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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. PÉTER (Hungary): I am perfectly aware of the world situation by which we are all deeply impressed in these hours and days of our life. I also know perfectly well that the Security Council of the United Nations is seized of this situation and within a few minutes will hold its meeting.

2. I prepared my speech—if you will excuse me saying so—last week, and when I got the new information regarding the Middle East I wondered whether or not I should change my speech. I decided not to change it because I think that the basic factors of the international situation are the same today as they were a few days ago. But nevertheless I wish to quote Article 51 of the United Nations Charter because the Arab States in the Middle East should be conscious of the measures and of the possibilities contained in that Article:

“Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken

measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.”

3. On the questions and problems of the Middle East, since 1967 several new decisions have been taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly. These resolutions did not make it possible to free the territories occupied by Israeli forces after the 1967 aggression, and since the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council were not strong enough to free the occupied territories and to restore the rights of the Palestinian nation, the Arab States, on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations, and mainly on the basis of Article 51, therefore have every right to make every possible effort to liberate their territories.

4. I am not informed of how the activities in the Middle East were started and what results are being recorded for the time being. But I wanted to emphasize that, under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the Arab nations have every right to free their territories by all means at their disposal. And I must add that it is in the records of the United Nations General Assembly that the Hungarian delegation expressed this view several times during previous years. Therefore, it is not the present situation which gave me the idea to quote Article 51 of the Charter.

5. In spite of the present situation, I think that we have the right to speak about the improving international situation. I say “improving” because when we speak about improvement in this case we have to compare the actual situation with what could happen—that is to say, against the background of the danger of a thermonuclear war.

6. I think one is justified in saying that in the present world situation there are three main questions that occupy the nations. First, in what sense can we talk about an improvement in the international situation? In what sense are we justified in saying that we are experiencing a détente in the present world situation? Second, are the changes that we are experiencing today in international life lasting changes, or only superficial phenomena? And third, what should we do to make the present world situation more favourable and to secure the good results that we have obtained so far, and what should we do to attain even more favourable results, in the Middle East and all over the world?

7. I have listened very carefully to all the speeches that have been delivered here and have even studied them, and in the knowledge of those speeches I wish to explain the views of the Hungarian Government regarding the present world situation.

8. Hungary is a member of the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Viet-Nam. Therefore I begin with answers to these questions that have arisen through the Viet-Nameese situation in particular, and by the situation in Indo-China in general. I do so not only because Hungary is a member of that Commission, but mainly because the situation in Viet-Nam provides the most understandable answer to problems of the world situation that we are experiencing today.

9. What we are now experiencing—and I speak on behalf of a Government that is represented on the Control Commission in Viet-Nam—is a certain illustration of the world situation as a whole, and I think that the statement which was drafted last week was fully justified even by the events in the Middle East today.

10. In co-operation with the other members of the International Commission of Control and Supervision, the Hungarian Government considers it one of the principal tasks of its foreign policy to promote the full enforcement of the cease-fire Agreement, written and signed in Paris on the Viet-Nameese question,¹ and its transformation into genuine conditions of peace in Indo-China. This is our main task in our international activities and it is no easy one.

11. To that end we have to take into consideration several questions. How was the truce arrived at? What is the function of the International Commission of Control and Supervision and of the participants of the twelve-Power Paris conference? What could be done for a better solution and, finally, what kind of international co-operation, including possible assistance on the part of the United Nations, is necessary to normalize the situation in Viet-Nam and in Indo-China in general?

12. The truce in Viet-Nam was brought about by the four belligerent parties for reasons of their own, and its observance depends on the understanding and co-operation of the four belligerents in the first place.

13. Both the observance of the truce and its transformation into genuine peace will also in the future depend primarily on the four signatories, but they need international assistance. That is why the four of them together invited the present members of the International Commission of Control and Supervision to take part in the work of the Commission. They invited us. It was for the same reason that, again, the four signatories together proposed the convening of the twelve-Power International Conference on Viet-Nam, held in Paris in January of this year.

14. In the present situation something is wrong both with co-operation among the signatories and with international assistance also. This situation involves serious dangers, and its consequences can be incalculably grave.

15. First, the International Commission of Control and Supervision was paralysed for months; I might say it was

in an illegal state. The full legal conditions of its functioning are still non-existent today. The International Commission of Control and Supervision relies for its existence and functioning upon a single source of law: the Paris Agreement of the four ex-belligerent parties. That is the only source of law, and it provides that the Commission can function only when its four members act together. Owing to the fact that Canada felt justified in withdrawing from the Commission, and that the new member, Iran, was able to replace it only recently, the functioning of the Commission was interrupted for several months.

16. Second, the functioning of the Commission has already been inconsistent with the rules laid down in Paris and, in spite of Iran having taken the place of Canada, this continues to be so for the time being. The fact is that, according to the basic source of law, the Commission can function only together with the Four-Party Joint Military Commission of the signatories to the Paris armistice Agreement, that is to say, in co-operation with the Government of Saigon and the Government of the revolutionary forces of South Viet-Nam. But since, pursuant to the Agreement, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the United States of America ceased to be members of the Joint Military Commission, the other two signatories, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Saigon Government of South Viet-Nam, ought to have started co-operating in the framework of a two-party Joint Military Commission. This is a very important point in the situation in South Viet-Nam. This has not yet been done. Consequently, the internal situation in South Viet-Nam makes impossible the functioning of both the International Commission and its control teams.

17. Third, the failure of the arrival of international assistance is also hampering the realization of the plans of normalization envisaged in the Paris Agreement. That Agreement has three Viet-Nameese signatories. It involves three Viet-Nams. One of the three, the Saigon Government, maintains a permanent mission to the United Nations here in New York. But the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam are denied this possibility. This circumstance hampers also the implementation of the Paris Agreement and the normalization of the situation in South Viet-Nam.

18. International assistance is very much needed in Viet-Nam. It is needed in the economic field, of course, but what we have to urge here in the General Assembly of the United Nations is political assistance from international sources for the implementation of the armistice Agreement on Viet-Nam.

19. What are the arrangements of the Paris Agreement that call for international assistance? They are as follows.

20. First, the three Viet-Nameese signatories should be given equal treatment internationally. If the Saigon Government is represented here by observers, then the other two signatories should also have such representation here in New York. If for any reason this is not feasible and they cannot obtain the right to be repre-

¹ Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam, signed at Paris on 27 January 1973.

sented here, then in that case the representation of the Saigon Government should be terminated at the Headquarters of the United Nations. I think this is an issue that should be considered also by the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Saigon, and it is the intention of the Hungarian delegation to put some such proposal on the table of the Control Commission. The provisions of the Paris Agreement cannot be enforced in South Viet-Nam if its principles are undermined here in New York in the name of the United Nations.

21. Second, it is clear that for reasons that are well known, the question of Viet-Nam does not fall within the competence of the United Nations because the relations of the Organization with the parties interested in the question of Viet-Nam remain unsettled. The Act of the 12-Power Paris International Conference on Viet-Nam was signed by the participants, as stated in the instrument, "in the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations". This was preceded by long negotiations in Paris, carried on day and night. Those most directly concerned in this matter saw in this a significant stand in favour of the United Nations. The attitude of the United Nations towards the question of Viet-Nam depends to a great extent on the assistance that Member States of the world Organization can provide in carrying out the plans envisaged in the Paris Agreement. The possibilities for the United Nations depend on this question.

22. Third, we have to insist that the formation of the Two-Party Joint Military Commission in South Viet-Nam should enable the International Commission of Control and Supervision to function. Taking note of two Governments of South Viet-Nam does not mean creating three Viet-Nams instead of the existing two. Some people think that our proposal has as its end the creation of three Viet-Nams. Our position is as follows. The recognition of two Governments of South Viet-Nam does not mean the setting up of two South Viet-Nameese States. The measures necessary for constitutional life will be introduced under the direction of a council which could be created by the two new South Viet-Nameese Governments, by the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord created by the two South Viet-Nameese Governments, which will provide the necessary foundation for a genuine constitutional life in South Viet-Nam. The outside help needed for this purpose is to encourage the three Viet-Nameese contracting parties to comply with the agreement signed by them in Paris.

23. The world owes much to the Viet-Nameese people because in the current international situation, even with knowledge of the news on the Middle East, we are sure that there is a possibility of removing the danger of a new world war. This situation, which is favourable in spite of very threatening news, was prompted and prepared by the victorious activity of the Viet-Nameese people. Subsequently, we have to pay a tribute to the Viet-Nameese nation and we have to help the Viet-Nameese nation in creating such a situation for itself in which a normal and peaceful life is possible. The Viet-Nameese people have made an enormous sacrifice for the

attainment of the present world situation. It is now the duty of all peoples and Governments in the world—whatever their attitude and role may have been during the war in Viet-Nam—to offer their co-operation in the implementation of the Paris agreements for the sake of the Viet-Nameese people and the peace and security of the world at large.

24. As it was by a sharp turn that the possibility of the truce in Viet-Nam became apparent, so did the possibility of détente in Europe arise. In 1969 and in the early part of 1970 it was still inconceivable that representatives of the two German States would sit together in this hall. Later in 1970, on the other hand, the well-known treaties and agreements came about one after another.

25. Since 1969 the countries of Europe have travelled a long, long road towards institutionalizing their peace and co-operation. The second stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is now taking place in Geneva. The best advice for its progress is provided by the experience and lessons drawn from the negotiations held thus far. These lessons are the following, culled from the experience of Europe.

26. First, countries of other continents should be kept informed of the state of the European negotiations and intentions concerning international policies. The institutionalizing of European security is in the interests of all other continents in the world. This is so from the economic, political and security points of view alike.

27. Secondly, we in Europe must not forget that there is an interdependence between the problems of Europe and those of other continents. As the settlement of the question of Viet-Nam and the relaxation of tensions in Europe were mutually beneficial, so progress in the work of the European Conference will help to promote the settlement of the Middle East problems and, vice versa, the solution of the Middle East problems will help European States to settle their own problems.

28. Thirdly, persuasion, understanding and compromise have helped us so far to progress in the affairs of détente in Europe. We argued patiently with one another, trying to persuade each other. We came to an understanding wherever it was possible. We accepted compromise solutions where total accord was impossible. Considering the diversity of the participants in the European Conference, their differences in social conditions, historical background, geographical situation and specific interests, there are many questions in Europe to which only compromise solutions will be possible in the future as they were only possible in the past. If some now insist on rigid formulas and wish to force them upon others they will block the way to real progress.

29. Fourthly, progress requires at least a minimum of mutual trust. In the case of such deep-seated contradictions as exist in Europe a minimum of mutual trust there between countries and Governments means mutual realization of the coincidence of essential interests. Any action that disturbs the evolution of such a minimum of confidence can slow down progress. So those who wish to

place talks on the reduction of armaments before political détente are like the peasant who would put the cart before the horse. First we have to proceed with the Conference on co-operation, namely, to lessen political tensions and create a minimum of confidence. Then we can discuss military questions on their merits. Today's balance of military forces in Europe, among other things, explains the state of quiet in Europe. We do not let it be disturbed by ill-considered and ill-conceived actions. Those who perpetuate the remnants of the cold war period—the notorious international radio stations and other propaganda agencies—to serve the purposes of international reactionary organizations while speaking at the European Conference about the free movement of persons and ideas are suspect from the point of view of the creation of mutual trust. The socialist countries took the lead in urging the convening of the European Conference, in stepping up tourism and in pressing for East-West co-operation in the scientific, artistic and cultural fields alike. We think that what is most essential to the strengthening of confidence is to increase industrial co-operation between East and West, in Europe and all over the world. The experience of history shows that commercial ties can go with the wind if international relations become tense and peoples are separated by conflicts. But industrial co-operation—co-operation in production and in general joint production schemes—can better withstand and resist the adversities of the tensions of the international political situation.

30. It is probably correct to refer to the world situation by saying that either a series of security systems will be created in various continents, or that the life of our generation will be plunged into a thermonuclear catastrophe. The idea of such a plan has emerged recently particularly in connexion with Asia. Taking into consideration all that is now happening in Asia and in the Middle East, including the growth of the international importance of certain nations in Asia and including Siberia, Mongolia, the two Koreas, China, Indo-China and so on, it can be supposed that the coming years will provide an opportunity for the preparation of an Asian security conference.

31. At first there was much opposition to such an idea in Europe also, but finally the situation in Europe became ripe for the idea to be put into practice. The idea may still seem illusory today to many in Asia but the peoples of Asia, singly and collectively, may soon become aware that they can profit by the bilateral and then the multilateral talks on the preparation of an Asian conference on co-operation. There are already favourable signs which appeared after the war in Viet-Nam and the war on the Indian subcontinent. According to all indications, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan are coming near to a solution of their common problems. We hope Bangladesh will soon see the obstacles removed and be free to join in the work of the United Nations. New possibilities can be explored by the negotiations between representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Seoul authorities.

32. Japan can play a very important part especially on the Pacific coast of Asia, in improving international relations. Japan is the only country in the world that has

already been given a taste of the destructive force of atomic war. With the very fast development of Japanese industry and of the Japanese standard of living, Japan has become extremely sensitive to changes in international relations. Japan is interested in détente and can see that rising tensions are harmful—and may become more so. For this reason there is every justification for looking forward to increasing participation by Japan in international activities.

33. It is the Middle East that gives the least clear evidence of any change for the better in international relations. Nevertheless—and in spite of recent happenings—there are indications that a period of change may be opening up—and perhaps the present series of events in the Middle East may contribute to such a new era. You may remember what we heard last year in the General Assembly regarding Viet-Nam and Europe—in much the same way as we are now hearing what is going on—when by a sudden turn the adversaries came to see the necessity of co-operation. A similar situation may come to pass in the Middle East also within a few weeks or a few years.

34. What are the indications of finding a solution in the Middle East? They include, first, the unity and the co-operation of the Arab Governments are improving—and this is a very important factor in the Middle East; secondly, the unrealistic policy of the Government of Israel becomes more and more isolated and is clashing with world opinion. The Assembly knows how many times warnings have been expressed in this United Nations building asking the Government of Israel to pay heed to Security Council resolution 242 (1967)—but these proposals were never accepted. We hope that that resolution will be accepted by all who are directly interested in the Middle East.

35. In the matter of détente or no détente the United Nations has good reason to devote special attention to the growth of the international importance of the non-aligned countries, particularly now, a few weeks after the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries that was held in Algiers.

36. President Boumediène of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, as host of the Conference, in his appraisal of that historic event declared: "The veritable atomic bomb consists of the thousands of millions of the peoples of the third world". Political declarations like this have to be understood and explained in general as the speaker has meant those expressions. It is clear that President Boumediène has meant to liken the strength of the non-aligned countries not to the destructive and devastating force of the atomic weapon, but to a force effective against the danger of any new war.

37. The role of the non-aligned countries is indeed of immense historical importance from the point of view of international peace and security. As up to now these nations have had a great part to play in changing the international relations, so in the future they will play a still greater role in improving international contacts. The vast majority of the non-aligned countries consists of those nations which, after tens or hundreds of years of colonial oppression and exploitation, have won

independence in the past 10 to 20 years. The appearance of these countries in international life was of great importance and it was of great help in liquidating the cold war and in improving international understanding. These countries have changed the international atmosphere, among other things, by helping here in the United Nations, and outside it, to divert attention from invented problems of the cold war and to concentrate on really fundamental problems of contemporary humanity.

38. The participants of this large-scale Conference in Algiers dealt with every essential question of international life. The Hungarian Government followed the Conference with great attention. It is reasonable that at this year's session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, this Conference, its purport and importance, should be recalled not only by those who attended it, but also by those who are attentive observers of the manifestations of the Conference and their international repercussions. All burning questions of our day, from the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism to the new problems of the law of the sea, were under consideration and discussion either in the framework of the general debate of the Conference, or in its commissions, or in its resolutions, or in the interventions of heads of State.

39. There were some who described the Conference as the peoples' coming of age. Those peoples of full age gave forth a sensitive response to the events in Chile. It is very interesting to know what had been said in Algiers regarding the problems of Chile. The Foreign Minister of Chile had taken part in the preparation of the Conference, but President Allende was no longer in a position to leave his country because, conscious of his responsibility, he wanted to meet the impending challenge and attack of the plotters. News of the murderous attempt against Allende in Chile reached Algiers in the closing hours of the Conference. The international reception of the events in Chile was well described by the 12 September issue of the Algiers daily *El Moudjahid*, which in its summary of the results of the conference in Algiers wrote this about the Chilean tragedy:

"A few days ago 2,000 million people, through their representatives, sent from Algiers their greetings to the Chilean people struggling for its future. The third world, assembled in our capital, in Algiers, welcomed the victories won by that Andean people under President Allende's leadership. At the same time it expressed its anxiety about the intrigues plotted by outside forces against this original experiment aimed at the liberation of man. A few days after this message of solidarity had been issued, bombs were dropped on La Moneda Palace and President Allende is dead."

40. Since that time we know how much of the tragedy of the nation of Chile has been experienced. I have to salute the President of the present session of the United Nations and the Secretary-General for having felt the need to intervene in Santiago, Chile, concerning the fate of many patriots of the Chilean nation. It is in this international atmosphere that the Chilean people has to suffer from the chaos produced by the assassinations. Since the functioning of its diplomatic mission in Chile had been

made impossible, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic decided to suspend Hungarian-Chilean diplomatic relations. For the first time in the history of mankind, the countries of Latin America are now truly taking part in the moulding of international policies concerning the destiny of the whole world. The people of Chile cannot be debarred from this either. Time and the development of international relations work, and will work, for the triumph of Chile's democratic traditions.

41. In Algiers the representatives of the non-aligned countries decided to hold their next conference at Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1976. It is conceivable that by the time of the Colombo conference considerable progress will have been made, with the assistance of the United Nations, both in the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and in the settlement of the economic problems of the world.

42. And we hope that you, Mr. President, will be happy to greet the next conference of the third world in your native land.

43. At the current session of the General Assembly great attention has been aroused by the proposal of the Soviet Union [A/9191]. That proposal is really worthy of considerate attention because, if carried out correctly and with good will, it may give rise to favourable new occurrences in the fields of disarmament, economic development and international political co-operation.

44. I begin with the political effect of the Soviet proposal. The proposed joint action of the five permanent members of the Security Council may create better conditions for the co-operation of the five nuclear States in checking the armaments race. If the five great Powers can come to an agreement on the principles of a collective reduction of their military budgets, the political effect of such a step would be of paramount importance for the handling of the questions of disarmament, the continued improvement of international relations, and the consolidation of truly peaceful conditions in international life.

45. At present, disarmament negotiations take place in three different forms: first, on a bilateral basis between the Soviet Union and the United States; second, at the well-known Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva; third, in the framework of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. In all three cases it is a serious problem that all five great Powers are not united in understanding the purpose of those negotiations.

46. If it now proves possible to take a step forward, the co-operation of the five nuclear States would not only promote these three kinds of negotiations but also facilitate the convening of a world disarmament conference. A conference of this kind held in earlier years, in which the States then Members of the United Nations participated, gave impetus to a more active handling of the questions of disarmament. That is how the Geneva Committee on Disarmament came into being. Now that great progress has been made in the

universalization of the United Nations, a disarmament conference of all States Members of the United Nations could bring forth new ideas about more efficient forms of dealing with disarmament problems. Such an agreement between the five great Powers may also greatly promote the improvement of the political atmosphere by increasing the confidence of small States that such co-operation is possible.

47. The economic consequences would, of course, only gradually appear: first, to the extent that the five nuclear States come closer together; then to the extent that other countries follow the example of those five members of the Security Council. But the proposal shows by itself that as international political tensions are lessening, so it becomes possible to contemplate releasing the resources absorbed by armaments, resolving burning international economic problems, and tackling questions involving the very subsistence of the human race.

48. A question of fundamental importance is whether the détente of our days is a lasting one or only temporary. If it is temporary, then it is time to prepare for new conflicts, as is being done in the Middle East. We in the Hungarian Government, mindful of the basic factors underlying the present international situation, and keeping them in the background of all present-day events, are of the opinion that we may prepare for a lasting improvement in the international situation, including the situation in the Middle East. The durability of détente is demonstrated, as a matter of fact, in this debate, and even in the debate regarding Middle East problems. There were only a few statements here that did not reflect the real intention of improving international relations. I wish to mention only one of those speeches, mainly because I think we may draw some very positive conclusions from the content of those negative speeches.

