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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MARTÍNEZ ORDÓÑEZ (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the people and Government of the Republic of Honduras, I begin my statement by addressing to each of the representatives and those nations they worthily represent a cordial and fraternal greeting. Linked with it is our hope that true success and positive achievements will result from the deliberations of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

2. Honduras is deeply gratified that a Latin American possessing the competence and ability of Leopoldo Benites has been elected to preside over this world assembly. The great honour conferred on the sister Republic of Ecuador is shared by us, and we promise him the constant co-operation of the delegation of Honduras in his delicate tasks and the heavy duties entrusted to him by the Assembly. We are also glad to express our appreciation

to all the representatives of the Governments of the world and in particular of the Latin American group of States for having elected Honduras to one of the vice-presidencies of the General Assembly. This again bespeaks our solidarity with the President of the Assembly in our fraternal commitment to the ideals of the Charter.

3. The formal work of the General Assembly began under the best of auspices. The simultaneous admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, decided upon at our opening meeting, was an event whose true importance is to enrich and enhance the faith placed in the Organization by all its Members and to nurture the hope of those that are not yet Members that it will perpetuate and increase human welfare and development with universal representation.

4. We are also happy to greet warmly the admission of the independent State of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas.

5. May we take this opportunity to stress our good will and our desire that other countries still absent from our midst be admitted soon, and our hope that we shall also very soon see here legitimate representatives of both Koreas, in keeping with their own decisions, as well as of Bangladesh, of the peoples that are fighting in a just struggle for self-determination and recognition as nations and of those that are living the tragedy of domestic division which stands in the way of their occupying the places that Honduras would like to see them occupy. Over and above any ideological differences, we should like to see them here defending their points of view and their ideas as to how we can make the world a better and safer place to live in.

6. My delegation congratulates the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, on the constant dedication and effectiveness with which he has devoted himself to carrying out the heavy responsibilities of his post, as clearly reflected in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9001/Add.1].

7. We are grateful that much progress has been made in the political field through the efforts of the Secretary-General and particularly in the search for peace in areas of conflict. We also take note of the significant progress achieved in the field of human welfare, where a balanced economic development of peoples is sought to serve as an adequate basis for world peace with justice.

8. The United Nations Development Programme has been a most effective instrument of co-operation in our development and planning. Honduras has achieved much thanks to its help, and we place our faith in the future of its action to the benefit of our people.

9. We owe an enormous debt of gratitude to the developed countries which, having become great economic Powers, generously contribute to speeding up the basic programmes that have a bearing on the domestic development of our countries. Our appreciation is all the greater for those countries which, despite their own domestic needs, sacrifice part of their capital to help the peoples which are fighting for their own development. However, we believe that more effective work could be done if the assistance given to achieve the targets were more significant.

10. We in the developing countries depend to a large extent on international co-operation. Yet, our own administration is struggling hard, through effort and sacrifice, to ensure that this circumstance is only temporary.

11. It is no less true that we, the developing countries, are markets that consume large amounts of the industrial output of the developed countries, and at the same time we offer our natural resources as our contribution to their high standard of living.

12. Acceptance of this interdependence, both on the part of the wealthy and on the part of the needy countries, can lead to a just and reasonable understanding that should govern our efforts to achieve an equality that will culminate in the full development of mankind.

13. As far as my nation is concerned, our permanent and dedicated aspiration is to live in peace. We have placed our faith in the constant rule of law and in the action of the international organs of which we are members, primarily the United Nations. And we have done so in the hope that deliberations at the conference tables will increasingly replace confrontations on the battlefield.

14. However, we should recall that in many cases and places the pacifying action of the United Nations, which is the basic mission of the institution, is limited by factors ranging from the lack of legal instruments of action in the hands of the Organization to simple stubbornness of the parties.

15. Because of these problems, we believe it extremely important to seek the means whereby to strengthen the Organization, to give it more material possibilities of ensuring implementation of its resolutions, to adapt it to the reality of a changing world so that it will continue to be, as it has thus far been, the main beacon of hope of mankind. We believe that this calls imperatively for a revision of the Charter. We understand that such a revision cannot be removed from the realities of the world, and the great Powers should keep their privileges, their actions being so important for mankind in the preservation of peace. However, it is not possible for the Organization to be effective, as we would wish it, unless it is endowed with the powers and instruments to ensure respect for and compliance with its resolutions. We believe this capacity to be extremely important when resolutions are decided by an almost unanimous vote and seek only to ensure the implementation of the principles of the Charter, to which we have all freely subscribed as a

norm governing our international conduct, and which at times are hindered by the unilateral decision of a country which breaks its promises. For those reasons, Honduras would support any initiative tending to strengthen the capacity of action of the Organization through a revision of the Charter or through any other adequate machinery.

16. May I inform this Assembly of our views regarding the matter which is uppermost in the minds of our people and Government at this historic moment. I refer to the dispute that since 1969 has existed between Honduras and El Salvador. My delegation is extremely gratified to be able to say that the record of the session held by the Special Commission of the Thirteenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Latin America, on 20 and 21 August, contained an agreement concerning the procedure for the conclusion of a general peace, friendship and boundary treaty which, taking into account the seven specific resolutions adopted by the Organ of Consultation of the Organization of American States [OAS], will put an end to all disputes between the two countries.

17. My delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the enlightened Government of Mexico and to our sister Republics of Central America for the continued and devoted attention they have given this problem and for their permanent collaboration in the search for adequate solutions.

18. My delegation reiterates its faith that the negotiations at present taking place in Mexico City will, through the channels of law and justice, be successful and thus return the Central American area to normalcy.

19. From the very beginning of our independent life, our laws have recognized the equality of men irrespective of differences in race, colour or religion. Hence, Honduras offers its support and co-operation to all those who endeavour to eliminate racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations, particularly those who are dedicated to the eradication of the vile system of *apartheid*.

20. From the beginning of our independent life, Honduras has also been found among the leaders in the anti-colonialist struggle. It therefore offers its co-operation and support to those peoples which are struggling for their right to govern themselves and to shake off the colonial yoke.

21. My delegation would like very specially to refer to the problem of Gibraltar, a British colony, located on Spanish soil, over which Spain's full sovereignty must be recognized. Honduras entirely shares the arguments adduced by the Minister for External Affairs of Spain, don Laureano López Rodo, when he spoke to this Assembly on the subject [2133rd meeting], and we declare our readiness to co-operate in restoring Gibraltar fully to Spanish sovereignty and authority.

22. Of the subjects on the agenda of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, there are a number which, because of their special importance and the signif-

icance which Honduras attaches to them, we feel impelled to mention specifically and make known our views upon them.

23. Mankind is confronted by the fear of extinction if the political forces were, with the instruments of mass destruction available to them, to unleash a new worldwide conflagration. But to this fear is added the fact that we are all victims of the harmful effects of nuclear weapons tests. Therefore, we must add our voice to those of the many countries which have urged the nuclear Powers to find bilateral or multinational understandings likely to end this threat once and for all. With its voice and vote, Honduras will support any initiative to that end. For similar reasons, we shall do likewise with regard to all those initiatives designed to do away with inhuman chemical and bacteriological weapons or to achieve a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

24. As so often before, the General Assembly will continue its examination of the many and complex aspects of the conflict in the Middle East, particularly at this moment when it has become even more acute because of the fresh resort to the use of weapons against man in that region. We believe that this delicate question calls for a clear statement from us to the effect that we are friends of Israel and friends of the Arab countries and that nothing would please us better than to be able to contribute to putting an end to the prolonged conflict. We believe that it is indispensable to strengthen with new instruments the Secretariat so that it can continue its peace-making efforts, and we would be extremely happy if the Security Council itself would hand down an authentic interpretation of the conflicting provisions of its resolution 242 (1967) and thus give new means of action to the Jarring mission.

25. We must clearly and simply state that the policies of Honduras in these matters, both inside and outside the Central American area, are based on principles that we consider inalienable and that we believe should be stressed. Honduras cannot agree to, nor will it ever accept, the acquisition of territory by force or threat. Honduras considers that the dignity of the human person must always be respected, even in cases of belligerency or war. Honduras considers that it is the right of all nations to live in peace, within secure and legally determined borders which accurately mark the limits of its national sovereignty.

26. In this connexion I think I ought to recall that, at the present stage of history, security does not come from mere tactical positions; it might have done so when conventional war defined frontiers, but not when it is the law that must prevail. The security of a frontier, we believe, can flow only from a juridical determination of it and the obligation that all parties respect the existence of such borders.

27. With regard to international terrorism, the entire world is expecting some concrete results from our deliberations. We noted with regret how little was done during the twenty-seventh session on this matter, despite the very obvious concern shown by world public opinion. We understand that it is difficult to reach agreement since

there are complex factors hindering a general understanding. To the assessments and definitions of the political terrorism of individuals a counterpart is sought in assessments of the actions of States. But we believe that, while that procedure of analysis is resorted to, little progress can be made. But there are specific aspects on which the views of all Governments are almost unanimous. Cases such as the hijacking of planes, diplomatic security, the unlawful use of the mail and other examples could be tackled outside the context of the general problem and could be the subject of agreement and even lead to treaties that would be a true achievement and a definitive step towards satisfying world aspirations for something to be done by this Organization on these problems that affect us all. The delegation of Honduras would co-operate in the taking of such steps by the Assembly.

28. Finally, my delegation expresses the hope that the deliberations of the General Assembly during the twenty-eighth session, which has begun so successfully under your wise guidance, will, in this delicate historical moment for humanity, lead to concrete steps and resolutions that will stress the lofty principles and postulates of international ethics contained in the Charter, thus giving mankind renewed hopes that man, imbued with the spirit of coexistence and understanding that must always prevail in this hall, will through constant international effort, succeed in making the world a more just and worthy place in which to live.

29. Mr. BAAH (Ghana): Permit me, Sir, on behalf of the Government and the people of Ghana, to congratulate you on your election as President of the twenty-eighth session of this august Assembly. We are particularly happy to see you preside over the deliberations of this session because both your country and mine are dedicated to world peace; both realize that it is only under conditions of peace that our cherished aspiration of improving the living standards and the general welfare of our people can be achieved.

30. This session has on its agenda a number of items of great significance, not only to the countries that we have been accustomed to describe as the third world—of which your country and mine are a part—but to the world community as a whole. I have no doubt that your qualities as a statesman and your varied and rich experience as a diplomat will assist you in steering the course of this session to a successful and fruitful end. My delegation wishes you every success in the discharge of the great responsibility entrusted to you.

31. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of my delegation for the able manner in which your predecessor conducted the affairs of the twenty-seventh session of the Assembly. His performance was not lacking in patience, tact and diplomacy, without which this Assembly could not hope to conduct a successful business.

32. My delegation also wishes to express its appreciation of the work of the Secretary-General. His report to this session on the work of the Organization [A/9001] reflects a readiness and a capacity to further the interests of the world community. We are confident that he will

continue to bring to his task the resourcefulness and diligence which he has demonstrated already.

33. We welcome the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in this Organization. This event not only strengthens this body but also furthers the course of détente in a region which has for many years been regarded as a major area of world conflict. It is our hope that the experience of these two States will enrich the capacity of this Organization in its efforts to make the world a better place for us all. In the same spirit, we extend a warm welcome to the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, whose presence here should remind us again that, for the purposes and aims of this Organization, no country is too small or too weak, no contribution by any Member State is too insignificant.

34. I should like to express the appreciation of the Government and the people of Ghana for the Cocoa Agreement which provisionally came into effect on 30 June 1973. It is hoped that the signatories to the Agreement that have not yet ratified it will do so soon and that those who missed the opportunity of signing it will accede to it in due course. The difficult course through which this Agreement has passed is a symptom of a cancerous growth that continues to plague our world community: narrow national interests constantly blind us to over-all global interests. It is the hope of my delegation that the Cocoa Agreement will not be the last commodity agreement to be concluded and that it will be followed by other commodity agreements. It is only when such agreements to stabilize the prices of commodities on which the economies of developing countries largely depend have been concluded that those countries can hope for a planned and sustained economic growth.

35. This century has seen a very significant change in the complexion of the world. Territories that were mere colonial appendages have acquired identities of their own and are endeavouring to shape their own economic destinies. They want now to establish their own economic identity within a world economic system. The question is not whether they will be able to do this, but whether they will be enabled to do so.

36. Twenty-eight years after the Second World War we are still struggling with the problems that war left behind. The national economies of countries on both sides of the war were shattered. Years of economic effort to raise living standards to decent levels were destroyed in five years of vendetta, vindictiveness, callousness and complete disregard for the human person and, indeed, for the survival of our planet. This same war brought in its wake an event which, though salutary and justifiable in its moral significance, none the less compounded the economic problems which faced the world and which continue to do so. This event was the emergence of independent sovereign countries, expected and willing to play their part in the general effort to reconstruct the economy of our planet.

37. What is interesting in this general effort at reconstruction is the manner in which countries capable of doing the most in this exercise have viewed the problem. Immediately after the Second World War, the Marshall Plan was established. Under that Plan, countries which were involved in

the war, no matter on which side they fought, received economic assistance to reconstruct their economies. Some of the loans received under that Plan have yet to be paid back. Nevertheless, with the assistance granted, those countries have been able not only to develop booming economies but also to create a capacity to pay back loans. Countries like my own, which as colonies fought alongside the colonial Powers and their allies to preserve what we were made to believe was the dignity of the human person, have not been treated with an equal degree of concern.

38. If I have made reference to these historical events, it is not because it is my wish to subject this august Assembly to a lecture on a subject which representatives perhaps know better than I. My intention is merely to draw attention to a difference in the performance of the world community in two situations which my delegation considers identical in all their aspects, except in their incidence.

39. Every year from this rostrum we are told of the ever-widening gap of relative economic growth between the developing and the developed countries; every year this Assembly is warned that this situation is inherently dangerous to world peace. It is relevant to ask, What has the world community as a whole, and particularly the rich, done to avert the inherent danger which we all, year in and year out, have foreseen and have stressed so often?

40. In assessing our performance in this regard, one cannot help but mention a number of factors that seem to my delegation to be clear pointers to the inadequate concern which the countries with the capacity to help arrest the situation have so far shown.

41. In the first place, almost every developing country is in debt—debt that has come about often from the so-called foreign aid, a conversion of part of the resources which have been taken from our lands and which are now reluctantly returned to us at unbelievably high rates of interest with a number of subtle strings. The huge interest on these debts has accumulated over the years, and in some cases has exceeded the principal. How can debtor countries service these debts when their economic growth falls far short of what the United Nations itself considers acceptable and desirable? How can the under-equipped world—to borrow the phrase from President Mobutu—free itself from factors not inherent in the economies of the developing countries, as some people would want us to believe, but in the nature of the world economic system dictated by the developed countries.

42. The burden of the developing countries is not debt, stifling to economic growth though this might be; these debts are more symptoms of a sick world economic system. Developing countries take loans to improve their economies, but what do they find? The past decades have witnessed a steady rise in the price of industrial goods; against this, the prices of the primary products on which they depend for the modernization of their economies have been fluctuating downwards. In this situation it is not surprising that most developing countries are becoming perpetual debtors to developed countries with little hope of achieving economic viability. President Mobutu called on the world community to cancel the debts of the

Sahelian countries affected by the drought. I would go one step further and suggest that serious consideration should be given to suspending indefinitely or cancelling altogether debts that constitute a barrier to and hinder a reasonable and accepted rate of economic growth.

43. This situation has been made even more complex by the present trend in the organization of the world economy into powerful economic groupings. My Government has no grudge against any decision of any group of countries to concert their economic efforts in their mutual interest. It is, however, the view of my Government that if such a group of countries, by reason of historical antecedents or by any other factors, occupies a dominant position in the world economic structure, its actions should not fail to take into consideration the general economic well-being of the entire world community. This, in the view of my delegation, should be the guiding principle of an organization such as the European Economic Community or any other economic group. It is with this understanding that we African countries have decided to enter into negotiations with the European Economic Community.

44. In our effort to create a more equitable economic system we launched the first international United Nations Development Decade. Our stock-taking at the end of that Decade, however, showed that we were far from achieving our targets. Nevertheless, we launched the Second United Nations Development Decade. Statements made by various countries at the launching of the Decade gave rise to some optimism regarding the performance of the international community. Regrettably this hope has not been justified. The United Nations *World Economic Survey, 1972*¹ presents "a picture of unusual contrasts". While the economies of developed countries have been marked by a continued buoyancy, those of a majority of the developing countries continue to lag substantially behind targets set for the decade of the 1970s. On present performance the indications convince us that the Second Development Decade will end with its targets still unachieved.

45. In the face of this grim reality, it is only natural that developing countries should begin to attach less and less credibility to declarations of intent by developed countries. It is for that reason that my Government advocates and pursues a policy of self-reliance.

46. As stated in the charter of the National Redemption Council, the principle of self-reliance implies a recognition that our national regeneration depends on our own efforts, and that it is only through honest and hard work on the part of every citizen that Ghana can develop and prosper. Thus, while we welcome assistance from external sources, we are committed not to rely on foreign aid for the solution of our problems but instead to protect the wealth of the nation by active State participation aimed at capturing the commanding heights of the economy for our people.

47. During the year world currency problems, which had been developing over a number of years, reached a high-water mark. The American dollar was devalued on two occasions and the currencies of European countries as well as that of Japan were either revalued or floated. In spite of

the existence of international machinery for consultations on monetary matters, developed countries met to consult on a solution to the problem as though the economies of the developing countries did not form part of the international economy.

48. In the view of my delegation, all issues, whether economic, scientific or political, have international repercussions; their solution therefore demands international consultations. These problems cannot be effectively considered for the entire world community by a group of countries, however affluent or powerful they may be. Their consideration must not exclude any country, however poor or weak.

49. The degree of interdependence reached by our present world has internationalized almost every issue to a smaller or larger extent. Until we have recognized this reality solutions to the many problems which face the world community today will continue to elude us. If we seize the opportunity now we may yet usher in the world of plenty which we all seek.

50. My Government would like to express its sincere appreciation to all those countries which have responded to the call to come to the assistance of countries within the Sudano-Sahelian region. We also welcome the efforts being made by the Food and Agriculture Organization and other United Nations agencies in this regard. We would however be failing in our duty if we did not point out the fact that the problem of drought, resulting in crop failures and decimation of the livestock population in the area, is not a recent one. Yet no serious effort was made to overcome it. When we consider that all the countries in the area were for many years under the colonial rule of one country or another, the manner in which the colonialist bore his "burden" in Africa becomes clearer to us. It is the view of my delegation that it would not be enough to combat the present crisis in the area. We should, and we must, formulate and execute plans which will eventually eliminate the problem altogether.

51. In our statement from this rostrum at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly,² we pledged our co-operation in any efforts that would be made to ensure that humanity not only would rid itself of hunger, poverty and disease, but would live in a clean and healthy environment. In fact, we believe that efforts to eradicate hunger, poverty and disease on the one hand, and to ensure a healthy environment on the other, are supplementary to each other. We do not believe that environmental protection and industrialization are necessarily mutually exclusive.

52. We are happy that as a result of discussions at the last session of the General Assembly the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme was elected. That Council, of which my country has the privilege to be a member, has already had its first session in Geneva. My delegation wishes the Governing Council and its secretariat every success in their efforts to find a solution to a problem which is gradually becoming an issue fundamental to human existence.

¹ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.C.1.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2040th meeting.

53. My Government has been following with keen interest the discussions which have been proceeding on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. This is an issue of universal concern to all of us. We subscribe to the basic principle guiding the discussions on this issue, namely, that the area should be exploited for the benefit of mankind as a whole. It is the view of my delegation that this principle should be used as a measure for all provisions we write into any convention governing the use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Our discussions on the issue should recognize the disparities in national endowments of scientific and technological know-how, availability of development capital and the structure of national economies. It is the hope of my delegation that the results of the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction will contribute in no small way to our work at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, scheduled to be held next year. There are problems, such as the limit of territorial waters and the question of land-locked and shelf-locked countries, to be solved. In the view of my delegation those problems are not insurmountable, given a willingness to accommodate and recognize each other's concerns.

54. There is a link between the equitable economic world order that my delegation advocates and the completely free community of nations which the twentieth century demands. Peace and harmony must, however, exist in the world if freedom and justice are to be secured and maintained for all.

55. Closer consultations among the major Powers have strengthened the atmosphere of détente and further lessened the chances of an atomic war. The end of the war in South-East Asia, coupled with the withdrawal of foreign troops from the region, has prepared the way for peace and reconstruction in an area which for over two decades has endured so much human suffering and witnessed such great material destruction. The conclusion of the treaty of accord between the two Germanys not only will widen the scope for reuniting separated families but also will, we believe, substantially lead to the relaxation of tension in Europe and foster the experiment of coexistence within the framework of different social systems.

56. Although these developments are welcome, we cannot but feel concerned about certain trends which could have a far-reaching effect on the aims and purposes of this Organization. There has been in recent years a tendency for the big and powerful nations to seek accommodation outside the forum of this Organization. Perhaps that is because there is a growing lack of interest in the United Nations on the part of some of these big and powerful nations.

57. The United Nations was established to ensure that the world would be saved from human suffering and senseless devastation. We have a collective responsibility to ensure this; this responsibility we can neither shirk, abdicate nor delegate. The more this forum is used, the more effective it will be in the discharge of its functions.

58. Notwithstanding progress in decolonization, the continued existence of colonialism and racism in certain parts

of the world, particularly in Africa, remains a challenge to our demand for universal freedom and justice and constitutes a potential threat to international peace and security. Freedom and the related self-assertion of human dignity are some of the most priceless human rights. No wonder that national histories abound in examples of supreme sacrifices in pursuit of these rights. Such sacrifices continue to be made in our contemporary world and will continue to be made in the cause of human dignity. We in Ghana recognize the rightness of this cause. It is in the light of this that we are resolutely pledged to the material and moral support of the gallant freedom fighters in Africa who are still struggling to free themselves from colonialism and racism, be they under Portuguese colonial rule or under that of the racist régime of South Africa. If peaceful means were possible we would advocate them, but since the racists and the colonialists leave us with no other choice we have come to the conclusion that armed struggle is the only effective means left to us to liberate our brothers in bondage. The Chairman of the National Redemption Council and Head of State of Ghana made this commitment clear when he said at the opening ceremony of the Committee of Liberation of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in Accra in January of this year:

“We must begin with a reaffirmation of armed struggle as the only means of liberating South Africa. This reaffirmation is important for the purposes of mobilizing all our resources for the common struggle We do not accept the so-called contradiction between commitment to world peace and commitment to armed struggle for freedom in Africa. The liberation struggle is a just struggle for peace and human dignity, for there can only be a lasting peace in the world when all men are free”

59. This leads me to the Portuguese Territories in Africa. At this juncture I should like to pay a tribute in this forum to Amílcar Cabral, a victim of the pernicious system he sought to eradicate. Ghana deeply mourns him, particularly because it was shortly after the twenty-first session of the Committee of Liberation in Accra that he met his death at the hands of a cruel assassin. Amílcar is dead, but the spirit that motivated his dedication still lives on. He has become a martyr, not only in the cause of his own country but in that of the entire African continent. There may be many like him who may fall in the course of the struggle; but neither torture nor death shall deter us. We shall fight on till victory is won.

60. The Government and people of Ghana rejoice at the independence of Guinea-Bissau. We wish that independent State every success and look forward to co-operating with it in OAU and, we hope, in the very near future in this Organization.

61. My delegation now urges this Organization to address itself urgently to the question of the illegal occupation by Portugal of part of the territory of Guinea-Bissau, in the light of the threat to international peace which that illegal situation poses.

62. Portugal has sought to justify its oppression of other human beings by legal arguments and by arguing the efficiency of its administration. It has sometimes pointed a deriding finger at independent African countries. I should

like to point out with emphasis that the peoples of Africa are not necessarily claiming a superior ability to order their own affairs. What they are demanding is a right to be human beings and to be respected as such. We no longer wish to be fed and nurtured by benevolent foster mothers; we demand the right to order our own destiny, make our own mistakes, suffer their consequences and learn from them. This is Africa's case. In our struggle to achieve our objective there will be no compromises; there will be no limit to the sacrifices we are prepared to make.

63. In this regard I should like us to remember those 400 men, women and children who were brutally murdered in the villages of Wiriyaumu and Chawola by Portuguese troops. Africa will always remember them among its sons who laid down their lives that the peoples of the continent of Africa might live in freedom and dignity. If there are any among us who seek evidence of Portuguese brutality in the Territories under Portuguese domination, this should be sufficient.

64. In the face of such brutalities, we cannot but express our grief and deep regret that the NATO allies that are Members of our Organization continue to supply arms to Portugal. It should now be obvious to them that the arms supplied are the very ones which Portugal has used, and continues to use, to perpetrate unspeakable atrocities against humanity. We appeal to these allies, in the name of humanity, to cease forthwith supplying arms to Portugal.

