war. And if today it is necessary to say that the great Powers have rescued peace in Peking, Moscow, Paris and Washington, it must be recognized that others, too, have saved peace when it was indeed endangered in Indo-China, Berlin, Suez and Cuba. The détente is in fact the result of all these efforts, which since 1947 to this day have converged, despite different approaches, towards the primary importance of dialogue and of its prevalence over confrontation and conflict.

87. If the flowering of this atmosphere of détente is the result of the common efforts of all the forces favouring peace, its strengthening and its effective translation into new international realities must even more so be the common task of all. The tranquillity, however relative and fragile, which prevails today in international relations has engendered sufficient hope for the action of the leaders of the world to be the subject of vigilant attention and for their responsibility to be submitted to the most rigorous scrutiny and judgement.

88. No conscience, however lofty it may be, and however satisfied it may be over its action for peace, can today claim total tranquillity as long as this peace is limited essentially to arrangements which preserve only national interests, however respectable these may be, to the exclusion, even temporarily, of the imperatives of a generalized peace applied to all continents taken together. The most determined optimism over the relaxation of the world crisis still conflicts in reality with a picture of the international situation which is not entirely a rosy one.

89. Of course, the improvement in relations among the great Powers engenders hope, inasmuch as their antagonisms have been an essential source of tension. It is also true that certain regions of the world, torn by conflicts which, directly or indirectly, engaged their interests as Powers, today are finding tranquillity and dialogue, which have now replaced war. It is also true that certain countries divided by considerations which are not of their own making are progressively finding certain objective conditions which are bringing their peoples towards this fundamental virtue of seeking their national unity in spite of all the vicissitudes. As we look back at recent history we must view this new situation as immense progress.

90. But is this sufficient reason for proclaiming everywhere, on all occasions, that peace has arrived, when numerous regions of the world continue to be denied even the first signs of it? Who can deny that the situation in the Middle East remains a major obstacle towards an improvement of the present atmosphere in international relations? Peace-building is certainly an enterprise that requires sustained effort and long patience, and progress towards a solution presupposes the progressive elimination of all obstacles of so-called secondary importance. But it is difficult to admit that there is a hierarchy of peace and that certain peoples deserve it on a priority basis, while others must resign themselves to a tragic destiny until better times arrive.

91. The political and diplomatic impasse in which the Middle East situation has bogged down and the attitude of semi-indifference on the part of the great Powers vis-à-vis this situation, may tend to substantiate the thesis that peace can be a tangible reality only because it remains at the level of the higher interests of the great Powers. The Middle East crisis seems to be held in abeyance and seems to serve as a test-tube in which experiments would be conducted concerning some sort of formula for détente or common harmony. But any crisis situation that does not improve only worsens, by the very nature of things.

92. The persistence of Israel in its refusal to implement a single one of the United Nations decisions, the constant

reinforcement of its military potential, and the measures of all kinds aimed at the permanent organization of life in the occupied Territories and the entrenchment of Zionist immigration into Arab lands are factors not likely to facilitate the pursuit of a peaceful solution.

93. So in whose interest is it to allow this situation to deteriorate? If one were to analyse the various political and moral responsibilities within the international community, one would realize without any difficulty that our Organization has constantly condemned Israeli aggression, rejected the principle of the acquisition of territory by violence, and has called for the evacuation of such territories.

94. The efforts made by the representative of the Secretary-General, the Secretary-General himself, the Security Council and the General Assembly, are still treated with contempt by the Israeli authorities. Israel, whose propaganda is based essentially on the beguiling of international opinion, cannot today boast of having any favourable audience or of finding indulgence or understanding in world public opinion.

95. The OAU, basing itself on its experience in the struggle against colonialism and racism, has finally torn away this veil of lies that Israel had tried to spread over the African continent, where today it can rely only on South Africa and Rhodesia, which constitute with it the last alliance of the racist régimes. The OAU has memorably celebrated its tenth anniversary by its unanimous condemnation of Israel and support of the Arab cause.

96. Elsewhere, more than 70 States, gathered last month in Algiers and, representing all the peoples of the world, all systems of government and all ideologies, indicated, in a unanimous, unequivocal resolution, their support for the Arab cause because it is the cause of right, justice and peace [see A/9330 and Corr.1, pp. 34-35].

97. If the whole of the conscience of the world, organized in various world-wide or regional institutions, is thus united in proclaiming the primacy of law and justice, where, then, is the force that is still blocking this profound desire for peace in the Middle East? What more is required before we consider that it is urgent to begin a serious pursuit of peace? Unfortunately, the same conditions are still present in that region and the slightest spark may ignite a war which, in any case, will not be like the one in 1967.

98. And yet, are the great Powers, which either cannot or do not wish yet to impose peace on that region, likely to be able to prevent war for much longer; and, if so, for how long?

99. The Palestinian people has now crossed the threshold and has taken its destiny into its own hands. Its resolve to fight until final recognition of its legitimate rights is every day taking different forms, and neither Israel nor its allies are today unaware of the dimensions which the direct fight of the Palestinian people has brought into the complexity of the problem.

100. In the face of this situation, which they can only confront squarely, the Arab States and the Palestinian people have often proved that the constraints of war can still

leave room, however modest it may be for the time being, for the sincere search for a peaceful solution that would be in keeping with justice and dignity.

101. In certain circles, people are still hoping that time is working for them; but if time belongs to those who know how to use it, the Arabs have also learned, although at their own expense, that time could be one of the other means still at their disposal.

102. The idea that a hotbed of war or tension does not remain indefinitely under control in a region at the level one wishes to maintain it is shared by the peoples of the Middle East, because they have lived this truth throughout the whole of their history, a history that has been highly active. The Middle East crisis, whether it remains latent or proceeds towards an escalation or a peaceful solution, brings about political change in other parts of the world adjacent to it.

103. Would it be possible, for instance, to speak reasonably today of the strengthening of peace in Europe if the Mediterranean basin in the east as well as the west remains the centre of a conflict which is undermining a well-understood concept of European security and economic and cultural co-operation among all the coastal countries of that basin?

104. If the destiny of Europe has been historically influenced at Poitiers, in Pomerania, on the Rhine, on the Elbe or on the Moskva River, it has also been influenced, with equally important consequences, and sometimes even the most felicitous ones, around the Mediterranean.

105. Similarly, the destiny of the Arab world has been played out not entirely around the Tiber or the Euphrates, at Acre or at Fez, but also in Anatolia, in Sicily, on the plains of Spain or on the other flank of the Pyrenees.

106. The elements of the contemporary world around the Mediterranean, although they are different in some of their manifestations, have in no way altered in their profound realities the geopolitical or economic foundations of this historic interpenetration.

107. This analysis is the basis of the direct or global interest which Morocco has with its neighbours of this sea in Europe's efforts to try to strengthen its security and ensure fruitful co-operation between the States of the continent.

108. We are happy that the Committee of Co-ordination of the Helsinki Conference has agreed that non-European Mediterranean countries should be invited to express their interest in co-operation with Europe and to display their concern for the indivisible security of the whole of this region. France and Spain were good enough to submit Morocco's request with sympathy and support, since both these countries were aware with us that our historical intimacy, our cultural and economic ties and the imperatives of security on both sides of the western Mediterranean would meet legitimately the interest of Morocco in the security and development of good relations in the region.

109. It is highly desirable—and we continue to hope this with all our hearts—that all our relations with Spain be

finally freed from any controversy, the removal of which is not an unrealizable ambition for two countries and peoples that are so close to each other.

110. We had hoped, and rightly, that at a time when, after the fashion of numerous countries of other parts of the world, we had extended authority over territorial waters where our interests had long suffered, Spain, a powerful and prosperous country, would understand the desire of a country which is trying to take stock of its resources and is mobilizing them all in the service of a people legitimately aspiring to its own development, first of all through the use of its own resources. Other countries, although opposing the legitimacy of such a decision, have accepted our offers of co-operation within a framework where our sovereignty prevails.

111. The attitude of the Spanish Government—and we profoundly regret this—creates a situation where all must exercise a vigilance that is constantly put to the test in order to avoid incidents within our territorial waters, where there is always a risk of confrontation between a modest navy which is protecting its national waters and a belligerent fleet which considers it has to protect, in its own way, fishing boats that are there without any legal basis. Both of us are aware of this danger, and I hope that we shall be able to avoid it if, given our will for certain co-operation, we shall first find respect for our national sovereignty.