49. As the Chinese proverb goes, "There is a good side to every bad thing". The Chairman of the Chinese delegation, in his statement [2137th meeting], did not make a single proposal for actually improving the international situation, for the development of co-operation between countries, or for the solution of problems of the developing world. He disparaged everything that can today be called an improvement—for example, if someone looks at the world situation in a human manner. He has extolled everything that is bad in the world situation today; finally, he demanded that the United Nations be made more effective, stating at the same time that the years since the restoration of the rights of China in the United Nations have brought great disappointment to the People's Republic of China.

50. The Hungarian People's Republic is one of those Member States of the United Nations which for years and years have consistently argued here in this hall and in several committee rooms of the United Nations against enforcement of the unjust resolutions adopted against China by United Nations bodies. We were always with China in this respect. It is strange that now it is that very same China that indiscriminately demands the enforcement of United Nations resolutions. I think that the representative of China should read the resolutions

which the United Nations passed against China. As a member of the Security Council, the delegation of China, making use of the right of veto, has up to now prevented the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations. Yet here, in the General Assembly, it advocates the revision of the Charter which also granted the right of veto to China. These last few years have been a disappointment to many, especially because one of the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations, during the years of its membership, has put forward in this Organization not a single constructive idea or proposal, only intrigues. The United Nations records bear evidence of this fact for anybody to read. They also show that the Hungarian delegation has always joined forces with the countries which made every effort to restore to China its rights in the United Nations. Those efforts have been crowned with success. The delegation of the People's Republic of China is present in the United Nations. Despite bitter experience we do not regret what we did here for the sake of the People's Republic of China. It was justified because we feel sure that the bitter experience of the past few years will prove to have been a passing phenomenon and that China will be a constructive Member of the United Nations.

51. Besides, the current improvement of the general international climate is usually disparaged by those who have contributed nothing towards it and who hold the naive belief that they will benefit by international tensions. Such negative manifestations against the improvement of international relations cannot effectively influence the work of the General Assembly—that is the good side to this bad thing. Hopes for an improvement in the world situation—in the Middle East, in Asia, in Latin America and in Europe—are so strong and overriding that such antiquated ideas are passed over by the General Assembly.

52. There are weighty reasons why I am speaking in such a way. International relations today are such, and the consequences of armed conflicts are so disastrous, that all countries, regardless of their social systems, are equally interested in an amelioration of the situation leading to international co-operation. Of course, this realization can only gradually come about and many obstacles have to be removed beforehand.

53. No doubt the first to come to that realization was the Soviet Union. I could cite also many other examples from the history of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, but since it was the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1971 that gave the most comprehensive summary of the steps to be taken in the present state of world affairs, I shall refer to that in the first place. Although this reflects the position of a Party Congress, very many countries today, regardless of their social systems, endorse the programme of peace formulated by it. It is clear from that Soviet programme of peace that the Soviet Union, despite all difficulties, wishes consistently to improve its relations with all countries and to offer its international co-operation in the definitive elimination of the danger of thermonuclear war.

54. With new initiatives in its foreign policy, the United States has accepted also, as a programme point, that after the confrontations it must embark on consultation.

55. France has played an historic role in the realization that after the cold war following the Second World War, a period of co-operation must emerge for independent countries with different systems. The slogan a "European Europe" was a French definition, and was the expression of a new historic necessity in Europe.

56. If the United Kingdom could stop raising problems concerning the "smaller Europe" and pay attention to European Europe, and to the most important questions in international life today, it would be beneficial not only to the United Kingdom but to all of us.

57. Now for the first time the Chinese people live in a united national State. It is only a matter of time before Taiwan will also find a way to settle its relationship with the mother country. The requirements for the advancement and prosperity of the great masses of the people of China also make the People's Republic of China interested in easier international relations.

58. That is what I wish to say with regard to the five permanent members of the Security Council, on the one hand, because their co-operation is decisive for the future of the United Nations, and on the other, because I spoke earlier about the relevant interests of the two German States, India, Japan and other countries.

59. The Hungarian Government believes that despite all difficulties and obstacles, the current movement for improving international relations will continue. That movement has been brought about by such fundamental causes as will help us to co-operate successfully in making the improvement in the international situation a lasting one.

60. Great tasks lie ahead of the United Nations. Expectation is growing in connexion with the increased efficiency of the United Nations. This hope is encouraged by the admission of new Members, first of all the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. If it proves possible to rectify the mistakes committed earlier in the name of the United Nations, as is expected in the case of Korea and Indo-China, then the United Nations will have greater possibilities in the Far East. There is a growing desire to make better use of the possibilities opened by the existence of the United Nations for the settlement of international issues.

61. Finnish-Hungarian talks were held recently between representatives of two nations having many things in common in their heritage and their history but with different social systems today. At the invitation of President Urho Kekkonen of the Republic of Finland, the First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, János Kádár, paid a visit to Finland. The joint declaration of the two statesmen on international questions had this to say about the United Nations:

"Both sides consider it necessary to promote the full implementation of the principles laid down in the

United Nations Charter and to support the world Organization in the just settlement of international problems."

It is a statement of two representatives of two States Members of the United Nations having different social systems.

62. The Hungarian People's Republic, together with other States Members of the United Nations, is interested in the relaxation of international tensions, in the solution of problems in the Middle East and in the strengthening of peace and security. For those very reasons, we take part, both within and outside the United Nations, in every international action which promises to improve international relations, to make what is called *détente* a genuine and irreversible relaxation of tensions and a real solution, by negotiation, of controversial issues.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador) took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 22

The situation in the Middle East (*continued*)

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the next speaker, I would ask the Assembly to allow me to call on the representative of Egypt, who wishes to make a short announcement.

64. Mr. MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from French*): Following upon the statement made this morning [2143rd meeting] by Mr. Mohamed Hassan El-Zayyat, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, I should like to bring to the knowledge of the General Assembly of the United Nations that the city of Port Said in Egypt has been bombed today by the Israeli Air Force.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

65. Mr. ALLADAYE (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my feelings, as from this high rostrum I address you, our Secretary-General and the representatives gathered in this august Assembly, are no more than the serene concern of the neophyte who can contribute nothing other than his faith and readiness loyally to serve the common good of mankind. However magnanimous such feelings may appear to be, I cannot refrain from rendering reality's due. And the reality is that we are here in a forum with more than a quarter of a century of experience and existence, a forum which has forged for itself practices, a style and methods of action. It therefore goes without saying that a certain amount of caution when taking positions, certain urgings to realism and moderation in the face of problems calling for vigorous and immediate solutions and a certain degree of compromise which one is called upon to accept, failing firm and unanimous decisions in the face of international situations extremely serious to peace, might well exasperate beyond endurance the indulgence and patience of those who are not accustomed to move in diplomatic circles.

66. Indeed, the echoes which flow from here to the world of the laymen leave too much room for frustration and despair.

67. But we are here because we sincerely believe that the large majority of nations of the world have decided to live together in peace and to translate into concrete measures the will of peoples to base their relations on the principles of equality and justice. Starting from this premise, one may well think that our shortcomings and failures in the face of certain international situations are due less to the lack of collective will of States to settle the problems before us than to a certain amount of national selfishness and certain prejudices of which we have not yet succeeded in ridding our minds. One may therefore well believe that this Organization can be made to serve its real purpose, namely, to safeguard and preserve peace in the world provided its Members make greater efforts to observe the provisions of the Charter.

68. Thus we believe that this Organization can still pursue its task of promoting greater justice for all. To this end, men of goodwill must place all the resources of intelligence, science and wisdom at the service of the solidarity and co-operation we seek to accomplish here. In this connexion we are happy to see that the universal purpose of our Organization is becoming stronger, and it is with true satisfaction that we welcome the admission of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, to whose delegations we extend our sincere congratulations.

69. Mr. President, it will therefore not be only because it is customary or in order to discharge a duty, however pleasant, that I shall speak here of your election to the presidency of this twenty-eighth session. This event has for us a deep meaning at a time when the world has its eyes turned so often towards the American subcontinent. The important changes that have been progressively but surely taking place, since the beginning of the decade, are encouraging for the future and the development of the third world, while at the same time they are disturbing the erstwhile untroubled interests of the large monopolies of the wealthy world. From the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], prepared at Lima and held in Santiago, Chile, in April and May last year, to the meetings of the Security Council held in Panama City from 15 to 21 March and the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in Georgetown in August 1972, the Americas will have been the centre of attraction and the high point of the solidarity of the nations of the world which struggle to reconquer their dignity and their right freely to dispose of their economic heritage.

70. Today it is you, Sir, a worthy Latin American, imbued with the purest patriotic traditions of Bolívar, who are called upon to conduct the business of this Assembly to the service of which you have already devoted more than 20 years of your diplomatic career. Your unrelenting efforts and your profound devotion to the service of peace and international security do both you and your country great credit. You will understand our pleasure in working side by side with you with the

same ideals and hopes for the successful discharge of the enormous task ahead of us.

71. Before going any further, Mr. President, allow me also to pay a tribute to the glorious memory of that other son of Latin America, President Salvador Allende, that great patriot, that convinced democrat, who was so tragically assassinated when he was engaged in a decisive battle for the economic liberation of his country.

72. Our Secretary-General also deserves our praise for the perseverance and patience with which he discharges the many and delicate tasks which we entrust to him. His relentless ardour and his vigorous interventions more than measure up to the seriousness and paramount importance which he attaches to the role of this Organization for the establishment of an order of peace and confidence in multinational relations. It is a thankless task and a heavy responsibility to have to unravel the contradictions and complexities of the different systems under which our States develop. He has accepted the risk and for that we are deeply grateful.

73. Since 26 October 1972 the State of Dahomey has been governed by a team of young men opposed to all internal dissensions such as those that jeopardized the development of my country since its accession to international sovereignty. Dahomey is a small country but a country that started along the path of independence with the best possible chances for its harmonious evolution in the concert of free nations. In fact, we are generally known as a well-spring of human resources with cadres whose value is appreciated even beyond our national frontiers. With the dynamism and the inventive spirit of these cadres, we are well equipped to lead our country out of the dependence the purely nominal liquidation of which could not truly liberate us. Regrettably, what Dahomey has known over these last 12 years is a situation of indifference and avoidance of responsibilities. The politicians who held the reins in my country during that period spent the better part of that time in creating and maintaining among the masses of our population violent feelings of regionalism. During that time neo-colonialism and international imperialism had found in our country a fertile soil for the development of their manoeuvres of exploitation and enslavement. Disorder was rampant while the peoples continued to wallow in the most poignant poverty and misery. Our show-piece foreign policy had no other backing than its incoherence and enslavement to foreign anti-national interests. Our African personality had disappeared and left the field open to borrowed cultures and reactions which largely favoured the pernicious doings of our thinking masters and our exploiters. Dahomey was the sick man of Africa and the reactionary press of our foreign mandarins did not fail to so proclaim.

74. But no people can stand living forever in the fetters of shame and exploitation. On 26 October 1972 the people of Dahomey, helped by the patriotic elements of our national army, put an end to these internecine wars and resolutely undertook to free itself from foreign domination. Our political charter, elaborated for the first time in our history by all the living forces of the nation, without exception, acting in unity, was solemnly

proclaimed and adopted on 30 November 1972. The first few lines of that document give a clear idea of the new course on which we have embarked:

“The fundamental characteristic and the primary source of the backwardness of our country is foreign domination. The history of that domination is the history of political oppression, of economic exploitation and cultural alienation, of interregional and intertribal contradictions. But it is also the history of the lengthy struggle of the militant people of our country who, on 26 October 1972, marked a radical break with the past and started a new policy of national independence the basis and purpose of which are its interests and its personality.”

75. I felt that it was necessary to give this information on the new Dahomey that I represent at this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly because the generally accepted logic demands that we put our own house in order first before we judge the neatness of the home of others. The principles that guide our foreign policy are very simple, but they are also characteristic of the important changes that have taken place in our national life. We are striving to develop our foreign relations with all countries in the world without discrimination, on the basis of respect for national sovereignty, equality and mutual advantage. It is thus that since the accession to power of the revolutionary military Government we have decided in all sovereignty and in full awareness of what we are doing to normalize our relations with the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the German Democratic Republic. In so doing we have sought to prove that Dahomey will be neither the bailiwick nor the private preserve, as it were, of any Power seeking hegemony.

76. In Africa itself we have tightened our bonds of fraternal solidarity with all the countries that practise a true policy of African dignity. But we wish to state once again that the revolution that has begun in Dahomey is not directed against any State and that it excludes from the outset any discrimination in our relations with the outside world.

77. This appears to us to be very much in keeping with the development of international relations inasmuch as at the present time the developed countries themselves have just put an end to their cold war policy and proclaimed peaceful coexistence as a means of attenuating the consequences of oppositions and contradictions between their socio-political régimes. In fact, for the first time in the history of Europe, the plenipotentiaries of developed countries have met around the same table to consider ways and means likely to favour the development of relations between their respective countries in conditions of peaceful co-operation. We cannot but rejoice, and rightly so, at this historic initiative the results of which will not fail, I hope, to have generally beneficial effects on world détente and co-operation.

78. We wish that, at the same time, the conference on general and complete disarmament would make such progress as to enable it to serve as a support for the new

system of international relations that the European States are seeking to establish. It is already comforting to note that the new agreements recently concluded between the United States of America and the Soviet Union bring a fresh contribution to the cause of international peace and security. We rejoice, and again express our hope, that soon the day will come when the enormous resources at present earmarked for armaments will be devoted to economic development for the well-being of all peoples.

79. Thus we believe that it might not be inapposite at this juncture to devote as much attention as necessary to the proposal of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union aimed at a reduction of military budgets for purposes of assistance to development [2176th meeting].

80. However, in this second half of the twentieth century, the problem of international peace and security can no longer be solved within a regional or even a continental framework. The extraordinary development of the means of communication, the equally rapid growth in awareness of the peoples of the whole world, render the question of peace and security among nations one and indivisible. There will be peace and security for all peoples on earth, or there will be peace and security for none. Of this there can be no doubt.

81. Similarly, we note with concern that, while the great Powers speak of peace and appear to do everything to achieve it in Europe, there are some among them that, discarding all international morality and prompted by selfish national interests, continue to put arms in the hands of Stateless criminals, mercenaries and adventurers of all types.

82. Yes, despite the many wise resolutions of this august Assembly, despite the general disapproval of the international community, certain Powers continue to pursue their old policy of the cannon and the big stick, pursuing as their only objective the unbridled search for huge profits through the most abject and shameless exploitation of the third-world countries.

83. Thus Africa, my own continent, remains a theatre of imperialist wars for which Portugal, South Africa, Rhodesia and their allies are responsible.

84. The Middle East remains a theatre for a war of aggression and acts of violence for which the State of Israel and its allies are responsible.

85. The peninsula of Indo-China remains a theatre for wars of domination waged by local puppets and their allies.

86. Yes, despite general condemnation by the international community, Portugal, that insignificant and wretched country, continues to pursue in Africa its anachronistic policy of exploitation and domination. In resolution 1514 (XV), the General Assembly of the United Nations clearly defined the course that should be followed by the Government of Portugal in order to lead its former colonies to independence. But the only reply to this wise and relevant resolution that the Fascist State of Portugal has ever given was to intensify its policy of

oppression and terror against the innocent and unarmed peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. Buttressed by the complicity of some of the great Powers, Portugal believes it can remain indefinitely in those countries against the will of enormous native populations—a grave mistake which, unfortunately, also represents a grave threat to peace.

87. Today, in the area of the Sahara under Spanish domination, we find great tension engendered by the delaying tactics of the Madrid Government, which seeks to evade its obligations under the terms of the relevant decisions of international bodies. In order to prolong a situation the maintenance of which entails serious threats to peace in Africa, and disregarding General Assembly resolution 2983 (XXVII), the Spanish Government is endeavouring to oppose the nationalists in the Sahara with an assemblage of puppet elements who have sold out to colonialism—a serious error resulting from political short-sightedness.

88. Recent developments in the situation in Zimbabwe as a result of the adoption by the rebel racist régime of Ian Smith of measures of coercion and economic strangulation of our brothers, the people of Zambia, have indeed moved international public opinion and have stigmatized once again the Fascist type of policy being practised in that British colony. We shall never cease to repeat that the responsibility for that situation falls squarely on the shoulders of the British Government, which refuses—for reasons involving its own interests—to take strong measures against the minority régime in Salisbury. The equivocal position of London with regard to the Rhodesian rebellion acts as encouragement to those other States that violate with impunity the Security Council resolutions on economic sanctions and that provide massive military and financial assistance to the racist régime of Ian Smith. This situation is one of extraordinary gravity and as such constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

89. With regard to Namibia, that Territory which South Africa continues to occupy illegally in defiance of the relevant decisions of our Organization, the situation evolves day by day towards a clearer affirmation of the rights of the Namibian people to throw off the racist yoke of the Bantustans. Despite the repressive measures and arbitrary arrests carried out by Vorster's henchmen, the Bantustan policy is daily checkmated by the dynamic action of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO].

90. The boycott by the Namibian people of the illegal elections recently organized by Pretoria clearly demonstrates that that people is mature enough to take its destiny freely and fully into its own hands. We are not unaware of the efforts made by our Secretary-General to arrive at a peaceful settlement of this problem, for which we sincerely thank him. But what can we expect in the face of the obstinacy of the authorities of South Africa in pursuing their policy of repression and torture?

91. Further, racial discrimination established as a political philosophy under the name "*apartheid*" continues to be the daily lot of the black peoples of South

Africa. The international community has condemned this shameful policy in a multitude of resolutions. The authorities in Pretoria have nevertheless remained deaf to this general condemnation. And why? Because they too can rely on the hypocritical manoeuvres of certain Members—and not the smallest Members—of our Organization who condemn *apartheid* here while at the same time increasing their economic, financial and military assistance to South Africa. This ambivalent and criminal attitude, which unfortunately is one of the contradictions and disgraces of this noble Assembly, is, in our view, a political mistake on the part of the great Powers and constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security.

92. It is true that nothing can indefinitely contain the aspirations of peoples seeking to achieve their freedom. All those peoples that are oppressed today because they are calling for greater dignity and justice; all those men, women and children who are helplessly massacred today so that the resources of their countries and the fruits of their toil may be the more easily plundered—all those peoples, I say, may perhaps not be victorious today nor even tomorrow, but they will certainly win some day. Of this there can be no doubt, and we loudly proclaim to all those who assist the minority régimes that for them the final choice will lie inevitably between recognition of the rights of the majority, and complete annihilation.

93. The resounding victory of the heroic people of Viet-Nam, after 25 years of epic struggle against foreign domination, against the most aggressive and stubborn imperialists, against the most inhuman and devastating military Powers that mankind has ever seen, and the equally resounding victory of the people of Guinea-Bissau over Portuguese imperialism, prove, if that is necessary, that there is no point in trying to dominate a people by force.

94. Allow me here, since I have an opportunity to do so, to applaud solemnly the independence of Guinea-Bissau, which the Government of my country has been happy to recognize as a sovereign State.

95. It is, therefore, through negotiation on an equal footing and not starting from positions of strength that we must seek a settlement of conflicts which threaten world peace. It is a solution of wisdom that we have always recommended and that we recommend again. From this high rostrum and in the name of all mankind, let all Members of this august Assembly unite their forces and place them at the service of just causes so as to shorten the sufferings of our peoples and avoid the despair that could plunge us into the infernal cycle of blind and deadly hatred. We are firmly convinced, in fact, that without the massive assistance and the complaisance of some of the great Powers all these illegal régimes would have already sought and found the road to peace and understanding with those populations that they are massacring uselessly today.

96. After so many years of war and suffering the peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula smile with a hope mixed with concern as they glimpse an uncertain peace before them. The hope of my country is that this peace,

won at such high cost by the martyred people of Viet-Nam, will prevail and repel the forces of evil. We also wish sincerely that the Government of the United States will at long last disengage itself from this part of the world and let the people of Cambodia and Laos settle their own problems without foreign interference.