65. We appeal for more than that. We call on all the Members of this Organization to demonstrate their abhorrence of the inhuman policies of Portugal by limiting or severing contact with the Portuguese authorities. We call for this isolation because it could well be that it would be only through such universal disapproval that Portugal would come to realize the folly of its actions.

66. In 1972 Portugal announced constitutional changes in the Portuguese African colonial Territories. While taking note of these changes, my delegation would like to make it clear to Portugal that what the peoples still under its domination demand is not a sham constitution gratuitously conferring a measure of internal self-government; what they demand, with the backing of the rest of Africa, is that Portugal should recognize their right to self-determination and sovereignty. On this there will be no compromise.

67. The situation in Zimbabwe, where illegality has been enthroned, continues to cause a great deal of concern to my Government. This is particularly so having regard to the frustration caused by the violations of the sanctions imposed by this Organization.

68. We were saddened and disappointed when a Member of this Organization, who with others was charged with the primary responsibility for ensuring world peace, passed a law legalizing the importation of chrome which this Assembly, with the consent of that same country, had outlawed. We are happy to note that a repeal of that law now appears imminent. My delegation would go further and suggest that that Government should go a step further by closing down the propaganda office that it now permits the usurpers of Zimbabwe to maintain under its protection.

69. Sanctions need to be strengthened and made all-embracing, and no breaches of any kind should be allowed. The excuse often given for breaches of sanctions is that they have not worked. In the view of my delegation, if they have not worked, it is because certain Members of this Organization have ensured that they should not and will not work.

70. In recent times there have been certain developments in Zimbabwe which should give cause for even greater concern. I refer to secret trials, imprisonments and executions of African nationalists and others, under the so-called Southern Rhodesian Terrorist Act. How many such secret trials, unknown to the outside world, may have ended in the execution of Zimbabwe Africans, and perhaps other nationalists, as well. What my delegation wishes to ask is, What does the United Kingdom Government intend to do to stop these illegal and arbitrary acts in a Territory that still remains its primary responsibility? Secondly, what does this Organization intend to do, if only on grounds of concern for human rights? The United Kingdom Government as the administering Power has the duty to intervene to prevent further illegalities, and this Organization has a responsibility to bring all its resources and authority to bear on the matter in order to ensure that African lives are not sacrificed in the consolidation of illegality.

71. A Canadian YMCA document entitled "Investment in Oppression: southern Africa today bears the seed of the next decades' Viet-Nam" states:

"Racial wars are already in progress in the Portuguese colonies. The Rhodesian régime faces growing African hostility. The unequivocal rejection by the African population of the attempted British-Rhodesian settlement has demonstrated to the world the intensity of the Africans' rejection of the white minority régime. An eventual eruption of violence there seems evermore likely. The status of Namibia is far from being settled. The potential for a violent upheaval in southern Africa is undeniable although the strength of the régime suggests that any struggle would be a long and bloody one, if there were no international intervention or mediation."

72. For more than a decade, this Assembly has adopted resolutions condemning *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonialism which Portugal and South Africa and the racist régime of Southern Rhodesia have resolutely defied. These three countries have placed themselves outside the pale of civilized behaviour and the time has come for the international community to show its deep displeasure by ostracizing them. We consider it appropriate that NATO members show their commitment to the self-determination of all African peoples by excluding Portugal from their military and defence alliance. Portugal needs NATO more than NATO needs Portugal, and there is no doubt that meaningful action to exclude Portugal would have a telling effect on its attitude.

73. Furthermore, sanctions should not only be intensified against Rhodesia; they should also be extended to South Africa and Portugal. If we believe in the United Nations as a forum that brings together all races and creeds to work together to improve living conditions on this planet, we are in honour bound to exclude countries which despise the

basic principles of the United Nations from economic, social, cultural and political fellowship.

74. Never in the history of the United Nations have so many Member States walked out of a General Assembly debate as they did last Friday [2141st meeting], as a mark of their total rejection of the racist policies of the Vorster régime of South Africa. South Africa cannot fail to see the utter contempt in which the rest of the world holds its policies. In its own interest, it is called upon to change those policies forthwith. It should be forcefully reminded that those who make peaceful evolution impossible, make violent revolution inevitable.

75. By the decision of this Assembly, South Africa has been isolated from international sports because of the operation of *apartheid* even in sports [resolution 2775 D (XXVI)]. In an attempt to break that isolation, South Africa announced reforms in sports which it told the world were aimed at removing *apartheid* in sports. South Africa's intention, however, was to throw dust into the eyes of the rest of the world. That intention becomes clear when we read a report in the issue of *The Times* of Wednesday, 30 May, to the effect that the Government of South Africa had "confirmed that it had stopped multiracial football matches which were being played without fuss between factory and schoolboy teams at Newcastle in Natal". In its issue of 20 June, *The Times* carried a report from Michael Knipe, disclosing that the African members of a multiracial team that had played in London "had to act as porters for the team".

76. That is the extent to which South Africa is prepared to go in its deception of the rest of the world community. From this rostrum, my delegation urges this world body not to allow South Africa to take international public opinion for a ride.

77. When this obnoxious system produces a reaction from South Africans and non-Africans who still have a conscience, South Africa takes refuge behind its laws, ironically described as "terrorist laws".

78. The whole world was shocked when in September it was rudely awakened by news of the cold and ruthless murder of 11 Africans at Carletonville. Sharpeville, and the helplessness and the agony it stands for, was painfully recalled. South Africa lost no time in shedding crocodile tears of phony regret, while giving notice that it would resist any effort by the international community to reach at the truth of those senseless murders, which have become the hallmark of the *apartheid* régime. Surely, the next of kin of the helpless victims reject any expressions of sympathy from those who secretly organized and are a party to the murders. My Government will never be satisfied with any inquiry conducted solely by the racist régime to justify the actions of the murderers. My Government will be satisfied only with an inquiry internationally conducted, or conducted under United Nations auspices, that will have the objective of bringing the murderers to a speedy trial and that will indicate measures to avoid such murders in future.

79. At its 1682nd meeting the Security Council authorized the Secretary-General—in paragraph 5 of its resolution 323 (1972)—to continue his consultations on the status of Nami-

bia. At the time that resolution was adopted some of us were sceptical about the value of such consultations. Now the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council on his consultations has justified that scepticism. It has supported our contention that the conditions for dialogue with South Africa do not exist. That is why my delegation supports the consensus reached by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its 167th meeting, held on 27 March this year, opposing further contacts with South Africa on the grounds that: "To maintain contacts with the South African régime would mean an acceptance of its policy on the part of the United Nations..."³

80. It is time to remind the South African régime, without mincing words, that it is the inhabitants of Namibia themselves who must decide their future, and certainly not South Africa; that the people of Namibia have so decided on that future; and that they have decided on independence. If South Africa claims that it does not wish to impose a settlement on Namibia, let it accede to the clear wishes of the people and withdraw from the Territory now, today.

81. The Namibian problem is not an intractable one. It is intractable only in South African eyes. It is not a complicated issue. It is an issue similar to that which faced any of the Second World War Mandated Territories. Mandatory Powers have withdrawn and conceded independence to the indigenous peoples. South Africa is called upon to follow that example and grant independence to the people of Namibia. We do not accept that protracted discussions should be held in a situation where the solution is clear: independence for the people of Namibia, now. If South Africa has no designs whatsoever with respect to any part of Namibia's territory, let it back that assertion by withdrawing from Namibia forthwith. The people of Namibia do not want to appear to be subsidized by *apartheid* money, made bloodier by the death of the martyrs of Sharpeville and Carletonville. They demand independence to enable them to exploit their own natural resources for the benefit of their own people. South Africa has no duty in Namibia other than to pack up and quit that Territory.

82. The real representatives of Namibia do not want a dialogue with Vorster. They reject murderous hands and the deadly gifts they carry. The only discussion permissible is one with Sam Nujoma, leader of the South West African People's Organization, and his colleagues about the immediate transfer of power. That is South Africa's only duty in Namibia, and if it had any honour South Africa would perform that duty right away.

83. The world community continues to express concern over the arms race; yet the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly [A/9141-DC/236], like its predecessors, does not indicate any prospect of a break-through. In the meantime, the stockpiling of armaments, particularly nuclear and biological weapons, continues, and that in spite of the significant relaxation in the international situation which all of us have noted. Agreement on a nuclear test ban

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1973*, document S/10921, annex II, para 5 (h).

in the atmosphere and in outer space⁴ was reached 10 years ago. Since then there has been no progress towards an agreement on a complete test ban. In fact, the partial-test ban Treaty has not yet gained universal accession. France, for example, continues to plan to carry out atmospheric tests in the Pacific, in the face of vigorous opposition from all the countries in the area, which stand in great danger of being affected by the radiation from such tests, and against the ruling of the International Court of Justice.⁵

84. The view of my Government is that the issue of disarmament, like many issues facing our present international community, is of universal concern. It is of concern both for the militarily powerful and for the militarily weak. That is why my delegation supported the decision to hold a world disarmament conference, adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2930 (XXVII)*].

85. It is the hope of my delegation that the militarily powerful nations, which as permanent members of the Security Council have the primary responsibility for safeguarding world security, will recognize the general obligation of the world community as a whole to ensure world peace. It is hoped that they will, in recognition of the general world concern over the disarmament issue, co-operate with the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference set up by the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2930 (XXVII)*] to make the envisaged Conference a success. Even if such a conference achieved nothing at all—and in the view of my delegation there is much that it could achieve—it would serve to emphasize the general world concern over the issue of disarmament.

86. My Government views the outbreak of fresh fighting in the Middle East with a great deal of concern. It is our view that in this situation the question of who attacked first is less relevant than the lesson which the new development emphasizes.

87. Since 1967 Arab lands have been occupied by Israeli forces. For an even longer period the Palestinians have remained refugees, dependent on international charity, with no hope that their plight will be relieved. Hurt national pride and human suffering have combined to give rise to the situation which we are now witnessing in the Middle East. Until the Israeli forces have withdrawn from the Arab territories occupied by Israel during the 1967 war, and until the plight of the Palestinian has been relieved and the security of all States in the area has been assured, the Middle East will continue to be a hotbed of threats to peace in the area, as well as to international peace. My delegation urges this Organization to redouble its efforts to reach a settlement in the area which will restore national pride, human dignity and security to all concerned. The Government of Ghana would be willing to lend its assistance to any initiatives to that end.

88. If this Assembly were to commit itself to the goals that we have enumerated, if the membership were to pledge support to the realization of those goals, then we might yet

live to see a world not only of sovereign States in which there was an equitable sharing of economic resources but also a world of plenty and a world of freedom and justice.

89. I wish the twenty-eighth session of the Assembly success.

90. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The positive progress being made in the international situation, which has been brought about by the continued implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, has been adequately reflected in the statements of almost all heads of delegations who have taken part in the general debate now coming to an end at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. The peoples of the world, who welcome with relief the process of international détente, which has begun, have once again recently found themselves confronted with dangerous developments as a result of the expansionist policy of the ruling circles in Israel, who have unleashed military action against the Arab countries. Representatives who have spoken here have welcomed the relaxation of international tension and have severely condemned the brigandage and violence which the Israeli aggressors have raised to the level of State policy.

91. The debate has also shown that the ranks of those who favour peace and international security, freedom and independence for all peoples and economic progress and social justice have grown considerably. It is also obvious that the favourable development of international relations is ensured by the active and constructive policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist States, and that the successful implementation of the programme of peace put forward by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would serve the interests of all peoples of the planet.

92. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, which has played a part in the work of the United Nations since its establishment, notes with satisfaction that throughout the Organization's existence, and particularly during recent years, an ever-growing number of Member States have been displaying increasing interest in the most vital matters considered in the United Nations and have been giving constructive consideration to and showing active support for the proposals put forward by the socialist States. The time is past when the advocates of the "cold war" and the increase of international tension could block any proposal of ours for the simple reason that it was put forward by a socialist country.

93. No one—including those who speak from the forum of the United Nations—can doubt that the peace-loving, high-principled, class-based, internationalist, open and honest position of principle of the Soviet Union and the other States of the socialist community is in keeping with the interests and needs of all peoples, since it is aimed at strengthening peace and international security, consolidating alliances with peoples struggling for their national and social liberation, developing relations between States with different social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, struggling decisively against aggression and ensuring that the favourable changes which have

⁴ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

⁵ See *Nuclear Tests (Australia v. France), Interim Protection, Order of 22 June 1973, I.C.J. Reports 1973, p. 99.*

been achieved on the international scene become irreversible.

94. What is important is that work on the fundamental reconstruction of relations between countries and between peoples in the interest of peace and co-operation is being conducted on a bilateral and a multilateral basis, by leaders of States in summit meetings and talks, both at the governmental and at the social level, involving the greatest variety of bodies and organizations and covering an ever-wider range of issues. All peace-loving forces throughout the world welcomed with ardent approval the visits of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, to the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and France, the fruitful results of his talks with the leaders of those countries and the agreements which were concluded. That has been confirmed by many Ministers for Foreign Affairs who have spoken here, and who have stressed the great international importance of the results achieved through such summit meetings.

95. The anti-imperialist programme of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in September 1973, which speaks of the necessity for a resolute struggle for freedom, independence and peace, and condemns imperialism, colonialism and racism, merits approval and support. We are convinced that the forthcoming World Congress of Peace Forces, to be held in Moscow, will also make a worthy contribution to peace and security on earth.

96. As is well known, the second stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has recently begun. Talks between the USSR and the United States of America on strategic arms limitation have been resumed, and very important bilateral meetings are being conducted, or are pending. Talks on reductions in military forces and armaments in the Central European region will soon be continued. Consequently, opportunities for new steps toward further détente and the expansion of many forms of co-operation between States are more than adequate. The goodwill not only of the socialist States, but also of each participant in these vital meetings and talks, is needed in order to achieve success.

97. Considerable opportunities are also opening up for the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is essential that the constructive spirit of the general debate should be maintained during consideration of specific items on the agenda; that will enable the General Assembly to make its own weighty contribution to the further relaxation of international tension. At the same time, it is essential to ensure constant vigilance and to rebuff resolutely any intrigues begun by forces which, openly or covertly, oppose a relaxation of tension in the world, advocate the stockpiling of weapons, sow distrust and enmity among peoples and impede the strengthening of peace and international security. Statements of individual speakers—fortunately only a small number—in the general debate have shown that there are still some who, while camouflaging what they say with words of peace, in fact hold positions which conflict with the interests of peace and co-operation. Such positions, even if stated or acted on by only a few, cannot go unnoticed. Through the joint efforts of each and every peace-

loving State we can make those who oppose the relaxation of international tension submit to the will of peoples yearning for peace, justice and progress.

98. I should like to dwell further on a few of today's most vital international problems.

99. Twice within the lifetime of a single generation Europe has been the seat and the scene of world wars, which has brought the people of the Byelorussian SSR inexpressible grief and huge losses of life and has both times, as a result of total devastation, almost completely destroyed the economy. Consequently, it was with particular satisfaction that the working people of the Byelorussian SSR welcomed the recent favourable developments in Europe promoting the strengthening of peace and security.

100. The principles of the non-use of force and the inviolability of frontiers in Europe have been given legal status in treaties concluded by the USSR, the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany; a four-Power agreement has been concluded on West Berlin; the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany have agreed that the Munich *diktat* is null and void; and the first stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has been successfully completed. All these constitute a convincing victory for reason and realism and the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence. We want the European Conference to be a complete success and we hope that its work will be accomplished in the shortest possible time, without any delays or procrastination, and that Europe will become a continent of lasting peace and fruitful co-operation among States. There are many possibilities for achieving those ends. They are clearly and precisely set out in the draft general declaration of the foundations of European security and the principles guiding relations between States in Europe, which is being considered on the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and also in other proposals made by the socialist countries and relating to items on the Conference's agenda.

101. We again welcome the admission into the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, and we note with satisfaction the final and irrevocable recognition and consolidation of the international status of the German Democratic Republic as an independent sovereign socialist State.

102. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has always favoured the extension of détente to the whole world, to each region in it. During the current session of the General Assembly, speakers have noted with satisfaction the end of the war in Viet-Nam and Laos and the cessation of the bombing in Cambodia. We should at the same time firmly condemn the Saigon administration's violation of the Paris agreements ending the war and re-establishing peace in Viet-Nam, demand that they be strictly observed, and urge the full implementation of the agreements reached in Laos as well as non-interference in the internal affairs of all the peoples of Indo-China. In addition, we regard as totally unjustified the delay in the settlement of the problem of granting observer status in the United Nations to the representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

103. The victory of the Viet-Nameese people, the current reduction of tension in southern Asia, the active struggle for the restoration of peace throughout Indo-China and the growing support for the just demands of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the withdrawal of foreign forces from South Korea and the final dissolution of the bankrupt so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea are gratifying events in the continent of Asia. Now one of the primary tasks before us is the strengthening of collective security in Asia. In our view, all Asian countries without exception should join in this work and should ensure the triumph of such principles of mutual relations as the non-use of force or the threat of its use, respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and the development of all-round co-operation on a basis of mutual respect and equality among peoples. One can only deplore the fact that some in Asia, following a policy of frantic anti-Sovietism and opposition to détente, do not desire the implementation of those principles, and will not face the fact that they are specifically set out in the United Nations Charter, the decisions of the African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung in April 1955, and other widely recognized international documents.

104. Because of the absence of a political settlement in the Middle East, the Israeli militarists have been able to fan the smouldering fires of military conflict in that area and, pursuing their expansionist policy, have unleashed military action against Egypt and Syria. Israel and those external reactionary circles which have constantly connived at its aggressive tendencies bear full responsibility for developments in the Middle East. In present conditions, unity of action and solidarity among all peace-loving countries are essential in order to ensure the restoration of the lawful rights of the Arab peoples. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, guided by the interests of peace, is ready to support the most resolute measures taken by the United Nations in order to ensure the full implementation of Security Council and General Assembly decisions relating to the Middle East, in other words, to bring about the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories and to secure respect for the independence and inalienable rights of the States and peoples in that region, including the Arab people of Palestine.

105. A significant contribution towards intensifying the process of détente can be made within the United Nations if consistent and multilevel efforts are undertaken and if each Member of the United Nations displays readiness to co-operate in a constructive manner, and not to adopt the attitude of a dissatisfied critic or passively wait for others to act. These efforts must be specific and consistent, and must help to ensure that the agreements which have been reached are observed, that problems which are being considered are settled, that existing obstacles are overcome and that new initiatives are put forward which are in keeping with the interests of all peoples and with the United Nations Charter. The aim of consolidating successes already achieved and multiplying them in number requires resolute efforts on the part of all peace-loving forces. We must not lose sight of our ultimate objectives, but must strive towards them—and must always move forward, exploiting any opportunity, however small, to take specific measures which would

genuinely ensure a lasting peace. We know that such opportunities are available to us.

106. It is quite clear that the agreement concluded on 22 June 1973 between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, aimed at preventing the outbreak of nuclear war between them and ensuring that they do all within their power to prevent any chance of such a war breaking out, is of enormous importance for the peace of all mankind. Both sides have assumed a specific obligation to refrain from the threat or the use of force against each other, their allies or other countries in circumstances that might endanger international peace and security. It is vital, in order to ensure universal security and an enduring peace on earth, that other States should accept the principles which have been established jointly by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, namely, the non-use of force and the adoption of resolute measures to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. That could be done in various ways. The process would be encouraged by the earliest possible adoption by the Security Council of appropriate measures to ensure the full implementation of the resolution adopted last year by the General Assembly [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*], which on behalf of States Members of the United Nations, solemnly declared their renunciation of the use or threat of force in all its forms and manifestations in international relations, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

107. In the matter of disarmament, States have before them a broad field of action. An overwhelming majority of countries approves the agreements reached by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on defensive and offensive strategic arms, and also the readiness displayed not only to limit offensive strategic weapons quantitatively and qualitatively, but also to adopt measures for the progressive reduction of such weapons. Some action has also been taken in the United Nations to limit and reverse the arms race. Nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water have been prohibited, well-known treaties concerning the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of the emplacement of such weapons on the sea bed and the ocean floor and in outer space are being implemented, and a convention governing the removal of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons from military arsenals has been approved [*see resolution 2826 (XXVI)*]. But these are merely first steps toward the ideal of general complete disarmament, which has been approved by the United Nations.

108. Unfortunately, in recent years, the number of States becoming parties to the already existing agreements has been increasing at a slower rate, and one of those agreements is being openly violated by certain nuclear Powers. During the past year, the question of the prohibition of all nuclear tests by all States everywhere has remained at a standstill, and no progress has been achieved in the elimination of chemical weapons and the implementation of many other proposals submitted for consideration within the United Nations. Unfortunately, the General Assembly's decision concerning the convening of the World Disarmament Conference [*resolution 2930 (XXVII)*] has also reached an impasse because of the positions of two major Powers. Such circumstances require redoubled efforts on the part of all States to settle

disarmament problems. It is essential to ensure that those who oppose disarmament and the convening of a World Disarmament Conference should cease to ignore the will of an overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations and all peoples of the world on these matters. The time has clearly come for States Members of this Organization to adopt a position on disarmament problems which would make possible active progress towards their practical solution.

109. Considerable opportunities in that field are opened up by the item "Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries", which has been included in the agenda on the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [item 102]. The aims of this proposal, which combines measures of political and military détente with opportunities to increase many times the funds available for international assistance to the developing countries, not only are desirable, but are feasible in today's circumstances. The proposal does not prejudice the principle of equal security of States, and will benefit both the peoples of the countries putting into effect the proposed reduction in their military budgets and the peoples of the developing countries who are struggling for economic and social progress.

110. The Soviet proposal fully takes into account the desires of the developing countries, since its implementation would enable them, in an atmosphere of détente and greater security, to intensify their efforts to accelerate economic and social progress on a basis of radical social and economic transformations, full utilization of domestic resources and expansion of international assistance. It is no accident that this proposal has been welcomed by the overwhelming majority of such countries. However, we should ignore the wiles of those who invent artificial and unfounded arguments against this proposal, the more so as their so-called arguments do not hold water and merely show that there are still forces in the world interested in prolonging the arms race. One speaker here has openly called for an increase in the military expenditure of the United States, the countries of Western Europe and the developing States. It is also said that the trustworthiness of published data on the military expenditure of each State should be checked. This is nothing but an attempt to replace the question of reduction of military budgets by the question of control by the opponents of this proposal over all the economic and financial activities of States. But we know full well that, even if this extreme curiosity—which is tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of the States—were to be satisfied, the opponents of disarmament would always find new, equally contrived "arguments" to avoid accepting the proposal submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and supported by many other States. We have already heard one of these arguments. One speaker alleged that his country was already granting greater assistance to the developing countries than that provided for in the proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Statistics and United Nations studies refute that allegation. Moreover, that speaker does not take into account the well-known fact that not only his country's annual military expenditure, but its entire budget over many years, would be insufficient to compensate the developing countries for the funds of which

their economies have been plundered and continue to be plundered by violent means or by means of the so-called unbalanced exchange, to say the least.

111. If the United Nations wishes to make progress in the sphere of disarmament, it should also completely reject the untenable assertion that the question of the reduction of military budgets should not be discussed in the General Assembly because the proposals on this question were not approved by the Assembly during the years of the "cold war", when the voting machinery was in the hands of the opponents of disarmament. If we follow this line of reasoning, it means that we should not have worked for the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, or for the issue of the invitation to representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the consideration of questions relating to Korea, or that we should give up the struggle for peace, for decolonization and against racism, for the sole reason that, in the past, the proposals on these questions were rejected in the United Nations—and we know by whom. But these are different times, and there are many new possibilities for overcoming problems which were previously blocked. The United Nations must take advantage of these new conditions, in which peace-loving forces have serried their ranks and international tension is easing, and give additional impetus to the realization of the noble purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

112. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will actively strive for an effective solution of all the principal problems on the agenda of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. A number of them have already been referred to. We will also do our utmost to ensure the implementation by all States of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], and to press for the completion and the approval of a draft treaty concerning the moon [A/C.1/L.568/Rev.1] and the international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting [A/8771, annex].

113. As in all previous years, my delegation will be in the ranks of those who are consistent supporters of the active struggle for the complete elimination of colonialism and the securing of freedom for peoples which are under Portuguese colonial domination or which are kept in slavery by the racist régimes in southern Africa. We shall resolutely support the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to the pernicious activities of international monopolies in dependent Territories, and we shall urge that the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations should fully promote the process of decolonization in their activities. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR welcomes the proclamation of a new independent State, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, on land won from the Portuguese colonialists, and wishes the people of that country success in building a new life in conditions of freedom, independence and the complete liberation of their homeland from the colonial yoke. We wish success to all colonial peoples in their just struggle for freedom and independence.