112. In the presence of all the fundamental and real factors which contribute to the establishment of exemplary relations between Spain and ourselves, we are attempting on our side, with good faith and with considerable patience, to arrive at an identical or concordant comprehension concerning the style and the method for the decolonization of the Sahara.

113. It is a known fact that my country has solemnly proclaimed here, as well as in other international forums, that it was in favour of the principle of self-determination for the populations of that Territory. Spain has supported that principle and in 1969 voted in favour of the resolutions of this Organization which referred to this as the necessary way to decolonise that Territory.

114. However, periodically the Spanish Government promulgates laws which modify the structures of the Territory and its status, while proclaiming that such measures are merely stages which advance the Territory towards the desired goal of self-determination. On 22 September last the Spanish Government again promulgated another series of measures in the same spirit.

115. Yet, if the Government of Spain were to adopt the same decisions with the co-operation of the United Nations, as called for in numerous resolutions, the prudence of our Organization would doubtless have guaranteed the finality of such measures and the genuine freedom of the expression of the will of the peoples. In admitting that these measures, in their formulation, might constitute progress, Spain's suspicion with regard to co-operation with the United Nations is legitimately upsetting the confidence that it called for from us and that we were prepared to grant it in good faith in a framework which excludes initiative on the part of the administering Power alone.

116. If my last words concern decolonization and if I expect to be brief on the subject, it is essentially out of deference to President Gowon of Nigeria, the acting President of OAU, who was good enough to agree to come himself and present before the United Nations the preoccupations of the African continent as a whole in regard to the persistence of colonialism and the increasingly clear trends of the strengthening of the racist régimes upon our continent.

117. In Africa now there is a fact that cannot escape either our Organization or international public opinion—even less the last adherents of colonialism and racist régimes. This is the existence of an open fight by all the peoples that are still dominated in Africa, who are taking their destiny into their own hands because they see they are obliged to follow the narrow road of a most arduous but most worthy fight for freedom.

118. This fight has brilliantly led to the demonstration of what can be achieved by the will of a people which at the beginning of this summer was still called as rebellious and which some 40 States have recognized in a few days as the first manifestation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

119. This twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, which coincides with the tenth anniversary of OAU, could not have any better introduction than to remind it that peace cannot redound to the benefit of certain peoples and not confer the same benefit on other peoples whose courage entitles them to live, without delay, in dignity and freedom.

*Statement by the representative of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

120. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I hope that the General Assembly will allow me, before I call on the next speaker, to give the floor to the representative of the Soviet Union, who wishes to make an urgent statement.

121. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to make a special statement.

122. We have just heard on the radio the tragic news that the Chilean junta, which seized power and overthrew the lawful, constitutionally elected Government in Chile, intends to do violence today, 3 October, at 4 p.m. to one of Chile's outstanding leaders, Senator Corvalán, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, to execute him. Over the last few days, as a result of the seizure of power by the military junta following its overthrow of the lawful Government headed by President Salvador Allende, an extremely tense situation, characterized by monstrous and bloody terror, has arisen in Chile. According to the American press, thousands of people have been killed; the Santiago morgues have issued figures showing that they have received thousands of corpses; the rivers and the coastal waters are full of bodies. American correspondents have calculated that tens of thousands of people have been killed by the junta which seized power following the overthrow of the Allende Government.

123. Now a threat looms over one of the outstanding leaders of the revolutionary movement in its struggle for the

democratic rights of the people of Chile. The United Nations General Assembly cannot overlook such a monstrous crime, such an intolerable violation of elementary human rights. We may have our differences of opinion, we may have disputes over ideological matters, but killing, execution as punishment for ideological convictions, for adherence to the ideals of freedom and independence, for aspiring to democracy and the establishment of genuine and lawful government by the people—this is intolerable in the second half of the twentieth century. The Soviet delegation is making a special statement to draw the attention of the General Assembly to this impending crime, to the intention of the Chilean junta to take physical vengeance on one of the outstanding leaders of Latin America; it is appealing to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General to take urgent steps to remove this threat to the life of Chile's Senator Corvalán.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

124. Mr. PATRÍCIO (Portugal): I should like to direct my first words to you, Mr. President, in order to express the most sincere congratulations of the Portuguese delegation on your election to the important post of President of the General Assembly. Your reputation as a distinguished jurist and a respected figure in Iberian-American culture, which we fraternally salute, make us certain that you will preside over this Assembly with impartiality and respect for the rules of law.

125. Twenty-eight years ago, the San Francisco Charter was signed, dedicating the United Nations to its main task—the maintenance of peace and international security. This is understandable because peace and security constitute the prerequisites necessary for the attainment of the Organization's further objectives. In a world which had just seen the end of a long and cruel war, it was only normal that the desire for peace should assume a special significance and intensity.

126. To a certain extent we can see that this original aim of the Organization has been attained. Effectively speaking, in 28 years—seven more than those which separate the two great wars of this century—there has been no major global conflagration.

127. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognize that conflicts have arisen regardless of the United Nations and that the mechanisms provided by the Charter for the maintenance of peace have either not been allowed to function or have not performed effectively.

128. The last few years have witnessed the appearance and development of a new element of major importance in the maintenance of peace. I refer to the call for a policy of détente, the positive results of which cannot be contested any more. This policy not only has the merit of reducing the danger of war, but also has permitted the establishment of certain forms of international co-operation, benefiting all, which would never have taken place in a climate of the cold war.

129. We have a notable example of this new attitude in the policy followed during recent years by the Government of

the Federal Republic of Germany. The admission of the two German States to this Organization constitutes a stage, to a certain extent symbolic, of this new political climate. Thus, it is with satisfaction on our part that we view the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations Organization. We also commend the admission of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas.

130. It is also appropriate to make a special reference to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which we hope will result in the growth of a new climate of relations among the countries of Europe, and to which the Portuguese Government has given, and will continue to give, full co-operation.

131. In contrast to the climate of détente which characterizes some aspects of international relations, we witness with increasing frequency daily examples of the use of force for the resolution of conflicts or disputes. And, what is more striking, we see that some of those who proclaim the virtues of the policy of détente loudly and eloquently, attempt at the same time to find reasons and arguments which would justify the use of force whenever such a step would serve their own interests.

132. How can we claim that certain general principles which are declared to be fundamental in some areas are not valid for the entire world? How can we explain that the interpretation of these principles varies according to the latitude, the continent or the level of economic development of the areas in question?

133. Certain Governments that, on the one hand, defend the inviolability of European borders, that claim the right to crush any form of subversion within their countries, and that condemn the terrorism which victimizes their citizens, on the other hand support subversive movements in Africa, finance terrorism and assert the right to violate the boundaries of southern Africa. Such an orientation leads to the conception of a world divided into two zones, subject to principles not only different from each other, but even antagonistic. In one zone—the economically developed area—the principles of non-intervention, respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful coexistence would be held valid.

Mr. Martínez Ordóñez (Honduras), Vice-President, took the Chair.

134. In the other zone, that of the less-developed and poor nations, intervention in the internal affairs of other States would be allowed, subversion and terrorism legalized, and violence held not only justifiable, but worthy of praise and of outside support. That is to say, we would arrive at an international law of the rich and an international law of the poor, which, undoubtedly, is an extreme form of neo-colonialism.

135. Approximately a year ago, the United Nations established a committee to study methods of combating terrorism.⁵ But certain parties promptly sought to use this

⁵ *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism, established under General Assembly resolution 3034 (XXVII).

opportunity in a political manner, in order to enable them to combat more effectively acts of subversion directed against themselves, while, at the same time, continuing to foster terrorism whenever advantage could be gained from it. Under these circumstances, the possibility of attaining the objectives initially proposed by the Committee was doomed from the outset. In fact the Committee was unable to achieve any progress at all.

136. One of the major exceptions which certain parties insist on attaching to the principle of the non-application of armed force concerns the so-called "liberation movements". Since these groups are formed through the process of self-selection, it becomes fairly easy for them to establish themselves as "liberation movements" once they are able to command the sympathy of the majorities that dominate international organizations. But apart from being easily achieved, their establishment is profitable also, a fact which helps to explain the rapid appearance of some of these movements. It may seem strange that a group presenting itself under a self-chosen label and counting on the support of certain sectors only can obtain privileges and advantages. But this is the truth.