97. We also wish that the important lesson drawn from the Viet-Nam war may guide our international action for the settlement of the conflict between Israel and its neighbours in the Middle East. Escalating arms and repression are no solution to this painful problem. Since 1948 the dispersed Palestinian people have lived in moral and material misery, as everyone here is aware. What success can we expect from a dialogue with people who have been deprived of all their possessions and reduced to indigence? What can we expect of people who daily live under the contempt and taunts that is the lot of the weak? What can we expect other than acts of despair? The problem of the Palestinian people whose lands were plundered is of great concern to my country. In 1948 this Assembly recognized the right of the State of Israel to exist, but at the same time it recommended that Israel should sign a just and equitable settlement to the Palestinian problem. Israel accepted the first recommendation concerning its existence but refused to respect the second, thus creating a crisis that ever since, and today more than ever, has constituted a threat to peace and security in that area.

98. Buttressed by the unconditional support of some of the great Powers, the State of Israel openly flouts the international community and wages a policy of terror and arrogance in the Middle East.

99. It is high time that Israel becomes convinced that solution to the problem is to be found in the strict and immediate implementation of all United Nations resolutions on the Middle East. We venture to hope that the great Powers will help, so that peace may return to that region and, at long last, the Palestinian people and the Arab States may recover their legitimate and inalienable rights.

100. What has been happening in the Middle East since 6 October 1973 confirms our opinion. If the Israeli authorities have always sought to delay the solution of the problem, no effort of our Organization will prevent an armed confrontation, because no nation worthy of the name would accept a situation where a part of its territory would be permanently occupied as the result of aggression.

101. We shall have occasion, in the course of the current session, to tackle the problem of the reunification and rehabilitation of Korea. Last year we noted with pleasure the laudable efforts of the two Governments of the North and South to pass from the stage of confrontation to that of negotiation. In order to avoid foreign interference likely to compromise the important achievements of that rapprochement, we have decided to encourage the two Governments to continue their discussions outside the framework of this Organization where one of the parties was not authorized to state its point of view. Today we are happy to note that as a result of international détente

the two Governments are represented in New York by observer offices. This dual presence, however, should neither perpetuate the division of the country nor constitute a prelude to the admission of two Koreas to the United Nations. In our view, any other solution could only compromise the independent and peaceful reunification aspired to by the two parties concerned. Thus, it will be understood that the presence of foreign troops in the southern part of the country cannot have our approval. It is for this reason that my country formally demands that United Nations troops stationed in South Korea be withdrawn and that the so-called Armistice Commission be dissolved.

102. One of the fundamental objectives of the policy of the Military Revolutionary Government of Dahomey is the realization of a society where all will live happily because they will have the minimum necessary for a decent life.

103. This aim, which Dahomey shares with many other developing countries, coincides with the purposes pursued by the United Nations. The Charter of our Organization, in fact, in Article 55 of Chapter IX lays down that "the United Nations shall promote . . . higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development."

104. By adopting the international strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], the United Nations community once again undertook to create conditions of stability and well-being and to ensure a minimum standard of living consistent with human dignity through economic and social progress and development.

105. To attain the realization of this fundamental condition which is essential to peace and stability throughout the world, two categories of complementary instruments are envisaged in general. First of all there are national measures for mobilizing human and material resources that are controlled by each of the developing countries in their respective territory. The Head of State of Dahomey stated in this connexion that "first we must rely on our own forces, on our own resources, on the creative initiative of the masses in our struggle to shake off the yoke of foreign domination, to develop our economy and to give our people the dignity and personality of a free people". But these national measures must be accompanied by measures of international co-operation which, on the whole, tend to improve the quality of human resources in the developing countries by facilitating the training of men and the acquisition of techniques that will make it possible to increase the productivity of those countries.

106. Production is, however, not an end in itself. Its primary purpose is to nourish men and to make it possible to accumulate, through international trade, capital goods designed to sustain, consolidate and diversify the development process.

107. The tasks that are required to achieve development are quite clear, the methods to accomplish them well known, and yet millions of human beings throughout the

third world continue to live an anachronistic life of poverty, when they do not simply die of hunger.

108. It is by living such dramas as those that have befallen the Sahelian countries that one realizes that with the present means available, national development measures are subject to the vagaries of fate beyond the control of the developing countries. As for international co-operation, everything goes on as if the wealthy countries cannot be moved except in the face of dramas that border on the catastrophic. Lucidity, intelligence and genius seem to be bowed in indifference and hardly troubled by the daily spectacle of hunger, misery and poverty. The generous impetus that in the recent past allowed reconstruction and development in entire continents ravaged by war is stifled in this instance by quibbling and casuistry.

109. There would be reason to despair of human solidarity, were it not that authoritative voices in the United Nations often come to shake the international community out of its torpor. We think, for instance, of the proposal made a few months ago by the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [FAO] concerning international action with a view to ensuring a minimum level of world food security. It deserves careful study in the hope that soon it will be applied in practice. We refuse to accept:

“... that in these, the years of the 1970s, our world, with all its scientific capacity and the slow appearance of a spirit of communal action, may allow the persistence of a situation in which human beings depend on rain and good weather for their food.”

110. In this connexion, my delegation also welcomes the proposal of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Henry Kissinger, to convene in 1974 a world food conference [2124th meeting]. However, we believe that the international community must not await natural catastrophes to help peoples that are affected, but rather should arm them so as to prevent those effects, for if it is good to give fish to someone who is hungry, it is better to teach him to fish.

111. By helping the developing countries to fight the spectre of hunger within the framework of concerted international action, the world community will also liberate human resources which will be able to make a valuable contribution to development. The acceleration of this process in the trade field calls for the stabilization of the price of products from those countries as well as an increase in their export earnings without forgetting, however, the need to eliminate obstacles of every kind that stand in the way of primary products in the developed countries.

112. The present monetary situation hardly enables the developing countries to obtain sure earnings from their exports on the international market. Thus, in the course of the negotiations to be opened shortly to review and appraise international economic relations, special attention must be given to measures designed to confer true advantages on the trade of the developing countries by ensuring in particular an increase in hard currency, the

diversification of their economies and the acceleration of their trade.

113. We are profoundly attached to international peace and security. Our efforts aiming at the promotion of the well-being of peoples stems from our conviction that the shortest road to the establishment of durable peace is not war but the economic and social development of the underprivileged.

114. The time has come to end this statement. I should like to end on a note of hope, the hope that is aroused in all hearts by the noble purposes of the Charter governing our Organization.

115. We see in the happy initiatives of peace and co-operation between the great Powers in general and the European countries in particular, a concrete realization of the objectives set by the nations that met in San Francisco at the end of the Second World War. The progress achieved lately along the path of general and complete disarmament leads us to believe that we were not dreaming when we advocated that one day mankind could live without confrontation born of conflicts of interest and influence and could pass on to an era of general solidarity where peoples would be happy and free and respect each other and each other's rights. In any event, for the great nations that dream is becoming a reality because the progress of science and technology makes it possible to envisage the process that will enable us to improve the quality of life. We want to see in these important changes that characterize our international relations today the proof that international peace and security are ideals, the realization of which can be achieved by nations and men.

116. Over 130 sovereign countries are represented in this forum where for close on a 100 days their plenipotentiaries will review all the burning problems threatening universal peace. I have touched upon some of those problems, the majority of which have already been the object of numerous discussions and recommendations in this same Assembly. Be they the continuous assaults of the imperialism of the wealthy and colonialist Powers in Africa or elsewhere, of racial discrimination established as a system of government, of the occupation by force of the territory of other States, of peoples divided following foreign interference or economic domination of one part of the world by another, the third world today stands outside the peace initiatives that the developed world multiplies in favour of international détente. The most pessimistic perhaps are not wrong in detecting in those initiatives a general conspiracy of the “haves” against the “have nots”. Because it is to be feared in fact that the settlement of differences between the developed countries may be achieved to the detriment of others. Universal peace is indivisible and there can be no true international détente if imperialism, colonialism, racism and economic exploitation of the weaker by the more powerful are still at the root of relations among peoples. There could be no international peace and security without the total elimination of those scourges from the life of mankind. This is a truth that it is our duty to keep well in mind throughout our work in order that the

United Nations may be the true place of understanding and universal solidarity.

117. Mr. ALMUFTI (Jordan): Mr. President, it is my privilege to add my voice to those of the speakers who preceded me in congratulating you on your election to the high office of the presidency. I would also wish to express my hope and belief that under your wise stewardship the work of this twenty-eighth session of the Assembly will be carried out with maturity and expedition. I am delighted that a distinguished son of Latin America is now at the helm.

118. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Trepczyński, for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the work of the twenty-seventh session of the Assembly.

119. We are meeting today in a situation of ominous gravity. Full-fledged fighting is raging once again in the Middle East, underscoring the enormity of Israeli aggression and its seizure of the national soils of three Member States—Egypt, Syria and Jordan—since the earlier aggression of 5 June 1967.

120. Precious lives, representing the cream of their countries, are being offered for the national survival in dignity and peace.

121. It is unnecessary and irrelevant to attempt to refute Israeli allegations as to how the firing started. It started as a culmination of a condition of continuing aggression and occupation. Suffice it here to state that fighting is raging on the national soils of Egypt and Syria and that the sons of these sisterly countries are operating in their own homelands.

122. The blood of those innocent youths stains the hands of the Israeli leadership, whose motto all along has been, as this Assembly knows all too well, that might is right; that the only measure of justice is the intensity of fire-power and the intricacies of modern mechanical gadgets.

123. Whatever the fortunes of war might be, the United Nations represented in this Assembly should continue to shoulder the supreme responsibility for ensuring that Israeli aggression shall be terminated and that the territories of Egypt, Syria and Jordan, occupied for well over six years, shall be restored to their rightful owners.

124. In the meantime, let us all hope and pray that the long ordeal which has been imposed upon our countries by Israel's wanton aggression, will at last come to an end, enabling our peoples to resume their onward march on the road to progress, development, and peaceful existence.

125. The concerns of the world are also our concerns. What I had intended to speak on in this general debate encompassed the whole spectrum of your Assembly's concerns, political, economic and humanitarian. But the urgency of the events in my area necessitates a departure from the conventional review of international concerns and achievements to a more direct focusing on the present agonies of our peoples at war.

126. It is agonizingly hard for us to go on repeating year in and year out the painful story of the aggression to which the peoples of the Middle East have fallen victim since the 1967 conflict. It also must be agonizing to this world body to be reminded constantly of its inability to deal effectively with it. And yet, at the cost of repetition, the facts as they stand today must be reaffirmed in this general debate on the world situation. What I intend to state I will do so without acrimony or rhetoric. It is rather the facts, the bare facts, as they exist today and they are as follows:

127. First, since June 1967 Israel has been in occupation of the national soil of Jordan, Egypt and Syria, and under its military rule it enslaves over a million of the indigenous inhabitants of the occupied lands. This is in addition to the one and a half million Palestinian Arabs rendered homeless refugees by the gross injustice and convulsions of 1948. It is a sad epilogue to the great chapter of liberation which the United Nations has witnessed and has helped to forge through over the past 25 years.

128. Secondly, notwithstanding the fundamental principles of the Charter and the multitude of definitive resolutions of the United Nations in opposing conquest, Israel adamantly refuses to withdraw from the occupied territories. In the early years of the occupation, the refusal was based on procedural and mechanical pleas. When these became no longer tenable, Israel came out unrestrained in its penchant for territorial expansion. No longer are the claims for annexation the irresponsible urges of the fanatics and the few. They recently have been incorporated into the official platform of the ruling party, in preparation for the forthcoming elections. If one adds up the territories claimed by the various members of Israel's ruling establishment, they would amount to practically the whole of the occupied lands.

129. Thirdly, virtually every part of the occupied lands has been earmarked for eventual, if not immediate, annexation and colonization, either on grounds of alleged security or of the Zionist mythology. Although the weight of colonization has fallen more heavily on some parts than on others, it is now generally conceded that the tempo of colonization is less inhibited by considerations of international law than by the absorptive capacity of the new colonial Power.

130. Within the over-all strategy of colonization, programmed in practical stages, Israel feverishly is engaged in absorbing and settling the occupied lands. Settlements are mushrooming everywhere, whether in occupied Egypt, Syria or Jordan. The national character of these centuries-old Arab lands is being destroyed systematically.

131. Jerusalem, the city of peace and of eternal history, to which hundreds of millions of people belonging to all religions and denominations look with the reverence which it deserves, is being disfigured beyond recognition, the victim of parochial and heedless fanaticism. And while this blasphemy against civilization continues unabated, the world watches with subdued anger and

helplessness. Even the Security Council's specific resolutions to save the city have remained no more than ink on paper.

132. The Israelis are carrying out these acts of despoliation, confiscation of lands and property and the eviction of the inhabitants of Jerusalem under one false pretext or the other. It is a situation where the occupying Power is devouring by every means the occupied city and destroying its historical, cultural, physical, and human character. What else can this be but the most naked act of conquest and annexation which heeds nothing but its own brute force and its utter insensitivity to the beliefs and welfare of the world at large?

133. It should be recalled that immediately after the 1967 conflict one of the first acts of the General Assembly was the adoption of a resolution [2253 (ES-V)] for the preservation of the historic character and the *status quo* of the City as a trust of civilization. That trust has been totally abused, the resolution callously ignored. Should the United Nations continue to watch in suspended animation while the process of devouring the Holy City and its people continues unchecked? But the suffering of occupation does not end there.

134. The economies of the occupied territories are being made appendages for the purpose of serving the designs of occupation and the eventual absorption of those territories and their peoples. Large areas of arable land on the west bank of the river Jordan are forcibly made idle by the ever-expanding "military zones" and Israeli armed settlements. The gun is replacing the tractor, and the farmers are left with no alternative but to be herded into Israeli farms and industries, only to be discarded when the time is ripe for their eventual expulsion.

135. No one knows better the direct destructive effects of the occupation than my own country and countrymen. Jordan is a country torn asunder by occupation. Well over one third of its citizens are the victim of that occupation. Hundreds of thousands of its own citizens and residents of other occupied Arab lands have formed another category of misery on its eastern bank, under the name of "displaced persons". The economic and social burdens of the occupation are as heavy as the pain of dismemberment is acute: Jordan continues to bear the enormous burden of supporting by every means, economic and otherwise, the determined efforts of its citizens to survive economically, culturally and demographically under an occupation of displacement.

136. Fourthly, less tangible but perhaps psychologically more devastating is the climate of extreme uncertainty which surrounds the lives of the masses of people in their occupied homeland. No one can be sure when the dual pressure of Zionist xenophobia and massive Israeli immigration will create conditions which will transform the policy of gradual displacement into one of outright expulsion. The perpetual fear of such an occurrence is understandably traumatic. The sense of living on borrowed time can end only with termination of the occupation.

137. Fifthly, it might be argued by those who have not had the opportunity to follow closely the sequence of events that a mere compilation of grievances, no matter how just, does not in itself lead to a solution. The answer is that in November 1967 Jordan accepted Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which outlined the basis of a just settlement in the Middle East. By that resolution, the Arab parties accepting it committed themselves to the establishment of a lasting peace in the framework of Israeli withdrawal, mutual guarantees and a just solution to the tragedy of the first victims of Israeli violence, the homeless and dispossessed Palestine Arabs.

138. Within that context, we extended full co-operation to the sincere and dedicated efforts of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who has been entrusted with the task of working out with the parties the modalities of implementation.

139. When the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, undertook his commendable initiative and visited the area recently, Jordan expressed a genuine and unmistakable resolve to work for a just and lasting peace, provided our sovereignty and territorial integrity were not tampered with. But at every juncture in the process of peace-making, the Israeli Government obstructed the process. Israel's negativism has been widely revealed to the world at large in spite of its deliberate obscurantism, as Israel's designs against the occupied lands unfolded in their full ferocity. It is clear now that Israel, in spite of all its claims to the contrary, is not seeking a just and lasting settlement, but territorial expansion and political hegemony in the area.

140. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly obvious to the adjacent Arab countries that, instead of making amends for the ruthless dismemberment of Palestine and the displacement of its people, Israel is only determined to do more of the same.

141. We listened the other day to the statement of the Foreign Minister of Israel before this Assembly [2139th meeting], in which he outlined Israel's policies towards the tragic situation prevailing in the Middle East. That statement, of course, contained no new departures or revelations, except for its attempt to use language to conceal real aims. It would be a futile exercise to engage in polemics, and equally futile to dismiss lightly a statement so fraught with the most serious policy contents. Let me cite just one example in the manipulation of semantics to which this Assembly was subjected by Israel's Foreign Minister.

142. The Charter of the United Nations precludes aggression against States and the annexation of their national soil. And yet, because Israel occupies the territories of three Member States and has evidently no intention of relinquishing such occupation, the Foreign Minister of Israel declared, using the technique of the double negative, that Israel did not declare that it did not intend to relinquish all or even most of the occupied territories. In plain English, this means that Israel does intend to annex portions of the occupied lands and enslave their people. This is the crux of the whole matter.

143. That those portions already victims of annexation and colonization include Jerusalem—a continually expanding Jerusalem: to the north, to the south, to the east and to the west, one which practically devours the heartland of the occupied west bank and leaves the rest as virtually isolated pockets—does not seem to evoke much remorse in the Israeli assessment. That the lands annexed or earmarked for annexation include large areas of the fertile Jordan valley, to serve as a security belt, does not seem to impel the Israeli Foreign Minister to ask himself about the hundreds of thousands of human souls for whom such exercises in map-drawing mean a death sentence in the form of displacement, suffering, enslavement and alienation of themselves and of generations yet unborn and the loss of their past, present and future.

144. The trouble is that, underlying the whole of Israel's statement is an arrogant dismissal of any consideration of humanity or of other people's entitlement to God's grace and justice on this earth. The aggrieved inhabitants are simply impediments to be removed or shuttled around—not human beings to be accorded the inalienable human rights to which they are entitled, as are other human beings and communities.

145. The Israeli Foreign Minister told this Assembly that the Israelis have their roots deeper in that region, in tongue and in spirit, than all the rest. Do we have to remind Israel that when the Hebrew tribes set foot in Palestine some 2,000 years ago, and for a short interlude, they did not descend upon an empty wasteland? They came to the highly developed land of the forefathers of the present victims of the Israeli onslaught, only to marvel in exhilaration at the land of milk and honey which was the product of the toil of the indigenous inhabitants of the land. Palestine was their homeland ages before those tribes ever came there, and has remained their homeland up to the present day—or remained so at least until the Israelis, by brute force and violence, caused their displacement over the past 25 years.

146. Jordan and its Arab brethren have been faced since the occupation with a situation which cannot be accepted. They are for a just and lasting peace, but they cannot accept as its price the loss of their national soil or the permanent enslavement of their people. The Charter of the United Nations precludes any such *diktat*; the resolutions of the United Nations preclude it no less vehemently. And the spirit of the age marching forward to rid humanity of colonial domination and conquest is irrevocably aligned against it.

147. While we are adamant in our determination to hold on to our rights and national soil, we have a clear vision of how a just settlement can be established. These are its bases: first, Israeli withdrawal from all the territories occupied in June 1967; secondly, action to redress the injustice inflicted upon the Palestinian Arabs who were forced out of their homes in Palestine and dispossessed in 1947-1948 and whose rights have been recognized repeatedly since 1948 by the General Assembly; and thirdly, the enforcement of the principles

of a just peace envisaged in and defined by the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

148. Peace, to be lasting, must be based on justice. Without that no genuine peace can be achieved.

149. I shall end my statement, as I opened it, by urging the General Assembly, to unite in action to end the tragic ordeal of the peoples of the Middle East. The way to end it is not by side-tracking the fundamental issues which have given rise to it over the past 25 years, and more specifically over the past six years.

150. The fundamental principles involved are clear-cut and overwhelming. They are sustained by the Charter which pledges support for every Member State which falls victim to aggression.

151. Let us, therefore, unite all our efforts and our wills to save the Middle East, which is the cradle of civilization, from the scourge of war and aggression by reaffirming justice, freedom and peace.

152. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The overwhelming majority of speakers at this session of the General Assembly has noted with a feeling of definite relief and optimism the positive changes taking place in the world.

153. We are in fact witnessing a fundamental change in the entire post-war history of the world—a shift from the lengthy period of tension and “cold war” towards détente and confirmation of peaceful coexistence as an immutable principle in relations between States.