114. My delegation will fully support United Nations efforts to eliminate *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination, or any other infringement of basic human

rights. At the same time we shall press for the approval of the draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [A/C.3/L.1942/Rev.1 and A/C.3/L.1948/Rev.1], the implementation by all countries of existing international legal instruments concerning the struggle against racism and the safeguarding of human rights, and also the adoption of the draft principles of international co-operation in the detection, arrest, extradition and punishment of persons guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity [A/9326].

115. At the present session of the General Assembly many delegations have referred to the question of the observance of human rights. Most of those who have spoken have quite rightly demanded the elimination of *apartheid* and racism and the cessation of violations of human rights by aggressors and colonialists. Unfortunately, individual representatives are attempting to use United Nations efforts to ensure the observance of human rights in order to interfere in the internal affairs of other States. They are ready to protect the "rights" only of individuals who, by their irresponsible utterances or actions, are rendering a service to the forces of imperialism and reaction and slandering the socialist States or attempting to defect to the camp of the aggressors. At the same time, these so-called protectors of human rights close their eyes to the mass crimes of racists, colonialists and reactionaries, not only in violating human rights but also in physically destroying innocent persons because of their democratic convictions. They do not say a word in support of the rights of democrats in Chile and their patriotic efforts to carry out socio-economic transformations in the interests of the working people of that country. They waste no time in recognizing the military dictators' régime in that country, though elsewhere throughout the world, including the Byelorussian SSR, the people have unanimously condemned the actions of the military junta in Chile, which killed the President of the country, Salvador Allende, dissolved the National Congress and local organs of power, trampled on the rights of workers and banned trade unions, abrogated constitutional guarantees for the elementary democratic rights of Chilean citizens and is now pursuing a bloody reign of terror against the progressive forces in the country and the entire Chilean people. The self-styled defenders of human rights remain silent on these events. Many of them remain silent too when the question of the struggle against *apartheid* and racism and the fight for the rights of Africans is discussed, or the violations of human rights in their own countries. As a rule, these speakers represent countries which are not parties to the conventions, treaties and covenants aimed at combating racism and ensuring the observance of human rights which have been prepared in the United Nations.

116. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is proud of the fact that, in our Republic and throughout the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, there are genuine guarantees for an immeasurably wider range of human rights than those provided for in international legal instruments approved by the United Nations. We are party to all the most important international agreements on human rights and conscientiously observe them. This year the Byelorussian SSR ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex] and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*ibid.*], and it calls upon all countries to adhere to these documents,

and to join in the genuine struggle for the safeguarding of human rights and freedoms everywhere and for the elimination of flagrant and mass violations of such rights.

117. The views of the socialist States, including the Byelorussian SSR, on questions of equitable economic, commercial, scientific and technological co-operation in the interests of all peoples, with due regard for the needs and demands of the developing countries, are well known. They are actively put into practice in the United Nations and in other international bodies concerned with such problems. We do our best to prevent and overcome the pernicious effects of the activities of the neo-colonialists and international monopolies on the economies of developing countries, and also to protect the interests of the developing countries and to ensure that they can overcome the obstacles to their economic and social progress created as a result of long domination by the colonialists and of the policy they still pursue of plundering the peoples of the developing countries or of infringing their legitimate rights in international economic relations. We provide considerable assistance to those countries, partly through our participation in United Nations international assistance programmes.

118. May I dwell briefly on one more question—the need for strict compliance by all, without exception, with the United Nations Charter. Present conditions of détente and the consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces provide a genuine opportunity, greater than ever before, for the full utilization and implementation of all provisions of the Charter in order to ensure that the activities of United Nations bodies are carried out exclusively in order to achieve the purposes and principles of the Organization, the most important of which is the strengthening of universal peace. Today, more than ever before, any attempt to undermine the United Nations Charter, and thereby the Organization itself, is absolutely unacceptable. Those who favour a revision of the Charter obviously hope that, by endless arguments about the merits and shortcomings of the Charter and about what should be done in the future, they will be able to avoid the need to comply with the Charter or to justify their previous activities, which have been contrary to the Charter. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR appeals to all participants in the General Assembly to reject any direct or indirect proposals allegedly intended to make the United Nations more effective, but in fact aimed at revising, violating or not complying strictly with the Charter. We still have considerable work to do to ensure that the United Nations Charter is complied with by all, everywhere, in every sphere of international life and human activity, so that the peoples of the world are satisfied with its activities and the results it achieves.

119. The Byelorussian SSR has always attached great importance to the United Nations and, through 28 years' participation in its work, guided by its Leninist peace-loving foreign policy, has done its best to achieve the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has always striven to ensure that the United Nations should be an important and effective instrument in maintaining peace and reducing international tension, and that it should be used in the interests of comprehensive and equitable co-operation among States. We have pursued and are pursuing this policy, both during

General Assembly sessions and in all bodies in the United Nations and its specialized agencies of which we are members. We shall continue to do so in the future everywhere—both in the principal organs of the United Nations and in its subsidiary bodies; at major international conferences and in small meetings; in the formal consideration and settlement of questions and in the course of consultations with all those who are concerned for peace and progress on earth.

120. Mr. MASMOUDI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the Tunisian delegation would like to associate itself with the tribute which has been paid to you, to your career, which is well known in Tunisia, and also to your qualities of heart and of mind; all these are equally well known. That is why your well-deserved election appears to us to honour you at the same time as it honours your country and your part of the world. We are extremely gratified to be able to co-operate with you to ensure that our work proceeds smoothly at this General Assembly.

121. We have emerged from a state of false peace into a state of genuine war, without any major upheavals, and perhaps with less noise and fuss than would be engendered by a brief meeting between the two super-Powers in connexion with the vague and mysterious question of international détente.

122. This conclusion is born neither of moroseness nor of the acrimony of which we are generally and unfairly accused. It describes a fact. The historic day that marks the Middle East war has been a matter of daily occurrence. It is only now, here and elsewhere, particularly within the area of world public opinion—although certain newspapers continue to surround us by silence—it is only now that people are beginning to grasp the serious nature of the war and what is at stake. It is true that this time it is the war of the humble man who has had enough of being vilified; of the person who has suffered aggression and has had enough of occupation; of the simple refugee who has had enough of suffering despair and desolation.

123. Yes, it is the war of the Palestinians, that nameless people, the Syrians and the Egyptians, who have been suffering in the shadows of poverty and enslavement. Refusing injustice and dishonour, they have launched a struggle for deliverance. For most of them it appears in the form of death—a just death that will contribute to the brotherly and worthy life of their peoples.

124. In fact, these are stoic fighters who are waging war against war, against those responsible for aggression. They fight, showing to the entire world that man is, despite everything, better than this monstrous occupier—all the more monstrous because Zionism has perverted it, and the power of money has spoiled it to such an extent that it believes it belongs to the race of lords and masters who are permitted everything, including the arrogance to thwart the United Nations, its Security Council and its permanent members, its General Assembly, its Secretary-General and all its resolutions.

125. The ideal of these stoic Egyptian and Syrian fighters is something that has not fallen into this morbid

mould which motivates their Zionist enemies and which consists of considering war as a perfected *razzia* and of setting records of atrocity and humiliation, thanks to sophisticated weaponry.

126. Their ideal is beyond war; it is part and parcel of the concept of coexistence and fraternity—we repeat: coexistence and fraternity—between a Jewish community, de-Zionized and reconciled with itself, and that Christian-Arab community and Moslem community, rid of its complexes.

127. The ideal of these fighters is to make sure that justice triumphs, even above heroes!

128. Such an ideal means that one may be cast down but never overcome.

129. Whatever the incantations we hear in the Assembly about détente, whatever the calumnies, the slanders and the ridiculous things that are said to deafen us, we will not be prevented from crying out this simple truth, the truth of the Egyptian and Syrian fighters, which is becoming an ever more evident truth as the days go by: that people cannot be occupied for decades against their will, whatever the military supremacy that is available to their occupiers. Today, in the Golan Heights and in the holy places of Sinai, hope is still felt where freedom has once again been restored through these valiant Syrian and Egyptian fighters.

130. We in Tunisia are not fanatics or partisans of all-out war or peace at any cost. At the present stage of the struggle, no one can say whether this freedom which has gradually started to make its way in Sinai will accelerate progress towards justice and fraternity. No one can say whether this faint glimmer which we can see through the smoke of battle is the dawning of a new day on this earth where God once resided or a twilight that may bury new dead and our hopes once for all.

131. The outcome of the war is still uncertain. But what is certain is that the Arab peoples will remain in the battle, because they are convinced that truth is on their side. If today our brothers of Egypt and Syria, although less trained and less versed in the techniques of modern war and perhaps under-equipped, are waging war against the forces of war with so much faith and courage, it is precisely because they know they are sustained by this wave of support from international public opinion, the opinion of valiant and right-thinking men, and because they know that, as General de Gaulle said, at the individual and State levels and at the level of any human community, the end of hope is the beginning of death.

132. Everything, even decadence, ends. The Arab peoples of Palestine and elsewhere have passed beyond despair. It is by overcoming their despair that today they have encountered the highest possible form of hope: that which gives confidence to leaders, that which is synonymous with risk—because hope is also a question of risk.

133. Sooner or later sympathy, goodwill—or simply will—will gradually become polarized around these three principles which President Bourguiba listed in Geneva

before the International Labour Conference, namely: the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland and to a State, the right of the Arab countries not to be occupied and humiliated, and the right of the Israeli people not to be thrown into the sea.

134. Those three principles will, sooner or later, form the just and lasting foundation for settlement of the conflict that for more than a quarter of a century has been ravaging that area. On that basis and on the basis of the 1947 resolution [*resolution 181 (II)*—by which our Organization approved and legalized the birth of Israel—our President was even prepared to undertake, open-handedly and frankly, a dialogue with Israel. Israel thought that was a ruse and responded by polemics. Once again Israel missed availing itself of a reasonable initiative.

135. Neither the subtleties nor the verbal tics of Mr. Abba Eban, nor the thunderclaps and threats of Mr. Moshe Dayan, nor the cold and cynical calculations of Mrs. Golda Meir can deceive us. Because they are buried in the sarcophagus of their prejudices, because they do not want to change and even prevent themselves from changing, they are lost in a maze of procedure and formalism for fear of entering into the substance of the debate; they condemn themselves; and they discourage their warmest supporters. They have not yet understood that to maintain occupied territories as direct guarantees, to create faits accomplis in some places and to cause an exodus in other places, to organize repression against Palestinians is to take out for themselves and for the entire region an insurance that their future will be an unhappy one. It is to opt for a kind of man and a kind of society bathed in chauvinism; it is to proclaim intolerance and fanaticism and to practise violence and contempt.

136. Mr. Abba Eban, let me repeat what I have already said from this very platform. We believe that you are sincere in certain statements that you have made to the Assembly and it is this which gives us pause. Yes, we really begin to wonder whether it is in the nature of Israel, of its régime and of its leaders to be able to make peace. You have referred eloquently to certain international precedents and have concluded that only the Arabs and the Palestinians shirk dialogue for peace. But everybody is speaking. You know that under conditions of war there can only be people who talk further about war. The West and East Germans—whose admission to membership of our Organization we would like to welcome—managed to coexist in peace and fraternity only after they had clarified and spelled out the basic principles existing between them and between the great Powers. As far as North and South Korea are concerned, both of which we should be very pleased to see admitted to the United Nations too, if they have not yet arrived at that stage of unity and homogeneity which is so desired, it is solely because everything is not yet clear and agreed—at least as far as principles and objectives are concerned.

137. Leave all the occupied territories, therefore, including Jerusalem; put forward yourself valid conditions for peace; accept the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations, particularly that of 1947; and you will be surprised at the sense of responsibility and the constructive

spirit which will be manifested by the most intransigent Arab leaders, including those among the Palestinians.

138. Meetings, direct negotiations, international precedents, logic, a scale of values, your logic, your scale of values—these are all nothing but words. It is not because you use these words that we should fear them. It is not because you have failed to bring about peace that we should fail to regenerate that peace. It is not because you wish to exterminate the Palestinians that we have to exterminate you. Only a tolerant Palestine, where there would be coexistence between the Jews and the Palestinians in ways which remain to be determined, only an open society whose laws would be common to all and whose power would be assumed by its permanent members, Christian, Moslems and Jews—only this will make it possible for you no longer to be—in this tortured Middle East which has deserved better of mankind—the engenderer of hate, of fear and violence, a sort of pot which is ready to boil over. It is a question of time, perhaps, but it is also a question of the blood which is flowing in this tortured Middle East. Above all, it is a question of behaviour and commitment. Let the Israelis behave in a way which will bring about proper coexistence between Jews and Arabs, as has been the case and is the case in the Arab and Moslem countries; let the Zionists put an end to this dual and hateful tendency to suspect all other religions—even all other philosophies which do not believe in God—and to consider that the Jews, the citizens of other nations, are their own subjects, who can be mobilized whenever they see fit, in order to serve Israel hand and foot. Let them take care not to add to the bitterness of armed confrontation, the blindness of injured faith and religious passion.

139. Let us not commit the crime of transforming, in the name of the Jewish faith, Jews here and our brothers and those of our colleagues in the General Assembly into perjurers, into mercenaries or traitors to their own country. Israel is not, after all, the homeland of all Jews. Have not the leaders of Tel Aviv committed the arrogance of giving Israeli nationality collectively to an entire African tribe living in Ethiopia? And this must be an aberration from the point of view of international law. Henceforth, with the present Zionist practices and requirements, let us be on our guard; any Jewish community living in Africa, Europe or America might simply wake up one day relabelled as a Zionist homeland. Thus any country which practises tolerance and coexistence between races and religions runs the risk of becoming one day the Palestine of a new Israel.

140. When we realize that South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal in particular are the unconditional allies of Israel, when we are aware that these countries help each other to practise scorn, arrogance and all the most abject forms of segregation, we can then understand the dangers which are lurking, particularly in Africa. In the structure of conquest and domination where the policy of Israel, as well as that of the racists of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, is rooted, any defeat is considered as possibly being fatal. Thus, these protagonists of hate, scorn, colonialism and racism are quite naturally predisposed to violence by their very nature. Hence their desire to defy all reason and to thwart all peaceful efforts. They are predisposed to be more vain than heroic, more obstinate than prudent. They

try to surround us in a dialectic of despair. As far as we Tunisians are concerned, the world is a witness of the fact that President Bourguiba, who has taught us the desire for fraternity, love, tolerance and co-operation, has never ceased tirelessly to seek practical ways to bring about peace and understanding. In 1946—before the wars and before the atrocities—warned by the tragic experience of the German people with Hitler, he called upon the forces of good and progress, which were the Allies at the time, to help the Jews of Palestine to become de-Zionized, as the Germans of that time were being helped to become de-Nazified. We are happy to welcome here the great German nation which has been cured of its destructive demons. It now occupies the place which is due to it in the international community. Even if it takes the form of two Germanys, the joint effort of its worthy representatives is remarkable in all respects. Chancellor Brandt, while speaking fervently for peace, as he did here [2128th meeting], also deserved peace, as the prestigious Nobel Prize awarded him has emphasized. There is more than one precedent to be thought about by the Israelis if they are really looking for peace, and also by the friends of Israel. Perhaps there we can find some precious indication of the way which will lead to salvation. The Israelis might aspire to coexist with us, as the Germans are doing in Europe and throughout the world, if they were to take the step of de-Zionizing themselves. But to de-Zionize in Israel is something quite different.

141. In the Middle East, where the sky touches the earth and has made it fertile with tremendous grace, one day all this hate will be succeeded by love; so much war must be succeeded by peace; so many tears must be followed by smiles; so many crises and sacrifices by a little joy and happiness. How can we help? The Egyptian fighters are dying even now to recover their territories, but also to revive the Suez Canal for international trade and peaceful commerce. It is important that all those in Europe and elsewhere who have suffered from the closure of the Canal because of Israeli aggression should assure Egypt of their sympathy and their support. For security throughout the world, for the development of trade and for the strengthening of the currents of fluidity to which man aspires, we demand that all countries, both great and small, should finally take action to ensure that the Suez Canal is reopened and that no longer will this path of peace be closed. A time will come when the instigators of war, the Israelis and the Zionists in particular, who have caused so much damage not only to the Arab nations but also to humanity, will have to answer for their crimes before men and before God.

142. Unfortunately, Israel continues to commit these crimes. It is attacking civilians, children, women and diplomats, particularly in Syria. While the Egyptians and the Syrians are sacrificing themselves and are dying, and are confining their combat to the occupied territories; while they regard themselves as occupied people, the Israelis not only do not regard themselves as occupiers but are making civilians targets in the battle.

143. May I convey our condolences to all civilian victims of these indescribable acts, primarily to the Secretary-General for the United Nations victims and also to the Soviet Union, to its people, to its Government and to its delegation.

144. We denounce this tendency to practise war along pure Hitlerite lines. We denounce this with particular force because Jews were among the first victims of the Nazi follies.

145. Have the Arabs these days become a sort of Jew themselves? Have the Zionists themselves today become neo-Nazis? It is with horror that I ask that question.

146. Has unreason taken hold of the Israelis to such an extent that they are no longer content with the honour they had of having been victims of the Nazis but are now so ignominious as to justify these Nazi practices by themselves attacking civilians?

147. Today, the non-aligned countries, through their representatives, have been moved by the trials inflicted upon the civilian population and foreigners in Damascus. They held a meeting; they adopted a resolution and they have asked me to read it out, and with your permission, Mr. President, I should like to read it out:

“The heads of delegations of non-aligned countries, who met at the United Nations on Wednesday, 10 October 1973, considered the recent developments of the situation in the Middle East.

“They condemn the aggression of Israel against Egypt and Syria and express to both those countries their total support in their just struggle and in their heroic efforts to liberate their occupied territories.

“Recalling the resolution on the Middle East adopted by the Algiers Summit Conference,⁶ they demand that Israel withdraw from all occupied Arab territories as the prior condition for any solution being found to the crisis in the Middle East.

“The heads of delegations of the non-aligned countries condemn the blind bombing of the civilian population of Syria by Israel, bombings which have caused the death of hundreds of innocent civilians, men, women and children, including foreign diplomats, United Nations officials and members of their families.

“They particularly denounce the fact that Israel has carried the war to the civilian population and it condemns these acts of barbarism which gives an already painful conflict an inhumanity which cannot be tolerated by the international community.

“The heads of the delegations of the non-aligned countries have decided to remain in close contact with each other and with the representatives of Egypt and Syria in order to define what they may subsequently have to do, in accordance with the policies established by their Heads of States at the Algiers Conference.”

148. In this Organization we feel ourselves at a crossroads of anguish and anxiety. Every year, as new Members are admitted, our Organization gains in universality what it loses in effectiveness. Israel, Portugal and South Africa are simply burying, as they say themselves, the resolutions of the United Nations in what Israel has called “the cemetery of aborted decisions”. Thus, they contribute to gravely harming public opinion regarding the United Nations.

⁶ See document A/9330 and Corr.1, pp. 34-35.

149. What can we do about that? That was something which was referred to by the previous speaker and it is a question I ask myself. It is one of the most serious problems which is being faced by our Organization. What can we do with those who refuse, and persistent in their refusal, to abide by United Nations resolutions?

150. In the midst of these storms which are reverberating throughout the third world, facing these difficulties which are becoming increasingly many and complex as days pass, and despite the super-Powers who do not always give us encouragement and despite the "small" Powers which often harass and defy us, without forgetting the budgetary concerns and difficulties which are endless, we are very grateful to our Secretary-General for the way he is coping and is continuing imperturbably to proceed along the lines of innovation and research. A great deal has been said about our Organization, but it is a miracle that it has not yet stumbled and continues to spread its effect throughout the world by bringing about détente and peace.

151. The contract which we have with the United Nations and by which we shall always be bound is possibly the sort of tacit contract which children, because of some mysterious far-sightedness, give to something which seems to incarnate their careless seriousness, their calm innocence, their intelligence and the tremendous promise of their future. That is the great favour which the United Nations gives to those people who have "just emerged from childhood"—as is often said with a certain amount of scorn.

152. The real greatness of the United Nations is not to give wealth to the world but to maintain hope in the world. The surest star in the firmament of the United Nations in these stormy times is its faithfulness to its vocation.

153. In Addis Ababa on the tenth anniversary of OAU, at Algiers at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, we have applied ourselves to basing our action on studying a rigorous analysis of the situation in order better to understand men and situations. In doing so it seems to us that we have acted for the best in order to ensure that the cause which we serve, peace, the ideal of the United Nations, will have light, warmth and strength brought to it, which is the only way to bring about events and which alone can modify events sooner or later.

154. The African voice has been heard here through two prestigious heads of State: President Gowon of Nigeria [2141st meeting] and President Mobutu of Zaire [2140th meeting]. That of the non-aligned countries, which are the majority of this Assembly, will shortly make itself heard through the voice of President Houari Boumediène whose name alone evokes seriousness, lucidity, refusal to be cast down and commitment to genuine peace, peace for all.

155. To succeed in making the United Nations equal to the requirements of our times, to ensure that there is this contribution of light, strength and warmth, undoubtedly we need this sense of restraint, this sense of reality, this penchant for the concrete which is so typical of those peoples who have only just left childhood behind: in other words, these virtues which illuminate audacity, which

ensure that things are thought out and which make action fruitful.

156. President Mobutu expressed here what we Tunisians believe, both authentically and eloquently—virtues which he proved that he possessed when he showed us what his plans were. He also showed us, in a masterly way, that he was operating as a builder and that he was not one of those who built merely by abstraction. In his frank words there was a great freshness, a spontaneity which is so characteristic of young peoples and which tomorrow could become the new sap which will rise and which will help us to rid ourselves of outworn slogans and all these complications produced by the interests of the great Powers and calculated strategies of détente.

157. We represent in the United Nations peoples who in Africa, Asia and in America seem to be overshadowed by suffering and death but who continue to multiply their yearning for hope.

158. We are very concerned about détente. We are particularly sensitive to the spirit underlying it, the tendencies rather than those old well-used incantations which often sound false. We would have deserved détente if only we could have injected some concern into this indifference towards us which is sometimes characteristic of the super-Powers. We would be mad if we were not in favour of détente. But we know what détente means and should mean. We are in favour of genuine détente which would be effective everywhere and for all.

159. Détente would be genuine if the arms race were brought to a halt, if total nuclear and conventional disarmament were brought about, if we no longer had to fulminate against those who test weapons, and if the force of law were restored and when we have the necessary remedies in order to reinforce the United Nations and bring about a more harmonious and balanced economic and financial order.

160. It is true that détente would be everywhere and for all if it were to benefit, first, the countries of the third world, and if it made it possible for the Arabs to recover their territories, if it made it possible for the Palestinians to recover their homeland, for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Guinea-Bissau and Cambodia and others finally to know what peace is, by recovering their full rights to live as they want.

161. Détente would be universal and for all if useful and necessary steps were taken in order to banish famine and its scourges, which only ravage the soil of the third world. Human life, man, in our country, seems to have two extra risks—the risk of death by enslavement and death by famine. It will be understood that our needs pertain to life and death and we are aware that they are both easy and difficult to satisfy. We do not want to offend anybody. We do not want to ask the impossible of anyone, and that is why we welcome any sign of détente, even if it is limited to the great Powers. However, it does have to be real, not something which disguises dark designs.

162. A genuine détente between the USSR and the United States would contribute to liberating for those of us in the poor countries some of the resources which are now com-

pletely taken up in the arms competition, and a little tranquillity for mankind as well.

163. My delegation welcomes the initiative of the Soviet Union in revising the proposal which it had the merit of making as early as the General Assembly session of 1958 and which consists of taking 10 per cent from the military budgets of the five great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council [A/9191].

164. The representative of the great Soviet Union will, I hope, allow us to say that since 1958 currency has depreciated considerably and that the Soviet offer would be better if it kept pace with present-day prices, and particularly if it had broad support, if only to prevent it from becoming a sort of common coin. May I add that we have not really understood why the Soviet delegation placed a great deal of emphasis on the fact that all five permanent members of the Security Council should agree, without a single exception. Does this mean that, if one of them did not agree, the offer would be completely void? We know that there is at least one who does not agree. However, we continue to believe that this is a genuine offer on the part of the Soviet Union, and not just an empty promise.