137. An examination of certain conditions in the recent past can help us to understand how such a situation has arisen. The principle of self-determination came to acquire a very special meaning in the post-war period, a meaning that is reflected in the United Nations Charter itself. It became advantageous for one party in a conflict to be able to identify its cause with the defence of this principle. In the international community such a party would then be regarded as on the side of reason and justice. However, since we are dealing with a principle whose practical application is of great complexity, it is clear that such a principle could be used according to the will of the majorities, which would grant, or refuse, the status of "liberation movements" to dissident or subversive groups on the basis of their own self-interest.

138. Similarly, the nations which in number dominate the international assemblies use these groups in order to serve their own interests, and to try to secure for the liberation movements an extraordinary right to use force, including the practice of acts of terrorism and the receipt of external assistance.

139. In an international society of States—a reality on which the Charter of the United Nations is based—there is no possible justification for the bestowal on groups lacking an international juridical identity, of rights more ample than those granted to States.

140. The situation has become so absurd that the exceptions which some tried to introduce in this area, and which are supposedly justified by the principle of self-determination, do not even provide any guarantees for the defence of this principle. In fact the truth is just the opposite.

141. Let us consider an example. A group of citizens of a given nation enters into conflict with the authorities and attempts to secure for itself the rule over all or part of the territory. It is obvious that without external interference, the degree of success of any such group of individuals would depend on the amount of support received from within the

country. However, if the same group receives assistance from the outside, its degree of success will depend on the amount of assistance thus provided. And, if such support from outside is great enough, the domestic support may even become irrelevant; we would then have an operation entirely sustained and directed from abroad—obviously benefiting interests alien to those of the indigenous population—which would necessitate the collaboration of only a minimal part of the population to justify foreign interference.

142. In other words, to allow grants of external assistance to the liberation movements would be to pervert entirely the reasons given to justify the actions of such movements. While the principle involved may be that of self-determination, the truth is that what we are confronting is the pursuit of objectives and interests privy to certain Powers or group of Powers. Unfortunately, the example given is not merely theoretical. And many movements that emerge within the international community as paladins of the right to self-determination do not command any significant popular support. Their actions, either military, terrorist or pseudo-diplomatic, within or outside national borders, are the result of support received from abroad.

143. It is contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter to accept a norm whereby States can grant assistance to groups without international juridical identity, operating within other nations and resorting to violence to attain their objectives. It is even more abhorrent to attempt to justify such actions by involving the principle of self-determination. Actually, we are faced with a mere expedient by which certain Powers attempt to achieve their policies or to ensure their hegemony in areas where no other pretext can explain their presence.

144. The Portuguese Government accepts, and reaffirms emphatically, its support of the principle of self-determination. But it cannot allow this principle to be used as a means to legalize violations of such basic principles of international law as the non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

145. The influence of the African States in the debates and resolutions of the General Assembly is held to be dominant. And in fact, it is. Their votes are decisive in the resolutions that are approved, not merely because of their numbers, but also because of the influence they have upon other countries, which keep them company in an alignment, whose roots, however, are unfortunately not to be found in a conviction of the justice of the causes defended, or in the merit or efficacy of the resolutions approved, but in barefaced opportunism and convenience. Votes which are cast with Africa, in order to please Africa, are votes against the real interests of Africa. It has been said here, with some truth, that, should this tendency continue, the United Nations would soon turn into a mere branch of the OAU. Such a situation would certainly be very degrading to the United Nations, which would thus find itself reduced merely to repeating and to echoing timidly resolutions and decisions adopted in other forums. But such a situation would, at least, be a boost to the prestige of the OAU. It would be a success and a triumph for Africa. The influence of the African States in the resolutions of this Organization would not have, in itself, anything that is pernicious or deserving of criticism. But does the voice of its representa-

tives really express the true aspirations of Africa? Does their influence coincide with true African interests? That may be the case in some matters but it is certainly not true when one considers the campaign and the attacks against Portugal. The concentrated attacks against Portugal both in this Organization and outside it are a pretext, a smoke-screen and an excuse: a good pretext for displaying a fictitious solidarity among Africans and towards Africans; a smoke-screen for concealing from the eyes of the world the true problems and the real drama of Africa; and a convenient excuse for justifying omissions towards Africa and towards Africans.

146. The OAU, in a racist orientation that has no justification and with an utter lack of knowledge of our realities, today contests the legitimacy of Portugal as an African nation. The OAU considers Portugal an enemy of Africa, a threat to the security, independence and territorial integrity of African States, a challenge to the unity of the continent and an insult to the African man. We have followed with surprise, and even with indignation, this false and artificial campaign, so contrary to the real truth of the matter. The anti-Portuguese doctrines of the OAU deserve deeper reflection and an analysis of their fundamentals and significance. There is no real basis and no real motive for a conflict between Portugal and any other African State. There is no clash of interests, no divergence of destinies that separates us from the rest of Africa. Why should we be the adversaries of any African country or of the entire continent?

147. The gravest accusation levelled against us, and one which is linked in a special way to the competence of this Organization, is that we constitute a threat to the independence and to the integrity of the African countries. It is even asserted that we are a threat to international peace and security. That is a strange, not to say an astounding, accusation, which time alone ought to have rendered baseless by now. For over 12 years that same accusation has repeatedly been made against us. But I ask you, Where are the African countries that have been invaded and conquered by Portugal? Where are the territories of African States annexed by Portugal? Which part of any African country has at any time been claimed by Portugal? Which frontiers in Africa do we seek to alter in our favour?

148. We may be repeating statements already made, but perhaps it would be pertinent at this time to affirm here again, and solemnly, that we have always been, and still are, prepared to give all the necessary juridical and political guarantees on this matter which are in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Are there African States which consider their security threatened by Portugal? Why do they not sign non-aggression pacts with us, or take part in bilateral or collective declarations renouncing the use of, or the threat to use, force, just as the European States are doing among themselves, amid the applause of the entire world? We too are prepared to take initiatives or to respond favourably to initiatives with regard to renouncing offensive and aggressive armaments in Africa. Africa does not have a more sincere, a more convinced, a more unwavering defender of the principles of paragraph 1 of Article 1 and paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter—upon the principles of which rests the entire edifice of international peace and security—than Portugal. We are attacked from States bordering upon our territories. Those

attacks are considered legitimate and just. On the other hand, our defence is considered illegitimate and threatening. And yet such defensive action on our part is strictly contained within the frontiers of our territory and marked by a spirit of moderation and conciliation of which perhaps no other Member State of this Organization—I repeat, no other Member State—would be capable of giving proof.

149. But behind the escalation of violence and threats against Portugal, the spectre of a vaster and more generalized conflict is raised. One frequently hears expressions such as the “Viet-Namization of southern Africa”, and attempts are made to feed the flames of “a gigantic racial conflict”. “Viet-Namization of southern Africa”? “A gigantic racial conflict”? Perhaps that indeed might be the case if the Portuguese Government were to change its present defensive policy in Africa; if it were to withdraw the armed forces ensuring the protection of all the populations in the face of terrorist action; if it were to abandon to their fate the various ethnic communities of Angola and of Mozambique; if it were to permit these communities to segregate themselves along racist lines; if it were to let the territories of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea cease to form the basis for the unification of the different ethnic groups inhabiting them; if it were to allow them to be fragmented at the pleasure of forces and influences which would immediately dispute them and convert them into the battlefield for the declared or potential ambitions of their neighbours and a theatre of operations where territorial claims and defence strategies would certainly clash. Those who persist in calling for the destruction of Portugal in Africa would do well to meditate a while on that perspective.

150. Attempts are made to justify the intervention by African States and by the OAU in Portuguese Territories in the name of African solidarity. That solidarity, it is said, transcends frontiers and does not have to respect either traditional juridical principles, or rules of universal law, or the Charter of the United Nations. Thus, emotional appeals are made, calling for recourse to the use of force and violence, and aggression is given legitimacy. It is good that Africans should feel a spirit of solidarity among themselves and that they should treat one another as brothers. Brotherhood is a powerful weapon in the fight against injustice and against oppression. But it ought not to be blind or based upon fictions.