154. In analysing the course of events, it is impossible not to conclude that the trend towards détente did not come about of its own accord but that it has broken through and is gaining momentum as part of the arduous struggle of progressive contemporary forces against the forces of reaction and the advocates of the policy of negotiating from a position of strength. As we all know, the world system of socialism came into being after the Second World War and consolidated itself into a powerful stronghold in the struggle for peace and international security. The anti-imperialist, anti-militarist front of the peoples of the world has gained immeasurably in extent and strength with the emergence, as a result of the collapse of the colonial system, of new independent States which need peaceful conditions for their political and economic transformation and development. Thus, a huge number of countries and peoples has become involved in the building of peace. The effect of all this was to doom to failure the policy of negotiating from a position of strength and at last bring about changes in the direction of realism even in the foreign policies of a number of capitalist Powers.

155. The consistent and constructive peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, supported by many other peace-loving States, and the bold and persistent implementation of the programme of peace proclaimed by the Soviet Union, slightly more than two years ago at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party have been of decisive

significance in accelerating this crucial change in international life.

156. The political talks which Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had recently with the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States of America and France, the conclusion of treaties and agreements with these and other Western countries, the development of co-operation and friendship with India, Egypt, Iraq and many other independent States of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the constructive proposals submitted in conjunction with the Socialist countries concerning the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe—all these developments are graphic evidence of the efforts of the Soviet Union to carry out the Programme of Peace and to give new impetus to a further easing of tension on earth.

157. The war in Viet-Nam has now ended, and a whole system of treaties and agreements has been concluded in Europe thus easing the way for the strengthening of security and the development of co-operation. Although in the remote past the history of Europe was measured in periods of lengthy military conflict—the Seven Years' War, the Thirty Years' War, the Hundred Years' War, and so on—and although twice in the lifetime of one generation Europe has been the source of devastating world conflagrations costing tens of millions of human lives, today we have for the first time the possibility of measuring European history in decades of peace. To strengthen peace and genuine co-operation in Europe and to transform those ideas into a permanent factor in international life—that is the noble task of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the work of which, we hope, will reach a successful conclusion this year. The talks on the limitation of arms and armed forces in Central Europe are also of great significance.

158. In speaking of achieving détente, due credit should also be paid to the United Nations, which has done much to help establish an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence and co-operation among peoples and States. We note with satisfaction that in the new conditions of friendlier international climate the Security Council and the General Assembly have been able to decide the question of the admission to the United Nations of the two German States—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Our delegation has already had an opportunity to congratulate the representatives of those countries as also the delegation of a young independent State—the Commonwealth of the Bahamas—on the occasion of their admission to the United Nations. In welcoming with a special feeling of friendship and solidarity the admission to the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic, the Ukrainian people wish the fraternal people of the German socialist State further great successes in the struggle for the triumph of socialism and of peace and security.

159. At the same time, however, we cannot ignore the fact that, against the background of the tangible successes achieved by peace-loving forces, peoples and States in the easing of tension, important contemporary

problems remain unsolved: the dangerous arms race continues, hotbeds of armed conflict persist, and millions of people suffer in the chains of colonial slavery. Certain forces are still active which view with disfavour positive changes in international relations and the movement of peoples towards peace, independence and progress.

160. Détente and the strengthening of peaceful coexistence are being opposed by the imperialist circles, the elements of the extreme right, the military-industrial complexes which are profiting from the arms race, the counter-revolutionary leaders of the *émigré* group which have been expelled from their own countries, the Zionist extremists and, in short, by all those who have prospered from lies and the propaganda of hatred and enmity among peoples. Those who seek to turn backward the wheel of history to undermine the foundations of the détente which has been achieved and to denigrate socialist reality can be aptly described by the Ukrainian proverb which says that those who lurk in the dark shy away from the light.

161. The peoples of the world are aware of the need for ceaseless efforts in the struggle to strengthen peace, as can be seen from the wide support given by the popular masses and public organizations to the World Congress of Peace Forces, which is to take place shortly in Moscow. That is why, as V. V. Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, rightly pointed out in a recent speech made by him at Kiev:

“In the present international situation, when a constructive basis has been established and a considerable investment made for the further improvement of the political climate, the advocates of the ‘cold war’ find it increasingly difficult to breathe.”

162. All peace-loving forces must, however, maintain a high level of vigilance. The facts show that, wherever they have the chance, the enemies of progress use their vast propaganda machine to try to mislead people, kindle acute conflicts and foster conspiracies; in so doing, they have no compunction in resorting to armed force. That is what happened in Chile, where Fascist thugs overthrew the lawful Government, assassinated the President elected by the people and unleashed acts of terrorism against the people, brutally suppressing their desire for freedom, independence and a better life.

163. Our people angrily protest against the arbitrary action and atrocities of the military-Fascist junta and express their fraternal solidarity with the people of Chile; they are confident that the just cause of the Chilean people, for which the unforgettable patriot Salvador Allende and thousands of other Chilean patriots gave their lives, will triumph and that the butchers will receive the punishment they deserve and be damned by the people and by history.

Mr. Njine (United Republic of Cameroon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

164. Nor can we overlook the fact that the reactionaries, in their efforts to justify a policy of brinkmanship

and the maintenance of a state of tension which is so dangerous for the cause of peace, assert that although the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community affirm in their foreign policy the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States, yet they remain true to the ideas of communism and are determined to vindicate their ideology.

165. But surely even the troubadours of the "cold war" must be aware that the value of peaceful coexistence lies in the very fact that it enables States with opposing social systems and opposing ideologies to live in peace. In conditions of peaceful coexistence the opposition between two systems and the related conflict of ideas must not develop into interference in internal affairs or, *a fortiori*, into military confrontation, but must entail the peaceful settlement of disputes and mutually advantageous co-operation.

166. Given this understanding of peaceful coexistence, a solution can be found to many contemporary problems of vital importance for the further consolidation of peace and international security.

167. One of the vitally urgent problems which must be solved without delay is the situation in the Middle East. Here, as we all know, Israel, for more than six years, has been occupying Arab territories several times greater in area than the territory of Israel itself. During this time the Arab States, seeking to ensure a political settlement of the conflict on a just basis, have shown great restraint. However, the Israeli usurpers are flagrantly undermining the cause of peace and international security and defying Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Relying on the support of international Zionism and the most reactionary imperialist circles, they are pursuing an adventurist policy of annexation and expansion.

168. A few days ago guns began to fire again in the Middle East, and now military action is spreading havoc over an ever widening area. The peoples of the world are again faced with a dangerous turn of events. Now even those who earlier had some doubts have come to see clearly that the continued presence of the hotbed of Israeli aggression in the Middle East is the cause of the renewal of military operations.

169. The frequent discussion of the Middle East crisis in the Security Council has shown that only Israel and its protectors are opposed to a peaceful political settlement in that area. Israel persists in a policy of annexation, terrorism and oppression of the Arab peoples, seeking with the support of its imperialist protectors to undermine the progressive régimes in Arab countries and to maintain and strengthen at any price the positions of international monopolies, and the oil monopolies in particular.

170. But surely even rabid aggressors have realized that they cannot pursue with impunity a policy of usurpation and annexation, for such a policy generates irresistible opposition in the peoples concerned and rouses them to

fight for their liberation against the aggressors. This is true of any region on our planet, and it is true of the Middle East as well. That is why the smouldering hotbed of Israeli aggression has again kindled the flame of armed conflict in the Middle East and why the responsibility rests with the Israeli forces of occupation.

171. A just and lasting peace can be re-established in the Middle East only through the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which constitutes a realistic basis for a peaceful settlement in that explosive area. The withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied territories and respect for the legitimate rights of the States and peoples of the area, including the Arab people of Palestine, are indispensable conditions for such a settlement.

172. We share the opinion of those delegations which have stressed that the termination of the lengthy and bloody war in Viet-Nam is of the greatest significance for peace and security in Asia. We are confident that the talented and industrious Viet-Nameese people, with the brotherly assistance and support of the countries of the socialist community, will succeed very quickly in healing the deep wounds of the war and rebuilding their destroyed towns and villages.

173. We must not, however, forget that the peace in South-East Asia is still very precarious: the Saigon régime continues flagrantly to violate the Paris agreement, military operations are still being carried out in Cambodia, and the peaceful situation in Laos has not yet been properly consolidated. In addition, great efforts still need to be made to ensure genuine peace and security on the Indian subcontinent.

174. Complete normalization of the situation in South-East Asia, and indeed on the continent of Asia as a whole, would give new impetus to the efforts to establish peaceful co-operation among all Asian States on a basis of equality with no exceptions whatsoever—a development which would serve to strengthen international security.

175. The idea of strengthening collective security in Asia was greeted with interest in that vast area. The United Nations, too, could encourage a dialogue on this subject among the countries of the area, an action which would, incidentally, be in conformity with the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)].

176. We expect that even at this session the General Assembly will take decisions which will help to improve the situation in that important part of our planet. We refer primarily to the termination of the United Nations Commission for Korea, the disbanding of the so-called United Nations Command, which is a cover for foreign interference in Korean affairs, and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea. Such action will remove one more obstacle from the road to a peaceful political settlement of the Korean question without any outside interference.

177. A vital factor in the strengthening of international security—and one which is embodied in the United Nations Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security—is the strict observance by all States of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. On the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly adopted at its twenty-seventh session resolution 2936 (XXVII) concerning the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, having rightly noted that in the present situation a ban on nuclear weapons can be achieved only if, at one and the same time, States renounce the use of force in international relations.

178. Indeed, the most noteworthy stages of progress in the improvement of the international situation in recent years have been linked with an unequivocal affirmation of the obligations of States to refrain in their relations from the use or the threat of force. It is sufficient to refer in this connexion to the treaty of 12 August 1970 between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany or to the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, concluded between the USSR and the United States for an unlimited period on 22 June 1973.

179. The USSR and the United States undertook to take the necessary action to remove the danger of nuclear war and not to permit its emergence or the use of nuclear weapons by specifically agreeing that both sides will refrain from using force or the threat of force either against each other or against other countries. The salutary effect of this agreement on the international situation is obvious. And if other States, especially the nuclear States, were to adhere to the principle of renouncing the use of force and adopting decisive measures to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war—a principle jointly established by the Soviet Union and the United States—they would provide an even firmer guarantee of the strengthening of universal and lasting peace.

180. If someone “frightens the weak-willed”, as they say, with the non-existent threat of collusion between the “two super-Powers” but at the same time refuses to take part in the joint action to strengthen international peace, he thereby reveals his own demagogic and negative approach to practical international action to eliminate the threat of nuclear war.

181. We consider that all the conditions exist for the Security Council and all its permanent members to adopt specific practical measures concerning the non-use of force and, at the same time, the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2936 (XXVII).

182. No one who soberly assesses international events can fail to see that never before in the whole post-war period has the general climate changed so rapidly. An energetic search is under way to find solutions to the most important and the most weighty problems facing the world.

183. Among those problems is, of course, the problem of disarmament, which affects the interests of all States

without exception. It has many aspects, both general and particular. The practical experience gained over many years shows that it is useful to approach them in different ways: either on a bilateral basis or with the participation, for example, of a specially delegated group of States meeting in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, as is the case at Geneva, or in a forum in which all States can take part—the World Disarmament Conference. The need for such a variety of approaches to the solution of this complicated problem is dictated by life itself.

184. Consequently, some well-known treaties and agreements have been concluded in recent years which have played and continue to play an important part in the search for a consistent, concrete and effective solution of the problem of disarmament.

185. Because of the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water,² which has already been signed by more than 100 States, the atmosphere has become significantly freer of the products of nuclear fission, and a start has been made in preventing irreversible changes in the human environment. This year is the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], which has been an important milestone along the road to removing the threat of nuclear war. In our view, it is fully appropriate for new efforts to be made to increase the number of States which are parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to ensure its ratification by all the countries which have signed it.

186. The Ukrainian SSR advocates greater progress in the activities of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. The talks taking place under the auspices of the United Nations at Geneva deal with the broad spectrum of disarmament problems. We all know that the general efforts made both within the framework of the United Nations and elsewhere led to the preparation of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*]. The agenda of the Geneva Committee now includes the drafting of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. The socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, submitted a draft convention on the prohibition of such weapons³ for consideration by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. In our view, the situation is now favourable for the immediate adoption of this important convention.

187. The General Assembly has every reason to express its satisfaction with the position taken by the two strongest military Powers—the United States of America and the Soviet Union—on the limitation of strategic defensive and offensive weapons.

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964.

³ See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1972*, document DC/235, annex B (CCD/361).

188. However, no matter how gratifying the conclusion of the existing agreements may be, it does not of itself remove the burden of the arms race from the peoples of the world. Thus, as A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, pointed out in his well reasoned statement: "... only in recent years has it become possible to take the first ... steps towards limiting the arms race" [2126th meeting, para. 115]. But military expenditures continue to grow on a world scale at an increasing rate that is approximately twice as high as the rate of growth of world industrial production. This has a negative effect on the level of capital investment for non-military purposes and on the amount of funds made available for improving the living conditions of mankind.

189. Accordingly, the Soviet proposal concerning the 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 is of enormous importance for the cause of disarmament, for reducing the burden of military expenditure being borne by the workers, and for the provision of substantial additional assistance to developing countries [A/L.701].

190. It would, of course, be desirable that not only all the permanent members of the Security Council but also other States which have large economic potential and considerable military expenditures should join in the implementation of this proposal.

191. Our delegation fully supports and welcomes this timely and important proposal and hopes that this latest noble initiative of the Soviet Union will be supported by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations and by all progressive forces and peoples.

192. Many of the heads of delegations who have spoken from this rostrum, and above all the heads of delegations of developing countries, have already reacted favourably to the Soviet proposal. True, there were also delegations which did not find the proposal to their liking. Fortunately, they have thus far been few in number—only two or three.

193. Among the few sceptics and opponents of disarmament, as you have heard, was the delegation of a country which is a permanent member of the Security Council, that is, a country entrusted with special responsibility under the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of peace and international security and for disarmament. That, however, did not prevent the representative of that country, with his characteristic penchant for demagoguery and anti-sovietism, from opposing the Soviet proposal, which is aimed at solving the most important international problem of our times, namely, disarmament, and is dictated by a sincere desire to help satisfy the needs and requirements of developing countries.

194. So it has come about that a State which puts itself forward as a defender of small and medium-sized countries is in fact again taking up a position, as it has done at previous sessions of the General Assembly, which is opposed to the interests of those countries and is

opposing détente, the strengthening of international security, and disarmament. It has again been demonstrated that the representatives of this Power, in their judgements and actions, close ranks with the reactionaries and the opponents of détente; they make no constructive contribution to the United Nations and maliciously reject everything that is conducive to the safeguarding of peace and security of peoples and to disarmament. They try to cover up their bankrupt position with rabid anti-sovietism. Truly, as the popular saying has it, their bones are filled with spite.

195. At the last two sessions of the General Assembly, as we know, approval was expressed for the convening of a World Disarmament Conference to examine the problem of disarmament in all its aspects with the participation of all States and with due regard to the positions of all parties concerned. Unfortunately, the stand taken by two of the permanent members of the Security Council is actually bringing to nought the work of the Special Committee established by the General Assembly to make the preparations for the World Disarmament Conference.

196. In the opinion of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR, the sooner that this World Conference takes place, the sooner will further talks on disarmament, including those held under the auspices of the United Nations, be given a powerful boost and the sooner will speedy and concrete results be achieved in the matter of halting the arms race.

197. Our delegation therefore believes that the Committee established to convene the Conference⁴ could begin the preparatory work without delay. If any country, nuclear or non-nuclear, is not ready to take part in the work of the preparatory committee at this time, it can join it at a later stage.

198. The struggle for disarmament has now entered a very specific phase; the time has come for action. To assume the obligations of preventing nuclear war, renouncing the use of force and nuclear weapons, and reducing military budgets, to take an active part in the preparation and conduct of the World Disarmament Conference and to work for the early prohibition of chemical weapons and the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe—these are specific steps in the implementation of which all States, large, medium-sized and small, undoubtedly have an interest. Along this road are to be found limitless opportunities for peaceful initiatives by all Governments.

199. Disarmament is capable of consolidating and strengthening the process of mankind's turning away from the "cold war" period to an era of peaceful co-operation. Political, economic and other measures, supplemented by an easing of military tension, will undoubtedly bring stability and permanence to the processes of détente and improvement of the international climate.

⁴ Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference.

200. Our delegation considers that speedier progress towards the complete elimination of colonialism would be a very important contribution to the further relaxation of international tension and to the consolidation of the peace and security of all peoples. The existing colonial enclaves are permanent hotbeds of tension in international relations not only in Africa, but also in Oceania and Latin America—in all parts of the world where the desire exists to maintain the conditions of the last century and breathe new life into colonial régimes.

201. Profound indignation was aroused throughout the world by the bloody massacres carried out by Portuguese punitive squads against Africans in Mozambique and other territories. The fact that Portugal receives armaments from its NATO allies and enjoys their protection and support is not the least of the reasons for these colonialist outrages.

202. Peoples are aroused to just indignation by the inhuman *apartheid* régime in South Africa. The racist régime in Pretoria not only deprives the African population of South Africa of its elementary human rights but also constitutes, in fact, the foundation of the tripartite alliance of the colonialist racist régimes of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia or, as it is justly termed in Africa, the “unholy alliance” in southern Africa. Repression continues in Southern Rhodesia as well. Our delegation believes that there is and can be no justification for the sale of arms to racist régimes. The embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia must be strictly observed by all States. Diplomatic, economic and military relations with the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury must be broken off by all States which have not yet done so. Every day that the colonial and racist régimes continue to exist through the aid and support of Western monopolistic and military circles is an insult to the honour and dignity of Africans, an insult to the dignity of all honourable people and a threat to peace and international security.

203. In this connexion we again draw the attention of the General Assembly to the need for persistent efforts to achieve the earliest possible implementation of a programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. In accordance with the traditional policy of the socialist countries, our nation will continue to render every kind of support and assistance to oppressed peoples in their legitimate struggle for the elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR warmly welcomes the proclamation of the independence of Guinea-Bissau by the people of that country, welcomes the participation of representatives of the national liberation movements in the work of United Nations organs, and expresses its firm conviction that the day is not far off when new independent States created by the liberated peoples of the remaining colonial territories will be numbered among the Members of the United Nations.

204. The nature of the auspicious changes taking place in today's world confirms yet again the vision of the founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin. As early as 1920

he stressed that the policy of socialism created “completely different international relations which enable all oppressed nationalities to rid themselves of the imperialist yoke”.⁵ The present restructuring of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence enables States which recently attained independence to fight more effectively against exploitation by monopolist capital.

205. We are aware that the peoples of the developing countries are facing great difficulties. We know that international monopolies, because of their greedy nature, will not voluntarily renounce the pursuit of profits, the merciless capitalist exploitation of economically weak countries. We consider that, with the help of the United Nations, it is both possible and essential to establish a political and an international legal framework to regulate the activities of monopolies and make possible the introduction of profound social and economic transformations, thereby helping to protect the interests of the developing countries and countering the attempts of the monopolies to impede the social and economic progress of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

206. In this regard, particular importance attaches to: a further strengthening of the principles of the sovereign equality of States; non-interference in internal affairs; respect for the basic political, economic and cultural character of all States; equality of rights; and the right of peoples to control their own destinies and their own natural resources. These, indeed, are the principles which form the basis for the ever stronger relations between the socialist States and the developing countries.

207. Success in the development of international economic co-operation can in turn do much to strengthen the auspicious progress now being made in the political relations among States and can also make those relations long-lasting and irreversible and can confirm the triumph of stable and universal peace on our planet.

208. In the case of our country, which has suffered the horrors of devastating wars throughout its history, the direct interrelationship between the strengthening of peace and economic development is not just a theoretical issue. We built power stations and planted trees, we transformed the appearance of our towns and villages, and then, with heartfelt pain, we saw the fruits of peaceful labour perish in the flames of a war unleashed by fascism. The “cold war” and its legacy, the arms race, have diverted considerable energy and resources from peaceful development. But it is our wish that the installations built by the hands of our people should stand for centuries, that our orchards and fields should yield generous harvests and that future generations should continue our work on a peaceful earth.