165. We are aware that we, the small Powers, the unsatisfied and troubled countries of the third world, are often outside the decisions taken in the major capitals of the world and are often the object of these agreements, the thing at stake. We know the specific weight of each country and the attendant authority and responsibilities, and there is some justice that the super-Powers should feel more responsible and more involved in managing the affairs of the world. In fact, however, the behaviour of various countries does not always obey these laws of good conduct. Excessive use of the right of veto in some circumstances really gives us pause. Can we not say that the contemporary spirit is somewhat disturbed by the survival of the right of veto? It is true that, as André Malraux said, for the mind there is no minor nation; the mind recognizes only brother nations.

166. We should have liked to have had the same sort of active affection embracing America, whose help we shall not forget in difficult moments in our existence; the Soviet Union, whose great contribution we appreciate; the countries of Europe, our allies, our natural partners. And in this regard I will begin by mentioning that country with which we have particularly privileged relations: France, the value of its teachings, its humanism and its desire for independence; the United Kingdom, with its ability to stand up to adversity; Germany, with its impressive degree of development; Italy, with its history; the Scandinavian countries with their devotion to peace; Japan, with its spectacular recovery; Canada which, with its contributions, helped to allay suffering; Australia, with its desire to heed the voice of the small and the weak; and not forgetting the tremendous country of China which is so fascinating, so rich in its wealth of teaching and which has such remarkable intelligence and aptitude, gauging as it can the precise feelings of the third world. We should like to have had equal and active affection for all those nations which, in their own way, have to a certain extent helped the countries of the third world. But is it not really time for these nations to revise the criteria for assistance, co-operation and active solidarity with the poor countries?

167. We are full of admiration for so much moral and material strength in our Organization. We are full of admiration for all the reserves, the imagination, the talent and the creative power. At the same time, how can I disguise the fact that we are sorry to see so many seeds of division? And what a waste of energy is taking place among these nations.

168. Sometimes we feel obliged to make a choice between the notion of exigency and interest represented by these nations, and alignment with one of the concepts of life they represent. The fourth Algerian summit conference said firmly and clearly that we refuse to choose in order not to accentuate these antagonisms, and we modestly, but tirelessly, seek to promote pluralism in our countries—each in his own way according to our national temperament, originality and national genius—and we do this to affirm our desire to practise in our way the principles of peaceful coexistence.

169. I should like to conclude by asking a question which is particularly important to the hearts not only of Tunisians, but of others as well. Never has it been so obvious that the history of Jerusalem is linked with the history of our times. There can be no genuine peaceful coexistence in the world, no valid détente in the world, if fraternity and concord do not become necessities in this city of light, the only city where God chose to reside on earth, the only city which was chosen by providence so that three times in the history of mankind messages should resound in the ears of men through Jews, Christians and Moslems.

170. There are places where, more than anywhere else, the Divine spirit can help to bring about tolerance and understanding among peoples. There are cities which teach faith and help to lift spirits which are tired and devoid of hope. They are predestined for dialogue between man and God, between man and man. Jerusalem is such a place; it is one of those cities and, in the present situation, when Israel obstinately blasphemes Jerusalem, the past and the future of Jerusalem turn their eyes towards us. We say: save Jerusalem!

171. You, the representatives of the great nations with whom we wish to work together to try to overcome suffering, to restore dignity, to spread hope, if you often dislike getting involved in our small conflicts, and if you sometimes give us strength to settle our quarrels, if sometimes you quarrel to defend your own interests, if your words of détente and peace are not always in accordance with your actions, at least let Jerusalem give you an opportunity to co-ordinate your actions with us so that we can join our efforts to defend Jerusalem, to save the spirit of Jerusalem, to preserve what is dearest to us, what is most sacred to us, to help God and men, and to warn off those who disfigure Jerusalem and who commit a crime against man and God.

172. Let us try together to produce a motion before this General Assembly concerning Jerusalem; let us all meet together to serve Jerusalem; perhaps only in this way can we save ourselves, can we save our countries, can we save the ideals of the United Nations, peaceful coexistence and the spirit of civilization of which we are all such staunch protagonists.

AGENDA ITEM 22

The situation in the Middle East (*continued*)*

173. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the next speaker, may I say that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic has asked to be allowed to make a brief statement of information. If there is no objection from the Assembly, I shall call upon him. Since I hear no objection, I invite him to speak.

174. Mr. ISMAIL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): On instructions from my Government, I must place before the Assembly the following information.

175. Beginning on 9 October, the Israeli air forces carried out repeated bombing raids on civilian targets and urban agglomerations in Syria. On 9 October, they bombed the city of Damascus, killing several dozen individuals, including a number of United Nations and embassy personnel, and causing tremendous material damage. Today, 10 October, the Israeli air forces are resuming their raids on civilian targets and the civilian population deep inside Syria, thus cynically violating the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and ignoring the appeal made by the International Red Cross one day previously, following the raids on Damascus on 9 October. The targets which were attacked during the raids of 10 October include, *inter alia*, the following specific targets: the town of Tartus, the town of Latakia, the workers' community in the suburb of Homs, the sugar mill at Homs and the power stations at Damascus and Homs. The number of civilian deaths caused by these raids is several hundred. Most of the victims are workers, women and children.

176. These barbarous acts by the Israeli air forces prove that, despairing of winning a victory on the field of battle, Israel chooses to wreak its vengeance on civilian installations and innocent civilians, thus brutally violating the Geneva Conventions and cynically flouting world public opinion. This barbarism and these blatant war crimes must cease. The United Nations, which represents responsible and organized world opinion, must discharge its responsibilities and stop Israel's madness before it is too late. No nation in the world can be subjected to the consequences of such acts of madness for any length of time without reacting.⁷

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

177. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am extremely happy to congratulate you on your election to preside over the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This is, doubtless, just recognition of your long and fruitful activities in our Organization. It is superfluous to add that the Cuban delegation will offer you whatever co-operation you require in discharging your task.

* Resumed from the 2145th meeting.

⁷ The text of this statement was subsequently circulated as document A/9217-S/11018.

178. Barely a year ago, in this same hall, we heard true, energetic and hopeful words from a man who has just given his life for the sake of the democratic will of his people, the cause of socialism and human decorum, a man whose proud, enlightening and moving voice still resounds, and doubly so after having been silenced in a titanic struggle. As everyone knows, I am speaking of Salvador Allende, the constitutional President of Chile. That man and that name, now gathered into an immortality which he shares with the greatest heroes and martyrs of our America, cannot be overlooked in this Assembly. For what they symbolize in human decency, in loyalty to principles, in nobility of purpose, in service to country and faith in mankind, that man and that name lay claim on us for a tribute of silence, a bowing of our spirits to the greatness of his, which at the supreme moment rose to immeasurable heights.

179. I would not wish to proceed without first expressing Cuba's great satisfaction at the admission to the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. That event is of great significance. On the one hand it is proof of the growing universality of the United Nations and on the other hand it is a sign of the changes that are taking place in the world today. We in the Cuban delegation are very happy to offer our fraternal welcome to the representatives of the German Democratic Republic, a socialist country, a peace-loving nation, which has succeeded in overcoming all the harassments, aggressions and intrigues of imperialism until it achieved recognition of its international personality.

180. With the warmth and friendship of neighbours we welcome the achievement of independence by the Commonwealth of the Bahamas and its admission to the United Nations.

181. With our flags flying, Cuba greets the establishment of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. That historic event irreversibly speeds up the triumph of the anti-colonialist struggle being carried on by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde and further weakens the position of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. The people and the Government of revolutionary Cuba, who have already given full diplomatic recognition to the new State, rejoice at the victorious process of liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau as though it were our own. The Cuban delegation pays a heartfelt tribute to Amílcar Cabral, the inspirer and guide of that memorable undertaking, vilely murdered by henchmen of imperialism a short while ago.

182. Cuba fully and militantly identifies itself with the legitimate liberating struggle being carried on with unshakable determination by the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic for the reconquest of their land usurped by Israel and for the recognition of the national rights of the intrepid and suffering Palestinian people. The cause of the Arab peoples is our own cause. In the Sinai peninsula and in the Golan Heights today a battle is also being waged for the liberation of the subjected peoples, the exploited peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Egypt and Syria are in the vanguard of the so-called third world. If necessary, let us give them everything, even our own blood.

183. This dramatic situation, imposed on us by zionism wedded to imperialism and reaction, fraught with risks for

international peace and security, is attracting the attention of the whole world and, therefore, of this Assembly.

184. The indiscriminate bombing of Damascus, where the buildings of a number of embassies have been wiped out and a number of diplomatic officials have been killed, testifies to the hatred and savagery inherent in the Zionist policy. The non-aligned nations have made a statement this afternoon in which they reaffirmed their total and active solidarity with the Arab countries suffering aggression, and offering all their co-operation and support.

185. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has made a statement on this matter which I shall refer to later.

186. An over-all glance at the international panorama allows us to see that, although the prospects for the struggle for peace seem clearer and more promising, as well as those for security, progress and social and economic development, there is still a long way to go.

187. Although the process that is now beginning is subject to the inherent fluctuations of the class struggle and ideological contradictions between the capitalist and socialist systems, and to the very aggressive and bellicose nature of imperialism, Cuba is proud of that constructive progress and the concrete manifestations of international détente.

188. For many centuries Europe was the cockpit of history, but the face that the old continent is now turning to us is very different from the one it showed a few years ago. And this is a point we must bring out: the transformation of the climate of tension and hostilities that prevailed in Europe from the end of the Second World War was the result of the dedicated efforts and the policy of principle of the Soviet Union, the main force behind the struggle for peace.

189. But this is no miracle. The Soviet Union was able to plough the furrow of peace, security and co-operation among nations possessing different social régimes by means of the convergence of certain changes and new conditioning factors at the very heart of European society and in the world, which in turn led to the creation of conditions conducive to peaceful coexistence in that part of our planet.

190. The clearing of the atmosphere in Europe, which was the result of that interreaction of factors reflected in the presence in the United Nations of two German States, the agreements signed between those States and between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the opening of the second phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, will be enhanced by the documents signed during the conversations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The genuine vocation for peace of the Soviet Union obtained agreements and compromises that laid the objective basis for avoiding a nuclear conflict and saving us from the catastrophic risk of a new war of world-wide proportions. This significant victory is the culmination of a tenacious struggle for peace that began with the establishment of the first State of workers and peasants. It is not the result of a policy of positions of strength but of the strength of positions. The stifling stench of Watergate has sapped even further the already diminished right of North American imperialism to dictate its policy in global terms.

191. It is obvious that the process of détente, timed and circumscribed by the facts and documents I have mentioned, is beset by shoals and dangers.

192. As long as imperialism survives, the frontiers of détente, peace, security, and co-operation will be precarious. But it is no less obvious that the concrete conditions created by that process favour the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their liberation, social progress and economic development and increase their influence on the evolution of the international situation. It is for these reasons that the countries still belonging to the under-developed world must, if they wish to take part in history and in the forging of the new scientific and technical revolution and the conquest of outer space, join their efforts with those of the socialist countries to widen, strengthen and assure the roads of peace and to choose the most suitable ways and means to overthrow colonial and neo-colonial domination. It is in that direction that the horizon of lasting peace is brightening.

193. The contribution of the indomitable and dedicated people of Viet-Nam to the achievement of that objective has been decisive. Never has a people, confronted by an enemy a thousand times more powerful and cruel beyond conception, done so much for peace, for liberation and for the dignity of man. That people preferred to die rather than bow, and it won. The Paris agreements set forth the ignominious defeat of North American imperialism, but from that day to the present time the puppet régime of Saigon has violated those agreements with unparalleled cynicism. Kissinger initialled the agreements, but Thieu ignores them with the complacency and blessing of Kissinger. And from that day to this, also violating them, the North American Government has constantly sent arms and resources of all sorts to Thieu.

194. On the occasion of his recent visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, where he was received by that heroic people and its admirable leaders with overwhelming expressions of fraternal friendship, the Premier of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Commander Fidel Castro, at the invitation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, visited the zones that had been liberated by the Viet-Nameese people. On that historic visit—the first made by a head of Government to that part of that territory artificially divided from the glorious country of Ho Chi Minh—he spoke the following words in the town of Dong Hon:

“It is impossible to carry out a visit to Viet-Nam without including a tour of the south and through this province of Quang Binh, which is the vanguard of the North and the rearguard of the South.”

195. He continued saying that very soon the Cuban engineers and architects would start work on the reconstruction of the region and planning of a new capital for the province, which had been so ruthlessly devastated, and added:

“As far as we are concerned, co-operating with Viet-Nam is a great honour. It is not you who should thank us; it is we who owe you thanks—you, the people of Viet-Nam.”

196. The position of Cuba regarding the struggle for international peace and security is crystal-clear. From experience, my country knows the direct onslaughts and the whole arsenal of the ruses of imperialism, and we are always therefore on the alert. We have never yielded one iota of our sovereignty, our self-determination or our dignity. We have been isolated. We have been attacked. We have been blockaded, illegally and criminally, for the sole reason that we shook off the imperialist yoke and we chose the socialist road to development. We were even on the verge of being blasted by a North American nuclear attack. From experience also, Cuba knows what it means to have the co-operation and the assistance of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and the solidarity of peoples behind us.

197. Because of a community of destiny and in accordance with our international duty, Cuba has supported and will continue to support all the movements of national liberation in Africa, Asia and Latin America, just as we have supported and will support all the peoples and Governments that fight to defend or regain their full independence and their sovereign right to enjoy their natural resources. It is for that reason precisely that Cuba has advocated and continues to support all acts of this Organization tending to strengthen international peace and security. Peace and security wrested from the imperialists objectively become a reduction of their overweening power.

198. Cuba therefore fully supports the initiatives of the Soviet Union for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and of the use of force in international relations, as well as the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, because of its socialist nature and foreign policy of principle, is in agreement with measures that will alleviate international tensions. For the same reasons, we shall continue our struggles against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations as antagonistic to international peace and security. Those activities complement one another. They flow from the different structures and ends of the socialist and capitalist societies and from the real division of the greater part of the world into oppressed and oppressor countries. The complex dynamics of international life and its shocking contrasts call for a new approach and consistent action.

199. One of the most acute problems confronting mankind today is the arms race, with its enormous risks and overwhelming economic burden on the peoples. It is known that in the course of the last few years some steps have been taken towards reducing methods of mass destruction. The use of bacteriological weapons has even been prohibited and they have been abolished.

200. But this problem has given rise to many deliberations, proposals and agreements in the United Nations. However, the difficulties are great, and it is logical to doubt that the matter can be settled by one stroke of the pen. There is therefore no alternative other than to continue the constant struggle and guarantee the holding of a world disarmament conference. It is imperative to stress that among the main items of its agenda should be included that of the dismantling of the military bases scattered by imperialism over almost all continents, which in themselves constitute spearheads of a policy of expansion, subversion, domina-

tion and aggression. Suffice it, as examples in Latin America, to mention the bases established in Panama and Puerto Rico and the Guatánamo naval base in Cuba.

201. Among the international events of the period that I have tried to analyse, an outstanding position is occupied by the fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973. More than half the members of the international community participated, and they represent the majority of the population of the globe—and many of their heads of State and Government. As observers or as guests a number of other countries, movements and organizations participated. The clamour of the hungry, oppressed, subjected or outlawed people of Africa, Asia and Latin America shook our deliberations. These deliberations concentrated on the great political, economic, social and cultural problems of the under-developed nations within the context of the international situation and of the joint process of the currents of national and social emancipation that in one way or another are upsetting the archaic structures that engender dependency, backwardness, poverty, servitude, deprivation, exploitation and racism.

202. In its review of the international situation, the Conference agreed that the process of détente in Europe was a plausible event but, at the same time, it found that the confrontation of peoples with colonialism, racial discrimination, *apartheid*, domination and foreign occupation, as well as neo-colonialism, imperialism and zionism, continued to be unchallengeable realities of our day, and today we are proving it in the Middle East. I have already referred to this duality and I have stressed its causes. There can be no doubt or argument that peace and security are far from prevailing in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and elsewhere in the world. The under-developed nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America are still under the gunsight of the enemies of peace and security.

203. The most outstanding features of the Algiers Conference were its anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist stand; its vigorous condemnation of Israel; its open support for the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to reaffirm their sovereignty, to recover their natural resources and to make the necessary structural changes to foster and guarantee their liberation and development; its severe criticism of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade; and its request that the monetary crisis, which has now become more acute as a result of the new devaluation of the dollar, should be discussed at the international level; its denunciation of the seditious role of the multinational corporations and its readiness to co-operate with the socialist side. It is these features which shape the results and the prospects which are open for all to see.

204. At that Conference, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and the Chairman of the Cuban delegation, Commander Fidel Castro, expressed views that should be repeated here. He said:

“Any attempt to confront the non-aligned countries with the socialist countries is completely counter-revolutionary and benefits only the interests of the imperialists. To alienate the friendship of the socialist

countries is to weaken us and leave us at the mercy of the still powerful imperialist forces. It would be clumsy strategy and colossal political short-sightedness. The success and future of the non-aligned movement must lie in the course of not allowing ourselves to be infiltrated, confused or deceived by imperialist ideology. Only the closest alliance of the progressive forces of the world will give us the necessary strength to overcome the still powerful imperialists, colonialists, neo-colonialists and racists and struggle to achieve the aspirations for justice and peace of the peoples of the world."

205. With respect to the main problems raised at the Algiers Conference—almost all of which were submitted to our consideration this year as last year—the Cuban delegation expressed its views on the struggle for international peace and security and related questions, including the significance and the present stage of the Paris agreements on Viet-Nam.

206. Suffice it to add now that, with respect to Viet-Nam, Cuba calls for strict compliance with those agreements by the Government of the United States and the puppet régime of Saigon. But that would not be sufficient for peace to be restored in the Indo-China peninsula. It is also imperative for North American intrigue in Laos and aggression in Cambodia to end—the latter being carried out through Thieu. The promise of peace in Laos and the immediate implementation of the Vientiane Agreement must depend on the establishment of a government of national coalition. The only true Government of Cambodia is the Royal Government of National Union, recognized by the majority of the countries represented here. The restoration of its usurped seat in the United Nations can brook no further delay. The puppets occupying that seat at the moment must be expelled.

207. The arbitrary division of Korea continues to be a great source of tension in the Far East. We agree with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that conditions should be made favourable for the peaceful reunification and independence of the Korean people. Cuba reiterates its demand to the Assembly that there be an immediate withdrawal of all North American troops from South Korea, that the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea be immediately dissolved and that an end be put to any interference in the domestic affairs of the Korean peninsula.

208. The prolonged and explosive crisis in the Middle East has now broken out. We must not forget that imperialist greed to take over the rich oil reserves in the Arab countries is one of the underlying factors of the aggressive, expansionist, annexationist and predatory policy of Israel. It is not by chance that the Sixth Fleet is in the area.

209. I shall now read out the Declaration of our Government:

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba repudiates the policy of aggression of the Government of Israel, which has once again led to a situation of war in the Middle East.

"It is a known fact that the Government of Israel has rejected all forms of settlement of the situation in the

Middle East created by its own illegitimate occupation of Arab territories and by its brutal denial of the rights of the Palestinian people.

"Instead of bowing to the universal clamour for a return of the occupied territories, the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people and the political discussion of the problems of the area, the Israeli Government has maintained an aggressive position against the Arab States.

"In recent days the concentration of Israeli armed forces on the armistice lines with Syria and the Arab Republic of Egypt and the mobilization of reserves clearly showed the intentions of the Israeli Government, which ultimately unleashed in the area the military situation which today constitutes a grave concern for the peoples of the region and is a serious threat to peace beyond the territories involved.

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba expresses its support for the just positions of the Arab Republic of Egypt and of Syria, its solidarity in the face of the Israeli attacks, and joins in the universal condemnation of the actions of the Government of Israel."

210. Despite the stubborn resistance and the obtuse approach of the colonialists and neo-colonialists, the national liberation movements in Africa continue to deliver destructive body blows at them. The emancipation of the people of Guinea-Bissau clears the road for the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde. The peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa valiantly rebel against colonial fascism and its repugnant methods, among which *apartheid* has a zoological physiognomy. Simultaneously, the manoeuvres, threats and conspiracies of the imperialists have increased against the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and the Republic of Guinea, to the point where aggression was committed against them by international mercenary bands organized and supplied by Portugal and NATO. Cuba actively supported the complaint by the Republic of Guinea in the Security Council on this question.⁸

211. In the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa, we are now entering a decisive stage. If the United Nations is unable to take effective measures to ensure the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) and to break the resistance of the reactionary forces of imperialism and racism that oppose such implementation, it will assume responsibilities that will gravely weaken its authority and prestige.

212. The deteriorated and shattered alliances and self-styled Truman and Eisenhower doctrines have been shattered because they are useless. Formerly, they contended that they would play the role of the international gendarme of reaction, and now they turn to the expedient of encouraging Fascist coups d'état and economically support and supply with more effective and numerous weapons puppet Governments and praetorian armies and assign to them the foul task of enslaving and brutally repressing their own peoples in order to permit more profitable and safer exploi-

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1971*, document S/10280.

tation. Through their new alliances, you may find their present strategy and tactics in the following areas: South Korea, Saigon, Thailand and Lon Nol in Asia; Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia in Africa; Israel and Iran in the Middle East; Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay and now the Fascist junta of Chile in Latin America.

213. Their frantic despair at the mess in which they find themselves is obvious, but so too is their contumacy in trying to maintain and extend their tottering domination. That duality to which they were pushed by their growing decomposition, the rebellion of the peoples and the resistance of many Governments prove their perfidious plans and have exposed their two-facedness. An obvious example of that is the Pharisaic torrent of rhetoric poured out on us by the grey eminence of the waning system.

214. At these moments Latin America is confronting a crucial situation. The rising progressive and anti-imperialist movement in our continent has been a fundamental element in the decline of the capacity of the Government of the United States to continue a global imperialist policy. It was precisely in the Caribbean that at the beginning of the now-dying century it started its neo-colonial politics, and it was in that region too that the process of defeat of that policy started. The Cuban revolution, the radiant apex of the radiant undertakings that today celebrate their one hundred and fifth anniversary, started the victorious march of the second independence called for by José Martí.

215. In the year that followed we were clearly able to see the antagonisms and the differences between Yankee imperialism and the Latin American peoples, which were growing and becoming more obvious. If at the beginning of 1960 efforts were made to propagate the fraud of representative democracy and to gild the lie of the Alliance for Progress confronting a socialist Cuba, at the beginning of the present decade there were already some Governments that had taken positions to defend their independence, their sovereignty and their natural resources.

216. In Peru the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces strengthened its nationalist positions. The Government of Popular Unity of Chile was trying to carry out, despite the Fascist escalation of reaction and imperialism, its singular purpose of strengthening the bases of the socialist road to development within constitutional machinery created by the dominating classes to safeguard their own interests. In Panama the people and the Government joined to call for full recognition of their sovereignty, jurisdiction and rights over the Canal and the Zone, strengthened by the almost unanimous support of the Security Council.

217. With their revolutionary acts and their votes the people of Argentina overthrew the dictatorship. The countries of the Andean Pact adopted restrictive measures on foreign investment. The challenge to the illegal diplomatic blockade of Cuba grew. The injections of camphor oil and plastic surgery were empty resources to revive the moribund and rotten OAS. At the fifteenth session of the Economic Commission for Latin America [ECLA], held in Quito in March, the United States stood alone. It saw the aggressive pact of Rio de Janeiro buffeted by criticism and the incompatibility of socialism with the Latin American continent was suddenly challenged. Puerto Rico more and more took

up the cudgels for its shattered national rights assumed by North American imperialism in 1898 and its inalienable sovereignty and right to independence and self-determination were recognized by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the United Nations.

218. The imperialists' strategy of isolating Argentina, Chile and Peru or subjecting them to their policy through the conversion of Brazil into a dependent imperialist State and their strengthening of reaction in Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia, satellites of colonial fascism, seemed to face almost insuperable obstacles. The course of the development of this growing polarization of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, which irremediably undermined their dire domination of the years of the past, led North American imperialism to concentrate its efforts on the overthrow of the Government of Popular Unity, inciting the armed forces to treason and giving all their help to the dominating classes, to the reactionary parties and the Fascist groups of Chile.

219. I shall now, if you will allow me, cast a somewhat brutal light of truth on what occurred in Chile and what is still taking place. It is a duty that I am fulfilling as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary, as a comrade of Salvador Allende and as a simple human being. I stress this last, because I wish radically to differentiate myself from those who here represent the bestiary and the forest.

220. The henchmen of colonial fascism and of imperialist propaganda have tried to cast a curtain of pretences, fallacies, calumnies, scurrility, adulterations and vile accusations to disguise their machinations, their felonies, their knavery, their infamy, their crimes and their responsibility. That was also the clumsy intention behind the ridiculous, lying, petulant, cowardly and low so-called "I accuse" of the ex-Minister of the Government of Popular Unity and rented Vice-Admiral, who dishonours this Assembly, bearing the stigma of traitor on his brow and his bloody garments after the murder of thousands of Chileans. The hired hand of Enrique Bernstein, ex-Director of International Relations of the Government of President Allende and confessed Christian Democrat, is not unscathed in that filthy, low, primitive and repulsive libel.