151. The African man has already discovered his true dimension and dignity, the consciousness of his rights and the force of his aspirations, the value of his culture and the significance of his history, his importance in the contemporary world and his fundamental role in the future. We salute with respect the struggle carried on by the leaders of the young African States, in their own countries and on the international stage, for the progress of the continent and the fight on many fronts to combat under-development and foreign domination. All the Portuguese of Africa are no less conscious of their position as Africans. The blacks among them and those that are of other races or of mixed blood do not feel any less closely related to the problems, the dramas, the conflicts, the aspirations and the future of Africa.

152. But if the leaders of the OAU feel a solidarity only with those of their brothers that are of the same race as themselves, they should think, for instance, of the many

thousands of black-skinned Portuguese who fight in the ranks of the Portuguese armed forces. They call them mercenaries. But why, I ask you, should anti-Portuguese elements who are paid from abroad be called patriots and freedom-fighters, and money from the capitals of Eastern Europe and Scandinavia be considered so pure? It is ridiculous that those who have subjected themselves totally to the discipline and organization of parties, whose ideologies and doctrines are alien to the African continent, and who serve imperialisms foreign to Africa, are praised for their patriotism; whereas those that defend their African villages and accept the prospect of being able to build their future peacefully within their own country are called mercenaries and collaborators.

153. But who will believe that in any country mercenaries can be more numerous than patriots? Count, on one side, the terrorists of FRELIMO,⁶ those that sow mines along the roads and in the African villages as well as those that obtain them in Moscow, in Prague, in Stockholm or in Oslo. Count, on the other side, only the Africans that fight against them, those integrated in the regular army units or in the rural militia in Mozambique. The same is true in Angola and Portuguese Guinea. Those Africans constitute the overwhelming majority as compared with the invaders sent in by the so-called liberation movements. An entire population made up of mercenaries—what an extravagant theory!

154. The millions of inhabitants in Portuguese Africa, whether farmers or factory workers, technicians or public servants, students or professors, are no less conscious of their quality as Africans than their brothers from the rest of Africa. And they do not think they are betraying that quality when they peacefully continue their activities and participate in increasing measure in the political, social and economic development that is taking place in their countries. But they will have reason on their side in thinking that it is the rest of Africa that betrays them whenever it provokes and incites violence that victimizes them, when it seeks by all means to render difficult or to impede the setting up of factories or the construction of dams on which depend their lives and their progress, and when it condemns all political reforms that bring them advantages—when in fact it strives to hamper the conditions that promote their true and authentic self-determination.

155. I spoke here a year ago [2048th meeting] about the many reforms and developments which have occurred in Portuguese Africa. The armed attacks against Portugal have not prevented us from implementing them with speed and determination. In March of this year elections to the legislative assemblies of the States of Angola and Mozambique and of the remaining Portuguese overseas provinces in Africa took place. Foreign journalists who were present during these elections attested, some of them with surprise, to the enormous, peaceful and eager participation of the voters. How could oppressed populations behave in this fashion? The majority of the voters were not white. In Angola, for example, whites numbered no more than 20 per cent of the entire electorate. The results of those elections sent a very large percentage of native-born candidates to the various legislative assemblies.

⁶ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

156. An important step was taken towards giving a larger and increasing autonomy to our African provinces, and also ensuring a progressively greater participation of the entire population in the political direction of their respective territories. Efforts will continue to be made in the future to increase the numbers of voters among the local populations. This will be a direct result of the stupendous increase in the school-going population at all levels of education. How will it then be possible to continue saying that Portuguese Africa is subject to the domination of a white minority?

157. Simultaneously, the representation of the overseas provinces was increased in the National Assembly, or central Parliament, of the Portuguese State. We cannot foresee the future, but if the present trends should continue, and taking into account the make-up of our population as well as the progressive acceleration of the economic and cultural advancement of its African component, the Portuguese nation is heading towards a great Euro-African state, with the black majority in political dominance. Yet the concept of a white majority or a black majority has no meaning in our multiracial society, in which men and votes do not group themselves or are counted according to the colour of skin. Could the prospect of such a situation be repugnant to the OAU and to the United Nations, which make these concepts their banner and their objective?

158. Today it is possible to compare the statutes of the States of Angola and Mozambique and those of the units of a federation. Even though the autonomous regions of the Portuguese State may not be juridically federated in some fields, such as economic planning, Angola and Mozambique enjoy an autonomy which surpasses to a great extent that which is generally attributed to a state belonging to a federation. Much is said of the great projects in execution, like those of Cabora Bassa and Cunene River development schemes, both of which have been condemned by the United Nations. These schemes are already great realities on the march, which will have incalculable effects on the economic and social progress of vast regions and numerous populations, and will have beneficial repercussions beyond the frontiers, and also in countries having a black majority. But the economic progress in Portuguese Africa is not limited to them, for it is disseminated throughout the Territories and embraces all sectors, from agriculture, to industry, and the services. The economic relations among the Portuguese Territories are established on a basis of equality and of solidarity, and there is no element of exploitation and of predominance present in the plans or in the realities. Whoever will take the trouble to study the facts in depth will reach the conclusion that, in the over-all balance of the economic and financial flows, the positive balance belongs to the African part and the negative to the European. This is a fact that it is hard for some of our friends and advisers from northern Europe to understand. But how can we pretend that the racists of Scandinavia or members of the Dutch Parliament, saturated by centuries of colonialist mercantilism, would be able to grasp the spirit of a people that created Brazil and gave orientation to what is known as a Luso-tropical civilization?

159. What more glaring example can I give of the solidarity between the different parts of my country than that of the assistance provided by metropolitan Portugal to Cape

Verde? The drought, which today appears to be nearing its end in Cape Verde, was the longest in memory, lasting for over five years. In the meantime, thanks to the measures taken that drought has not resulted in graver consequences. No one has died of famine, the population has grown and there has been no stagnation in the development of the archipelago. The gross national product has grown at an average rate of 4 per cent per annum in the course of the last few years. The total of non-repayable financial aid furnished in the last three years is more than 30 million dollars and the aid for 1973 represents 25 per cent of the total value of the production originating in Cape Verde. In addition, technical and other forms of assistance were provided by metropolitan Portugal.

160. Thus, a country with a modest economic potential, to which the international community extends "negative assistance", has been able to find, thanks to the solidarity of its inhabitants, sufficient resources to avoid in one of its African territories the dramatic and catastrophic consequences which an identical natural phenomenon has provoked in various countries situated in the same geographical zone. And yet it is we who are called the colonialists.

161. We do not constitute a closed society in Africa. We do not raise political, juridical or social barriers among classes or among ethnic or religious groups. We do not set aside lands for the white and lands for the blacks. We do not distribute study courses, jobs and political positions, economic and social opportunities, on the basis of race or of colour. All the seeds of evolution and progress are to be found intermingled in our African societies. How, then, is one to justify the violence that leads nowhere and can only retard progress and make evolution difficult?

162. Violence is lamented and condemned, its victims are pointed out. And in the campaign against Portugal no hesitation is shown in inverting responsibilities, in a scandalous fashion, with the instigators of the crimes showing themselves up in the role of accusers. And similarly no hesitation is shown in seeking recourse to the most astounding calumnies, to inventions and to the grossest falsifications of the truth. The Portuguese Government repudiates energetically accusations of massacres of civilian populations. As the Government of a civilized country and of a sovereign State, it considers it its exclusive responsibility, which it will not abdicate whatever may be the pressures to which it is submitted, to investigate and to punish the crimes and abuses perpetrated in its territory, whoever may have been the perpetrators. And how long is the list of the crimes and atrocities committed against the Portuguese civilian populations, especially the Africans, by the terrorists morally and financially supported by the Governments and institutions that seek to appear before world public opinion as defenders of peace and of human rights. And the only thing that is much greater than that list is long is the hypocrisy of those who level accusations against Portugal, based on suspect testimony of individuals politically compromised with anti-Portuguese movements, forgetting all the contradictions into which they let themselves fall and spurning the testimony of numerous journalists who have freely travelled around the area of the supposed massacres. And amid the artificial clamour thus raised, will those who make these accusations claim that the world will forget, among many others, the massacres which have occurred in

recent times in places such as India, Nigeria, Bangladesh and Burundi, or the hundreds of thousands of dead, victims of tyranny in the Sudan, in Ethiopia, in Uganda or in Rwanda?