209. That is why we support the joint efforts of all States in the establishment of the kind of international relations which will ensure that the “cold war”—together with its dangerous atmosphere of suspicion, the arms race and the clatter of lethal weapons—will recede into the irrevocable past and will yield, for all time, to lasting

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 5th ed., vol. 42, p. 107.

peace and mutually advantageous international co-operation.

210. The peoples of the world judge the political maturity of the United Nations as it approaches its thirtieth anniversary, not by its age, but by its actions, by its contribution to the strengthening of international security and the development of international co-operation on a basis of equality. May the bold and positive action of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the important problems which reality itself has caused to be placed on the agenda demonstrate the readiness of the United Nations to justify the great hopes placed in it by people of goodwill throughout the world.

211. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait):⁶ Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to express to you, on behalf of the State of Kuwait, heartfelt congratulations on your election to your high office. I should like to commend the high status you enjoy in international circles as a statesman with wide experience and outstanding reputation. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, for the manner in which he presided over the past session of the General Assembly.

212. Kuwait welcomes the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to the United Nations. This constitutes a major step towards achieving universality which will enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of peace and security. I should like also to take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to Guinea-Bissau on the proclamation of its independence, which constitutes a victory for the principles in which we believe.

213. In view of the grave events of recent days I shall confine my remarks to the situation in the Middle East. Clearly, those events are the inevitable result of the developments of the past six years.

214. Israel's occupation of territories of three Arab States through a war of aggression violated not only the natural right of those States to territorial integrity but also the principles of the United Nations Charter. And the continued occupation of those territories is tantamount to a continuation of the original aggression through which that occupation was accomplished.

215. The Arab States whose territories fell under Israeli military occupation in 1967 have patiently spent six long years waiting for the international Organization to adopt effective measures for putting into effect the principles of the Charter, the rules of the law of nations, and the provisions of successive international decisions. In the meantime, they have responded positively to every international attempt to ensure Israel's withdrawal within the framework of a peaceful and just settlement of the whole problem.

216. But those international attempts have been aborted, one by one, by Israel—which has shown nothing but disdain for international principles and the will of the international community. Israel has, in fact, formally proclaimed that its permanent retention of some of the occupied Arab territories is a natural right which it will under no circumstances give up, and that its withdrawal from the remaining Arab territories is subject—in its scope, circumstances and timing—to its own assessment of its national interest.

217. Moreover, Israel has proceeded relentlessly from proclamation to action. Inspired by its expansionist policies, Israel's practices in the occupied territories have sought to transform them demographically, economically, and politically into Israeli territories.

218. The international community, which has reviewed Israel's practices year after year, has condemned them and declared them null and void. I shall not burden this Assembly with a citation of the dozens of resolutions expressing this solemn international verdict. I shall merely refer to the most significant of recent decisions.

219. On 8 December 1972, this Assembly, by a vote of 86 in favour and 7 against [2105th meeting], declared once more that the acquisition of territories thus occupied must be restored; invited Israel to declare publicly its adherence to the principle of non-annexation of territories through the use of force; declared that changes carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories in contravention of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 were null and void; called upon Israel to rescind forthwith all such measures and to desist from all policies and practices affecting the physical character or demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories; called upon all States not to recognize any such changes and measures; and invited them to avoid actions—including actions in the field of aid—that could constitute recognition of that occupation [resolution 2949 (XXVII)].

220. On 26 July 1973, 13 members of the Security Council voted in favour of the eight-Power draft resolution which, *inter alia*, strongly deplored Israel's continuing occupation of the Arab territories and declared that no changes that might adversely affect the political and other fundamental rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories should be introduced or recognized.⁷ The fact that one permanent member of the Security Council chose to cast the lone vote against that draft resolution has served not to diminish the moral force of that expression of the Council's will, but to emphasize the extent of Israel's isolation in the international community.

221. Similarly, outside the framework of the United Nations, the international community has given unambiguous expression to its verdict.

222. Thus, the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], at its tenth ordinary session held in May 1973, strongly

⁶ Mr. Al-Sabah spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1973*, document S/10974.

condemned the negative attitude of Israel, and its obstruction of all efforts aimed at a just and equitable solution; called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied African and Arab territories; declared that all changes effected by Israel in the occupied territories were null and void; and pledged not to recognize any changes leading to a fait accompli or likely to jeopardize the territorial integrity of the countries concerned.

223. Similar pronouncements were made, a month ago today, by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

224. Israel's intransigence in clinging to the occupied Arab territories and refusing to withdraw has been inspired or fostered by three factors: first, by a greed for territorial expansion, which is an inherent and inseparable part of the objectives of Zionism and which is accompanied by an arrogant belief in Israel's superiority in all fields, including the military field, and by the further belief that such superiority absolves Israel from any obligation to submit to the supremacy of the law or to respect the rights of other peoples and States; second, by the continuous and well-nigh limitless aid which Israel has been receiving, and which it believes it will continue under all circumstances to receive, from the United States, in economic, military, political and other fields; and third, by the failure of the United Nations to take any effective action towards the application of its principles or the implementation of its resolutions.

225. The right of a State to self-defence is absolute and sacred. The Charter of the United Nations has recognized it as a natural and inalienable right of every State. It is incontestable that the right to liberate its national territory from military occupation is a facet of the exercise by a State of its right to self-defence.

226. Only last month, the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries solemnly declared its support for the legitimate struggle, by various means, of the Arab States concerned for regaining their occupied territories in their entirety.

227. The Arab States that are now fighting to liberate their usurped lands are engaged in exercising, on the battlefield, their absolute right to self-defence. They do so after having endured occupation patiently for six long years—during which they have seen Israel refuse to acknowledge its duty to withdraw but endeavour instead to transform military occupation into permanent annexation, and they have seen the United Nations nevertheless refrain from taking any action aimed at restoring their rights without bloodshed.

228. Kuwait supports without reservation the right of Egypt and Syria to liberate their occupied lands.

229. And—prompted by its faith in the principles of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force as well as by the bonds of brotherhood and common destiny which bind it to other Arab countries—Kuwait now renews its declaration that it places its capabilities and resources at the service of international rights and Arab brotherhood.

230. Mr. SABO (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): May I extend to the President, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of the Niger, my sincere and heartfelt congratulations upon his brilliant election to the office of President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This judicious choice is a tribute paid not only to his country but also to his distinguished qualities and his great experience with international problems.

231. My congratulations are addressed also to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, of the Polish People's Republic, whose great competence made it possible for us to achieve fruitful results at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

232. As for the Secretary-General, he may be assured at all times of our confidence and our support in any actions that he may be required to undertake in the interest of the international community. I must add that we have been greatly appreciative of his presence in Addis Ababa for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of OAU. It was considered by us as evidence of the interest he has in specific problems arising in our continent.

233. This twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly was marked immediately after its opening by an event of very great importance. I am referring to the admission to our Organization of three new Member States, namely, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. On behalf of the Government of the Republic of the Niger, I should like to express our great satisfaction at the decision taken by the General Assembly and welcome warmly the representatives of these three countries which have now taken their place as full-fledged Members of the world-wide Organization. We are convinced that their admission will bring to our Organization new energy and greater moral political forces.

234. During the year that has elapsed since our last session, other encouraging facts make us optimistic with respect to the future of our international community. First of all, it is always with great satisfaction and even with some relief that we see the great Powers discussing among themselves how to put an end to their differences and to establish a co-operation that will be free from any war-like attitudes.

235. Thus, in the Republic of the Niger we have considered the contacts which took place between the United States and the People's Republic of China, on the one hand, and the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the other, as salient features in modern events. A new positive step was taken on 22 June 1973 through the signing in Washington by President Nixon and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, of the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War. In our opinion, this agreement marks the birth of a new era in relations between the two super-Powers.

236. In the Asian continent the situation is much better than it was a year ago. Indeed, it is with unanimous relief that the whole world welcomed the agreements signed in

Paris on 27 January 1973, putting an end to the war in Viet-Nam. But the cessation of hostilities does not mean necessarily the establishment of peace. It is more necessary than ever to help the Viet-Nameese people to recover from one of the most difficult trials that any country has ever had in its history. More than ever, the international community ought to do everything in its power to accelerate the process of a rapid restoration of peace in this shattered country so as to make its reconstruction possible.

237. The recent agreement concluded on 28 August between India and Pakistan comes at an opportune time in putting an end finally to a situation which earlier kept enveloping the subcontinent in flames.

238. Moreover, the talks that have been in progress for nearly two years between the two Koreas with a view to their reunification lead us to believe that there again ground for agreement is always possible. The Niger, faithful to its policy of dialogue and harmony, is bound to encourage all efforts undertaken to promote the self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Charter in an atmosphere of serenity and independence. The Niger therefore will give its firm support to the efforts made by these two parts of Korea with a view to a peaceful settlement of their differences.

239. But if there is reason for hope in Viet-Nam, in India, in Pakistan, in Korea and in Laos, we are bound to recognize that this is not the case in the other part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula—Cambodia. For more than three years this country has been unjustly enduring the atrocities of a devastating and deadly war imposed by foreign forces.

240. This is for us an opportunity to make a solemn appeal to all the sources of goodwill, to the great Powers in particular, to refrain from certain types of interventions that are not in conformity with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter, but which are directed against weaker countries, interventions which can have no other result but to aggravate their state of under-development.

241. With regard to Europe, our country is gratified at the establishment of a climate of détente between East and West. We are following with keen interest the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We hope that it will show tangible results and that this will inevitably have as its consequence the establishment of a better climate of peace in this part of the world.

242. But what are we to say of the preoccupying situation in the Middle East? In spite of the mediation of Mr. Gunnar Jarring, in spite of the various resolutions of the Security Council, in spite of all manner of steps undertaken in various parts of the world, there is still not the slightest ray of hope. This impasse is due to the intransigence of Israel and to its obstinate refusal to apply Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which calls upon it to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories.

243. Moreover, if we are to judge by certain inhuman acts, in particular the destruction of the Libyan airliner which resulted in more than 100 innocent victims, and the hijacking of a Lebanese airliner, we are led to believe that Israel takes pleasure in adopting an aggressive attitude. That is why the Niger, imbued with a spirit of equity and

desirous not to maintain relations with a country which is not seeking peace and which is violating deliberately the principles of our Charter, has decided to break its diplomatic relations with Israel. The Niger, as President Diori Hamani stated, "condemns all actions whose purpose is occupation or annexation of all or part of the territory of a sovereign State". Moreover, it is clear that the restoration of peace can be effective in the Middle East only through the recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

244. The behaviour of certain Governments of southern Africa is scarcely different from that of Israel. Most recently, at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Algiers, in speaking of the tragic situation which is prevailing in this region, President Diori Hamani stated in particular:

"The wounds in the side of our continent, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Southern Rhodesia, in Namibia, in South Africa and in Guinea-Bissau are there to remind us at all times of the indescribable suffering endured daily by the African populations of these regions. The violent and criminal attacks committed by Portugal and its unquestioned allies in Rhodesia and South Africa against certain independent African States, the mass murders of innocent populations of the kind we saw perpetrated by the Portuguese colonial troops in Mozambique which the international press echoed, and, finally, the cowardly murder of Amílcar Cabral, this gallant leader of PAIGC⁸ whom we all esteemed, are so many facts which must incite the countries of the third world and those of Africa in particular to close their ranks even further for a decisive battle against the sworn enemies of our freedom.

"Our common action must tend towards one and the same goal, which is that of determining the best possible means not only for ensuring rapid decolonization of the African continent, but also for making the international community and the great Powers end their unpardonable inertia. The numerous resolutions voted by the General Assembly as well as by the Security Council and also by the specialized agencies, resolutions which condemn in no uncertain terms the Governments of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon for their ill-considered policies, have remained dead letters and have convinced us extensively and for some considerable time of their inefficiency.

"The moral prestige of our Organization is thus seriously compromised. It is for us to take stock again, before it is too late, if we wish to prevent the United Nations from suffering the same fate as that of the defunct League of Nations. Unfailing solidarity and an energetic attitude on the part of the peoples of the third world before as crucial a problem as this are bound to wear down the guilt-tarnished inertia of certain great Powers vis-à-vis the racist and colonialist régimes."

245. It is indeed evident that if the great Powers, by placing themselves above certain petty and selfish interests, were to adopt by common agreement a more energetic attitude and were to withdraw their support from those

⁸ Partido Africano da Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde.

scandalous régimes, the latter would be very quickly led to compromise.

246. Africa, the third world and the international organizations, thus rid of the problems of decolonization, could then embark upon nobler actions: the search for peace in the world, and the economic and social development of the poorer peoples.

247. That is why we again make a solemn appeal to the great Western Powers to halt their support of those anachronistic régimes so that a solution might be found to these agonizing problems.

248. The Niger, faithful to its commitment to African peoples that are still under foreign domination, was there to display, through the voice of its President, its solidarity with the brother people of Guinea-Bissau, which has just proclaimed its independence as a republic. The message addressed to Mr. Aristide Pereira on that occasion calls for no comment, and I merely quote it:

"I am particularly pleased to extend to you the warmest congratulations of the people, party and Government of the Niger on the solemn proclamation of independence as a republic by your great party, PAIGC.

"The people of the Niger, fully conscious of the historic importance of this event, which sounds the death-knell of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, unreservedly associates itself with the legitimate joy of the brother people of Guinea today.

"In paying a heartfelt tribute to your gallant fighters, worthy heirs of that brave and ever-lamented son of Africa, Amílcar Cabral, we wish that their fight for freedom may come to a swift and successful conclusion.

"We assure you of our unfailing support.

"While awaiting impatiently the opportunity to welcome very soon to the great African family of the Organization of African Unity your nation which has already become the object of pride of the independent African nations, we wish every success to the brother people of Guinea-Bissau, to PAIGC, to President Luis Cabral, and to yourself in the immense task of national reconstruction."

(Signed) Diori HAMANI,

249. To mark the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, our commitment goes beyond that message of support. Indeed, the Government of the Niger, on 22 September, published a communiqué confirming its recognition of the State of Guinea-Bissau.

250. By that recognition, it has committed itself to support any action aimed at the admission of Guinea-Bissau as an independent and sovereign State to the United Nations and to all international agencies.

251. If in political terms, in spite of a few black marks which remain on the scene, there is room for hope, the same does not hold true on the economic level, where the rich are growing richer and the poor are becoming even

poorer, in spite of the meritorious efforts that they are daily making in the interest of their own survival.

252. Indeed, since the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] in Santiago, Chile, two years have elapsed and we are still very far from the 1 per cent of the gross national product of the industrialized countries which was considered as the minimum indispensable goal.

253. Moreover, all recent statistics, particularly those of the Development Assistance Committee, clearly show that development assistance is falling off dangerously.

254. For a certain number of years, the countries of the third world have constantly, in all international forums, been calling, but in vain, for a link to be established between special drawing rights and development financing. We will soon have completed the first half of the Second Development Decade, with no indication of any improvement in the situation.

255. The most pathetic declarations, the most appealing promises by the great Powers, have unfortunately taken the form of excessive use of the right of veto each time they felt their interests to be threatened.

256. At the fifty-fifth session of the Economic and Social Council, held in Geneva in July and August last, the Director-General of FAO stated⁹ that for 20 years grain stocks had never been lower or prices higher.

257. Thus it is in these circumstances, dramatic in themselves, that my country, which on the morrow of its independence had set up a system of regional co-operation and of national institutions designed to ensure its economic and social development, was brutally struck, like many neighbouring Sahelian countries, by a climatic phenomenon unprecedented in the annals of its history.

258. That drought, which has now lasted for more than six years and which reached a devastating level in 1972, has brought about an enormous food deficit to which radio, press and television networks throughout the world have referred.

259. This enormous deficit has not only engendered famine, but has in its wake bred malnutrition, epidemics and a massive rural exodus towards the urban centres and even towards the neighbouring countries to the south to which nature was kinder.

260. That drought, by destroying our vast grazing lands, has brought about the loss of 50 to 100 per cent of our livestock, depending on the region, and has resulted in the drying up of most of the wells in the northern part of our country.

261. But the effect of that natural catastrophe does not stop there.

262. The drop in agricultural exports, by virtually wiping out our foreign exchange earnings, has also brought a

⁹ For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-fifth Session, 1861st meeting.*

considerable reduction in capital and consumer goods and will deal a serious blow to our fledgling processing industries which, even under ordinary circumstances, had great difficulty in maintaining a normal growth rate.

263. In the face of this natural calamity, and to deal with the most urgent problems, my Government has created a solidarity fund supported by the voluntary contributions of our own nationals and of all men of goodwill whatever their origins. This fund has been used, and still serves, for the purchase and transportation of food-stuffs towards our afflicted populations.

264. If this national effort has been a success, we are pleased to note that international solidarity, for its part, has also turned out not to be a vain expression. Indeed, this international solidarity has been demonstrated in the dispatch of food, medicines and means of transport.

265. This is an opportunity for me to thank here, publicly, on behalf of the Government and people of the Niger, those friendly countries, governmental and non-governmental organizations, institutions and private individuals who gave generously and in a brotherly way to aid our populations afflicted by disease, hunger and thirst.

266. For my country, the coming year may well be even worse than the past one. Indeed, in several of our regions, first the rains came too late, and then they stopped in mid August, even before the plants had reached the mid point of their growth cycle.

267. In the zones where some hopes might have been cherished, this period of premature drought has resulted in the resurgence of grain-destroying caterpillars.

268. My Government, still in its search for the most efficient solutions, has resorted to modern technology for artificial rain tests.

269. These tests, while very conclusive, unfortunately were undertaken too late and were thereby unable to have any beneficial effect upon this year's harvest. They have, nevertheless, had the advantage of showing that in the future this science could be one of the keys to our problem.

270. After the emergency measures that I have mentioned above, the Government of the Niger considered a long-term programme which is centred on three points essentially: first, water control, including rain water, surface water or ground water, the purpose of which is to make it possible to develop several millions of hectares through irrigation; secondly, reforestation, through which we hope to fight intensively against the spreading desert, which is seriously threatening a good portion of our national territory; thirdly, the restocking of our livestock which, as I said earlier, was very largely decimated. Reconstitution of livestock is vital because the Niger, whose economy is essentially agricultural and pastoral, derives a substantial part of its export earnings from the sale of meat and hides.

271. This vast undertaking calls for the mobilization of enormous capital and the Niger cannot cope alone. That is why the President of the Republic of the Niger, His Excellency Diori Hamani, had advocated a type of "Marshall Plan for the Great Sahel" which, and I quote him:

"... should take the form of collateral and even of joint collateral given by Governments and international agencies to a large loan floated on the world financial market.

"This formula has shown its worth at other times and in other places, both on small and very large scales. By analogy with the situation of Europe in ruins as it emerged from the war, it may be thought that the elaboration, implementation and success of such a plan are possible and desirable—possible, given the enormous mass of idle capital throughout the world, reserves of which are being threatened by monetary erosion and inflation."

272. The six countries of the Sahel struck by this natural calamity, given the similarity of their problems and the immensity of their needs, have organized themselves into subregions and have set up an interstate committee with its headquarters at Ouagadougou.

273. At the beginning of September, a conference of experts and ministers of production of the six countries, reporting to the conference of the Heads of State and Government, had given the outline of a short- and long-term programme for which we are asking financing from friendly countries and the international community.

274. That programme will be brought to the knowledge of our august Assembly by the President of Upper Volta, Mr. Sangoule Lamizana, whom his peers have appointed to perform this task.

275. The most fervent and most ardent wish of the delegation of the Niger at this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly is that the third world will finally see the industrialized countries in general and the super-Powers in particular using their advanced technology and the power of their gross national product for the establishment of a world economically balanced, politically united and socially fraternal.

276. Mr. GUTIERREZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We, the representatives of the international community of nations, meet again in this hall under the terms of the Charter. We have come from every country in the world in the name of all races, all peoples, who speak the most diverse languages and profess the most different faiths, but we do so prompted by a common desire for understanding for the sake of peace and justice on earth. Thus, the United Nations possesses the necessary condition of universality and is an expression of the natural and healthy principle of unity in diversity.