221. But it is the facts that will seat the presumptuous accuser in the dock of the accused.

222. Salvador Allende assumed the presidency of the Republic of Chile by will of the people expressed in elections on 4 November 1970. Between the elections in which he triumphed and that act were many plots hatched by the United States Embassy as well as by transnational corporations like the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation [ITT], which tried to stop him from acceding to the presidency through an explosion of blind, exasperated and savage violence. The Fascist escalation of reaction and imperialism culminated with his heroic fall on 11 September. The unleashing of the most unbridled terror began the day after the elections. The murder of the head of the Army, General René Schneider, because of his true and consistent position was the tragic signal that triggered the

Fascist war against the Government, the Popular Unity Party, the leftist movements, the working classes and the progressive levels of the population—something similar to the burning of the Reichstag by the Nazis, which unleashed a manhunt for Communists, socialists, anti-Fascists, Jews and foreigners that today is being exceeded in its unbelievable ferocity by the junta.

223. This criminal madness of the desperate, as President Allende called them, was clear proof of the appearance of fascism in Chile, although they still hypocritically mouthed democratic slogans. Their main centres were the brutal National Party and the Lombrosian group "Patria y Libertad", seconded, with their own aims and ambitions in view, by the rightist leaders of the so-called Christian Democratic Party and above all by their main leader, ex-President Eduardo Frei, who, as Machiavelli might have said, combines the cunning of the fox, the treachery of the panther and the appetite of the hyena. Sometimes disguised, sometimes openly barefaced, we see the manifestations of that disgraceful plotting, the North Americans pulling the strings. The armed forces, under the then leadership of a man who was true to his constitutional obligations, apparently remained in their barracks and their highest officers never missed an opportunity of showing their loyalty, professionalism and non-political stand. And among the most obsequious and garrulous was the head of the junta, General Augusto Pinochet, a convicted Nazi and gloating murderer of the workers, for example during the Government of Frei.

224. In that adverse situation, President Allende began his democratic renewing of socialist efforts, sincerely convinced that he would be able to fulfil his programme and lay the groundwork for a more just and humane society in Chile, as he stressed in his first statement to the people after assuming the presidency.

225. The election of a Marxist leader to preside over a bourgeois Republic in a country which was dependent and under-developed was an exceptional event in history, and at the same time fraught with unknown quantities. President Allende was also aware of the other dimension of the process that he was leading. He knew this at all times. But, until the Fascist uprising took place, he constantly resorted to all constitutional and legal ways and means to travel the road that he had drawn for himself. To all lights, it was an extraordinarily important experiment he was carrying out to benefit all people; and it was for this reason that from the very outset that undertaking earned the sympathy and support of all the progressive anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces of the world.

226. The heritage handed to President Allende was a gigantic hurdle that he had to surmount in order to fulfil his programme: a poor country; high unemployment; a society plagued by inequalities; the dominating classes safe behind their privileges; unbridled inflation; a bankrupt economy; and a State indebted to the level of \$4,000 million, the heavy burden of the ostentatious policies of Frei, with his subservience to foreign interests. There was also a parliament whose voting power lay with the dominating classes; a judiciary which owed its existence to the interests of the *status quo*; a bureaucracy undermined by reaction, and

armed forces which called themselves constitutional. This series of realities and facts, furthermore, coincided with a reduction of the price paid for copper, the main export of Chile, from 75 cents a pound to 40 cents.

227. It was as urgent as it was necessary to meet the burning needs of the people and therefore to undertake the structural transformations that could contribute to that end. But he had hardly effectively put into implementation agrarian reform when the monopolizing of goods and the sabotage of agricultural production took place. Hardly had the nationalization of the great copper industry, then in the hands of North American enterprises, been approved, when the United States Government froze all the international credits that the Chilean Government had a right to call on, and organized a large-scale operation designed to ruin the economy and provoke a coup d'état. The bourgeois parties and the Fascist groups would co-ordinate their activities to the same end and the mass communications media, in the hands of magnates and foreigners, started the most slanderous, violent and cowardly campaign that can be recalled. One would have to have been in Chile justly to assess the abject magnitude of this convergence of interests, closely yoked.

228. From propaganda they went quickly to action, both within and outside parliament—through the reactionary laws, seditious strikes on the part of the management, attacks against the leaders of the Popular Unity Party, street demonstrations in the aristocratic neighbourhoods, calls to the armed forces to overthrow the constitutional Government, and conspiracies in which, under the leadership of the CIA [*Central Intelligence Agency*], the high leaders of the Christian Democratic Party participated, as well as the National Party, the Group "Patria y Libertad", and the big bosses of the dominating classes, the high-salaried professionals, the newspaper *El Mercurio*, and the officers advocating a coup d'état, particularly in the navy and air force.

229. In those complex and hostile circumstances, the Government of Popular Unity struggled for three desperate years to fulfil its programme. They did what they could—and even more—to help the Chilean people. But, as the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba said in the statement he made at the enormous tribute paid in our country to President Salvador Allende, and as a gesture of solidarity to the Chilean people:

"At least in these three years he and his workers and peasants understood that in the presidency of the Republic there was not a representative of the oligarchs, of the landowners and the bourgeois, but a representative of the humble, of the workers, a true representative of the people, who worked for the people despite the enormous difficulties confronting him. President Allende fully understood the difficulties and understood the dangers, but he saw fascism being reborn; he saw the conspiracies falling one upon the heels of the other. And, confronted by that combination of forces fed by imperialism, he had only one decision to make, and that was to defend the process even at the cost of his own life."

230. Let us listen to what he said in Santiago on 4 December 1971. It was a statement of farewell to the Prime

Minister, Commander Fidel Castro, and it was a statement that his generous blood consecrated a few days ago:

"I tell you quite calmly, with complete serenity, I am not made to be an apostle, nor to be a Messiah. I do not possess the qualities for martyrdom. I am a social fighter who is fulfilling a task, a task that was entrusted to me by the people. But let those who try to turn back history and ignore the majority will of the people of Chile understand that, without being a martyr, I shall not go back. Let them know that I shall leave the palace of La Moneda when I have fulfilled the mandate entrusted to me by the people. Let them know. Let them hear. Let them understand it deeply. I shall defend the Chilean revolution and I shall defend the Government because this is the mandate entrusted to me by the people. I have no other alternative. Only by riddling me with bullets will they end my will to fulfil the programme of the people."

And it was those self-same words that he repeated to others, and even to me, when he was speaking in the presence of his ex-rival for the presidency, Radomiro Tomic, and our Ambassador to Chile, Mario García Incháustegui.

231. The President of Chile fell fighting. He did not stop shooting his rifle until bullets cut off his life. The last hours of this brave fighter are known because of the unchallengeable eyewitness report of his daughter, Beatriz, who was with him until she was ordered to leave, with other heroic women who were with him, because their lives were thought to be precious for the future struggle, and the testimony of some survivors, recently mentioned by the Prime Minister of Cuba. While they tried to hide it, the Fascist henchmen know full well that President Allende fell fighting against the uniformed pack of common criminals.

232. But before rapidly going over those shattering and shattered hours, I feel it necessary, even briefly, to refer to the background preceding 11 September.

233. Lies are knowingly spoken when it is said—and you heard it yesterday—in a shameful effort to justify the overthrow of the constitutional régime and the nightmare of slaughter, murder, torture, destruction, raids and persecutions being lived through by Chile, that the Government of Popular Unity was preparing to exterminate the officers of the armed forces. What was being plotted was precisely the opposite: the Dantesque spectacle that has shaken the world.

234. The armed forces were never given much attention as regards their institutional development before the Government which was overthrown; nor were they ever called, as President Allende called them, to join in the national efforts at development and to share the responsibilities of government. Three high-ranking officers of the armed forces were in the Council of Ministers from October 1972 to May 1973. Even when Salvador Allende visited the United Nations he designated as Vice-President of the Republic the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Carlos Prats. This trust and co-operation between the Government of Popular Unity and the armed forces rested on the understanding between the Government and the constitutionalist faction of the army and, significantly, occurred simultaneously with the efforts to overthrow the Government by the Fascist sectors of the army, the navy and the air force.

235. That sector, openly or clandestinely, conspired since Allende took over the presidency. But it did not do so alone; it conspired with the reactionary parties and North American imperialism, the true leader and ideologist of the Fascist coup. It organized—and I want to stress this—eight special operations of intelligence, subversion and counter-intelligence, under the direction of the Pentagon, the State Department, the CIA and the transnational corporations acting together with, among other Chilean capitalists, Matte, Alessandri, Bulnes and Edward, and with the reactionary parties and the Fascist groups. We have irrefutable proof of what I am saying and of the fact that the leaders of the Christian Democratic Party nominated a representative to these anti-national activities, a man called Felipe Amunátegui, as well as Andrés Donoso. To prove this I shall give the code names of three of those seditious operations: Centauro, Yellow Star and Marty.

236. The military institutes, moreover, maintained excellent relations with the Pentagon. While the Government of Popular Unity found its international credit frozen, the institutes received from the Government of the United States millions of dollars and military equipment.

237. According to reliable testimony, the aims of the CIA in overthrowing Allende were the following: to restore the economic and political domination of the United States in Chile; to liquidate the relations of friendship and co-operation with Cuba and the socialist countries; to provoke the economic and financial collapse of the country in order to create conditions conducive to a Fascist coup; to jeopardize the participation of the armed forces; to ensure the overthrow of President Allende before 13 November; and to establish a dependent Government which would adopt the imperialist economic philosophy and serve the economic objectives of the United States in that country.

238. The abortive military coups of March and September 1972 showed the internal struggle in the armed forces between the sector that wanted the coup and those who respected the law, led by General Prats, General Pickering and General Sepúlveda. But it was clearly seen that the strength of the armed forces was deteriorating when an armoured unit made an unsuccessful attack against the Moneda Palace on 27 June 1973. The Generals mentioned, leading their troops, put down that coup. As of that moment, it became obvious to the constitutionalist sector of the armed forces that its capacity to maintain internal unity and to contain the Fascist officers was being seriously challenged.

239. What came after was a multipronged political, military and popular action by President Allende to preserve the constitutional régime and avoid an armed confrontation, although he was ready to fight. Surrounded by increasing rumours of imminent army uprisings, in August there occurred—financed, organized and directed by American imperialism—the insurrectional strike of the truck-drivers which started in 1972 as an essay, to be joined by the professionals and an increasing number of tradesmen. The desire for the coup grew and became more forceful. The reactionary parties, with the Christian Democrats in the vanguard, broke off the dialogue proposed by President Allende and the Chamber of Deputies, by a mechanical vote of the majority, urged the Fascist military group to

establish a coup with a statement to the effect that the Government of Popular Unity had shattered constitutional order.

240. The terrorist attacks on persons and public services continued. Buildings in Santiago—and I have seen this with my own eyes—were covered with this sinister slogan: “Djarkarta is near.” But the armed forces, those same armed forces that yesterday slaughtered the unarmed population of Lima, that later massacred the workers and today, in the name of law and order, commit crimes and tortures, did nothing then to stop the seditious escalation.

241. President Allende called the Popular Unity leaders and the leaders of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (Labour Union) and told them that, in the light of the serious military situation, he had decided, in accordance with the will of the army leaders, to retire the Generals implicated in the projected Fascist coup. Among others, President Allende spoke with General Pinochet, who was at that moment interim Chief of the Army, and prepared an anti-insurrectionist plan.

242. More than half the high-ranking officers refused to condemn the ill-treatment of General Prats. Suddenly, among the Generals who supported the Minister of Defence was found Pinochet.

243. General Prats presented his irrevocable resignation to the President and Pinochet, like a witch in Macbeth, advised the President to agree to the resignation to appease the high-ranking officers of the navy and the air force, then committed himself to assume leadership of the army and to retire the other conspirators. But the only retirements he signed were those of Prats, Pickering and Sepúlveda—all loyal to the troops and to the Government.

244. On 24 August the main officers of the navy met at Valparaíso and when their Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Montero, a true man of honour, arrived he was confronted with a request for his resignation. He replied that he could do so only to the President of the Republic, President Allende. While the Vice-Admiral who represents dishonour, crime and fascism is here with impunity, demonstrating his foolishness with his bloodstained hands, on that same 11 September Admiral Montero was arrested and replaced by a raging gorilla, a member of the Fascist group. Officers and other ranks opposed to the coup were detained or murdered. Generals Guillermo Pickering, Germán Sepúlveda, Alberto Bachelet and José María Sepúlveda, the leaders of the *carabineros* up to 11 September, were arrested also.

245. The American Ambassador, Nathaniel P. Davis, in charge of Soviet affairs during the cold-war years and closely linked to Howard Hunt—who is involved in the filth of Watergate—travelled to Washington a week before the coup and returned on the eve of the coup. The State Department will later admit without blushing or without scruples that it knew of the planned date.

246. These facts are clear. They may be twisted or they may be denied, but the facts still stand.

247. At dawn on 11 September, the navy rebelled in Valparaíso. Their ships had sailed the night before, allegedly to

participate in the so-called “UNITAS” operation, but they came back, they crawled back into port like foreigners, escorted by North American ships on combat alert. President Allende, as soon as he knew of it, went to his office after providing for the protection of his home where his wife was. The Palace also heard that Pinochet was false, a disgrace and a traitor. The army and the air force had joined the Fascist coup. The moment of armed confrontation had struck.

248. But President Allende, with a small number of ministers, collaborators and comrades and friends decided to resist. That man, who did not tire of advocating tolerance, respect for the law and peaceful settlement as well as the respect for the Constitution, grew until he achieved the stature of a hero. He replied to bullets with bullets. He held at bay the aggressors for a number of hours. He put a tank out of commission with a bazooka shot. He courageously resisted the fire of artillery, the attacks of the tanks, the bombing by planes and danger from fire. A number of times he was urged to surrender. He was offered a plane to take him to any other country with his family and those he might choose. His answer was unshaken: “The traitorous generals do not know what a man of honour is.” He remained calm, determined, courageous, at his battle-station and he would say later with lapidary sobriety: “This is the way we write the first page of this story. My people and America will write the rest.” He saw many of his comrades fall before his very eyes, and among them his very close friend, the news correspondent Augusto Olivares, who stood out in those epic hours. While this was taking place, his private residence, his home, was being attacked by the armed forces with the brutality common to the bloodthirsty cowards. His home was destroyed, sacked, gutted. His wife’s life was saved by chance.

249. And so the Fascists took over the ground floor of the Palace and, after a hard fight, occupied part of the upper floor. In the red room, surrounded by a handful of courageous men, the President was waiting for them with a smoking rifle. He advanced resolutely on the Fascists, and a shot tore open his stomach, but he continued to fire on the murderers, leaning against a piece of furniture, until a second shot shattered his chest and sent him to the floor. Falling, his bloody body was riddled with bullets.

250. Those who survived this almost legendary scene regrouped, counter-attacked and threw out the Fascists from the upper floors. Members of his personal guard carried the corpse of Salvador Allende to his office. They sat him in the presidential seat, they placed across his chest his presidential sash, and they shrouded him in the Chilean flag.

251. As Prime Minister Commander Fidel Castro has said:

“Seldom in history was a similar page of heroism written. Never in this continent has any president played such a dramatic role. Salvador Allende showed more dignity, more honour, more courage and more heroism than all those Fascist officers together. His gesture of incomparable greatness sank forever in ignominy Pinochet and his accomplices. His exemplary conduct morally destroyed fascism in Chile. Very often the unarmed thought has been overcome by brute force, but now we

can say that never has brute force met such resistance carried out in the military field by a man of ideas whose weapons were always the word and the pen."

252. For more than 24 hours, the Fascists were silent and did not make known the death of President Allende. He was buried in secret. Neither his wife nor his sister, who accompanied his pine coffin in a plane of the armed forces among stolid and insensible officers, was allowed to see his body.

253. But his last words will continue to vibrate in the air as an unchallengeable mandate:

"Workers of my country, I have faith in Chile and its destiny. Other men may overcome this bitter and grey moment, when treason is trying to impose itself. But you must know that, much sooner than later, the great road will open through which the free man can go in his effort to build a better society. Long live Chile! Long live the people! Long live the workers! These are my last words, being sure that the sacrifice will not be in vain. I am convinced"—listen carefully—"that there will be at least a moral sanction that will punish crime, cowardice and treason."

254. The Fascists also attacked our embassy, flouting the Vienna Convention, international law and the Charter of the United Nations. They wounded our Ambassador, who is present here, and an official of the embassy. But to their bravado and threats we always answered, "We shall defend the embassy, which is Cuban territory, until the last man falls." The complaint of Cuba on the matter is still before the Security Council.⁹

255. Furthermore, the Fascists did not stop at harassing diplomats and technicians of socialist countries and diplomatic officials of capitalist countries. In a word, they gave proof of their barbarous contempt for civilization.

256. The first act of the Fascist foreign ministry was to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba, and we are proud: it is comforting and strengthening to us; with murderers, torturers and anthropoids we want no ties of any sort.

257. When the Cuban diplomatic personnel left the country, the Government of Sweden took over the representation of our interests. The Swedish Ambassador, Harald Edelstam, has in these dark and dangerous days behaved with a zeal and a solicitude which do honour to Swedish diplomacy and the Swedish Government.

258. Four of the very few Cubans who were still in Chile were able to get into Argentina after they had been abandoned in the Andes without adequate food or clothing in a temperature of 20 degrees below zero. An Argentine patrol found them and took them to their barracks, giving them help and food, as was to be expected. We do not know what happened to the other two, who were arrested. Anything could have happened to them.

259. A Cuban merchant vessel, the *Playa Larga*, was also treacherously shelled and bombed in international waters. The captain decided to leave Valparaíso since he lacked

safeguards for his ship and its crew. One of the crew members had been arrested and ill-treated on land by the mutinous Fascists. The *Playa Larga* was followed and shelled by the destroyer, the *Blanco Encalada*, and bombed by planes and helicopters. It was so seriously damaged that it was about to sink. Called upon a number of times to surrender and return to Valparaíso, the answer of the captain and the crew was that they preferred to scuttle the ship rather than hand themselves over to the Fascist authorities. The *Playa Larga* was finally able to escape the criminal persecution and set sail for El Callao, where it arrived escorted by the Cuban merchant vessel *Marble Island*, which, for the same reasons, did not continue its trip to Chile. This gross violation of freedom of navigation and international law is already also before the Security Council.¹⁰

260. The unscrupulous support of North American imperialism to the Fascist junta is brought out even more by its cynical complicity in the harassment and provocations against Cuban merchant vessels beyond Chilean frontiers. When preparing to cross the Panama Canal on its way to Havana, the merchant vessel *Marble Island*, flying under the Somali flag but under charter to the Mambisa Steamship Company, presented a request to pass through the Canal. The captain and crew were Cubans and they were told that the official in charge of the Canal had been told to arrest the ship because of an action *in rem* by a Chilean sugar company which demanded a payment of \$4,235,298. This conspiracy on the part of the North American authorities of the Canal and the Chilean enterprise are political reprisals that violate the rights of free navigation through that international waterway. The captain and the crew of the *Marble Island* rejected the order of arrest, refused to land, raised anchor and left for the Pacific Ocean.

261. A few days ago the Cuban merchant vessel *Imías* coming from Japan to our country was also arrested in the Canal, in the Gatún Lake area, and is virtually isolated by the North American authorities in connivance with the Fascist junta of Chile.

262. The arresting of a ship owned by the Cuban State is an illegal act which has grave implications, even for third parties. Violations of the norms of international law which recognize and safeguard the sovereign immunity of ships belonging to States constitute a serious threat to those using the Panama Canal, subject as they are to the same decisions by those who, according to the international régime agreed to, are required to guarantee freedom of navigation, security and neutrality of their waters. The captain and crew of the *Imías* are ready, in keeping with the heroic traditions of our merchant marine, to resist any attempt to confiscate the ship by force.

263. The statement by the Panamanian Foreign Office on this situation fraught with serious risks for international peace and security describes the matter very clearly and very precisely.

264. We denounce before the General Assembly this new act of piracy on the part of North American imperialism and we warn the Assembly that, if the *Imías* is not freed by

⁹ *Ibid.*, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972, document S/10995.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, document S/10993.

those who have seized it, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba will take the necessary measures and steps to do so, both within and outside the United Nations.

265. The insatiable and bloodthirsty repression unleashed by the Fascist junta can only be compared to that of the Nazis in the occupied countries: summary executions, organized massacres, destruction of settlements, bombing of universities, horrifying tortures, concentration camps, the handing over of Latin American exiles to hangmen, night raids, burning of books, outlawing of political parties, banning of trade unions, the closing down of Parliament, aggression against embassies, attacks on merchant vessels, persecution of foreigners, violations of international law, and a state of siege. In one word: the resurrection of the dark and dreary spirit of the Middle Ages in the middle of the twentieth century.

266. This interminable escalation of terror sets the conscience of mankind on edge. From all parts of the world, without distinction for political, social or religious ideologies, voices have been raised in horror at this orgy of blood and calling for an end to repression. "Slaughterhouse in Santiago" is the title of an article in *Newsweek* magazine. But these hardened murderers continue their ghastly tasks, blind and deaf to all human appeals. That was and is fascism.

267. World public opinion must be galvanized to call for respect for the life of the political leaders and the men and women of the country held in improvised gaols or confined in inhospitable islands, their heads against the very edge of the bayonets or their chins resting on a gun barrel. Luis Corvalán, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, is gaoled and subject to court-martial, accused of alleged crimes of treason against the country, a shameless invention of those who have dishonoured their country, those who have opened their country to all sorts of attacks because of their real treason, crimes and thefts. They have not as yet shot him but they can do so at any moment. Have there not been more than 10,000 shot and massacred there, including the aged, women and children? According to the *Washington Post*, the CIA—which participates in this blood-bath—has assessed at 3,000 the number of those killed in the first days following the coup.

268. The Chilean people will now have to embark on the long and arduous armed struggle against colonial fascism, but they will find echo and support in the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers who remain loyal to the Chilean people and to their constitutional promises and pledges. By their own experience the peoples of Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia know what the cost is, as did the countries that were earlier overrun by the Nazis. The Fascists will receive credits, weapons, and advisers from imperialism and its Latin American satellites. I should correct that statement and change the tense and say that they are already receiving them. Considerable North American credit for the purchase of wheat, and the arrival in Santiago of numberless specialists in counter-insurgency, are nothing but the prelude. The CIA with all its resources is, and will be, the centre of repression. But we are convinced that the Chilean people will wage that war until the last consequences are faced. And, at the end, their revolutionary act will bury fascism in its own filth.

269. In this new epic struggle, the Chilean people will not be fighting alone. They will have the solidarity and support of Cuba and the socialist countries, of the non-aligned nations—in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Algiers Conference¹¹—and the support of all the revolutionary people and progressive Governments in the world. That solidarity and that support will not fail them.

270. But, over and above all, the Chilean people can count in that decisive battle, as the Prime Minister of Cuba said, on "the banner, and the immortal person of President Allende. President Allende has given his people the highest example of heroism that can be offered. President Allende has embodied the best of patriotism, of valour, of honour and the combative spirit of the Chilean people".

271. The Cuban delegation renews its deep faith in the destinies of Chile and for the records of this Assembly we reiterate the last words of the revolutionary panegyric uttered by Comrade Fidel Castro:

"Eternal glory for Salvador Allende, together with Che, together with Martí, Bolívar, Sucre, San Martín, O'Higgins, Morelos, Hidalgo, Juárez and all the great men who gave their lives for the freedom of our continent. The Chilean people will squash fascism."

Country or death! We shall win!

272. Mrs. MARTIN CISSÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, who is unable to be present, to convey to you, over and above the traditional congratulations, the satisfaction of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea on the occasion of your unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-eighth session of our General Assembly. These congratulations are extended also to each of the members of the General Committee, who have made themselves worthy of the confidence of our august Assembly.

273. I should like also to discharge a pleasant duty, namely, to pay a deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, Deputy-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, and to tell him how greatly we appreciated the tact, courtesy and competence with which he conducted the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

274. Your election to the presidency of this twenty-eighth session appears to us like a definite guarantee of the lucid conduct of our work towards the adoption of decisions in favour of the liberation of peoples, towards justice and equality among all peoples, that are the necessary conditions for peace and security.

275. You are a Latin American. It is, therefore, obvious that your love of the rights of peoples cannot be questioned. Child of the third world, you are inevitably sensitive, for more than one reason, to the many ills afflicting countries that are victims of the manoeuvres of the rich States. Thanks to the enormous experience you have acquired in the course of your diplomatic career, you are perfectly

¹¹ See document A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 14.

aware of the problems which paralyse our Organization, thus making peace and security precarious.