163. Certainly there is a vast difference between an imagined number of some hundreds of dead whose death might have been, in any case, the lamentable consequence of terrorist activities, and the tens of thousands of victims resulting from the deliberate and systematic extermination of an entire ethnic group, such as is the case in Burundi, with the complacent and opportunistic silence of the same Governments and organizations which point an accusing finger at Portugal.

164. Are there innocent victims and useless destruction in Portuguese Africa? Certainly there are. But who are those responsible? Not solely those who disturb the peace, committing aggressions of which the Portuguese populations are the victims and against which they have to defend themselves. Equally responsible are those who support these aggressors, at times under the fallacious pretext of providing humanitarian assistance. Humanitarian assistance? Here is a fiction similar to that of the so-called liberated areas which are used as a pretext to justify such aid.

165. Where are the areas liberated by the terrorist movements, whose non-existence the organs of the United Nations continue to fear having to recognize, refusing as they do the persistent invitations addressed to them by the Portuguese Government with a view to clarifying the truth? Those areas can only be located where the headquarters and the bases of those movements are to be found, that is to say in the neighbouring territories. Are there, then, areas in the territories of the Republic of Guinea, or of Senegal, or of Congo-Brazzaville, or of Zaire, or of Zambia or of Tanzania, liberated from the control of the authorities of those countries? This is a problem which concerns the Governments of these States but whose resolution in no way alters the illegitimate character of the operations of those movements and of the assistance which they receive. But how is it possible to imagine that international organizations and responsible governments should base their conduct on fictions and fantasies? And shall we now have to add to the terminology of the fictions in vogue a new meaning of the expression "illegal declaration of independence"? How many imaginary declarations of independence are going to ensue in all the continents following the example of the terrorists installed in Conakry? The so-called PAIGC⁷ has its headquarters in the Republic of Guinea/Conakry. It is there that its organization is established and its leaders and its cadres reside. If it exercises any control over populations or territories, these are all situated in the Republic of Guinea or in other countries that consider themselves sovereign and independent States. Must we suppose that a few days ago a secession in the Republic of Guinea took place and that the activities formerly carried out in combination by the Government of Sekou Touré and the PAIGC have now been separated and apportioned? Here is a question which the Government in Conakry may have some interest in clarifying in relation to the States with which it maintains relations.

166. The situation is irrelevant to Portugal, and in no way affects the territory and the populations of the Portuguese province of Guinea, which is subject in all its extent to the sovereignty of the Government of Lisbon and which is under the effective control of the Portuguese authorities. For this reason, only the Portuguese Government will be able to continue assuming and exercising, in relation to that Territory and in relation to those populations, responsibilities at an international level. It is to be foreseen that the populations of Portuguese Guinea will unfortunately, continue to be attacked from foreign territory by terrorist organizations based there. But these attacks will have the same criminal nature and the same illicit character in international law whether they originate in a Guinea/Conakry No. 1 or in a Guinea/Conakry No. 2.

167. Although no international juridical norm compels us to do this, and although we naturally cannot accept resolutions of the United Nations that are contrary to its own fundamental statute, however great the majority that has approved them, we have never hesitated to clarify before this Organization or before world public opinion, with honesty and realism, the true situation pertaining to Portuguese Africa, our problems and our difficulties, our possibilities and our successes. Is it that we have already achieved all our objectives of the political, economic, cultural and social promotion of all our people? No, certainly not.

168. But is the general position of Africa in the contemporary world in harmony with the aspirations and the possibilities of its sons? How many Africans exert influence on the direction of the interests of Africa and on the fundamental, political, economic and monetary decisions that are taken in international life and on which depends the lot of its peoples? How many participate effectively in political life within their countries? What is the share of Africa in total world income? How many Africans still die of hunger or from unsanitary conditions? How many doctors and professors has Africa? Where does the fight for the liberation of Africa and for the dignity of the African man really begin and end? Here are some subjects for reflection concerning the solidarity of the African brothers.

169. And whether the OAU will or will not recognize this, Portugal has a natural solidarity with the rest of Africa. Some of our neighbours, who in difficult circumstances have not hesitated to seek our aid—which we have never refused nor made subject to political conditions—would have to agree with this. It is not among the lesser contradictions of this Organization that a mission set up by it had to count on the support and collaboration of Portugal for the solution of the problems of an African State, while at the same time, in the committees of the United Nations or in a conference promoted by it, resolutions were being approved which would have rendered that collaboration impossible. But was it not in this conference, called a conference of solidarity towards Africans, that once more all the projects in an extensive region of Africa that can contribute to a substantial increase in the production of food materials were condemned, at a time when millions of the continent's inhabitants were threatened with death from famine?

170. We are at a moment in history when, side by side with the legacies of over-population and under-development, the menacing prospect of a scarcity of cereals raises its

⁷ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

head. As one of the world's most prestigious personalities solemnly affirmed here, "morally, it makes no difference whether a man is killed in war or is condemned to starve to death by the indifference of others" [2128th meeting, para. 48]. Would this, indeed, be the appropriate moment to assign priority in Africa to violence as compared to peaceful co-operation?

171. On various occasions and in many forms we have proposed conversations and negotiations with the African countries. We renewed these proposals about a year ago for talks with the OAU or with the African group in the United Nations, without prior conditions and with no limitations regarding agenda or subject matter. Although all our proposals have been rejected without any explanation, we still maintain them as valid

172. It is said that we seek to gain time. This is true. Every hour that is lost in Africa for the tasks of peace and progress creates tremendous responsibilities towards future generations. And why, one should ask, should it be feared so much that time may prove Portugal to be right?

Statements in connexion with the matter raised in the statement by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

173. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Permanent Representative of Bulgaria has asked to be allowed to address the Assembly in connexion with the matter that was brought to our attention by the representative of the Soviet Union, and if I hear no objection I shall call upon him. However, the representative of Chile has asked to speak on a point of order, and under rule 73 of the rules of procedure I shall call upon him first.

174. Mr. BAZAN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have been informed that in my absence the representative of the Soviet Union—who in a very irregular manner interrupted the general debate by managing to have himself called upon before the representative of Portugal, whose turn it was to speak—made very serious accusations against the Government of Chile from this rostrum. He asserted that the head of the Communist Party of Chile would be executed today in Santiago, at 4 p.m. The Soviet representative asked the General Assembly to take urgent measures in that respect.

175. That accusation is a monstrous example of cynicism and falsity, and it is a contemptible means of using the General Assembly for the most contemptible political purposes. Of course—

176. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of the Soviet Union, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

177. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, the Chilean representative asked to speak on a point of order, but he is beginning to discuss the substance of the matter I raised. This is contrary to the rules of procedure and the working practice of the Assembly. If he is indeed speaking on a point of order, then let him say what his point is, for there are some 10 speakers on the list for this item and he is not the

first. He took the floor on the pretext of speaking on a point of order, but he is discussing the substance of the item. If he did take the floor on a point of order, let him speak, but he has no right to discuss the substance of the item, since he is eighth on the list of speakers.

178. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia on a point of order.

179. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I feel constrained to intervene lest indeed we have disorder in this Assembly before it embarks on the real work of the twenty-eighth session.

180. I have been seized of the fact that several representatives wish to speak on the statement we heard from Ambassador Malik. I am not going into its substance. Far be it from me to say that substance can always be separated from procedure; they do indeed overlap. But if we do not exercise tolerance there will be pandemonium. Where substance begins and ends, where form can be described as such without the vestiges of substance, is a moot subject which would take a long time—perhaps several sessions—to decide; we all know how entangled we can get in procedural matters.

181. Having said that, I know what the subject is. I shall not go into the substance, but I hope that both my colleague from Chile and my good colleague from the Soviet Union will bear with me while I make the following remarks.

182. You have been seized of this question. Unfortunately, some undertones have been implied in it. Now, as someone who has served here for about 28 years and knows that the Chileans are our brothers—there is a bond between us and the Chileans through Spain—I would say to my Chilean colleague that I hope he will not let emotions run high with him. Nor, I hope, will my good colleague from the Soviet Union, whom I have known for 24 years, take exception to what I have to say.