277. I wish before this distinguished gathering to convey a message of friendship from the people and Government of Bolivia to all the nations represented

here: our solidarity with their efforts and sacrifices to forge the destiny of man; our satisfaction at their achievements in the economic, political and social fields; and our sincere desire for a greater rapprochement so that we may get to know each other better and help each other more in effectively supporting so many shared ideals.

278. As a Latin American, and in particular as a citizen of the favourite child of Bolívar, which with Ecuador maintains a lengthy and beautiful tradition of sharing the same glorious and historic sufferings, I am particularly gratified to see raised to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly an enlightened Ecuadorian statesman and diplomat, Mr. Leopoldo Benites. His wise election is a continuation of the presence of Latin America in the United Nations which began with the Foreign Minister of Brazil, Mr. Oswaldo Aranha, followed wisely by Mr. Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico, Mr. José Maza of Chile, Mr. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde of Peru, Mr. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez of Venezuela and Mr. Emilio Arenales Catalán of Guatemala. We are convinced that the difficult task that the world has entrusted to you, Mr. President, will be crowned by success.

279. May I also express my cordial congratulations to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński for his wise and able conduct of the past session. In truth, his election was a wise decision, for in the course of our deliberations he guided us with great skill and talent.

280. I am also particularly gratified to express my sincere appreciation of the valuable and fruitful work of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose strong personality enhances the prestige of our Organization and confers the seal of seriousness and responsibility on his very difficult and special tasks.

281. My delegation is sincerely pleased at the admission to our Organization of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. In the case of the latter, my Government has recently established diplomatic and trade relations.

282. The presence of both Germanys, a single nation divided into two States, is a living and consistent expression of a pragmatic policy with a great capacity to adapt to contemporary realities and an important contribution to the ideals of peace nurtured by mankind.

283. I am convinced that both Germanys, representing a people who have known as much as any other the hardships of war, will make a valuable contribution to our work, a contribution that brings with it an age-old flow of wisdom, discipline and creative sense.

284. Similarly, I extend the most fraternal welcome to the State of the Bahamas which not long ago proclaimed its independence and is a new member of the Caribbean group of nations within the American system. This young nation so full of vitality and hope will, I am convinced, inject new

strength into the visionary action of Latin America in our Organization.

285. My country is living the drama inherent in all countries suffering from limitations in the exploitation of their natural resources. Rather than a problem of dependence, it is a matter of means and of the use of adequate technology. That is why we seek in international co-operation the way to fill these gaps.

286. Like other nations both in our own geographic area and in other parts of the world, we struggle against the chronic evils of fiscal deficit and monetary instability. The constant deterioration of the terms of trade has a direct bearing on this economic phenomenon.

287. The situation to which we have referred leads to a progressive increase in the cost of living and its inevitable counterpart, popular discontent and systematized subversion. But it is worth while stressing that, as we have said, this is not due to bad or ineffective administration.

288. Ours is the fate of the poverty and backwardness that characterizes so many countries side by side with strong, powerful and wealthy nations. The solution, then, is not so much in ourselves as in the highly industrialized rich countries, which are called upon to show with deeds the solidarity they claim and the global approach they advocate.

289. International social justice is not to be based on the indifference of prosperous States in the face of the afflicting situation of needy nations, nor can it stem from an international division of labour which condemns the latter to produce in favour of the former. In human societies it is no longer admitted that man should work for the exclusive benefit of a fortunate few.

290. Just as we seek to consolidate world peace, we must guarantee social peace among our peoples. The former must be built on mutual respect, the balance of power and the observance of the institutions and the principles that govern them; the latter can be based only on a communal society in which the concept of the dignity of the human person prevails and which is spared the misery, the poverty and the acute social ills of our time.

291. So long as we do not achieve a structuring of the world society in which resources and the resulting benefits of their application are for the benefit of all, we shall need international financial assistance and a rationalized transfer of technology. This is what my country needs to achieve a relative well-being for its people and to create with the other countries on the continent and in the world a better future. Whatever happens in the private context of nations also happens in the international sphere.

292. If financial assistance to carry out development works is curtailed or denied, Governments may feel tempted to resort to illegal sources of foreign currency in

the black market—sources that hurt the image of the dignity of States because of the particular profit they produce and the humiliation they impose on those who engage in such practices.

293. After the Revolution of August 1971 it is true that Bolivia received substantial support from the Government of the United States of America to overcome the crisis and establish a process of growing democratization, which culminated in the convening of elections for next year. We must sensibly finance our five-year development plan, which is to give our country a great new start in life.

294. So much is said of the population explosion on earth and of the shortage of food-stuff that one wonders why the necessary assistance is not rendered so that these may be produced in abundant quantities in countries like Bolivia. Irrigation schemes such as that of Abapó-Izozog have been conceived to irrigate initially 300,000 hectares, with prospects of arriving at the ambitious figure of 2 million. The El Bala dam, on the Beni river basin, in the gorges of the eastern Andean mountains in the Department of La Paz, was declared at the last Conference of Foreign Ministers in Lima as being of interest for all the countries in the Andean basin. Other minor projects, like the Oquitas project, also await the magic wand of international contributions and financing from regional and world credit institutions.

295. One problem that disturbs the Bolivian people because it affects its sovereignty and hampers its free progress is that of its status as a land-locked country. As regards this important question, we are not making complaints. We place ourselves in the current of modern trends which seek, in the last analysis, to establish a world community of nations. To embark upon this road, which may appear Utopian to some, is in fact to solve many of the peremptory needs which exist in the world, such as that of Bolivia.

296. We have always maintained that Chile and my country complement each other. The nation of O'Higgins appears to me to be more imprisoned between the sea and the Andes than my own country, which has direct contact through five open frontiers with five Republics. An outlet to the Pacific would firmly establish friendship between Chile and Bolivia and dispel so much mistrust which darkens the future of the southern tip of America.

297. Inspired by the most laudable American sentiments, we have proposed a dialogue so that through direct talks we may devise a solution which is in keeping with our great problem and which will enable Chile, by way of reciprocity, to obtain benefits in keeping with its interests and which would guarantee the welfare of its people, the prosperity of backward regions and the security of northern Chile. We nourish the hope that now that its present Government is devoted to tasks of moral and material reconstruction, soon the necessary favourable conditions to open negotiations will exist so that these two countries may arrive at an important agreement governing their future.

298. In the regional context, Latin America continues its inevitable course towards unity. There is a general awareness of this. It began in the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama convened by Bolívar in 1826. Before that, both extremes of South America had met, with the same desire for universality, in the famous interview of Guayaquil, which brought together Bolívar, the Liberator and San Martín, the Saint of the Sword.

299. That unionist trend gained renewed topicality and importance with the Continental Treaty of 1854 and the Union and Defensive Alliance of 1865, concluded in Lima. With the subsequent constitution of the Pan-American Union and the present Organization of American States, Latin America succeeded in creating a Central American Common Market and the subregional organizations of the River Plate basin, the Andean Pact and the Amazon countries.

300. The Latin American Free Trade Association [*LAFTA*], that is, the Latin American common market, despite its shortcomings, pursues the achievement of its laudable purposes. CECLA, that is, the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, is achieving the purposes for which it was established.

301. All these bodies reflect pressing needs and undeniable realities, although there is a general demand to make their structures adequate to the requirements of a changing world and to the challenges of human intelligence with its awe-inspiring creations and daring feats in space, which are leaving behind and unsolved the most acute problems of our world.

302. We agree with what was said by the most enlightened statesmen on our continent in this world forum to the effect that the great problem of Latin America is the problem of under-development. To overcome this condition, we have been striving to create broader markets in a joint effort of economic association.

303. The marginal condition of vast masses of mankind is another of its conflicting realities. Social and economic structures must be changed, beginning with an agrarian reform, a policy for the distribution of national revenue for the benefit of man's health, housing, education and food.

304. Political stability, on which the progress of Latin American countries is based, does not depend on the will of its leaders, but on the economic and social conditions in which their peoples live. That is why there is urgent need to contribute collectively to the improvement of such conditions if truly we seek to take a long leap in history. The criticisms levelled against the instability of many of our Governments must go hand in hand with co-operation and aid. Anything else is like regretting the fate of a patient to whom we do not give the medicine he needs to get well.

305. Apart from Bolivia's problems of access to the sea, we have in Latin America the case of the Panama Canal, sovereignty over which Panama claims and in this it is backed by the other Governments of the continent. The

same thing happens with the sacrosanct cause of the Bolivians which has found such great understanding among the Governments of Caracas, Bogotá, Quito and Lima, on the occasion of the recent tour of those countries by my country's President, General Don Hugo Bánzer Suárez.

306. With regard to the colonialism subsisting in our region, our nations are at one in demanding its total elimination and the protection of the right to self-determination of our peoples.

307. I could not end this part of my statement without expressing my feelings upon the tragic death of the President of Chile, Mr. Salvador Allende, whom I had the honour to meet in the interview we had in the city of Buenos Aires when General Lanusse handed over power to ex-President Cámpora. That death recalls that of Balmaceda, another distinguished Chilean President, and reveals a profound human quality in President Allende. The leader of Chilean socialism fell like a courageous captain at the head of his cause and in defence of his Government, like Mayor Gualberto Villarroel, a leader of nationalism in my country, immolated in the Quemado Palace on the altar of his ideals, and of Oscar Unzaga de la Vega, founder and leader of the Bolivian Socialist Falange, who lost his life in an open fight for freedom, justice and democracy.

308. Now let me speak of America, but not of its special peculiarities. Historically and geographically its unity is absolute. Columbus and Amerigo Vesputio discovered it and gave it its name. It is unnatural to exclude from it North America. We cannot conceive of a unit without one of its parts. We constitute a hemisphere, the hemisphere of human hope. Why not think rather of adding Canada, which shares our common territorial heritage and, like all our countries, emerged from the same historic adventure of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? Let us move forward rather than backward.

309. I have been particularly concerned about the situation of the relatively less developed countries in South America, namely, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Uruguay. That is why, in the Andean Pact, we came to an agreement on the holding of a meeting between these countries to assess the meaning of the integration agreements, the treatment of these countries in the UNCTAD classification, the forthcoming negotiations to be held under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] and the financial co-operation of international institutions, as well as the general progress achieved in this policy of development.

310. The aforementioned analysis within the continental framework must cover the Central American and Caribbean nations, members of the Central American Common Market [CACM] and the Caribbean Free Trade Association [CARIFTA].

311. To that meeting, to be held in the Bolivian city of Cochabamba in the second half of January 1974, representatives of LAFTA, the Andean subregion, the River Plate Basin, the Economic Commission for Latin America, the Latin-American Institute for Economic and Social Planning, UNCTAD, GATT, FAO, the United

Nations Development Programme [UNDP], the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Labour Organisation and the International Monetary Fund. The financial institutions to be represented are the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Andean Development Corporation, and, as special guests, representatives of the CACM and CARIFTA with their regional banks and financial institutions and the International Union of Catholic Employers' Associations.

312. We believe that this event, which is to be held under the auspices of the economically less developed among the countries of South America, on the initiative of the Foreign Ministry of Bolivia, will be crowned with success. A vast organic and rational agenda, which has already been transmitted to the parties concerned, will highlight the historic importance of this international forum.

313. Until not long ago the human spirit was disturbed by the doubt that it might not be able "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war"—one of the most noble principles in our Charter.

314. It would appear that we did not feel able "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours" and "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security" as also prescribed by the Charter.

315. However, thanks to the innovating initiative of President Nixon and his personal aid, Mr. Kissinger, the present Secretary of State, there has been a relaxation in international relations between the great Powers and peace has been brought to areas of the world that were either beset or threatened by war.

316. The policy of decolonization is also being strengthened and it is possible that in the near future all forms of political, religious or racial discrimination will disappear.

317. Fratricidal violence and inhuman terrorism, cloaked in apparently altruistic aims, calls for common legislation to characterize them and sanction them. Sectarian convenience or electoral interests should not be allowed to protect them or to mask them under the cloak of feigned ignorance when such facts are objective and condemned by universal conscience.

318. As regards international pending problems and latent conflicts, a desire for war, or the wish of the strong to dictate to the weaker, serve no purpose. What we need is a negotiated solution which is beneficial to all and falls within the framework of the Charter.

319. No one can maintain that conquest gives rights. Before the United Nations, the American doctrine of 3 August 1932, which condemns territorial acquisition derived from war, had anticipated this concept.

320. But there are essential elements in the life and sovereignty of a country, elements without which a State cannot feel secure. Bolivia claims its frontier on the Pacific

Ocean. There, in the beginning of the universal road of the seas, it finds its security.

321. The Organization must watch over the subsistence of its Member States and must assimilate all the national entities that are not yet Members or have been left outside the Organization.

322. The right to international life does not depend on the vote of a council or the consensus of an assembly. Nations, like men, have a right to respect for their existence.

323. Reason does not obey the dictates of the strong or the whim of the majorities. The truth is one, luminous, undistortable, like the sun that gives us light.

324. You may divide nations but you cannot change nature. When you try to change nature it reacts with greater violence. It is like history, which is presided over by the law of Karma, of which the thinker, Lin Yutang, speaks so eloquently.

325. Justice, human and international, cannot be fettered. It is the beacon that lights the way of universal conscience and guides man along the paths of history. There are entelechies, like justice, that are stronger than the power of the dominators.

326. In view of all this, there is a hope in the minds of starving peoples and of nations in subjection, a hope that they may achieve their liberation and come under the benevolent régime of free and civilized coexistence.

327. Instigation to violence, material assistance to subversive underground warfare, concealment of terrorism—all these in fact do not favour peace or contribute to justice. Warlike actions are just as tragic as those deriving from violent and treacherous conspiracies.

328. Occurrences involving bloodshed, systematic hatred and destruction must be prevented in all countries. Such is the unavoidable necessity for all who are born into this world and for all who do not wish to perish in the whirlpool of senseless human passions.

329. The greatness of nations does not reside in the capacity to dominate our planet or to conquer outer space, but in the careful consideration and wisdom they should contribute in guiding mankind to the full realization of its destiny.

330. Man does not base his happiness on the heady wine of material victories at the expense of his fellow men, but rather on the subjective realization of relative well-being and on the search for his origin and his destiny. All else is an affront to the freedom of his conscience and reduces him to the lowest level of the zoological scale.

331. Along with all of this, we hear a great deal about détente. After the relaxation of international tension, where do we go? To smother danger is not to build a new order.

332. Mankind must go to the root of its troubles. Resources can be found by Powers to arm themselves and to explore outer space; but there are no means to be found to

combat disease, illiteracy, the hardship in which millions of human beings must live, hunger, unemployment and poverty.

333. It is proposed that military expenditure be reduced by 10 per cent for the purpose of assistance to developing countries. Armaments, as everyone knows, are a prelude to war. This phenomenon is taking place, paradoxically, in the present-day world, where some go begging for their bread while others waste their money on weapons. It is to be hoped that the aforementioned suggestive idea will not remain simply a demagogic playing with words or a mere lyrical pose. Let us arrive at an agreement in this regard and let even the medium-sized and small nations participate in that endeavour—those very nations which should not, in addition to the misfortune of their under-development, have to suffer the catastrophe of an armed struggle.

334. In ancient times, as is well known, people armed to prepare themselves for war. Some centuries have gone by and it may be hoped that the human mind has changed in some respects. Peace is secured by suppressing wars at their very root. There is neither justice nor virtue in poverty. The source for brotherly human coexistence is to be found in well-being. Let us therefore cultivate the earth rather than produce in our factories the tools for destroying and cutting short human lives.

335. If happiness is the magnetic north that guides mankind, freedom is the natural atmosphere in which the life of nations is lived. International relaxation of tension can thus be reflected in economic relations, but it is anachronistic indeed if there remain captive peoples as a consequence of a war.

336. There are Powers that have decided on how not to interfere in the internal life of other countries. Their trick consists in converting other countries into satellite nations through armed occupation. It is of no help if the victims maintain the contrary in praise of their executioners.

337. Man is free by nature and he broke the chains that enslaved him many years ago. We cannot condone the existence of subject peoples. It is not true that self-determination encourages a retreat from independent life and from the autonomous and sovereign right of people to govern themselves.

338. It is usual to see the mote in the other's eye but not the beam in one's own, as the Holy Scriptures tell us. It is for that reason that some call for the withdrawal of certain armies from occupied territories. But we see no example of such withdrawals on the part of the forces which are subjugating nations that have been free for centuries.

339. Some are loud in denunciation of armies that overthrow governments. It is commonly forgotten that the armed forces of a nation form a substantial part of the people. Much more serious is the case of the troops, the tanks and aircraft that invade countries and conquer peoples with age-old cultures and independent traditions.

340. The history of peoples cannot be enclosed in chapters, as happens with the citizens of a country when they are placed in concentration camps and prisons and

subjected to torture. The life of nations is continuous and permanent. Their lands and their right to govern themselves can be taken from them, but never their life, never their presence as stars in the wide firmament of mankind and of time itself.

341. The time has come to think more seriously about a sort of universal human society on earth. With the elimination of international rivalries and the quenching of the mad thirst for universal domination, there will come about a joining of efforts, of technologies and resources in the exclusive service of all mankind.

342. Governments do not last for ever. All our traditions confirm this. The elements of power vary with the passage of time and the effects of circumstances. Powers decline and new ones emerge. The balance of power varies and we must seek therefore to avoid as far as possible its periodic fluctuations. This does not mean we must try to stratify history, which would be deadly for man, but rather that we must avoid using national resources for wasteful purposes of conquest and domination.

343. It is important that international coexistence be safeguarded. Ideological pluralism is a fact and a doctrine, if you will. We are compelled to respect other peoples. They have the right to choose whatever form of political life is best suited to them. What must be fought against is precisely any disregard of the right to self-determination. It is this that separates Governments and not the nature of the régime that rules.

344. International organizations base their existence on constitutions. There are declarations recognizing the rights of men and of citizens. There is need for the Mexican document which defines the economic rights and duties of States. There is much to be said concerning this and it is both logical and proper for the small countries to go before the great countries in a dramatic demand for international justice together with effective and sincere co-operation in development.

345. Several nations of America, Europe, Africa and Asia are awaiting the establishment of rules that will define and guarantee the inherent powers enjoyed by land-locked countries. The legislation in this regard must apply to all universally. Just as with the sea-bed freedom of navigation and direct access to coasts and fisheries cannot remain within the framework of mere declarations.

346. Preferences are established in favour of the economically less developed countries with regard to subregional, regional and world bodies. This has been stated in Tokyo to the Director-General of GATT and the representatives there assembled. Bolivia, with justice and good reason, requests the special consideration of this matter, one that will embrace all the peoples which, furthermore, lack a sea coast.

347. Among the rights of man there is the right of free transit and residence. It is a law of men that cannot be restricted as it is recognized throughout the world. The contrary would be to recognize slavery and to prevent children from returning to the homes of their elders.

348. My delegation cannot but express its concern over the debates in our Organization. It could be said that we often forget the spirit of the Charter. We seek conciliation among men, yet we are accustomed here not to employ the dialectic of intelligence, but rather that of frozen attitudes.

349. The clearest and purest essence of democracy lies in the right to dissent. To be able to exercise this right without the risk of annihilation, man has shed his blood throughout his journey through history.

350. The right to express one's view is as precious as the right to existence and a worthwhile life. Only animals produce sounds without meaning for us, like the roaring of the blind tempests of nature. To deny that right is equivalent to turning man into an animal.

351. The policy of special privilege is contrary to justice. A few cannot live at the expense of the poverty of the great majority of mankind. Nor does exploitation by industrialized countries of the producers of raw materials contribute anything to peace.

352. National income should be distributed among the ordinary citizens, just as it is necessary to adopt a policy of equitable regulation of what is bought and sold by countries of differing economic conditions.

353. Finally, we must talk about faith—about the faith of man in himself, about the faith of peoples in their creative capacities, about the faith of the international community in its organizations and the precepts that nourish them. I wish to state, in the name of my Government, that the Bolivian people believes in the effectiveness of the subregional and regional groupings to which it belongs. It believes in the River Plate Basin and the Andean Group. It believes in the Organization of American States. And, finally, it believes in the United Nations, the Organization to which we look to guarantee universal peace and without which there would be no security for either man or nations. And the Bolivian people expresses the hope that it will be able, moreover, to stop the resumption of operations in the Middle East.