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

276. The readiness of States to subscribe to the principles of mutual understanding is an important element if we are to ensure international security and durable peace on our planet. The task that devolves on us is therefore that of uniting our efforts so as to work for the advent of a world in which the negative forces of hatred and domination will yield to those of *entente* and fraternity among peoples.

277. The fortunate changes that have taken place in the concept of relations between States indicate that we have reached a turning point, a concrete turning point, represented by a series of treaties and agreements one of whose most tangible results is the recent decision of the General Assembly to receive into our Organization the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to extend a welcome to these friendly States which, we are convinced, will make an important and valuable contribution to the cause of peace.

278. The problem of international peace and security, the defence of national sovereignties, decolonization and the struggle against imperialism continue to be the focus of both bilateral and multilateral meetings. The dialogue between the great Powers appears to forecast the triumph of freedom, justice and equality among peoples, the essential basis for peace on our earth. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held recently in Algiers, has shown without the slightest doubt the resolute will affirmed by 2,000 million underprivileged men to upset the scale of accepted values and to give our universe greater social balance and its people greater hope and certainty.

279. Unfortunately, international peace and security have but a partial meaning for some members of our universal community. In fact, the peace of which they speak is rather that of the hateful order that they impose on other peoples, and security to them is the security of the illegitimate privileges they enjoy at the expense of other nations.

280. Is it possible for a single moment to bring an era of total peace and security throughout the world without first eradicating the causes of tension that beset Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America? It is no longer a secret to anyone that the number one enemy of the order that our Organization has undertaken to create is still imperialism and all its present manifestations, such as colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism, etc.

281. As everyone is aware, the Republic of Guinea, my country, has suffered and still suffers from the effects of imperialism which, since 28 September 1958, has hounded us for the simple reason that we have chosen the path of full responsibility. Imperialism does everything to jeopardize the sovereignty of our country. To achieve its regrettable objectives, it has allied itself with Portuguese colonial fascism, the most abject colonialism. And we understand that the fascist Government of Caetano, despite his ringing

defeat on 22 December 1970 by the brave and proud people of Guinea and his condemnation by the Security Council, does not cease to indulge in acts of provocation against the peaceful Guinean population.

282. Portuguese military aircraft constantly violate our air space. Every time the Portuguese troops suffer severe setbacks at the hands of freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau, they bomb our frontier villages on the fallacious pretext of reprisals or the right of hot pursuit. Mercenaries of all kinds, paid killers trained and released by Portugal, infiltrate regularly across our frontiers for purposes of aggression.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador) resumed the Chair.

283. In its implacable determination to destroy the revolutionary régime that the proud people of Guinea has chosen freely for itself, Portugal and its allies intensify the training of mercenaries in the occupied Territories of the new independent State of Guinea-Bissau and in some of the neighbouring States, thus preparing a new armed aggression against our people. But, regardless of the means used by international imperialism, the people of Guinea, more than ever determined and united behind its great President, Ahmed Sekou Touré, will triumph, as it did on 22 November 1970, over the forces of domination and will continue to defend its gains and to give unreserved support to the liberation movements in order to speed up the emancipation of the African fatherland and thus to contribute to ensuring the reign of international peace and security.

284. I should like, moreover, to emphasize that—like all the independent States of Africa and, generally speaking, all the countries in the world—the people of Guinea aspire profoundly to peace so that they can effectively devote themselves to the exalting task of building up their country. It is for this reason that they demand of international imperialism and its allies and, in particular, some of the neighbouring States of the Republic of Guinea that they recognize this sacred and inalienable right to peace and tranquillity—indispensable factors of peaceful coexistence.

285. My delegation wishes to emphasize the ludicrousness of the claim of the Lisbon authorities that the African Territories of Angola and Mozambique are provinces and a prolongation of Portugal. In those African Territories, there still waves the flag of that country which is not linked to Africa either by geography or by culture, or less still by a common history.

286. Throughout his intervention during the present session of the General Assembly the "worthy representative", "the accredited spokesman of Portugal", Mr. Patrício, was so bold, with the audacity of which he alone is capable, as to uphold theories of assimilation, such as "the legitimacy of Portugal as an African nation" [2138th meeting, para. 146] and many other absurdities as well.

287. No living person can accept that grotesque assertion, and, if Bissau is called Conakry 2, Lisbon, built up thanks to the wealth of Bissau, will soon be called Conakry.

288. In his confusion, Mr. Patrício attacks the socialist countries, the Scandinavian countries, OAU and how many

more? We must agree that the world shrinks dangerously under the paltry views of Portugal.

289. Illustrating the full dimension of the imperialist-colonialist-fascist hysteria of Portugal, Mario Soares writes:

“... In fact, the only specific feature of Portuguese colonialism in comparison with other European colonialisms derives essentially from the financial and mental poverty of the settlers and the economic underdevelopment of the metropolitan country, which itself is a colony of the great Powers.”¹²

290. In fact, the decisive element of Portugal, its chemical property, is extra-Lusitanian. One need not be an expert in political affairs to realize that that unfortunate country, because of the mediocrity of its economic and military potential, stubbornly clings to its policy only because it knows it enjoys the complicity of NATO, whose member countries flout and disdain the resolutions adopted in favour of the African peoples.

291. Convinced that the cause it pursues is irreparably doomed, the Government of criminal Caetano pursues a policy of systematic destruction, of Fascist genocide, against the peaceful civilian populations of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique. Is there any need to recall in this connexion the savage massacre of over 400 Africans in the village of Wiriyaumu in the Mozambican province of Tete, which aroused profound indignation and the condemnation of world public opinion.

292. Defeated everywhere in the field by the revolutionary forces, the régime in Lisbon resorts at present to the physical liquidation of the authentic representatives of the African peoples. As if to qualify itself in that hateful undertaking and believing it can put an end definitely to the heroic resistance of the nationalists in Guinea-Bissau, Portuguese imperialism, on 20 January 1973, in Conakry, had our comrade Amílcar Cabral, the great freedom fighter and founder and Secretary-General of PAIGC,¹³ cowardly assassinated by mercenaries who had infiltrated into the area.

293. The courageous people of Guinea-Bissau gave to that insolent challenge the resounding and obvious reply by proclaiming victoriously on 24 September 1973 the People's Democratic Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Our delegation applauds that historic decision enthusiastically and rejoices at the fact that our Government was the first to recognize the young independent and sovereign State. The independence of Guinea-Bissau is the triumph of reason over brute force, the victory of freedom over colonialism, the prelude to a process that will infallibly lead to the liquidation of colonialism in Africa.

294. In the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, the people, guided by PAIGC under the enlightened leadership of its founder and No. 1 militant, Amílcar Cabral, has, in the course of 17 years of political and armed struggle, constructed a new life and now possesses a constantly evolving administrative organization, social and cultural services, a

judicial system, a steadily developing economy and national armed forces.

295. The visit of a United Nations Special Mission to the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau from 2 to 8 April 1972 served to confirm to the international community what has been attested to by dozens of impartial, honest observers from every continent: the self-determination of our people and the *de facto* existence of an efficiently functioning State structure.

296. In flagrant violation of modern international law, the Portuguese colonialists are still encroaching upon some portions of our national territory. The United Nations has repeatedly recognized the illegality of the Portuguese presence, the inalienable right of our people to freedom and sovereignty, and the legitimacy of its struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

297. On the basis of the historic resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 concerning the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council have reaffirmed the inalienable right of our people to self-determination and independence, particularly in General Assembly resolution 2918 (XXVII) of 14 November 1972 and Security Council resolution 322 (1972) of 22 November 1972. Furthermore, on the proposal of the Special Committee on decolonization, the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session recognized PAIGC, the liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, as the only and authentic representative of the people of that Territory.

298. The People's National Assembly, which is the result of PAIGC's successes in the fight against Portuguese colonialism, was constituted on the basis of the principle that power derives from the people and should serve the people. The Assembly is composed of representatives elected by universal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, being the expression of the sovereign will of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

299. At its meeting of 24 September 1973 in the Boé region, the People's National Assembly, expressing the sovereign will of the people, solemnly proclaimed the State of Guinea-Bissau. In that proclamation, the People's National Assembly declared, *inter alia*:

“The State of Guinea-Bissau is a sovereign, republican, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist State whose primary objectives are the complete liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde and the forging of a union between those two territories for the purpose of building a strong African homeland dedicated to progress. The arrangements for this union will be determined, after these two territories are liberated, in accordance with the will of the people.

“The State of Guinea-Bissau assumes the sacred duty of taking action to expedite, by every means, the expulsion of the forces of aggression of Portuguese colonialism from that part of the territory of Guinea-Bissau which they still occupy and to intensify the struggle in the Cape Verde Islands, which form an

¹² Mario Soares, *Le Portugal baillonné* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1972), p. 173.

¹³ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

integral and inalienable part of the national territory of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

"The State of Guinea-Bissau regards the strengthening of the links of solidarity and soldierly brotherhood between our people and all peoples of the Portuguese colonies as one of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy; it stands in solidarity with the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America and with all Arab peoples fighting against zionism.

"The State of Guinea-Bissau is an integral part of Africa and strives for the unity of the African peoples, respecting the freedom of those peoples, their dignity and their right to political, economic, social and cultural progress.

"As regards international relations, the State of Guinea-Bissau wishes to maintain and develop ties of friendship, co-operation and solidarity with its neighbours—the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Senegal—with all independent African States and with all States throughout the world which recognize its sovereignty and support the national liberation struggle of our people. These relations shall be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for national sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

"The State of Guinea-Bissau assumes responsibility for promoting the economic advancement of the country, thereby creating the material basis for the development of culture, science and technology, with a view to the continuing improvement of the social and economic living standards of our population and with the ultimate aim of achieving a life of peace, well-being and progress for all our country's children.

"Having as a foundation our heroic People's National Liberation Army, the State of Guinea-Bissau will provide our national armed forces with all necessary means to accomplish the task of bringing about the complete liberation of our country, and defending the achievements of our people and the integrity of our national territory.

"From the historic moment of the proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau, authorities and organs of the Portuguese colonial State which exercise any political, military or administrative authority in our territory are illegal, and their acts are null and void. Consequently, from that moment on, the Portuguese State has no right to assume any obligations or commitments in relation to our country. All treaties, conventions, agreements, alliances and concessions involving our country which were entered into in the past by the Portuguese colonialists will be submitted to the People's National Assembly, the supreme embodiment of State power, which will proceed to review them in accordance with the interests of our peoples.

"The State of Guinea-Bissau affirms the principle that it is fighting against Portuguese colonialism and not against the Portuguese people, with which our people wishes to maintain a friendly and co-operative relationship.

"The State of Guinea-Bissau adheres to the principles of non-alignment. It supports the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and, to that effect and in accordance with the resolutions of the highest international organs, it declares its willingness to negotiate a solution which will put an end to the aggression of the Portuguese colonial Government that is illegally occupying part of our national territory and committing acts of genocide against our populations."

300. We are happy to see the great sympathy with which most of the delegations attending this twenty-eighth session have welcomed the proclamation of independence by Guinea-Bissau, and we address a pressing appeal to all Governments to recognize the new State and to grant it effective and unreserved support, thus enabling it shortly to occupy its rightful place in the international community and in the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

301. Despite the strong reaction of independent Africa, supported by its friends, against the appropriation by certain imperialist Powers of the enormous natural resources of the Territories under Portuguese domination, the Cabora Bassa and Cunene projects continue to receive Western capital which the criminal protagonists describe fallaciously as beneficial investments.

302. My delegation believes that we must draw other conclusions from the recognition of the liberation movements by our Organization as the true representatives of their territories, conclusions that must be more in keeping with the will and aspirations of the peoples concerned, who are fighting so courageously for their freedom, independence and the sovereignty of their countries. In this context the presence of Portugal in these Territories is an unbearable aggression, a criminal aggression that must be punished as such. For this reason my delegation requests the inclusion of a new item on the agenda, to be entitled "Criminal aggression by Portugal against the sovereign State of Guinea-Bissau and the illegal occupation of certain parts of its national territory".

303. For us, independence means the exercise of national sovereignty by the people. It is also, and above all, a protest against injustices and all the causes of injustice and insecurity that daily endanger peace and human lives. It is the inauguration of a world of peace and happiness that our people cry out for with all their strength.

304. In southern Africa the illegal régime of Ian Smith is joining in a common cause with the racists of Pretoria and Portugal to exacerbate to the point of paroxysm, racial hatred and methods of repression. Threats, brutalities, arbitrary imprisonments, murder in cold blood have become the lot of the freedom fighters in that part of the world. In the face of this tragedy, which is reminiscent of the age of primitive hordes, my delegation continues to maintain that so long as Great Britain, the administering Power, does not satisfy the just claims of the people of Zimbabwe, who ask for the convening of a constitutional conference based on the principle "one man, one vote", that country remains fully responsible.

305. I should like on behalf of my delegation at this point to pay a solemn tribute to the heroism of the militant people of the sister Republic of Zambia in the face of the numerous provocations of the imperialist oligarchies that are inter-linked in southern Africa. The colonialist and racist régimes of southern Africa, powerless to stem the flow of the struggle for liberation, are now compelled to resort to other means. It is within that context that we must place the aggression and economic blackmail of the rebel Ian Smith against Zambia, which so victoriously took up the challenge.

306. Independent Africa, through its continental organization, OAU, has sufficiently highlighted and stigmatized the strengthening of the aggressiveness of the colonialists and racists by reason of the assistance they receive from their allies in the Western camp. Despite the determined sanctions of the international community, the economy of the partisans of segregation prospers still further and the armaments of the oppressors become more and more modern.

307. The Government of South Africa, despite the general condemnation of conscious and responsible mankind, continues to maintain our brothers under the heinous system of *apartheid*. The policy of the creation of "Bantustans" and the various forms of segregation remain the daily practice in South Africa. For Vorster and his clique the black man—unfortunately, we must say this—is no different from an animal, since according to that backward and insolent philosophy all those belonging to that race have no soul and no conscience and deserve none of the rights required for the happiness and dignity of our fellow men.

308. The almost unanimous position taken by the members of the General Assembly against the right to speak of the delegation of the white minority of South Africa was an eloquent manifestation of the condemnation of Vorster's policy of *apartheid*. In our view, that manifestation is but one stage in the struggle embarked upon by Africa, whose objective is the occupation of the seat of South Africa by the authentic representatives of that part of the world.

309. On 4 February 1972, at its memorable meetings in Addis Ababa, the Security Council adopted its resolution 309 (1972), relating to Namibia. The events that have taken place since then have in no way changed the reactionary position of South Africa in Namibia. With obdurate cynicism they have opposed the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General to find an equitable and peaceful solution. After the failure of the mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, after the unanimous rejection by the tenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, and in the light of the results of the recent referendum held in that Territory, my delegation believes that the United Nations should envisage the possibility of taking other concrete steps in order that the people of Namibia may as soon as possible accede to independence and national sovereignty.

310. Although the explosive situation obtaining in southern Africa is of the highest concern to us, we cannot pass over in silence the existence of other equally important colonialist bastions in the continent: so-called French

Somaliland, the Comoro islands, so-called Spanish Sahara, the Seychelles islands, and so forth.

311. The period of colonial domination is finished forever. All peoples without distinction must unconditionally enjoy their freedom.

312. My delegation feels that, if our Organization is to live up to the commitments proclaimed and accepted since San Francisco, it must use all the means at its disposal to defeat the forces that oppose the realization of its noble ideals.

313. I should like now to turn to another problem which remains one of the constant preoccupations of our Organization—the Zionist aggression in the Middle East.

314. By creating out of nowhere the State of Israel, the United Nations has fanned the flames of a vast fire which it can no longer contain and which has acquired disquieting proportions.

315. Israel arbitrarily occupies by mere virtue of military power the territory of the brave Palestinian people, and this situation has lasted for 25 years. For 25 years, the Palestinian people chased from their fatherland have lived the errant life imposed on them by the Zionists.

316. Despite repeated condemnation from the forces of peace throughout the world and the many resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, Israel has since June 1967 been occupying the territory of the Arab republics of Egypt and Syria.

317. Supported by a most powerful ally, it arrogantly defied the whole of the international community. To the peace efforts of Africa and the Arab States it has always responded with contempt and arrogance.

318. Inevitably, that state of affairs led to the events of 6 October. Thus, with rarely equalled violence, there broke out the vast conflict latent since June 1967.

319. Once again the Middle East is at war. On 9 October, with indignation and consternation, the world learned of the bombing of Damascus, which led to the deaths of many civilian victims, among them diplomats and United Nations officials.

320. The Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria must recover their usurped territory. Peace in the Middle East must be achieved at that price.

321. On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Guinea, I wish to reiterate to the peoples and Governments of the Arab States, and in particular to Egypt and Syria, the complete solidarity and unreserved support of the people and Government of my country for their just struggle against the Israeli invader.

322. International imperialism has created other hotbeds of tension which it continues to maintain despite international disapproval.

323. The peace efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the reunification of its country still encour-

ter numerous obstacles and a climate of continued tension maintained by the presence in South Korea of foreign troops.

324. Thus it is essential to hold as soon as possible a conference which would bring together representatives of all the population of the two Koreas to discuss problems concerning the future of the Korean fatherland. That is why my delegation opposes the premature admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations, which would sanction the definitive division of that country.

325. By withdrawing its armed forces and by ensuring scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of those States, the United Nations must help Korea recover its national unity.

326. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held from 5 to 9 September in Algiers, symbolized the resistance of oppressed peoples and was extremely well attended. The success of its work opened a new era in the history of the third world.

327. But, although we carefully follow those positive changes in the international situation, especially in the relations between the great Powers, the struggle of all the peaceful forces for the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence and co-operation still meets with the active resistance of those that are in favour of war. Some of the great Powers, in order to create zones of influence for themselves, trample underfoot the elementary rights of peoples. The case of the Indo-Chinese peninsula is a typical example of this.

328. My delegation expresses its sincere concern at the recrudescence of military action in that region and invites the international community to use its good offices so that a just peace may be established in that part of South-East Asia.

329. The Republic of Guinea, which from the very first hours recognized the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by His Majesty Prince Norodom Sihanouk, sincerely hopes that the United Nations will understand the legitimate aspirations of the Khmer people to manage their own affairs.

330. In Algiers the large majority of non-aligned countries gave their firm support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam in its struggle for true independence.

331. The universality of the United Nations, which is one of the essential prerequisites for the achievement of the purposes and objectives of the San Francisco Charter, demands that all peoples make their contribution to the solution of the problems affecting mankind. Yet we note with regret the absence of the representatives of Viet-Nam, Korea, Palestine, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and of all the liberation movements which we recognized in 1972 as being the only legitimate representatives of their territories. The presence here of certain men who represent only themselves, of usurpers of power, of oppressors of peoples, is an affront and causes us indignation.

332. Among the Powers that arrogate to themselves the right unilaterally to discuss serious questions affecting mankind, we find precisely those that are responsible for the problems besetting world security. This is a paradox! It is inconceivable because it is contrary to logic that one should be both the judge and the accused.

333. If our Organization wishes to fulfil its historic and sacred mission, namely, to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war, if our Organization wishes to establish international peace and security that are real and complete, it must eliminate the causes of war and tension, and eradicate from international relations the spirit of political domination and economic injustice. To do so we must break with Byzantine discussions and resolutely search for appropriate ways and means to ensure respect for the spirit of our Charter.

334. We must proclaim as crimes against humanity any acts that run counter to the advent of a just and durable peace and we must all take a stand against acts that are contrary to morality, peace and security in the world. The struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid*, zionism and all forms of aggression fall within this context and must be collectively supported by the United Nations because these phenomena are contrary to the principles upheld by our Organization. The internationalization of that struggle would enable our Organization to mobilize all its material, financial and military resources on behalf of the liberation forces. Thus we would show the peoples of the world that the United Nations strives to achieve the realization of their most fundamental and sacred aspirations.

335. We cannot, of course, achieve such results unless we revise the San Francisco Charter and adapt it to the new needs of our peoples. It goes without saying that the revision of the United Nations Charter and the strengthening of the structures of our international Organization demand greater democracy and equality among the Members, and that will be possible only if an end is put to the privileges given exclusively to some Powers. We must abolish the status of permanent member of the Security Council; we must abrogate the right of veto.

336. The main weakness of our Organization is due to the fact that only five of its Members, through the right of veto, hold in their hands the key to the solution of world problems.

337. This state of affairs is no longer in keeping with the realities of our century and constitutes a flagrant violation of the principle of democracy and a grave violation of the dignity of the large majority of the countries represented in this Assembly.

338. Of all the international problems that polarize world public opinion, disarmament is unquestionably both the oldest and the most topical, because it is the one that has achieved the least possible progress. One speaks of it more as hobby than through real conviction. It goes without saying that there is still a game of hide and seek. The medium-sized and small States, when they bring up the question of disarmament, still have in mind the fact that infallibly they will come up against the resistance of the

great Powers and thus will not succeed. As for the great Powers themselves, they have always subscribed to resolutions by which they have not felt themselves bound.

339. This year will mark the convening of the first session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, whose second session the General Assembly has scheduled to take place in 1974 [*resolution 3029 A (XXVII)*]. We attach to that Conference the importance that it deserves. We hope that in its deliberations it will duly take into account the demands of the developing world and its security needs. The need to guarantee the security and territorial integrity of my country, which is one of the main targets of imperialism, has led us to extend the limits of our territorial waters to 200 nautical miles. The importance that we attach to the forthcoming Conference on the Law of the Sea is explained by our constant desire for the speedy codification of certain rules and conditions whose adaptation to present realities is indispensable.

340. The Conference can and should be held as planned. However, by reason of the explosive situation at present prevailing in Chile, it would be desirable for the Conference to be held elsewhere. In that connexion, my delegation suggests that we reconsider paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 3029 A (XXVII), according to which it was decided to hold the second session of that Conference in Santiago.

341. The people of Guinea has followed with deep emotion the painful events which last month brought sorrow to the friendly Republic of Chile. Our delegation expresses its deep sympathy to the valiant people of Chile, which has remained faithful to the revolutionary ideals of President Salvador Allende.

342. In the world today, the contradictions that we find in Africa in its relations with the outside world result from the fact that the African economy is still exploited or dependent on outside countries. It is beset by increasing disparities between the prices of our primary commodities and those of the goods sold to us from outside Africa. The terms of trade bring new concern each day to our peoples, whose creative efforts are annihilated by a system that always tends to aggravate the living conditions of the producers in our continent. Therefore we must take a decision as early as possible to lay the foundation of an economic policy that reflects our determination to achieve the decolonization of our continent and ensure effective solidarity for our peoples in this area.

343. It was because of a desire to defend these interests that the tenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in Addis Ababa adopted the African declaration on economic co-operation, development and independence.

344. The sincere co-operation that we wish to obtain from the developed countries must come even more from the United Nations, in which we place our confidence. In fact we note that often the loans it grants through its bodies increase our debts rather than help us. Often over half the sum allocated to projects in our countries is used for endless studies and for the travel expenses of experts. Finally, when the projects have no more funds, they are merely abandoned.

345. I should not wish to end this intervention without saying a few words about the drought that has recently afflicted six States in the Sudano-Sahelian region and which has ravaged in an unprecedented way the population and livestock of that region. My delegation will not dwell on the details of that situation, which has been sufficiently explained by many delegations that have spoken before me and which was the subject of an eloquent statement by General Lamizana, President of the sister Republic of the Upper Volta, under special mandate from the meeting at Ouagadougou of the six countries concerned. [*2145th meeting*].

346. I shall confine myself to expressing my sincere thanks on behalf of my Government to all those who have responded to the appeal of our brothers in distress. I should like to emphasize, however, that, while the immediate needs of these countries have been met to some extent with the assistance received, much remains to be done to eliminate the sequels of this disaster and to restore normal life to that agro-pastoral region.

347. It is for this reason that we call for the collaboration of the international Organization in order that it may take concrete measures to reconstruct the economy of the States of the Sudano-Sahelian area so that they can face up to these calamities and others of the same kind in the future.

348. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): That concludes the list of speakers for this meeting. I shall now call in turn on the seven representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

349. Mr. BAZÁN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I must once again tear the mask from the face of the representative of the tyrant, Fidel Castro, who has just burdened us with a statement that is a prodigy of falsehood and hypocrisy.

350. The Castro régime is the most abject of all in American history. It is a minority régime. It is a cruel and despotic one that took power by sword and fire, that keeps in power by weapons and by terror and has made a mockery of all human rights. It is a régime that is a scandal to the free mind of man.