183. The question here is not ideological. The declaration which may divide this house is humanitarian. My Chilean colleague might say it is within the scope of the domestic jurisdiction of his country. Formally, he is right. But when we come to humanism, there is no such scope.

184. Far be it from me to interfere in the domestic affairs of Chile. Far be it from me to criticize any ideology inasmuch as I stand here as a monarchist and, for that matter, I believe in capitalism. But I speak in order to spare the Assembly fruitless debate that may extend into the next meeting. I do ask my Chilean colleague and those on the list of speakers to bear with me for only a few minutes, and perhaps I shall spare them the onerous task of making their points here.

185. I do want to appeal to my Chilean and Soviet colleagues not to get at each other's throats, speaking figuratively, in arguments that may involve us in interminable debate.

186. At this point I should like to introduce a simple compromise, lest we be divided into groups and into regions when humanism should be paramount.

187. I do appeal to my Chilean colleague, my Soviet colleague and the representatives who are listed to speak—seven or eight of them, and there is no assurance that that number will not swell to 10, 15 or 20. There will be a cleavage in this Assembly on the basis of solidarity. We saw what happened when the Foreign Minister of Portugal spoke. Half of the membership left their seats by way of solidarity. That is wrong. Solidarity is wrong. We are not sheep here. I appeal to my colleagues not to take up this issue—on one condition: that we ask our President, who is a humanitarian himself, or the Vice-President who is now presiding and who happens to come from the Latin American region, to send an appeal to the Government of Chile to suspend the sentence it has just pronounced. Just an appeal; we have no jurisdiction.

188. I propose that our President send an appeal to the Government of Chile that this sentence be suspended on humanitarian grounds. And if there is no sentence, as I seem to understand from my colleague from Chile, although he is giving me the "cold shoulder"—so much the better, nobody could be happier than I.

189. I stand here not as the representative of Saudi Arabia only but as one who has worked on human rights since we elaborated the Universal Declaration in the Paláis de Chaillot. I may have been prolix in my intervention, but I think, no matter how long it is, we will be spared a lot of trouble if I appeal also to the listed speakers—aside from my good colleague from Chile, who, of course, will speak after I have finished this attempt at compromise—graciously to refrain from objecting to our President and also the Secretary-General sending an appeal, on purely humanitarian grounds, to the President of Chile, whom we all respect, regardless of his ideology. We respect his constituted Government. And I respect you, Sir, as the representative of Chile.

190. My appeal is that our President and our Secretary-General, on humanitarian grounds alone, should intervene, and that the list of speakers should disappear—of course, with the exception of our good colleague from Chile, who, I hope, will not be molested and will have the opportunity to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

191. I thank you, Mr. President, for your kindness and for having been so patient.

192. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Bulgaria, who wishes to speak on a point of order, and I would request him to be good enough to state his point of order.

193. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, I am first on the list of speakers. That is why I am asking you to permit me to speak first. Let those whose names appear later speak later, including the representative of Chile. Please permit me to speak now.

194. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to explain to the representative of Bulgaria that the representative of Chile asked for the floor on a point of order and that it is under that point of order that he is entitled to speak first. The first speaker on the list itself is the representative of Bulgaria. In again calling on the representative of Chile I would ask him to explain clearly the point of order he wishes to make.

195. Mr. BAZAN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My point of order can be summed up in a few words: I want to explain the truth—my truth. I want this Assembly to know of the untruthfulness of the allegations of the representative of the Soviet Union and of the statements which the six speakers on the list are obviously going to make.

196. This is an undue, inappropriate, inadequate accusation. The Secretary-General would be placed in a ridiculous position if he was asked to send a telegram to the President of Chile. And all this happens because the truth is not known.

197. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): What is your point of order under the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, Sir?

198. Mr. BAZAN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I regret that I do not have the rules of procedure before me, and I am unable to cite the actual rule; but if six speakers are to take the time of the General Assembly to indulge in misrepresentations of the truth, to ask for urgent measures, I think the Assembly must be told the truth. If the Assembly wishes to continue to hear untruths, my point of order will have to be withdrawn, but in due time I shall have occasion to exercise my right of reply.

199. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The name of Chile is on the list. If it is not for a point of order, then I am certain that when the representative of Chile addresses the Assembly he will have as much time as he requires to set matters straight.

200. Mr. BAZAN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am concerned at the amount of time that will be wasted in hearing six speakers speaking about things that are unfounded.

201. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In view of the fact that there is no point of order, I would request the representative of Chile to wait until his turn comes in the list of speakers. I shall now call in turn on those who have asked to speak.

202. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, I wish to associate myself fully with the appeals contained in the special statement made today by the representative of the Soviet Union, Comrade Malik, when he drew the General Assembly's attention to the reprisals which the military junta is preparing to take against an outstanding Latin American leader, the General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, Senator Luis Corvalán. This will be a further monstrous crime by the Fascist junta, which already has the lives of thousands and thousands of Chilean patriots and democrats on its conscience. Forty years ago, Hitler's Nazis wished to take the life of the great son of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov, in the same way, but world democratic opinion prevented them from putting their criminal intentions into effect.

203. I thank you, Sir, as the President of the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, for your decision—which has already been adopted—to send an urgent telegram to spare the life of the Chilean patriot, Senator Corvalán.

204. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): The news concerning the intended execution by Chile's military junta of Senator Luis Corvalán, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, has deeply shocked the delegation of Poland and, we are convinced, all the delegations present in this hall. The life of this ardent Chilean patriot, an outstanding statesman of Latin America, has been put in immediate jeopardy. The reign of terror imposed on the Chilean nation cannot be permitted to continue unchecked. My delegation therefore whole-heartedly supports the proposal put forward by the delegation of the Soviet Union to the effect that the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General should take all urgent and necessary measures and actions to prevent this crime from being committed.

205. Mr. VEJVODA (Czechoslovakia): We read every day in the newspapers that the Chilean junta which deposed the legal Government of President Allende in Chile is pursuing a policy of terror in that country. Today we have heard the sad news that the Chilean junta intends to execute Senator Luis Corvalán. The Czechoslovak people had very good relations with the Chilean people for many, many years. We were forced to break off diplomatic relations with the Chilean junta, but our friendly feelings towards the Chilean people remain. We are deeply concerned by the situation that is now developing in Chile, and therefore we support the proposal made by the representative of the Soviet Union from this rostrum this morning that the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly should send a telegram to the leader of the Chilean junta asking him to accord humanitarian treatment to political prisoners and to stay the intended execution of Senator Corvalán.

206. Mr. ZÁDOR (Hungary): The Hungarian delegation wishes to join in the deep indignation expressed by several delegations over the reported threat to the life of Senator Luis Corvalán, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, a great and outstanding Chilean patriot, in the wake of the bloody terror and oppression unleashed by the junta against the people of Chile. We appeal urgently to the President of the General Assembly and to our Secretary-General to use their influence to prevent the monstrous crime planned by the Chilean junta.

207. Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (*translation from Russian*): It was with anger and indignation that the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic heard the news that the military junta which has usurped power in Chile is preparing to take bloody vengeance on an outstanding leader of the international and Communist workers' movement, a true son of the Chilean people, Comrade Luis Corvalán. We express the feelings of the entire Mongolian people when we demand that the hand of the executioner be stayed. We support the proposal by the representative of the Soviet Union and appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly to make every effort to use the name and authority of the United Nations, basing themselves on the highest humanitarian principles, to prevent this outrageous murder. We appeal to the representatives of States Members of the United Nations to raise their voices to save the life of this noted fighter for freedom and democracy, Comrade Luis Corvalán.

208. Mr. MOLDT (German Democratic Republic): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic resolutely supports the proposal made by the representative of the Soviet Union that urgent measures should be taken to prevent the execution today of the outstanding representative of the Chilean people, Senator Luis Corvalán, by the illegitimate junta régime. This planned crime is directed against progress and humanity and must be strongly opposed and condemned by all free and democratic people who fight for a world-wide application of the principles of the United Nations Charter. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic strongly holds the view that immediate measures should be taken to prevent Senator Corvalán from being the victim of the same crime as that committed against President Allende, who was held in high esteem by many delegations in this Assembly. We appeal to the representative of Chile who is present here to give the General Assembly an assurance that the life of Senator Corvalán will be spared.

209. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): As we know, the Fascist military junta in Chile has overthrown the lawful Government of that country and has unleashed mass terror against the Chilean population, outstanding political leaders, progressive forces and foreign citizens.

210. The junta's executioners have killed the patriot and President, Salvador Allende, many members of the lawful Government and thousands of patriots in the Republic of Chile. At this moment, blood is running in the streets and squares of Chile. Now the junta is preparing to revenge itself upon one of the outstanding leaders of the revolutionary and national liberation movement of the people of Chile and all Latin America, a man elected by the people, Senator Corvalán.

211. People of goodwill must not remain silent. We must stay the bloody hand of the executioners. Our delegation feels that the United Nations must raise its voice in defence of the Chilean patriots, and we support any measures that will halt the orgy of violence and terror in Chile and save the life of Senator Corvalán. If the Chilean representative denies the fact that reprisals against Senator Corvalán are imminent, let him assure this session of the General Assembly and the entire United Nations that this crime will not take place and that the life of Senator Corvalán will be spared.

212. Mr. BAZAN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I attempted to avoid having the General Assembly waste time. It has been a victim of a mockery, with the fantastic tale brought to this rostrum by the representative of the Soviet Union.

213. The point of order that I raised on this question was not accepted, and I am almost glad that it should have been so, because the General Assembly has been able to see, by listening to the six or seven speakers who preceded me, how hastily the satellite socialist delegations echoed the words of the Soviet Union.

214. The representative of the Soviet Union stated here that the leader of the Communist Party in Chile would be executed at 4 p.m. today in Santiago and has asked the

General Assembly to adopt urgent measures to prevent that execution.

215. I repeat what I said when I spoke earlier. That denunciation is a monstrous example of cynicism and untruth and a shameful attempt to use the General Assembly for the most contemptible political aims. Of course I do not believe that there is any humanitarian concern on the part of the representative of the Soviet Union. Human life has never been respected in the history of the Soviet Union, where examples of not single but of mass executions abound, executions determined by the desire to eliminate anyone who dissented from the views of the lords of the Kremlin.

216. Respect for human life among Soviet representatives is but a farce. Even now they are preaching to all the world that they have ratified the international covenants on human rights, but take great care not to say that those covenants were rendered useless by the interventions of the representatives of the Soviet Union in the Third Committee in 1966. Those covenants will go into force only in two or three generations as a result of their action. Now they do not feel bound by them. All that they are doing here is to speak untruths.

217. The news given by the representative of the Soviet Union in this hall has no more foundation than his own fantasies. The Communist press agencies throughout the world are distorting the reality of what is going on in Chile. They have falsified the truth with respect to foreign refugees. The Secretary-General has been informed on this matter and is satisfied. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who visited Chile and has been informed, is collaborating with the Government on measures that are being adopted, and knows that foreign refugees in Chile enjoy all the guarantees of Chilean legislation when they have not committed offences. Those who have committed crimes will be punished under Chilean law and by the already existing Chilean courts. The same false arguments concerning those who have sought asylum in the different embassies in Chile have been spread throughout the world. Those persons who have sought asylum, to a large degree, have already been evacuated in accordance with the norms concerning the right of asylum included in various conventions which Chile has observed, is observing and will continue to observe.

218. Now let us get down to the truth. I have been authorized by the Government of Chile to inform the Assembly of the following. Mr. Corvalán is under detention. He has been detained in the military school in Chile. Mr. Corvalán enjoys all the guarantees offered by Chilean law to persons accused of crimes and offences against Chilean law.

219. I know that among other offences he is accused of having organized para-military forces designed to fight against the regular military forces. He is also charged with the crime of attempting to provoke insubordination among the men of the regular army to their officers.

220. These offences are covered by the military code, for which there are sanctions and punishments that will be applied if they are justified. These crimes will be dealt with by the competent military courts not special courts.

221. Mr. Corvalán will be tried for these and other crimes, as I understand it, but he will have every right to defend himself. He will be entitled to use the means of defence offered by the law. The criminal proceedings under which the crimes will be tried have not even been instituted as yet, so there is no sentence and no condemnation, and far less can Mr. Corvalán be executed today.

222. I believe that it is essential to know this truth so as not to drag the United Nations or the Secretary-General into taking a false step. It is regrettable that this kind of procedure should be used. But since truth always conquers, the proposal made here boomerangs against its own authors and its only result will be to make us see to what extent the representative of the Soviet Union and those who speak with the same words are unworthy of trust and cannot be believed.

223. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am proud to come to this rostrum and associate myself with a whole series of representatives who have fully supported the motion put forward a few moments ago by the representative of the Soviet Union, Comrade Yakov Malik.

224. Fascism and nazism are so alien to this Organization that not only was it founded on what we thought were their ashes by those States that fought them, but in fact the survival of nazism and fascism creates such repugnant spectacles as the one that the Assembly has witnessed and still witnesses, unfortunately. They are so covered with the blood of the workers, peasants and other people assassinated in Chile, and their ears are so closed to these crimes, that it appears that they have not heard the pronouncements in the General Assembly condemning fascism and the ferocious repression unleashed against that people, while at the same time we have expressed our sympathy for the Chilean people and its heroic President Salvador Allende.

225. They view as a Communist chorus what all Members know has been the repeated expression of the views of people from all parts of the world, representatives of States having every kind of social system, and even today from representatives such as our friend and colleague the representative of Saudi Arabia, our esteemed friend Mr. Jamil M. Baroody. They see Communist agencies inventing untruths in periodicals which are as well known as the "Communist" newspaper of Paris *Le Monde*, and *Newsweek* and *Time*, one of which said that Santiago de Chile was no more than a slaughterhouse. They see Communist inventions in the denunciations made by representatives of the diplomatic corps in Santiago, like the distinguished Ambassador of Sweden, whose revelations were taken up by *The New York Times*—that other "Communist" organ—not long ago.

226. My delegation adds to this list the Honourable Harold Wilson, the leader of the United Kingdom Labour Party, who this morning denounced to the whole world the serious threat that hangs over the life of Comrade Luis Corvalán, a constitutional Senator and the General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party.

227. My delegation believes that, rather than words, what we urgently need are deeds, action to save the life of Com-

rade Corvalán, action to save the lives of the thousands of Chilean patriots who are today subjected to the power of the Fascist hordes, and action to save the prestige of an Organization that has borne too long the affront of haying among its Members, infiltrated here, a phantom of fascism and nazism that has no place in this hall.

228. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): In his statement before the General Assembly on 27 September the head of the Yugoslav delegation, in announcing the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the military junta and in expressing our views concerning the developments in Chile, stated *inter alia*:

“Brutal mass persecutions and terror against the democratic forces of Chile are arousing the greatest indignation among the peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia.” [2130th meeting, para. 15.]

He also expressed our firm conviction that “the democratic and peace-loving forces in the world will not reconcile themselves” [*ibid.*, para. 18] to those developments.

229. Not a day passes without news of stepped-up terror of the physical destruction through executions and massacres of the known and unknown, of prominent and obscure men and women in Chile during a persecution and an effort of annihilation almost without precedent.

230. We firmly hope that the Member nations in this Assembly, and the democratic, progressive peace-loving opinion of the world, will not be indifferent, will not stay blind and deaf and mute while these flagrant violations of basic humanitarian principles are taking place. And now we have the most disturbing information that the junta is preparing to execute in a matter of hours Senator Corvalán, an esteemed fighter for the constitutional progress of his country and the Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile.

231. Many other political leaders, from different political parties, are also under arrest and subject to persecution, intimidation, terror and direct threats to their lives. Among them is also the Foreign Minister of the constitutional government of Chile, Mr. Clodomiro Almeida.

232. This wave of repression is a serious warning that the international community cannot stay indifferent or silent. The non-aligned countries, during their fourth summit Conference held recently in Algiers, expressed their solidarity and support for the struggle of the people of Chile for independence, social transformation and sovereignty over natural resources, and against the interference of foreign reactionary forces. I am sure that the non-aligned countries will again raise their voice against this wave of persecutions and arrests of the political leaders of Chile and thousands of other true Chilean patriots.