354. Mr. ADAN (Somalia):¹⁰ Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic, it is my privilege to join with my fellow representatives in congratulating you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. We are confident that your wisdom and guidance will greatly contribute to the success of the session, and my delegation pledges to you, Sir, its full co-operation.

355. My delegation also wishes to express to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, its appreciation of his efficient and skilful handling of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

356. I wish also to welcome the admission of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to the United Nations. The accession of these three States to our

¹⁰ Mr. Adan spoke in Somali. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Organization is a clear indication that the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and the principle of universality of membership in the United Nations are both acquiring an ever greater recognition.

357. Following the renewed acts of aggression launched by Israel last Saturday against Egypt and Syria, the situation in the Middle East has drastically deteriorated and fully justifies international concern, for such a situation could have tragic consequences for world peace and security. The Somali Democratic Republic unreservedly condemns Israel for its repeated aggression against the Arab States and for breaking once again the already fragile peace in the Middle East. The General Assembly must strongly condemn Israel for this latest provocative act of aggression; otherwise it would be failing in its primary duty. Furthermore, the Assembly must immediately take the initiative of asking Israel to withdraw its forces from all the occupied Arab territories which it seized in 1967 so that an end to the violence of war now in progress could be promptly brought about.

358. My Government shares the disappointment of the majority of Member States that progress towards a clarification of the issues, and therefore towards a solution of the Middle East problem on the basis of accepted principles of international law, was impeded last July. I refer to the United States veto in the Security Council of a draft resolution that had gained solid support from an overwhelming majority of the Council's membership. In this connexion, my delegation fully endorses the resolution by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of [OAU] at its tenth ordinary session and presented to the United Nations General Assembly by the current Chairman of that organization, General Yakubu Gowon, the President of Nigeria, a few days ago [2141st meeting]. We also applaud the forthright decision of the Republic of Zaïre to break off diplomatic relations with Israel, as announced to the world by President Mobutu Sese Seko during his address to the General Assembly on 4 October 1973 [2140th meeting]. It is our strong hope that all those who have a sincere concern for the cause of peace and justice in the Middle East will follow suit.

359. The task before the United Nations with regard to the Middle East is not the devising of so-called balanced resolutions as though the problem was one of literary composition rather than of political realities. United Nations action must reflect the facts of the situation, which are that Egypt and Jordan have co-operated with United Nations peace initiatives and Israel has adamantly refused to do so.

360. The consensus of the United Nations membership is that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is a just and practicable basis for peace. But Israel has refused to accept its main responsibilities under that resolution by stating that it will never withdraw to the pre-June 1967 *de facto* boundaries and by ignoring the question of the Palestine refugees. On the other hand, Egypt and Jordan have acceded to every requirement of resolution 242 (1967) that concerns them, in response to the United Nations peace initiative undertaken by Ambassador Jarring. They have stated clearly and unequivocally their willingness to terminate all states of belligerency and to acknowledge the

sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force.

361. Israel calls for negotiations without conditions, but its exceptions to this position are so notable as to make it inoperable. There is the exception of Arab Jerusalem, whose return has been declared non-negotiable and where a frantic rush is being made to change the Arab composition and character of the Old City; where, too, the sacred trust of the spiritual and aesthetic integrity of three great religions is being betrayed by political expediency and crass materialism. There are the exceptions of Sharm el Sheikh and the paramilitary settlements in the Sinai desert. There are the exceptions on the west bank of the Jordan where more paramilitary settlements and a linking highway are being established as part of a plan for a "security belt" within occupied Arab territory. There is also the significant movement of the Arab population in Gaza and the assertion that the Golan Heights will not be returned to Syria.

362. If there were any doubts about the true nature of Israel's annexationist and expansionist policies, they should be dispelled by the fact that the dominant Labour Party has put forward as a major platform in its elections campaign the establishment of new Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and a plan for the public and private purchase of Arab land. All these positions and activities contravene the United Nations Charter, numerous United Nations resolutions, and the provisions of relevant international conventions.

363. In the light of these facts, it is difficult to see how any State can support Israel's position and claim with credibility to support resolution 242 (1967) as well. The efforts of all who seek peace with justice in the Middle East must be directed towards ending Israel's illegal occupation of Arab territory and towards restoring the inalienable rights of the Palestinian refugees. The plight of the Palestinians still remains at the heart of the Middle East problem.

364. No settlement would be complete or lasting unless this long-standing injustice is ended and the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians are satisfied. This fact is universally acknowledged in principle and almost universally ignored in practice.

365. On 24 September last, a new independent State was proclaimed by the Popular National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau. On behalf of the people and Government of my country, I wish to salute from this rostrum the birth of a new sister State in Guinea-Bissau to which my Government has already extended diplomatic recognition.

366. This jubilant event illustrates in a dramatic way the validity and the effectiveness of the African liberation movements. The success of the long and arduous struggle led by PAIGC provides a symbol of hope for those other peoples still under colonial domination. It is a warning to the colonialist and racist oppressors that they are not invincible and that the spirit of freedom can and will prevail.

367. The primary task of the new State of Guinea-Bissau is to complete the expulsion of Portuguese forces from the rest of its territory and from Cape Verde. In this task it will need as much diplomatic and material support so that the consolidation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity can be firmly established. All those States which give such support will show their concern for human rights and human dignity, and for the achievement of an important goal of the United Nations—that of self-determination and independence for all peoples. This goal is closely linked to the principle of universality in the United Nations, for only when all subjugated peoples are free to take their places in the family of nations, will true universality have been accomplished. We, therefore, look forward to an early admission of the new State of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations.

368. In this connexion, I should like to pay tribute to the memory of all those Guinean patriots who have paid the price of this victory with their own lives and we pay special homage to the memory of the late leader of PAIGC, Amílcar Cabral, who died at the hands of the forces of oppression.

369. The recent tragic events in Chile, where the legitimate Government of the late President Salvador Allende was overthrown by the most reactionary elements within the armed forces, provide a vivid example of the menace to the developing world of the forces of imperialism represented by multinational corporations. All who believe in the philosophy and goals of Salvador Allende will condemn the combination of foreign interests that effected his overthrow and will strongly condemn the brutal manner in which his work was interrupted.

370. At this point, I should like to pay homage to the memory of Salvador Allende Gossens, the late President of Chile, who paid with his life for his loyalty to his ideals and whose tragic and untimely death is a blow to the cause which he pursued with so much dedication, namely, the cause of social justice.

371. The tragedy in Chile, which fully justifies international concern, provides also another vivid example of how the combined forces of imperialism and reactionary foreign interests can replace those of peaceful revolution for social change.

372. This subject should be examined by the United Nations because it is becoming all too apparent that these elements can and do use the great political and economic influence they command to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign States.

373. The United Nations must also be concerned about these events because the reactionary military junta is not only hounding down and executing supporters of the legitimate socialist Government of the late President, but are subjecting foreign nationals and property to their harshly repressive measures. A Member State, Cuba, has already lodged a complaint to the Security Council in this regard. It is to be hoped that the pressure of international opinion will serve to end, for citizens and non-citizens alike, the reign of terror and the suppression of fundamental human rights in that unfortunate country.

374. The twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly is taking place against a background of what is considered by many a détente in international relations. My Government cautiously welcomes the easing of tensions in some areas of the world. There is clear evidence that such areas have moved away from a cold-war atmosphere and that peaceful coexistence among the nations concerned is no longer an optimistic slogan. This development can be seen in the bilateral and multilateral agreements between European nations in the last three years and in the meetings which have resulted in the establishment of peaceful and better relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the United States Government and the People's Republic of China. There is further evidence of this spirit of détente in the Helsinki Conference, which initiated a period of East-West co-operation in economic, industrial, cultural, scientific and environmental affairs and which set in motion concrete efforts to reduce military tensions.

375. It is the conviction of my Government that the achievement of the easing of tensions in the parts of the world I have already referred to owes much to the fact that for nearly three decades now the statesmen of the world and representatives of Member States have been acquiring the habit of international co-operation at the United Nations and its agencies.

376. Everything that happens in world politics is reflected at the United Nations. However, the Organization is not merely a mirror of the world situation—it is a training ground for the acquisition of the habit of international co-operation in political as in other fields.

377. The achievement of the Organization in instilling the habit of international co-operation is indeed unspectacular but steady and it is of significant importance, for the habit must be learnt if the structure of peace is to be built.

378. The more obvious successes of the Organization in the economic, social, scientific and humanitarian fields underline the necessity of the existence of an established machinery for global action. Each year sees the expansion of United Nations activity into new and exciting areas of human experience and endeavour such as the protection of the environment and the use of the sea-bed, oceans and space.

379. It is in this context that my Government would like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and to the various agencies of the United Nations for their efforts in organizing, over the past year, relief assistance to many countries which were hit by natural disasters.

380. Following the tragic results of the earthquake in Nicaragua, were the equally tragic famine conditions in parts of India, major floods in Pakistan and the overwhelming tragedy of the drought that has wreaked havoc on the people and economies of several countries in the Sudano-Sahelian zone of west and central Africa.

381. The Somali Democratic Republic has suffered from occasional droughts and so we can appreciate fully the way such disasters retard national development and shatter plans which have been formulated on the basis of limited resources. In such circumstances, the developing countries

sometimes require international assistance so that normal conditions can be restored.

382. My Government was glad to witness the excellent organization that has been established by the Secretary-General to deal with crisis situations in a co-ordinated manner. We will certainly give favourable consideration to the Secretary-General's plan, endorsed by the Economic and Social Council, to devise an over-all international strategy to provide the required co-ordination for medium- and long-term assistance to countries affected by large-scale natural disasters.

383. It is another positive contribution to the cause of peace that regional co-operation has become as much a part of the world scene as international co-operation. OAU, which celebrated its tenth anniversary this year, is in a very real sense a positive outgrowth of the United Nations, and its existence and effective functioning for the past decade have made it as significant to African peace and progress as the United Nations is to world peace and progress.

384. Like the United Nations, the OAU is more often criticized for its failures than praised for the steady progress it is making in every area of regional co-operation. My Government believes that the record of the OAU is an impressive one and that it will continue to improve as the benefits of regional co-operation become increasingly apparent.

385. Another aspect of the agreement of general policy reached by the African Heads of State and Government last May, and one which my Government considers of particular importance, is the unanimous support of African States for the principle of non-alignment. We regard this as a positive force and one that has contributed to the advent of the era of international détente.

386. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, of 76 non-aligned States demonstrated the fact that the principle of non-alignment has now attracted a clear majority of the Member States of the United Nations, and that the third world is a highly significant factor in international affairs.

387. My Government supports the consensus of the Conference that it is time for the United Nations to recognize that the third world should be given a greater voice, and that such a change could best be made by abolishing or limiting the veto system of the major Powers.

388. We also support the insistence of the non-aligned States that principles of international law should be upheld, particularly in the context of the Middle East where Israel refuses to accept the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. We of course identify ourselves strongly with the concern of the non-aligned States for human rights shown in their decision to give active support to the African liberation movements. We share, too, the aspirations of other peace-loving States in the call for disarmament in general, and nuclear disarmament in particular. One of the results of the non-aligned Conference we consider of immediate practical value is the agreement on presenting a solid third world front in negotiations for establishing

equitable arrangements and conditions for trade with the developed countries, and agreement on the principle that developing countries have the right fully to control their natural resources.

389. The de-escalation of the American military involvement in South-East Asia is, we hope, another step towards world peace. The end of the war in Viet-Nam can be described as the removal of a cancer from the international body politic. Small nations can now hope that a heightened sense of international morality will in future protect them against being used as pawns in the game of international power politics. My Government trusts that not only the people of Viet-Nam but also those of Laos and Cambodia, who have suffered illegal, wanton and highly destructive bombing attacks, will now be permanently free from the terrors of a particularly inhuman aggression.

390. The people of South-East Asia must, like any other people, be left alone to determine for themselves their political future, free from outside pressures and interferences. Their wish for, and indeed their right to, political self-determination must be scrupulously respected.

391. It is evident that the Cambodian people look to the return of Prince Norodom Sihanouk for the restoration of unity and stability to their country. My Government recognizes the Royal Government of National Union headed by Prince Sihanouk, whom we regard as the legitimate Cambodian Chief of State and who has the support of the majority of the people. We hope that it will soon be possible for him to be in a position to lead his country once again to unity, peace and progress.

392. A most welcome development is the creation of a coalition Government in Laos. For 20 years the internal divisions of that country were sharpened and unnecessarily prolonged by foreign interference and by the pressure of external events. The present coalition agreement is evidence of the ability and willingness of the Laotian people to work for national reconciliation. My Government hopes that foreign disengagement from Laos will be genuine and complete so that a lasting peace can be achieved in that country.

393. In the context of the welcome dissipation of cold war tensions, the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic hopes that Member States will agree, at this session of the General Assembly, to end another unfortunate legacy of the past—namely, the continued presence in Korea of what is known as the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [UNCURK] and of American armed forces under the so-called "United Nations Command".

394. The internal dialogue which is continuing between the Governments of the North and South has given the Korean question a new climate, a climate in which it is possible for the General Assembly to hold a full and objective debate on this issue. The welcome presence of representatives of the Government of North Korea, who for the first time are attending the General Assembly as observers, will give balance and validity to such a debate.

395. The task before the General Assembly is clear: it is to correct the mistakes of the past. It was a mistake, initially, for the world Organization to have given up its role as mediator and to have taken sides in a cold war issue. That mistake is compounded by the continued presence in South Korea of foreign armed forces under the United Nations flag. Their presence is a symbol of threat and hostility, and is one of the main stumbling blocks to the reconciliation and reunification of the Korean people.

396. As far as UNCURK is concerned, it is obvious that the time is long overdue for the dissolution of a body which has itself declared that it serves no useful purpose, and whose one-sided approach ill befits a United Nations peace-keeping operation.

397. The realities of today must now be reflected in the establishment of normal conditions in Korea. The question of reunification and other internal questions can be decided only by the Korean people themselves. Now that they have formulated and accepted the principles on the basis of which they intend to proceed towards reunification, it is clear that UNCURK and the so-called "United Nations Command" represent unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of that country. Their presence can only hamper the creation of conditions likely to bring about the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. If they are allowed to remain, it will mean that the lessons of the tragic wars in South-East Asia have not been learned.

398. Progress in building the structure of peace has undoubtedly been made in some areas, but the structure remains glaringly incomplete while over 31 million people in southern Africa are still victims of *apartheid* and of cruel and oppressive colonialism. It would be a great setback to the cause of international security if, in the atmosphere of satisfaction over the allaying of tensions in Europe and South-East Asia, the crimes of *apartheid* and colonialism in southern Africa were to be overlooked or relegated to an unimportant position on the list of international priorities.

399. We do not look for new insights or for the making of new judgements about the southern African situation. The international community has long been aware that *apartheid*, with its elements of genocide, and representing as it does a national commitment to racism and all the injustices that spring from it, is one of the historic crimes against humanity. The international community has long accepted the fact that colonialism, by its very nature, is an exploitative system that easily lends itself to racism and to the withholding of the human rights of peoples under colonial domination.

400. But just as the character of *apartheid* and of colonialism remains unchanged so, unfortunately, do the attitudes of those States that are most able to exercise leadership in the economic, political and social isolation of the minority régimes of southern Africa. They remain as unmoved by recent examples of the brutality of the racist régimes as they have been by the gross injustices of the past decade in South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the Territories colonized by Portugal. They are apparently also able to rationalize their complacency and indifference with easy consciences.

401. One might ask why it is that American big business is prepared to demand the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel as a *quid pro quo* for trade agreements with the Soviet Union, but finds it impracticable to attempt to put economic pressure on the South African Government with regard to the elimination of *apartheid*. But this is only one example of the indifference of the highly industrialized States of the Western alliance towards the plight of the majority of the people of South Africa. An example of the rationalization of this indifference is given by those who assert that contributing to the expansion of the South African economy will erode *apartheid* by a natural process. This unrealistic but convenient approach ignores the more fundamental political, social and coercive arrangements which dehumanize non-white South Africans and make them powerless to control their destinies.

402. It is also asserted that financial assistance and the supply of arms to Portugal are not given for the purpose of supporting its colonial war, although it is obvious that without such support the Portuguese effort to suppress the African struggle for freedom and self-determination could not continue.

403. The minority régimes have also been making new attempts to cover up and justify the evils of their racist societies. New constitutional arrangements in the African territories still under Portuguese domination or small economic concessions to black workers in South Africa are cited as evidence of the benevolence of these racist régimes. But cover-ups and rationalizations have been completely discredited by recent events. The revelation, on the basis of evidence from unimpeachable sources, that terrible atrocities have been committed against hundreds of innocent villages in Mozambique has received world-wide publicity. In their colonial war against Africans fighting legitimately against colonial domination, the Portuguese have already used napalm, defoliants and herbicides to terrorize the African populations. Now they have resorted to "the systematic genocidal massacre of villages"—to quote a report from Spanish missionaries.

404. In numerous resolutions, the United Nations has called on Portugal's NATO partners to stop the supply of armaments that enables Portugal to carry on this unjust and cruel war. Will there be as little response to the latest evidence of Portuguese brutality as there has been in the past to the use of internationally proscribed forms of warfare? It seems very likely. There have been protests from people all over the world against the barbarities of the Portuguese army, but the Governments whose generous support makes the Portuguese war of oppression possible, have maintained a deafening silence.

405. The other event which should shatter any complacency that has developed about the southern African scene is the recent killing of 11 mine workers in the Western deep mine in Carletonville, South Africa. The killing dramatizes a basic fact about South African society which may have been forgotten. As Chief Butelezi expressed it, "a black life is regarded as very cheap in South Africa". That comment is relevant to the shooting of workers protesting against patent economic injustice; it covers the whole enormous economic gap between black and white in South Africa and the system which keeps this

gap a constant of South African society. It covers, most of all, the inhuman, slavlike conditions which are considered suitable for hundreds of thousands of African breadwinners who must live herded together like cattle in compounds and who are denied the rights of normal family life.

406. In spite of what is common knowledge of conditions in southern Africa, the minority régimes will no doubt continue to receive the arms they need for the suppression of the non-white peoples of southern Africa; the trade and investments they need to shore up their unjust systems; the moral support they need through social and diplomatic intercourse to prove to themselves and to the world that they are not complete outcasts and that their crimes are acceptable in the highest circles of the international community.

407. This session of the General Assembly will be presented with a draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [item 53 (b)]; and it is important that this convention be established as a norm of international law. But will the convention be observed and enforced by the allies of the minority régimes any more than the arms embargo against South Africa or the sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, or any of the numerous resolutions which reflect the consensus of international opinion about the southern African situation? The outlook is not hopeful.

408. One may well ask whether it is an exercise in futility for the African Members of the United Nations, for their non-aligned and third world friends and for the many other supporters of the cause of African liberation to come here, year after year, and ask for co-operation, from the Western Powers and Japan, in the international campaign against *apartheid* and colonialism. The time has come for a more widespread realization of the fact, emphasized in the Mogadishu Declaration of 1971 by the Seventh Summit Conference of East and Central African States and sanctioned by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in Rabat last year, that the road to freedom for African peoples living under *apartheid* and colonialism is through armed struggle waged by their own liberation movements and through the help that can be given to those movements by all who have an honest concern for human rights and human liberties. The victory of the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau is the most recent example of that fact.

409. A most welcome example of practical action in assisting the liberation movements has been given recently by the Scandinavian countries, in particular Norway, whose Government is in favour of giving increased humanitarian and other forms of financial assistance to the peoples of dependent areas who are fighting for their national liberation. Putting the question in its proper perspective, the Norwegian Government has rightly emphasized that such aid is based on the United Nations Charter and on General Assembly and Security Council decisions, and that it must be seen as a normal, internationally accepted duty. That is how aid to the liberation movements has long been viewed by OAU. It is the approach to the southern African problem that has been endorsed by 76 nations of the non-aligned group. It deserves the widest support and emulation.