351. How, therefore, can the representative of that régime have the audacity to speak to us here of democracy and of decorum? How can they dare to impute to others all the crimes and aberrations, all the abuses and arbitrary acts that they commit daily in their own country?

352. Although morally disqualified, nevertheless the Castro representative dared to judge the Chilean Government, vilely attacking the judiciary, the national congress, the armed forces, the free press of my country, the trade unions and the majority political parties.

353. His foul words could not reach us. Yet I must deal with some of them, solely out of the respect that I owe to the other representatives in the Assembly.

354. First of all, I am impelled to repeat here a defence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile, Vice-Admiral Huerta, as I had to do yesterday afternoon [*2146th meet-*

ing]. Vice-Admiral Huerta gave his loyal co-operation to President Allende until the moment when he realized that all co-operation was impossible because of the conspiracy that the Government of Popular Unity was planning in collusion with the Castro group. At that moment Vice-Admiral Huerta, together with all the other heads of the armed forces of Chile, decided to respect their oaths to the country that they had sworn to defend against the imminent risks of civil war that was being planned actually in the La Moneda Palace.

355. Nor can I refrain from rejecting most vehemently the disgusting attack levelled by the representative of Castro against the ex-President, Mr. Eduardo Frei, who is a symbol of our democratic ideals, and whose work for the social progress of our people, for the rational reform of our agriculture and the rescuing of our basic commodities and industry bore in mind respect for freedom and rights which thereby earned him the gratitude and the appreciation of the great national majority. Furthermore, he must be very proud of having earned an envenomed attack from a man who chews the cud of hatred and knows nothing of dignity.

356. The Castro representative once again recalled the tragic death of President Allende and blamed the armed forces of Chile for that death. It is not the first time the death of President Allende has been mentioned in this or other halls of the United Nations in order to make that gratuitous accusation for propaganda purposes and to seek proselytes.

357. There can be no doubt that President Allende died for his ideals. For that he earned our deep respect. Therefore it is unworthy to exploit that sorry end in order to make unfounded accusations and draw political capital from it.

358. But, forced by such grave charges and overcoming my natural reticence, I nevertheless refer once more to this painful episode.

359. The armed forces of Chile have expert statements, photographs and certificates stating that President Allende put an end to his life by his own hand. Some of these documents have already been published. Others could not be published without the permission of the family. Therefore I reiterate the official declaration of the Government of Chile that President Allende died by his own hand.

360. If blame is to be found for this tragic event, a goodly portion, if not most of it, must fall on the shoulders of Castroism. Because of its undue interference in the domestic affairs of Chile, Castroism created profound hatred among the Chileans. Furthermore, Castroism constantly incited the radicalization of the Government of Popular Unity and, by illicitly helping it to arm the people, urged it to prepare a coup d'état that was to ensure continuance in power. In a supreme effort to survive there then occurred the reaction of the Chilean civilians, who had for months carried out a struggle of passive resistance that inevitably had to lead to some violent confrontation. Finally, there was only one alternative open: either the Government of Popular Unity was consolidated by force or it was expelled by force.

361. This inevitable outcome, which the Castristas foresaw, desired and helped to prepare, is what led to the tragic

death of President Allende. It is almost symbolic of the existing situation that the rifle that he used had been sent him, as the dedication reads, as a gift from "his comrade in arms Fidel Castro."

362. The representative of Castro spoke of the Chilean process at a length that he did not even devote to his own affairs. Inadmissibly and wrongfully, he bandied about the name of the Chilean people. We do not need this "kind" defender. How can someone speak on behalf of the Chilean people who does not even represent the Cuban people? No one gave this man the right to represent the worthy people of Chile which, through me, rejects his undue interference in the domestic affairs of my country. The Chileans know that this frustrated man has to drown the bitterness that overwhelms him because his vain efforts to induce ignominious Castroism in Chile failed.

363. Furthermore, this representative of Cuban despotism has come here to bewail the damage caused by the band of guerrillas in the Embassy of Cuba in Santiago. In the Security Council I proved that the only explanation for that incident was the insolence of these phoney diplomatic representatives of Cuba which, hiding in a so-called embassy—which was no embassy but an arsenal—did not resist the temptation of participating in the events of 11 September. Therefore, we shall not go back to this subject.

364. The Castro representative also dragged in the old story about fascism, without realizing that that label fits no one on the continent better than the régime which holds power in his own country. That régime rose in Cuba as an improvisation based on violence. It imposed itself by force; it perpetuates itself by force. It obeys the Messianic mirages of an omnipotent leader whose only aim was expansionist and aggressive nationalism. It utilizes totalitarianism as a form of government. It loathes any thought that does not follow its own leadership and wipes out human values, because dignifying man is not part of its philosophy. The fact that in economics it applies the formula of communism does not deprive the Castro régime of its typical Fascist features. Because, as Simón Martín very correctly put it, there is also a leftist fascism. On the other hand, the Government we have in Chile today is the result of an overwhelmingly popular civic movement that was supported by the armed forces only at the eleventh hour, that has no *caudillo* to lead it, that does not wish to perpetuate its holding of power, that is not totalitarian, that does not have reactionary motives, that respects the independence of the judiciary, that does not persecute anyone for his ideas, and that recognizes and complies with all fundamental human rights—because the very nub of its concern is man, whose welfare, dignity and freedom it wishes to ensure. These guidelines are incompatible with fascism.

365. This spokesman of Castro fascism has also spoken of persecutions, of tortures, of slaughter, of executions, as though in his own country, under the oppressive régime governing that country, the most abusive and bloody and inhuman excesses are not chalked up, excesses that besmirch the annals of history. The tortures that he speaks of do not exist in Chile, only in the sickly minds of the resentful Castristas.

366. Officials of the International Red Cross have visited my country, from north to south. They investigated and researched anything they wished, and they found nothing to which they could object. Amnesty International recently asked whether it could send representatives to Chile to conduct a similar fact-finding mission. They have been told to go, and to go as soon as possible. And the sooner the better. We have nothing to hide.

367. Chile is the absolute antithesis of Cuba, where for 10 years the Castro régime has systematically eluded all requirements of these and other respectable institutions. Obviously, Castro does not want his tortures and ghastly punishments carried out by the political police in gaols, in concentration camps, to be known to the rest of the world.

368. And as we gather from the declaration of 11 September very sad losses of life have taken place in Chile. The official figure sets at 581 the number of persons dead. The majority of these deaths were the result of isolated acts of terrorism and sporadic skirmishes with snipers. I shall not say that these are few deaths. We should have preferred none. The death of each man is a saddening event. But I must stress that, if the weapons and the directives of Castro had not heated the blood of the terrorists in Chile, those figures would have been far, far lower. Therefore, most of them must be attributed to the Castro envoys and at all events we must recall that the number of those executed in Cuba by the firing squad far exceeds the total deaths that occurred in Chile after the recent events. There is another difference that should be stressed: in Chile, where we respect human life, there has never been extreme cruelty. But we know that in Cuba, Fidel Castro himself had, as his daily pastime, the watching of the executions by the firing squad, to which he even invited some foreign diplomats—

The speaker was interrupted by the representative of Cuba, who attempted to reach the speakers' rostrum, which gave rise to strong protests from other representatives.

369. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I cannot tolerate a disorderly situation of this kind. I shall, therefore, suspend the meeting.

The meeting was suspended briefly, and then resumed.

370. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The incident that has just taken place, unusual in the history of the United Nations, is indeed lamentable. Should such a situation recur I shall automatically adjourn the meeting. The fact that a representative is speaking does not prevent the President from suspending the meeting.

371. Moreover, I must point out to the representative who was speaking when the interruption took place that he had, in exercising his right of reply, exceeded the statutory 10 minutes accorded by decision of the General Assembly. Out of courtesy I had allowed him to speak for 14 minutes in all. I now give him another three minutes in order that he may conclude.

372. Mr. BAZÁN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank you, Sir, for your kindness.

373. The representative of Castro is horrified at the coup d'état that occurred, according to him, on 11 September, overlooking the fact that yesterday in this hall he recognized that his country sent large supplies of arms into my country—allegedly at the request of President Allende, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and constitutional President of Chile. That confession confirms our statement that the Government of Popular Unity itself, in association with a foreign Power, was preparing a civil war in Chile. Although the President was the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Chile, the weapons which he requested and obtained from Castro were used not to serve but to destroy the armed forces.

374. Thus it is proved that there was a conspiracy against the domestic order and sovereignty of the State and, therefore, that the pronouncement of 11 September was an act of legitimate self-defence. On that day, therefore, there was no coup d'état in Chile; there was no joint coup d'état. There was a perfectly legal act of self-defence that avoided a civil war and saved us from the political tutelage under which Castro wanted to place us. This sinister conspiracy is at the root of everything that has happened in Chile.

375. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to point out that, in accordance with a decision of the General Assembly itself, the right of reply is limited to 10 minutes. Out of courtesy I allowed the representative of Chile 15 minutes.

376. Mr. FRAZÃO (Brazil): The Cuban Foreign Minister referred three times to my country, to the Brazilian Government and to Brazilian policies in terms that are perhaps common to his political vocabulary and which no doubt it is customary for him to employ as a compulsive syndrome of his ideological rabies.

377. I want to make clear, in the most respectful way that I can express my thoughts—most respectful to you, Mr. President, and to this Assembly—and to stress that I do not recognize in the Cuban representative any authority to arrogate unto himself the right to qualify, in any way whatsoever, the Government of Brazil or Brazil's international policy. Furthermore, I reject the tone of his remarks and their intended implication.

378. The Foreign Minister of Cuba has once again indulged in futile attempts to draw derogatory inferences from the political options taken by Brazilian society. My country takes pride in those options, which brought it political stability, economic development and social progress. We have never intervened in the domestic or international affairs of other countries. We have never questioned their political options and we have never tried to interfere in their internal politics. I would like to be able to say the same things about Cuba but, unfortunately, this is not the case, as is made abundantly clear by Cuban authorities themselves.

379. Mr. Roa also qualified Brazil as "imperialist". "Imperialist", Brazil can only be in the minds of those who stubbornly cling to misrepresentation and slander as a means to mask their failure. When I say "failure", I mean total and complete failure, internal and external; I mean failure in every sense of the word. What could be more symptomatic of failure than the recourse to indiscriminate

attacks against my country—as though the blame for one's failure could be put on the other's success. "Imperialist", Brazil can only be in the imagination of those who cannot reckon our accomplishments in the economic and social fields and try to demean them.

380. Brazil's economic and social development—the facts of the Brazilian reality—is disavowing one by one all the myths that the so-called revolutionaries in Cuba have been trying to spread in our continent. For the same reasons that would compel us strongly to reject any kind of interference in our national affairs, the thought of intervening in other countries' affairs is simply abhorrent to the Brazilian conscience. Unfortunately, again, the same cannot be said of Cuba.

381. We are continually presented with concrete evidence of Cuba's unrelenting campaign to instil hatred, subversion and terror in the continent. These are the primary commodities of Cuba's ideological export list.

382. Unlike Cuba, which had to be kept isolated from the continental system, Brazil enjoys the most friendly relations with all countries on the continent. Unlike Cuba, Brazil does not make it a policy to try to impose its ideas on others and faithfully respects the right of all countries to choose and assert the political system which best suits their peoples. Unlike Cuba, Brazil strives to create effective mechanisms of co-operation with its neighbours so that we can best struggle for the eradication of our real common enemy, which is economic and social under-development.

383. Who, then, is imperialist—is it Brazil or is it Cuba, the self-proclaimed champion of revolution on the continent? Is it Brazil or is it Cuba which openly represents alien interests? Is it Brazil or is it Cuba which tries to export and impose on others by force solutions that have never succeeded and will never succeed in our continent? Revolution for revolution, ours is certainly the most peaceful and the most successful one. However, we have never sought to export our model, nor have we ever proposed to bring order and discipline into the Cuban society. We did not dispute the rate of inflation they have attributed to themselves; we did not dispute the disruption of their productivity; we did not dispute the declamatory defence of social reforms, which were no more than a mismanagement of the production factors. We respect their indebtedness and their bondage to an import market. We note, but we do not dispute all this, because these are the Cuban Government's options.

384. However, as a country which stands whole-heartedly for the strengthening of the United Nations, so that our Organization may play a revitalized role in keeping peace, forging security and promoting the economic development of developing countries, Brazil hopes that the Assembly will in the future be spared further lamentable comments such as those I am rejecting today.

385. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Brazil for his moderation in reply which has thus returned the Assembly to its customary dignity. I want to make very clear once and for all that while I am President of the Assembly no one has the right to speak in the hall unless called upon by me. For this reason I had to have someone stopped who dared to try to speak

without being called upon by the President. In future, while I am President, I shall continue to do so.

386. Mr. de ZAVALA URRIOLAGOITIA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I sincerely regret having to come before this Assembly and waste the valuable time of the representatives present here, but the representative of Castroist Cuba, with the worn-out record he uses every year in this debate, compels me to do so. I shall not reply to his insolent insults. It is not necessary. Suffice it to confront the meagre substance of his words.

387. Bolivia is, has been and continues to be, as we can show today, the object of a sustained campaign on the part of those who do not accept that a developing nation should choose the road of economic liberation outside the extremes that we see in the world today.

388. It would appear that the Government of Cuba does not resign itself to seeing other countries of America surviving in dignity without having to endure not only poverty and oppression, but also the status of parasites to which a Government without independence or dignity has taken the fatherland of Martí, who is so loved by all Americans for so many reasons.

389. Without abdicating its political and economic independence, without renouncing its democratic condition, without sterile human sacrifice to the fateful firing squad, without converting its territory into an immense prison, as happened in Cuba under the dictatorship of Fidel Castro, Bolivia struggles relentlessly to achieve social transformation based not on the premise of annihilation and destruction of its economic structures, but on gradual integration of all the social strata in an egalitarian and Christian society.

390. My country, in this revolutionary process six years before the Cuban revolution, nationalized its mines and distributed the land among those who work it. In the field of the political organization of the country, the peasants were freed from servitude and, through universal elections, were brought into the activities from which they had been excluded. In the area of foreign policy, diplomatic and trade relations have been established with several socialist countries, and programmes of technical assistance and mutual co-operation have been executed.

391. Ours is a revolution without the firing squad. This action, with which we offend no one and with which we deprive no one of what he possesses, with which we do not seek to achieve spectacular gains but to create a climate of order, peace and development, is not forgiven us by those who, under the Castroist inspiration, who would like to see us all aligned under the kind of dependency that has everything except the character of non-alignment.

392. If Bolivia was able to save itself from extremist dictatorship, it was not through chance or by a miracle. It was by a decision of its people, of the great national majority which saw with repugnance how kidnapping, extortion and crime were instituted as an instrument of political power managed from the Government palace by the heads of the State. It was against this brutal system, against the daily confrontation of the people against armed bands that sought to establish parallel governments, either from the so-called

assembly of the people or the university, which had become an arsenal and a bastion of extremism.

393. It was the people of Bolivia who reacted against terrorism and a system of oppression, and overthrew them. The armed forces merely interpreted these feelings which became an imperative and unpostponable mandate.

394. That is why it is regrettable to see the blindness with which, here in the United Nations, the Latin American events in general and the Bolivian events in particular are judged.

395. It is also obvious proof of the fallaciousness surrounding in many cases the term "non-alignment". Events are judged in the light of political interests and trends, with blindfolds which do not let us see the whole picture, circumscribing the objective to what has been agreed on in advance.

396. Respectful as we are of the reciprocal recognition of the sovereignty of States and the plurality of options, in my country we have followed closely the political process in a neighbouring country, to whose difficulties we cannot remain indifferent.

397. With the greatest respect that we have for the self-determination and democracy of peoples, we followed the course of events in Chile. We saw how the declining process of a policy began.

398. We in Bolivia had lived through a similar phenomenon, victims of a national tragedy which placed us on the brink of collapse. From the very beginning we saw what was to be the fate of the Government in power and realized that it constituted the greatest danger to peace and order, not only in that country, but on the whole continent. Measures were taken that seemed more to have been inspired by the desire to destroy all that had existed to date, that is to say, all that was the formal and sound structure that had been built up to that date. The iconoclastic desire of theoretical revolutionaries leads them to underestimate the economic order and to try to replace it by a political superstructure over and beyond all logic and moderation.

399. When we have lived at close quarters with this dramatic process, we cannot but understand that there is a diabolical inspiration in those who endeavour to destroy what has been done in the past without being able to replace it by an organization capable of establishing a bridge between both systems, a process of transition that does not seek destruction but rather the use of what can be usefully employed in the effort to create the economic structure that has enabled us to live and survive in freedom to this date.

400. But the slogan is not a slogan of peace. It does not seek the just and sensible reorganization of national life. The slogan is to create more misery, more disorder, more frustration in the expectation of founding a community whose only solution lies in alignment and poverty, thus offering a no man's land where the confrontation between the great Powers in their desire for world hegemony may be prolonged.

401. If Castro and Che Guevara thought that in Bolivia, and then in Chile, they could create new Viet-Nams, their mistake has cost them dearly. Whereas one rests in peace, free of his sinister missions, the other walks around in his luminous island which for him, like a bloody Macbeth, is a dark prison of which he is at once both gaoler and prisoner.

402. The President of Bolivia, despite the fact that he has the massive support of the two majority parties and is governing with them, after only two years of administration has called elections with the greatest guarantees and total amnesty. On the other hand, what happens in Cuba? The Castroist dictatorship has lasted 15 years and a million Cubans live in exile.

403. Today my country, as announced by the Minister of the Interior of Bolivia a few days ago [2144th meeting], has again lived moments of anguish with the coup that was encouraged by Castroist Cuba. The experience of history should have taught the Castro Government and its representatives that Bolivia and the Bolivians do not accept "kind" interference in our internal affairs; that my country does not export revolutions but that under no circumstances will it import them either. We do not tolerate others coming to settle our internal affairs and for that reason we categorically reject here the words of the representative of Cuba, as we have rejected in the past, and will do so in the future, any attempt at foreign interference.

404. Mr. BARREIRO (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I entirely deny the mendacious statements of the Foreign Minister of the Castro dictatorship. Paraguay is a country that struggles today for its development in loyal and friendly co-operation with all its neighbours, with the regional organizations and with the international community. The United Nations is giving us enormous and very helpful assistance.

405. The armed forces are the heirs of those who made the glorious history of my country and they stand as guarantors of constitutional peace and order. The Government of Paraguay is not Fascist. It is a Government elected by the people and supported by the widest and most historical political party founded by the heroes of the nation in 1887—those who died and those who survived with Marshal Francisco Solano López in his last bulwark in Cerro Corá.

406. There is no totalitarianism in Paraguay but there is in Castroism. In our Parliament senators and deputies of four different parties coexist; three of the legitimate opposition. In Paraguay there are courts of law. There is no single party. There is no firing squad. There are no revolutionary tribunals composed of fanatics, servile lackeys of the dictatorship. There is no capital punishment. There is no brainwashing for heterodox poets. We have opposition newspapers. There are independent newspapers. There is no directed public opinion as there is in those countries that live under a single party and under the dictatorship of a proletariat. Yet, all this is redundant when the Foreign Minister of Castro has called representative democracy the bourgeoisie and when he has irrevocably rejected it.

407. We are, therefore, speaking two different languages. We believe in representative democracy and in multiple parties for the country as upholding ideological pluralism in

the international field. As we saw, he believes in the infallible dogma of Marxism-Leninism—the sole *Pontifex Maximus urbi et orbi*.

408. Mr. GIAMBRUNO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I make a few brief remarks in exercise of the right of reply, I should like to point out to you the gravity and the shame of the gangster episode this Assembly has witnessed. I do not think there are similar precedents and it is important that representatives should be mindful of what has happened. We are not afraid of the representative of Cuba and his gunmen. But for the sake of the dignity of this Assembly we request the kind of decorum that has been lacking today.

409. The representative of Cuba also referred to my country. We do not tolerate interference in our internal affairs. That is the first commandment of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of this Assembly. My country, moreover, has enjoyed, and enjoys, the esteem of the whole world because of its free institutions, its democratic life, its struggle for the protection and defence of human rights. Regrettably, Cuba cannot say the same. Our Government was chosen in free elections where all political parties were represented. Cuba cannot say the same about that either. At least I am not aware that they have consulted the people. But the most important thing is not that. The most important thing is that someone should come here to speak in the name of decorum and freedom, as was done by the representative of a Government who has shown us the sinister experience of the firing squad, the famous *paredón* of a Government that has condemned hundreds of thousands of Cuban citizens of exile far from their families, without resources, while others go to gaol without a trial.

410. We reject their accusations and imputations and, although we understand that these reasons would be enough to stigmatize that conduct, we say as far as Uruguay is concerned that we have never tolerated foreign interference, that we have settled our own problems and that we have never had in Uruguay either soldiers or advisers. Regrettably Cuba cannot say the same thing about this either because, over and above tortures, the firing squad, ostracism, the lack of freedom, there is something that Cuban citizens will never be able to forgive: that the land of Martí should have been converted into no more and no less than an economic, military, political and social colony subjected to one of the imperialisms that exist in the world today.

411. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Earlier, speaking from this rostrum, the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Guinea saw fit to speak of neighbouring African countries where mercenaries are trained to be used to invade the Republic of Guinea. The representative of the Republic of Guinea did not name my country, but no one is unaware that in the present circumstances the Security Council has before it a complaint submitted by the Republic of Guinea against my country.¹⁴ Therefore, when “neighbouring African countries” are spoken of—whether they be countries or a country—my delegation must rise to the imperative need to take up that accusation.

412. In the course of the statement made by the delegation of Senegal in the general debate on 28 September [2132nd meeting], representatives no doubt will have noted and wondered about the silence of my delegation about the regrettable dispute between Senegal and Guinea, despite the recrudescence of a campaign of verbal violence undertaken by the authorities of Conakry. That silence only expressed the profound concern of my country to comply strictly with the oft-repeated desire of OAU that African States should refrain, outside OAU and particularly when OAU is dealing with a matter, from offering the saddening spectacle of their disagreements, at a time when all energy and desires have to be mustered to find a solution to the problems affecting the African continent and the Middle East.

413. But, alas, having heard the scurrilous allusion made by an African representative, the representative of Guinea, against my country, Senegal, we were saddened. At this very late hour and in this place I should not like to start polemics. My delegation would only like to state its hope that we will not be forced to allow the allusion to certain “neighbouring African countries” to cast doubts that are prejudicial to my country in the minds of any member. As you doubtless know, Mr. President, it is Senegal that, from 12 September 1973, has complained to the Acting President of OAU of the—to put it mildly—intolerable behaviour of the President of the Republic of Guinea. At that time Senegal proposed the nomination of an inter-African committee before which the President of the Republic of Guinea would be called upon to submit tangible proof of the accusations which he levelled against my country. In adopting this decision, Senegal was trying to be true, first of all, to the charter of OAU, but also to the Charter of the United Nations which, in Article 52, recommends that Member States of the United Nations “shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes . . . before referring them to the Security Council”. Furthermore, we are thus being true to the black African tradition of tolerance and dialogue. We asked the Guinean authorities, on 14 September 1973, directly to make available explanations of the attitude they have adopted regarding Senegal.

414. Again when taking that stand, my Government felt that a meeting between the Guinean and Senegalese authorities might allow us to find ways and means of putting an end to this painful dispute. In reply, the chief of State of Guinea, as usual, preferred to resort to an intensification of slanderous statements. This is proved in his speeches of 14 and 16 September 1973, which are masterpieces of insult—unexpected, to say the least—from a responsible Head of State. To read such controversial statements reproduced in the Guinean document pompously entitled “Revelations of the criminal activities of counter-revolution”, is most edifying and indicates the way Guinea conceives of relations among neighbouring States.

415. It is for this reason that the Government of the Republic of Senegal was first of all constrained to break off diplomatic relations with Guinea on 18 September 1973 and to follow up by declaring that we shall refuse any reconciliation while the problem awaits consideration and thorough study. Let us believe that we shall be given an opportunity of studying this problem thoroughly if, as we hope, the complaint of the Republic of Guinea before the Security Council is discussed.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/11004.

416. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the next speaker I should like to explain, out of respect for the Assembly, the authority I had to suspend the meeting. Rule 35 of the rules of procedure states that, among his other functions, the President shall have complete control of the proceedings at any meeting and over the maintenance of order thereat. As soon as there is any disorder, I have the right to suspend the meeting because there is no time to ask the Assembly for permission to do so. If it were not for that interpretation, which gives me the authority to prevent disorder, I would ask the Assembly to relieve me of my duties. As long as I am President, I shall see to it that order is respected and maintained in the Assembly.

417. If there is any objection to this it may be made in the form of a point of order, it is so desired. If there is none, I shall take it that this interpretation is valid.