233. In view of what is taking place in Chile after the coup d'état, and the contrast between the information published even in the American press and the assurances and deeds of the military junta in Chile, we have no reason to hesitate in being vigilant and in continuing to press the new authorities in Santiago to stop terror and persecution in Chile. My delegation is therefore urging that an immediate appeal should be sent by the Secretary-General and the President

of the General Assembly to the authorities in Santiago requesting them to desist from executions, persecutions and arrests of the political leaders of Chile and, first and foremost, to save the life of the distinguished fighter for freedom, Senator Corvalán.

234. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I should like, first of all, to express my gratitude to those distinguished representatives who supported my delegation in urging the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General to address an urgent appeal to the Chilean junta to spare the life of one of the outstanding leaders of the Chilean revolutionary democratic movement and of all Latin America, Senator Corvalán. I should also like to express particular appreciation to my old friend and supporter in the struggle for humanitarianism and human rights, the distinguished Ambassador Baroody, who is a veteran of the United Nations and has spoken many times from this rostrum in defence of human rights, and in this case he has spoken as a great humanitarian among our ranks.

235. The statement by the Soviet delegation has been supported by a large number of delegations. Unfortunately, it so happened that the representative of Fascist Portugal spoke here, with the result that our African friends left the hall as a demonstration. We also, in token of solidarity, followed their example and left the meeting. We did not want to listen to the racist who rejects and disregards the numerous General Assembly and Security Council decisions aimed at purging southern Africa of the last remnants of colonialism and of the vilest and most shameful colonialism of all, Portuguese colonialism. That is why we were absent. Our friends from Africa and Asia were also absent as a protest against having a Portuguese racist speak from this rostrum, for Portugal is a country which oppresses millions and millions of Africans. That is why there were so few representatives in the meeting hall.

236. However, the support which has been given to the Soviet delegation's appeal is proof of the fact that we acted correctly in drawing the attention of the General Assembly to this critical, dangerous and therefore extremely urgent question.

237. We have heard a statement by the Chilean delegate if he can be called a delegate—the representative of the bloody junta in Chile. He tried to make the usual slanderous accusations against the Soviet Union, which I, as Soviet representative of many years' standing, have often heard from our opponents. However, he convinced no one. He wanted to have us believe that the reports about the blood-bath in Santiago and elsewhere in Chile are fabrications of the Communists and the Communist press. It is, however, this Chilean who is engaging in lies, deceit and fabrications.

238. Let us return to the facts. Can United Press International be called a Communist agency? Yesterday it stated that the American press is continuing to bear witness to the bloody terror of the military junta in Chile. Is *Newsweek* a Communist organ? Describing the magnitude of the butchery being carried out by the Santiago putschists, it reports that in the 14-day period following the coup nearly 3,000 corpses were brought into just one of the Chilean capital's morgues. This is not a report by the Communists

or by the Communist press but by UPI and *Newsweek*. Only the Chilean delegate could suspect them of being Communist.

239. Thousands of people were left lying in the streets of Santiago, thrown into the river or taken away to be shot. The most conservative estimates by foreign correspondents indicate that the military junta has done away with 25,000 to 30,000 people in Santiago; I stress that figure: 25,000 to 30,000. That is the carnage which has taken place under the Fascist junta in Chile. Shame to the Chilean delegate who speaks from this high rostrum and tries to defend this bloody business.

240. Yet, it is difficult to determine the true magnitude of the junta's bloody crimes because of the extremely strict censorship being imposed on these events by the junta. Throughout the country, a veritable manhunt is under way for Chileans who are under even the slightest suspicion of sympathizing with the democratic Allende Government—not with communism and Communists but with the democratic Allende Government. The Chilean junta is trying to wipe out all Allende supporters, but no one can succeed in destroying democracy, destroying a just cause, destroying the interests of the people and defeating it in its struggle for those interests. Hitler tried to do that, and people before Hitler have tried. Now it is the Chilean junta. But these attempts are doomed to failure. Democracy and a nation cannot be destroyed or killed, even though the junta is seizing and destroying everyone who falls into its hands.

241. Civic groups in the United States—and not just Communist groups, I might add—are comparing the bloody terror unleashed by the junta with the atrocities of the Nazi storm-troopers. Those are the facts.

242. The lies which the Chilean representative uttered on this rostrum will convince nobody. On the contrary, the facts make it clear that he is acting here as the devil's advocate. He is defending murder, mass executions and an orgy of bloodshed. The junta has trampled on the people's democracy in Chile. Those are the concrete facts.

243. Here is a prominently displayed newspaper report stating that Corvalán is threatened with death. This is not a fabrication; it is a fact.

244. The United Nations must raise its voice in defence of the victims of this blood-bath. That would be a humanitarian act. Our respected colleague, Mr. Baroody, has discussed the subject in detail in this august body, the United Nations General Assembly, and has done so for the special benefit of the Chilean delegate.

245. The preceding speakers were correct in their blunt demand that the Chilean delegate should provide assurances here to this august international forum, the General Assembly, that the blood-bath in Chile will be halted and that the shootings and executions will cease. But the Chilean delegate has given us no such assurances.

246. We shall carefully follow the development of events. And we reserve the right to speak on this question again and to voice a further protest from this high rostrum in defence of the victims, the supporters of democracy, the supporters

and followers of the Allende Government, who have the threat of death and execution hanging over them—that is to say, those who are still alive after the slaughter of 25,000 to 30,000 Allende supporters by this Fascist junta.

247. I must inform this august body, the General Assembly, that we have been assured by the distinguished President of the General Assembly, Mr. Benites, that he will send an urgent telegram regarding this matter to the Chilean junta.

248. I also wish to inform you that we have been advised that the Secretary-General has already sent such a telegram.

249. I am deeply convinced that the United Nations, world public opinion and history will not forget this humanitarian act by the distinguished President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly and by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

250. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR adds its voice to the protest against the outrages being committed by the Chilean military junta against the people of Chile. We welcome the decision taken by the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly in response to the proposal by the Soviet Union, which was supported by a large group of States, that urgent measures should be taken to save the life of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Senator Luis Corvalán. We are glad to hear that the Secretary-General and the President of the Assembly have already begun to take action along those lines.

251. I should also like to say that no statement by the gentleman from Chile can shake our belief that this question has been raised properly and at the right time. We are aware of the wave of repression that is sweeping across Chile. The gentleman from Chile has stated today that everything will be done there according to the law. But I want to ask him: under which Chilean law was the President of that country killed? Under which Chilean law was the National Assembly dissolved? Under which Chilean law were the local organs abolished? By virtue of which Chilean law or which convention of the International Labour Organisation has it come about that there are no longer any trade unions in Chile?

252. It is our understanding that the gentleman from Chile has not responded to the appeal by a large number of representatives for clear, precise assurances that the repressive acts against the people of Chile will be halted, that legality will be restored and that the people of Chile will be permitted to live in conditions of freedom and democracy. Accordingly, we once again condemn these acts of the Chilean military junta, and call upon all representatives to be vigilant.

253. At the same time, we reject all slanderous statements directed against the socialist States. I should like to tell the gentleman from Chile that the time has passed when it was enough simply to call someone a satellite of the Soviet Union in order for matters to be decided in this Organization. Now what we have is a powerful and influential anti-imperialist group of States, which includes the Soviet

Union, the States of the socialist community and the non-aligned countries. An ever-increasing number of States are becoming part of this group. And that is why any kind of innuendo directed against the socialist community is completely out of place.

254. I can assure you that the dictators of the Chilean junta cannot even dream of the level of human rights which is guaranteed and safeguarded in any socialist State.

255. Mr. CHEBELEU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): With reference to the matter under discussion in the General Assembly, I should like to inform you that the Permanent Representative of Romania to the United Nations has been asked to transmit to the Secretary-General and to the President of the current session of the General Assembly the following message from the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu:

“The President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, expresses his profound concern at the threat to the life of Luis Corvalán. General Secretary of the Communist Party of

Chile, and other leaders and active members of the Chilean Popular Unity Party, the political front of the Government of the late President Allende.

“The President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, addresses an appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the President of the General Assembly, requesting that they intervene as soon as possible with the authorities of Chile, the Governments of Member States of the United Nations and other United Nations organizations, and through any other means they may deem appropriate, in order to save the life of Luis Corvalán and other active party members and ensure progress and democracy in Chile, for the benefit of co-operation among peoples and in a spirit of respect for fundamental human rights and the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.”

256. The message will be transmitted as soon as my Ambassador is in a position to contact the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 2.35 p.m.