410. My Government continues to be concerned about the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism not only in large areas of southern Africa but also in smaller colonial territories such as Spanish Sahara, the Comoro Islands, the Seychelles Islands and French Somaliland. The legitimate aspirations of the people of these territories continue to be kept in restraint by the ruling colonial Powers because of their own military, strategic and economic interests—a state of affairs which is contrary to the Charter and to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

411. My Government has, of course, a very special interest in French Somaliland, a neighbouring territory. The question of French Somaliland has been before the decolonization Committee¹¹ since 1965 and the status of the Territory remains clearly that of a colonial dependency. Decisions of the Territorial Assembly have to be communicated to the French High Commissioner before being published or implemented and can be annulled at will by the French Minister for Overseas Departments and Territories. In addition, important matters such as control of immigration, law and order, currency and foreign relations, come within the exclusive control of the French Government. Several referendums and elections have been held in French Somaliland within the past 15 years—supposedly to determine the wishes of the people about their status. But it is notorious that these procedures have not been conducted in a climate free from political and other intimidation. My Government strongly hopes that the question of French Somaliland will continue to be viewed with concern by the United Nations in order to secure for the people of that Territory the free exercise of their right to self-determination, free from the intimidations to which I have just referred.

412. It is within the context of the frustrations and sufferings of peoples such as the Palestinian refugees and the oppressed peoples of southern Africa that my Government views the question of international terrorism. We are not indifferent to the tragedies which occur when innocent people become the victims of terrorists who use violent methods to dramatize their cause. But our greatest concern must be for violence which unjustly excludes over a million Palestinians from their native land; the violence of racism which brutalizes millions in southern Africa; or the violence that subjects small States to large-scale military aggression by a bigger Power.

413. Obviously, there is a strong desire on the part of those countries most affected by international terrorism to put into immediate effect measures to combat the problem. But it would be an even greater contribution to the cause of peace and security if the same urgency, which some nations feel about protecting the rights of the few, could be directed towards the removal of the chronic violence which is the condition of life for millions in the Middle East and southern Africa.

414.* There is no lack of effective measures or just solutions to the underlying causes of international terrorism and to the underlying causes of those legitimate wars of

¹¹ Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

liberation to which the minority régimes of southern Africa would attach the label of terrorism. And so it is pertinent to ask why powerful States which have dragged their feet for the past 26 years on the question of the plight of a million Palestinians and that of 31 million victims of *apartheid* and colonialism are today anxious to take action which might give an air of legality to the suppression of the cause of freedom in Africa and which would certainly demonstrate to the Palestinian people that there is no equality in the justice that is meted out in the name of the United Nations.

415. What stand is the world community to take on terrorism when the Government of a Member State—Israel—itself indulges openly in terrorism, formerly the preserve of the hopeless and the desperate? What credible action can the United Nations take now, when Israel resorts to terrorist raids, brutal murders and the hijacking and shooting down of civilian aircraft—acts which have violated the sovereignty of a peaceful neighbour State, violated the rule of law in international civil aviation and violated the most elementary codes of human and civilized behaviour?

416. If Governments in the national sphere were to use the methods of those who are driven by whatever causes to desperate and criminal acts rather than duly prescribed legal processes, there would be national chaos. Similarly, there will be international chaos if Israel's actions are allowed to set a precedent and to go unreprised and unpunished.

417. There must be general recognition of the fact that violence and terrorism engendered by a deep-seated sense of injustice cannot be combatted with more terrorism. They can be dealt with only by the restoration of justice and human rights to those who have been deprived of them.

418. In conclusion, I should like to express a sense of optimism about the future of international co-operation as it applies to political as well as to economic and social goals. Obviously, it would be unrealistic not to recognize the fact that many States, particularly some of the major Powers, do not yet accept all the implications of the Charter and are not yet prepared to put international peace and security above national self-interest. Still, I believe that the time must come when the international ideal will be fully accepted and when the machinery of peace will be fully used. However unsatisfactory the short-term results of our present efforts for peace may seem, in the long run they cannot fail to contribute effectively to the goals we all seek.

419. Mr. VAN ELSLANDE (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you upon your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. For the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights we are proud to have as President a man who has the courage of his convictions.

420. It was not my intention to mention in this statement the problem of the Middle East. Tragic circumstances compel me to do so.

421. With the prolongation of the cease-fire, the hope of a diplomatic, just and balanced solution was born, and

Belgium had begun to believe that 1973 would at last witness the opening of true negotiations. The breach of the cease-fire sets back the chances of a negotiated solution and again plunges this region of the world into the horrors of war.

422. The situation is complex. Egypt and Syria consider that Israel's refusal to withdraw from the occupied territories, its reluctance to accept the principle of non-acquisition of territory by force, could no longer be tolerated. The Palestinian people did not see approaching the moment when its legitimate aspirations would at long last be taken into consideration; Israel was becoming irritated at the difficulties of beginning a negotiation which would bring a peace that none of the parties would contest and by which its right to existence would be confirmed, thereby removing forever the spectre of its destruction.

423. Belgium was cognizant of the sincerity of the positions of each of the parties, believed in their desire to conclude peace and felt their concern at the prolonged deadlock. But it could not resign itself to believing that weapons would be preferred to diplomacy. War sometimes brings victories; rarely does it bring solutions. We have known this for thousands of years. In such circumstances, our Organization must not be discouraged; it has the obligation to attempt once again to achieve the reconciliation and pacification for which it was created.

424. The Security Council is in session—that is its duty. In our opinion, it must order rapidly the cessation of all fighting, and this without seeking first to determine the responsibility for this new confrontation.

425. Then, this time, and without delay, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) must be implemented.

426. My country, together with its European partners, will contribute to this end in order to establish secure and recognized boundaries in that region that are guaranteed by international commitments and protected by the presence of international peace-keeping forces. A situation of this kind would have made the present confrontation impossible.

427. I shall say no more for the moment, but, as a European country that has known two deadly wars, I appeal to the Security Council to take action to stop the bloodshed.

428. Mr. President, you are a citizen of Latin America, that vast continent whose peoples are striving to create a promising future. A gigantic task is being carried out in hope, and also in suffering and pain. With profound concern my country followed the evolution of the situation in Chile. The Belgian Government condemned most formally the overthrow by force of democratically elected bodies, and I cannot remain silent or fail to voice our concern regarding the maintenance of human and political freedoms in a country that is dear to us for more than one reason.

429. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [*A/9001/Add.1*] the Secretary-General emphasized the progress achieved by our Organization in its

search for universality. We are happy to welcome the representatives of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. As a European, I have special reasons for being gratified at the admission to the United Nations of the two German States. Their admission is the result of a realistic and courageous policy followed by the leaders of both States. It is also the fruit and the symbol, one might say, of the evolution we have seen in Europe and throughout the world of late. Cold war tensions are followed by détente; the era of multiple confrontations is succeeded by the present, the time for negotiation.

430. We must underline the fact that the two German States sought to complete the normalization of their relations through their entry into our world Organization. The logical effect of this admission, it seems to me, should be the abrogation of the provisions of Articles 53 and 107 of the Charter, which mention "enemy States".

431. We should also like to express our concern at the persistence of certain situations which jeopardize the Organization's desire for universality. Such is the case with regard to the African Territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. In this connexion we are duty-bound to note with regret that resolution 322 (1972), adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 22 November 1972, remains a dead letter in all its parts. Belgium continues to uphold this resolution, for which it voted, because it believes that the exercise of self-determination and independence cannot be refused to the peoples of those Territories.

432. The purpose of the negotiations recommended by the Security Council is to transfer power to freely elected political institutions representing the whole of the populations concerned. In its bilateral relations with Portugal, as well as in the international bodies where it sits side by side with that country, Belgium, as in the past, will strive to convince the administering Power that it is up to that Power, first and foremost, to take the necessary steps to that end.

433. We are gratified to find that a spirit of mutual understanding has permitted the authentic representatives of Papua New Guinea and the Australian Government to proclaim the independence of that territory not later than 1975. The Commonwealth of the Bahamas has already joined us, following fruitful negotiations with the former administering Power. May these two glowing testimonies of accession to independence through negotiation encourage Portugal to do likewise.

434. At the same time that it reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the Portuguese Territories to self-determination and independence, the Security Council recognized the legitimacy of their struggle to acquire that right. In this spirit Belgium is prepared to consider the granting, through international organizations, of humanitarian assistance to the victims of that struggle.

435. We also express the hope that in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, Korea and Viet-Nam, decolonization and détente will very soon, for the happiness of those peoples and in the interest of relations among nations, add to the universal character of our Organization.

436. The basis of the two trends—decolonization and détente in terms of closer co-operation among all countries of the world—is unquestionably the recognition of fundamental human rights. To desire détente is to renounce the aims of war, even when one believes that one can achieve them through non-violent means.

437. To desire détente is to eliminate the fear of an attack. It is to engender at the same time security, which is the first condition for any co-operation. True peace, a peace that is not a mere armistice, implies the rule of law; that is to say, a state where the rule of law prevails and respect for human rights is recognized for all citizens without distinction.

438. The sometimes uncertain and always cruel play of unbridled nationalism is certainly not the best road to peace. This is a truth that the peoples of Europe learned to their sorrow and at great cost and much suffering. This truth so dearly bought has led them to establish a "Community" as a framework for their reconciliation and co-operation.

439. The political purpose of that Community, as instituted by treaties, was recalled and confirmed by the summit conference of its nine members held in Paris in October 1972. At the same time, that Conference spelled out the terms of the challenge that the peoples of Europe intend to take up. By virtue of that challenge, the European Community proposes in particular to make a creative contribution, within the limits of its human, intellectual and material resources, and to affirm its own concepts in international relations in keeping with its desire for an open policy for progress, peace and co-operation.

440. The initial role of the European Community will be to show that it is possible to constitute a powerful entity on the production level and on that of human creativity, fully adapted to the industrial and technological requirements of our time, without, however, yielding to the temptations of what some have called the nationalist universalism of the great Powers. We believe that the realization of this ambition will be greatly facilitated if, at the same time and progressively, the constituent rules of the universal community grouping all the nations of the world are clearly spelled out on the basis of the provisions of the Charter.

441. It is in this spirit that my country, like the other members of the European Community, wishes to avail itself of the opportunity afforded by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. To consolidate détente and security in Europe means to seek out and create the necessary conditions for multifaceted co-operation among all the countries of the continent. As a prior condition to the search for security and co-operation of Europe as a whole, it was necessary to normalize relations between the two German States. Similarly, and in a wider context, we believe that normalized relations between all the European States—States whose economic and social systems are different—should provide an essential contribution to the establishment of the world community.

442. I have sought to place the integration efforts of the countries of the European Community in the perspective of a more distant goal, that of the universal community of all nations. In our view, talks and negotiations between East

and West represent the next stage and a step towards that ultimate objective.

443. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe must therefore be placed on a sound and secure basis. In this connexion, we attach particular importance to the development of the human relationships with which the Conference must concern itself. On that occasion too, a step must be taken towards enlarging the exercise of human rights.

444. We consider, indeed, that détente in Europe will be neither complete nor lasting so long as people are unable to meet together freely, without hindrance of any kind, so long as they are unable to express themselves without constraint and see what they wish to see, so long as there are still obstacles and barriers that prevent those who wish to do so from reading or being read.

445. In this context I associate myself with the warning of my British colleague, who stated that détente must be genuine and not an illusion [2128th meeting, para. 124].

446. The lot that we assign to a man—considered as an individual, as a member of a family or of the various groups constituting our societies—the lot of man determines to a great extent the quality of the relationships we propose to establish among States.

447. I do not lose sight of the fact that order and stability in international relations demand strict observance of the rule of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. This is the *raison d'être* and the wisdom of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. Belgium has no intention of departing from that precept. However, it must be emphasized that non-interference cannot mean indifference, insensitivity, lack of concern for others. It seems obvious that, if it is impossible for us to build between us bridges of a certain human solidarity, the limits of our forthcoming agreement will be extremely narrow, not to say distorted.

448. What we have in mind is a détente that is not fictitious, but real and genuine, a détente among open societies. To my way of thinking, a détente of this kind implies not only a continuing exchange of products but also a guaranteed interchange of people and ideas.

449. The negotiations on balanced reduction of forces constitute a particular element in our efforts to consolidate détente in Europe; they represent at one and the same time a test and a step that could serve as an example. It is a test, for we cannot visualize any serious effort in the matter of détente without a concomitant concern with regard to reducing the weapons for waging war or intensifying threats or tensions.

450. This concern for some tangible and voluntary manifestation of détente should be seen in the light of our concern for the further development of human relations and contacts. In point of fact, such relations and contacts have so far been limited to a strict minimum, that is, to only those absolutely necessary among the leaders and officials of the countries concerned. The negotiations on a mutually balanced reduction of forces are also a step that could serve

as an example because, in the view of the Belgian Government, they could be the prelude to a general reduction of armaments throughout the world. Belgium was gratified, moreover, at the progress achieved in the contacts of the SALT negotiations. This is reassuring with regard to the commitments undertaken by the nuclear Powers on the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. My country also welcomed the agreements concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union in their search for an adjustment in their bilateral relations and in their desire to reduce the risk of nuclear confrontation between the two Powers.

451. Furthermore, we have noted with satisfaction the fact that the dialogue between the United States and the People's Republic of China is proceeding in furtherance of greater stability in Asia. My Government is gratified by the progressive normalization of relations between those two great countries.

452. May I be allowed to thank the Secretary-General of our Organization for his first report on the studies conducted by the peace-research institutions [A/9130 and Add. I]. My country initiated this action because, in our opinion, fundamental research into the bases and the conditions of peace, into the sources, motivations and development of conflicts, can make a great contribution to the mission of peace of our Organization. The listing of the work already achieved is far from complete, considering that a great number of research centres have not yet responded to the action taken by the Secretary-General.

453. Furthermore, my delegation has had the opportunity on several occasions to describe the scope of our proposal, which goes much further than a simple compilation of peace-research efforts. We therefore believe that the undertaking must continue and we hope that the report which the Secretary-General will submit at the next session of the General Assembly will be more comprehensive.

454. It seems to me, moreover, that the basic research will be useful not only in connexion with the problems of war and peace in the conventional meaning of those terms. In the context of our relations in times of peace, the research could also make an essential contribution to the thinking of statesmen and to informing public opinion. What is more, this has already been done. I have in mind, *inter alia*, the line of thinking to which the work performed at the instigation of the Club of Rome has given rise, as well as the studies conducted by UNCTAD or in connexion with its activities.

455. The development of international economic relations over recent years shows that the concept of collective economic security could usefully be studied in greater depth both at the research level and concurrently, preferably, within the framework of the specialized agencies. Whether we are concerned with the monetary crisis, with the preparation of tariff negotiations, with the problems resulting from the existence of multinational companies, with energy requirements, or with the limits to the resources of our planet, our universal interdependence and, consequently, the usefulness of thinking seriously about the conditions for economic security, become more and more apparent.

456. It has often seemed that men discover wisdom only when compelled to do so by the force of events. It is quite possible that we may be at one of these junctures in history.

457. With increasing sharpness, the United Nations is questioning the directions being taken by the international community in the fields of economic and social development. This critical analysis is being conducted both in the light of the traditional basic tenets of the growth concept and in the light of concerns that have become more imperative, such as the population explosion and the preservation of the human environment.

458. This critical rethinking is also proceeding with a view to improving the management of the international Organization and enhancing its effectiveness. On this subject, the efforts being made to formulate working programmes and medium-term plans for the Organization and its related institutions—a matter closely linked to an improvement in budget forecasts—are gratifying.

459. The multiplicity of the problems mentioned and the complexity of the programmes undertaken make the necessity for consolidation more and more pressing, at both the conceptual and the operational level.

460. Without any doubt, it is for the Economic and Social Council and the Assembly to effect such consolidation and to become the rallying-point for thinking on the matter.

461. The adoption by the Assembly in 1970 of the International Development Strategy [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] provided a framework for working out the necessary consolidation. The Organization has indeed addressed itself, during the current decade, to a review and evaluation on a continuing basis of the progress achieved in implementing the Development Strategy with respect to both the developing and the industrialized countries. It is clear that by systematizing the study of development problems the Strategy will make it possible to mark the road already covered, to measure the laps that have been completed, to review the priorities set, and to lay down new guidelines.

462. As far as Belgium is concerned, co-operation with the developing countries is based on the same principles as those underlying our efforts to promote détente and co-operation in Europe. In both cases, the aim is to forge friendly links among all nations and to achieve international co-operation through the solution of international problems by promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, as provided in Article 1 of the Charter.

463. My country is fully aware of the particular duties incumbent upon it in this matter. Economic integration, of which it is a beneficiary within the framework of the European Economic Community, is not an end in itself. The nine countries have now set up a specific framework for establishing their trade relations and their economic co-operation with the African countries and Madagascar. Important negotiations were recently begun for the purpose of extending these links to other countries and gearing them to the new requirements of development.

464. But over and above this regional approach, the disadvantages of which should be greatly reduced following the enlargement of the Community, the Europe of the nine has set itself the goal of co-operating with the developing countries on an increasingly world-wide scale. The system of generalized preferences is the start of this trend in the direction of a more general approach.

465. The promotion of commodity agreements is also part of this approach. As is common knowledge, the purpose of these agreements is to help to stabilize the prices of commodities and to intensify the trade of the developing countries, and this intensification should also facilitate the future multilateral trade negotiations carried out within GATT.

466. Similarly, the monetary negotiations should take into account the interests of the developing countries and the increase in the resources which may be transferred to them.

467. The recent occurrence of a tragic situation has drawn the world's attention to one particular aspect of the idea of collective economic security. I am referring here to the scourge of the drought which has stricken the populations of the Sahelian region in central Africa.

468. Like so many other Governments, the Belgian Government has tried to express the feeling of solidarity which has emerged spontaneously among our populations in a tangible and effective form. To the extent that our means allow, we hope that we have helped to meet the needs which were, and still are, enormous. Our aid was provided bilaterally as well as through the co-ordinating machinery set up by FAO.

469. The work done by the latter organization deserves our praise. In reading the reports of the teams we have sent into the field, I am, however, struck by the amount of improvisation which was inevitable at the initial stage of relief co-ordination. I fear that the effectiveness of the voluntary action must have suffered as a consequence.

470. In order to improve the utilization of our aid capability, action on two levels might be considered.

471. The proposal submitted by the Secretary of State of the United States for the organization of a world food conference in 1974 seems to me to meet a fundamental medium-term need. However, I think it would be advisable also to consider the usefulness of setting up permanent emergency machinery for food aid problems as a whole.

472. The field of action of this machinery would be twofold. It would be both a centre of information and study and an emergency relief agency for critical food situations. I think that such an arrangement could be developed from what is already operating within the framework of FAO.

473. I wish to limit my statement to the crisis in the Middle East and to the two major matters of constant concern to all countries: political and military détente and co-operation for development. In our opinion, the need for action in these three fields derives from the fundamental principles of

the Charter: justice and respect for the equality of rights of peoples and individuals. Unless there is respect for such rights our Organization cannot hope to fulfil the mission entrusted to it—that of being a centre for harmonizing the action of nations in the attainment of common ends.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/9200/ADD.1)

474. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now consider the second item scheduled for this afternoon's meeting. Members have before them the second report of the General Committee [A/9200/Add.1]. I put before the members paragraph 2, in which it stated "the General Committee decided to consider at a later meeting the question of the inclusion of items 100, 101 and 102 of the draft agenda...". I believe the Assembly will take note of this decision. If there is no objection it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

475. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I put before the General Assembly the recommendation contained in paragraph 3, namely that the item 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" be placed on the agenda for consideration in plenary meetings on the understanding that discussion of this item would not coincide with

consideration by the First Committee of questions relating to disarmament. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts this recommendation? If I hear no objection it is so decided.

It was so decided.

476. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I submit to the General Assembly for consideration the recommendation of the General Committee contained in paragraph 4 to the effect that there be included in the agenda an additional item on the effects of atomic radiation and that it be allocated to the Special Political Committee. If there are no objections I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the recommendation.

It was so decided.

477. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to the recommendation of the General Committee in paragraph 5, concerning the inclusion of Arabic among the official and working languages of the General Assembly, its committees and subcommittees, and that it be referred to the Fifth Committee for consideration and report. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the recommendations contained in paragraph 5? If there are no comments, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

478. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The decisions of the General Assembly will be communicated to the Chairmen of the Special Political Committee and of the Fifth Committee.

* Resumed from the 2123rd meeting.

The meeting rose at 9.20 p.m.