418. Mr. MONTENEGRO MEDRANO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): With all due respect, Sir, to your opinion, my delegation has to differ with the interpretation you have just given of rule 35 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, particularly regarding the unilateral decision which you wished to take when deciding on the suspension of this afternoon's meeting at the unfortunate moment of the incident provoked by the representative of Cuba. We do so because at the end of rule 35 of the rules of procedure we read: "He may also propose the suspension or the adjournment of the meeting or the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion." In other words, it is the sole and exclusive right of the General Assembly, and it is the exclusive right of the General Assembly, to decide upon the adjournment or suspension of a meeting, and not part of the unilateral powers of the President.

419. My argument is further bolstered by the provision of rule 78 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly which states: "During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the suspension or the adjournment of the meeting." This confirms the fact that the adjournment of a meeting is absolutely in the hands of the General Assembly itself, and it is not an exclusive attribute or unilateral power vested in the President.

420. Mr. President, yesterday we were gratified to hear you call for order and ask for the eviction of those that were in the public galleries when they tried to create disorder in our hall. At the time you stated that you said this in order to ensure the dignity of the Assembly. But today, Sir, we deplore the fact that when the unprecedented incident took place, one that the annals of the Organization do not chronicle, when a representative with foul language interrupted the speaker from the floor and when threats were made against the speaker's life, that energetic attitude was not made manifest to try to put down that disorder, but rather, the delegation of Nicaragua was called to order because it protested such an attitude.

421. Very respectfully, my delegation was constrained to come to the rostrum to raise a voice of protest.

422. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): An appeal against a ruling of the President has been presented,

which, in accordance with the rules of procedure, must be put to the vote forthwith.

423. I call on the representative of Brazil on a point of order.

424. Mr. FRAZÃO (Brazil) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I apologize for speaking to you with my back turned towards you, but the microphone has to be in front of me.

425. Sir, I think that this might be an appropriate moment for me formally to propose, in accordance with the appropriate rule of procedure, that we suspend the meeting for 10 minutes. It occurs to me, Mr. President, that we do not need to take a vote on your ruling. And if you give us these 10 minutes to exchange views, I think that this incident can be successfully closed. My suggestion would be that we have a 10 or 15 minute suspension forthwith. If you find that this motion is in keeping with the rules of procedure, I request that it be put to the vote.

426. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): According to rule 78 of the rules of procedure, a motion for suspension of the meeting must be put to the vote without debate. I therefore put to the vote the motion for a suspension of the meeting.

The motion was adopted by 49 votes to 5, with 12 abstentions.

The meeting was suspended at 9.25 p.m. and resumed at 9.35 p.m.

427. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have been informed by a group of friends and colleagues that there was no intention of appealing against ruling of the Chair and, therefore, I have been asked not to take a vote according to rule 78.

428. The meeting will therefore continue, and I shall now call upon the next representative who wishes to exercise his right of reply, the representative of the United States of America.

429. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): Two weeks ago the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger, addressed this Assembly [2124th meeting]. He spoke in the measured language of reason, conciliation and hope of the American dream of how we could move from a détente to co-operation, from coexistence to community. Mr. Kissinger inspired some to believe that a new era of international harmony could be created in this house dedicated to peace.

430. A week later, at a gathering of distinguished representatives of American Republics, Mr. Kissinger addressed himself to the problems and aspirations of Latin America. He excited the imagination of that gathering of neighbours with his sincere invitation for a new dialogue between the United States and Latin America. Mr. Kissinger urged—and the countries of this hemisphere have since applauded—his proposal that instead of looking backward we face the future and try to find a common approach to the joint problems that confront the Americas.

431. Tonight, however, we have witnessed a depressing spectacle. An obsolete voice from the past, the Foreign Minister of Cuba, ignores the common desire of the rest of this hemisphere to look ahead, in a joint search for new solutions, rather than to the past. He once again has sunk to his usual level of gutter vulgarity as he speaks with the only language he can use—the outmoded vituperation of an earlier era. Time has passed him by.

432. Mr. Kissinger was joined by the genuine representatives of Latin America in voicing the desire to formulate new ideals. Mr. Roa and those for whom he speaks remain frozen in a rut of bitterness and conspiracy where falsehood is a normal weapon. Instead of answering the charges levelled yesterday [2146th meeting] against his Government by the Foreign Minister of Chile directed at the Foreign Minister of Cuba continues to degrade this Organization by relying on the well-known technique of those with a guilty conscience. He attempts to distract attention from himself and from Cuban intervention in Chilean affairs by smearing my Government with baseless allegations.

433. Once again I deny categorically that the United States Government was involved in any way in the events which have occurred in Chile. Would that the representative of Cuba were able to make a similar categorical denial on behalf of his Government.

434. The Cuban has spoken of the detention of a Cuban ship in the Panama Canal. The Cuban cargo ship *Imías* is indeed under attachment in Gatún Lake by order of the appropriate court of law at the request of attorneys representing the Chilean Government. The action is a routine legal procedure. Both the Government of Chile and the Government of Cuba are represented by attorneys before the court, where the matter will be decided by orderly legal process according to the merits of the case. In an international waterway, as in any port in the world, it is not unusual to have legal actions arising from commercial disputes. There have been 16 cases of this sort in the Panama Canal this year—all subject to the same rule of law.

435. It is hardly surprising that the Cuban representative, whose country has now had 15 years without “due process of law,” cannot understand.

436. Once again the Foreign Minister of Cuba has wasted our time by repeating his hackneyed clichés about Puerto Rico in this forum. I would not even dignify his statements by making reference to them if it were not for the outrage felt by the overwhelming majority of the Puerto Rican people, whom I have the honour also to represent in this body. I know what they will feel when they read about these newest Cuban falsehoods in their free press. They know as well as I that Puerto Ricans determine their own political future through periodic free elections. Puerto Ricans are a highly intelligent and mature people, and they need no advice from the representative of a country where there have been no elections of any kind since 1959. During those 15 years during which the Cuban people have been deprived of any means of expressing their political will—who chose this man to speak for Cuba?—there have been four island-wide elections in Puerto Rico.

437. The successive elections for Governor of Puerto Rico, with the participation of all shades of political opinion, including the followers of Castro, have given eloquent and persuasive testimony to the political sentiments of the Puerto Rican people. I can only wonder why the tiny fringe elements in Puerto Rican politics are so dependent on Castro to represent them. Why do they not campaign on their own merits?

438. Castro's Foreign Minister speaks often of puppets. We can all agree that there is no greater authority on puppets, since his Government is the original puppet on a string. We all know who pulls his string and how he dances.

439. It is rare indeed when I have the opportunity to congratulate the Foreign Minister of Cuba. I do now. I am delighted to learn that he has begun to read such American publications as *Newsweek* and the *Washington Post*, which Cubans are not permitted to read at home and which his representative to the United Nations has often characterized as mouthpieces of Yankee imperialism. As a former newsman myself, I know full well the value of helping to expose him to different points of view which appear in print. If the Cuban Foreign Minister continues to indulge in his secret vice of occasionally peeking into a free press he may some day learn the truth of the real world.

440. Mr. AKÉ (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, you undoubtedly know that the delegation of the Ivory Coast has not taken part in the general debate, and you will therefore allow me, I trust even at this late hour, to take a few minutes of the time allotted to me to say how happy we are to see you presiding over this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election to this important function is proof of your eminent qualities as a diplomat, jurist and devoted servant to the cause of the United Nations. Your long and outstanding experience at the United Nations and the authority that you have always shown will enable you, we are convinced, to lead our work to a successful conclusion. May that work help to instil in this world that has been shaken by new outbreaks of violence some understanding among peoples, peace and respect for human rights.

441. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to extend our sincere and warmest congratulations and welcome to the delegations of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas as new Members of our Organization. We express the hope that the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which has just proclaimed its independence, will soon assume its rightful place among us and make its valuable contribution to our work.

442. The delegation of the Ivory Coast has always defended the idea that conflicts and disputes of the kind that today oppose the Republic of Guinea to the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of the Ivory Coast must be settled within the framework of OAU. According to a popular adage: one should wash one's dirty linen at home.

443. We were rather surprised to note that the delegation of Guinea should not have resorted to the machinery of

OAU, but should have brought these problems before this august Assembly. We have listened very carefully to the statement of our colleague, the leader of the Guinean delegation. My delegation, which is accustomed to the Guinean style, knows full well that when our Guinean brothers speak of neighbouring countries, they always allude either to Senegal or to the Ivory Coast, and it is by virtue of this fact that my delegation, in the exercise of its right of reply, desires to make the following brief statement.

444. We wish to tell the delegation of Guinea that the Ivory Coast also aspires to peace, a peace that we sincerely wish for and that we are attempting to construct daily through brotherly, loyal, frank and open dialogue, a dialogue made of love and forgiveness among all the citizens of the Ivory Coast regardless of their status. This peace that we want for us, because it is the necessary condition for our development, we also desire for our neighbours and with our neighbours. May you rest assured, representative of Guinea, that the Ivory Coast, its people, its party and its President, recognize your right to peace, and in no way intend to interrupt or disturb it.

445. In the Ivory Coast we are too concerned with our own national development and with the harmonious economic development of our country, with giving concrete substance to the independence that we have so dearly achieved and with ensuring the social and cultural well being of our people, to waste our time in sterile disputes or quarrels or in maintaining training camps of mercenaries, even if they were Guineans, to prepare aggression against your country. Faithful to our policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and respectful of their institutions and their options, the Ivory Coast, a land that is hospitable and loves freedom, will never accept that its territory be used as a training camp or a base for subversive activities against an African State, against the Republic of Guinea, to which we are bound by so many ties, despite the bitterness that is aroused by certain gratuitous accusations of some Guinean leaders and of which our charming colleague has made herself the echo.

446. We categorically reject those allegations and accusations. On the territory of the Ivory Coast no mercenary training is taking place to overthrow the Guinean Government. There are no camps of that kind. If our colleague questions what we say and the accommodation that we offer, perhaps it would be wiser for us to throw a clear light on all these matters and ask the Secretary-General of the United Nations, since the matter has been raised here, to send a visiting mission to our country to verify on the spot whether those training camps exist. That mission, which we will provide with the necessary logistical facilities, if required, would not be accompanied by any citizen of the Ivory Coast and would be free to travel all over the country and question anyone it wished in order to throw light on this new accusation levelled against us. We believe that once and for all we must unmask the myth in which our Guinean brothers live. The Ivory Coast has nothing to conceal because our conscience is clear.

447. To assure you further of this, I would venture, in view of the late hour, to confine myself to quoting a short passage from a message of the President of the Ivory Coast

addressed to his brother—because President Sékou Touré continues to be a brother to my President:

“I have told you repeatedly and I repeat again solemnly that we do not nurture and we have no reason to nurture negative sentiments towards you and your country. If at times we are saddened by the depressing atmosphere and the lack of unity among the intellectuals in Guinea, we do not believe that we should meddle, because it is an internal affair of Guinea.

“More than that, we believe that, if there are to be changes, the process must not start from the outside, but from within your territory itself, on the initiative of the *élite* that daily faces up to the problems of the national life of Guinea. That is why for the many Guineans who seek asylum here we prohibit any political or other kind of activity against your régime on penalty of expulsion. We cannot drag out of their hearts the feelings that you inspired in them but, on the other hand, if there is the smallest sign of subversive activity on the part of those people who are living among us, we shall not fail to ask them to go and carry out such activity elsewhere.

“Lacking such proof the threats against me will not prevent us from welcoming and helping to work in our own country our brothers from Guinea who prefer to leave their country. Our attitude is dictated by humanitarian sentiments, but I am aware too that one day Guinea, reconciled, will be happy again to see its sons participate in its development.”

448. We shall not allow ourselves to be confused by these accusations or by this activity. We have much to do. We hope in serenity and in peace, together with our President, unremittingly to continue our work, our building up of a free and united brotherly and prosperous Ivory Coast that inspires respect and confidence.

449. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of the Ivory Coast for his kind words. I would explain that he invoked the fact that he had not taken the floor in the general debate, and for that reason I waived the 10-minute rule in his case. However, I shall strictly apply the 10-minute rule for the next speakers.

450. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have before me a number of persons to reply to. It has been said here that I used obscene language. Those words that I used were drawn up from indignation at the lies spoken here by the hired coxcomb of the Chilean junta. Those words can all be found in *Don Quixote*, written by Miguel de Cervantes, the literary monument of highest standing in our language and in universal literature. Anyone who turns through those pages will find each one of those words engraved and well used whenever the need for their use arose. But, aside from that, an illustrious man of my country, the greatest man of my country, one of those who has the greatest eminence in the history of Latin America—and I speak of José Martí—more than once said that words are used to speak the truth and not to disguise it.

451. If anything obscene occurred here, it was not my language. What was obscene here was the presence of fascism—the presence of fascism in the main hall of an institution that was born as a result of the victory on the

battle-field against Nazi fascism. Furthermore, it is completely false to say that force was used to confront this Pinocchio of Pinochet. I came to look for him solely and exclusively to give him the slap he required. I was not allowed to do so.

452. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): If the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba will allow me, I will ask him to limit himself to the facts and try to avoid subjective expressions.

453. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am also referring to specific facts. Mr. President, since you are a writer, you know that events can be described with adjectives. That is why adjectives were created, because only thus can we assess their value.

454. However, be that as it may, what I want to say is that, of those who have replied to my statement, none playing the roles of marionettes or puppets are of any interest to me. I am not interested in taking up a minute of time for any of them.

455. I shall speak to what the Ambassador of the United States said. He was brought in here suddenly, as though surreptitiously, to speak suddenly. He was drawn in at the eleventh hour. The Ambassador of the United States said that I was an obsolete man. I am 1,500 million light years ahead of him on all levels, particularly as far as ideas are concerned. Whereas, since he has addressed me personally, I believe him to be completely out of his own time. Not that he is frozen or crystallized. Worse—he is simply out of tune with the times. It is true that he is still being chased around by the verses of the Bible, without having lived in biblical times.

456. The Ambassador of the United States spoke of the words of Mr. Kissinger, the grey eminence of the capitalist and imperialist world of today, this time addressed to Latin America. They are a flow of molasses intended to catch unwary flies. Who is to believe in those words of Mr. Kissinger, in his words of conciliation, in his words of hope in our continent? Who is to place credence in them, when there is such a long tradition of the history of the United States which my country has lived in its own flesh and spirit, where it is blatantly obvious that the only aim sought was the milking, the exploitation, the oppression and the bleeding white of our peoples? What did the Ambassador of the United States want? Did he want us in Cuba to continue speaking American, or does he believe that for the free world and the free press the Watergate scandals are the way to spell democracy? Is that democracy, according to Mr. Kissinger? On the other hand, the people of Cuba are resuming the reins of their 100-year history of battle and are today celebrating their one hundred and fifth anniversary. Did he not expect the Cuban people to go ahead in a heroic and formidable struggle, not only to gain the freedom that they had been unable to achieve in the course of that lengthy struggle, because of the interference of the Government of the United States, but to overthrow forever that domination and to hand back to the people their government?

457. Those that have spoken here today of the firing squad in Cuba are lying in their teeth, because I can say here—and I am not hiding crimes and tortures as they

do—that in my country, because of the triumph of the revolution, we had to execute a number of war criminals. They had to be executed. We have executed and we will execute any one who is a traitor to his country and who has placed himself in the service of the CIA, imperialism or the Pentagon. That is the way language should be used, and that is the way we speak in Cuba.

458. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me to refer the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba to the clock and point out that he has three minutes to conclude his statement.

459. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The President very kindly grants me three minutes to conclude my statement.

460. As far as Puerto Rico is concerned, what I have to say is very simple. It is also brief. Puerto Rico is a people that was never free and wishes to be so and will be so, despite the so-called Commonwealth and American imperialism.

461. Regarding our ship *Imías*, virtually impounded in the Panama Canal, it is obvious that it is subject to completely illegal processes in the light of international law and also in the light of the legal status governing the régime and the running of the Panama Canal, as the Foreign Minister of that country has made clear. This therefore proves that the people and the Government of Panama were absolutely right when they devotedly and indefatigably tried to see their claims of sovereignty respected over the entire territory and the Canal Zone.

462. I also wish to point out, for the benefit of Mr. Scali, that, as far as the impounding of the *Imías* is concerned, we are not going to stand complacently by with our arms folded. We shall try to rescue it inside or outside the United Nations.

463. And that is it. And no more is necessary. Except that to conclude I wish to repeat here—because it is true, because I am being objective and because I am telling facts that cannot be challenged or refuted—the facts that I summed up and put before the Assembly in my statement this afternoon concerning the great Chilean tragedy. The Chilean people will not be vanquished by fascism. And it will not be vanquished by fascism despite whatever help may be given by the United States, as is being received now, and by the Latin American satellite countries, the satellites of the United States: Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Brazil.

464. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Brazil on a point of order.

465. Mr. FRAZÃO (Brazil): Thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the floor. My point of order is a very simple one.

[*The speaker continued in Spanish (interpretation from Spanish).*]

466. I shall speak in Spanish so that the person I address can understand me better.

467. You will understand, Mr. President, with your courtesy and personal authority that we recognize in you, and with the responsibility that you bear in presiding over our work—a responsibility that you have carried so perfectly thus far—my indignation at raising this point of order and rising to the rostrum at this moment.

468. My point of order is a very simple one. The representative of Cuba, in another display of intemperance in his use of language, of ignorance of the most elementary norms of international behaviour, has referred to my country in terms that I cannot accept. Those are expressions of calumnies, of infamies, of lies; calumnies, infamies and lies are not in our agenda.

469. I shall return to this rostrum at another time, not to defend myself—I do not need to—but to demand that the speaker be restrained.

470. Mrs. Martin Cissé (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): I should like at this late hour to apologize to the members of this august Assembly and also crave the indulgence of the Foreign Minister of Cuba if I will use one of the sentences he himself spoke. Words are there to speak the truth.

471. It is only in our search for that truth that I shall venture to read here a message that the Head of my Government, the Head of the State of Guinea, Comrade Ahmed Sékou Touré, addressed to all his African fellow citizens. To reply very simply to what was just said by the representative of Senegal, when he tried to give the impression that the Republic of Guinea has brought to the United Nations a problem that, as he said, could have been dealt with at home within OAU.

472. We too respect the principles of African unity. We are attached to the principles of respect of that unity. If we have brought the matter here, it is precisely so that world public opinion may understand and realize the sufferings of the people of Guinea.

473. With your permission, Mr. President, I shall read out here the message addressed by the Head of my State to his brothers:

“Having recently had material, irrefutable proof of the deliberate role of President Senghor against the independence and security of Guinea, we have asked the latter to send us a delegation to see things for themselves. That Senegalese delegation, composed of the Minister of State in charge of the armed forces, our brother Magatelo and Vice-President of the Senegalese National Assembly, our brother Cabirunboge, went to Conakry on 9 August 1973. Brother Cabirunboge took note of the information compiled concerning preparations for new aggressions against the Republic of Guinea in complicity with the Portuguese, French, South African and Federal German colonialism. Also irrefutable proof of involvement of Presidents Léopold Sédou Senghor and Félix Houphouët-Boigny. Moreover, many mercenaries, already arrested at our frontiers, have given testimony concerning the accuracy of the information contained in hand-written and signed authentic documents. We have done likewise with the Government of the Ivory Coast,

also implicated in preparations for aggression. The delegation from the Ivory Coast, directed by the Attorney-General, arrived in Conakry on 17 August 1973 and was also amply informed. The two delegations have taken away with them copies of some important documents. We have vainly waited until 31 August 1973 without the slightest response from the Heads of State of Senegal and the Ivory Coast. By reason of the exceptional gravity of the situation and imminent danger, we have been compelled to make public those documents so as objectively to inform our people, the peoples of Africa and foreign countries, so that the people of Guinea should not be taken once again by surprise by the enemy.”

This telegram is quite clear. I shall not say more.

474. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall give the floor to the representative of Senegal, after which, if there are no remarks concerning my duties, I shall adjourn the meeting.

475. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): As I said earlier, I do not want to go into the substance of this matter for a number of reasons, including respect for OAU, which is seized with the question, and also out of respect for the United Nations Charter, which recommends that we resort to regional organizations before bringing our disputes to United Nations organs. However, since my colleague, the Permanent Representative of Guinea, has seen fit to read a telegram in which the President of the Republic of Guinea explains the accusations made against the President of the Republic of Senegal and the President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, I will not in turn read a lengthy document to the Assembly but merely give the gist of this so-called “irrefutable document” in the possession of the President of the Republic of Guinea, a document which implicates the Presidents of Senegal and the Ivory Coast. This is a so-called verbatim record of a meeting which was supposed to have been held in Geneva on 12 May 1973 under the presidency of a certain Naby Youla. Another document is an anonymous letter—and I stress this: an anonymous letter—typed, addressed to the Head of the Guinean State and dated 2 August 1973, Abidjan. The third document contains three statements made by counter-revolutionaries—whose names are not known—in which they accuse the Presidents of Senegal and the Ivory Coast.

476. I merely wish to say the following. Before we asked the President of the Republic of Guinea to meet the Senegalese and Ivory Coast delegations to clarify these matters, we carried out inquiries. The President of the Republic of Guinea gave us the names of four exiled Guineans as having directed the meeting of 12 May 1973 in Geneva, at which a spokesman for the President of the Republic of Senegal was supposed to have paid \$150,000 to that anti-Guinea association to allow them to incite trouble in Guinea. From our inquiries we concluded that none of those four persons could possibly have been in Geneva on 12 May. Dr. Conte had not left Abidjan for 18 months; Mr. Siradiou Diallo, a journalist for *Jeune Afrique*, was in Madagascar at that time—and this can be verified very easily with the Malagasy authorities; Mr. Barry Bassirou could not, as the President of Guinea contends, at that time have been the head of the Geneva Office of OAU, since that Office was not created until June 1973, over one month later.

477. These are the "facts", the "truths", of the President of the Republic of Guinea, that have been called "irrefutable facts". We have also been told of a document that mentions a certain Charles Diallo, a general, who allegedly went to Dakar airport to meet a hired assassin, a mercenary, sent by Senegal to Guinea to murder the President of Guinea. We have no General Charles Diallo. The only General we have is Jean-Alfred Diallo, who has been retired for a year and is at present our Ambassador in Bonn. These are the facts.

478. The documents circulated by the delegation of Guinea among missions to the United Nations refer to certain abuses in Senegal. In one of these we saw that, at a certain date, there was allegedly a massacre of 122 students in a certain Senegalese town. This is surprising because no press report has referred to any murder in Saint-Louis du Senegal, and in Senegal the world press is represented. That self-same document speaks of the assassination in 1965 of Professor Oumar Kane. Professor Oumar Kane is today head of the Department of History of the Faculty of Letters of Dakar. That same document speaks of the execution in 1964 of Professor Doudousine. Well, in 1964 Professor Doudousine was a student in Paris—and I can testify to that since I was Ambassador in Paris at the time—and he returned to Senegal only in 1969, when he was appointed Professor at a college there. He is at present in Paris, far more alive and far happier with his present destiny than the so-called revolutionary who denounced and buried him in 1964.

479. Those are the facts. That was what happened. Those are the facts that the President of Guinea denounced and of which he accuses the Governments of Senegal and of the Ivory Coast. But what seems to be the most inadmissible and intolerable is this incitement to murder two heads of State. The President of Guinea did not hesitate over the radio to incite the people of Senegal and of the Ivory Coast to murder their Presidents—as though that was normal behaviour, acceptable and permissible today. If Senegal and the Ivory Coast were to incite the million exiled Guineans to go back to the Republic of Guinea and foment trouble, President Sékou Touré would not be where he is now entrenched, causing this trouble and making disturbance in his neighbours' countries.

480. I could say much more on these matters, but I know that I had only 10 minutes in which to reply. I am sure that this matter will be ventilated in the Security Council and there the dirty linen will be washed in public and not in private.

481. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am afraid this has been a lamentable day. But I trust that, with the appeal I am making, we will return to concord and harmony.

482. Mr. AKÉ (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): I stated a few moments ago that to concern oneself with the welfare of one's people was a sufficiently burdensome task for the responsible politicians concerned about their countries' future, and it is better than wasting our time in this sort of exercise. I want to say, too, that the relations between the Ivory Coast and Guinea in the last decade have not been of the best. However, for the last two or three years those

relations were beginning to become normalized. Close contacts were established between the two countries, between the two heads of State, contacts that were further established by the visit to the town of birth of the President of Guinea by our President and which had enhanced those relations. Open and frank talks between the two heads of State showed that there was one serious point of disagreement which damaged the normalization of our relations. It was the extradition of certain opponents of the head of State of Guinea who were in the Ivory Coast.

483. The President of the Ivory Coast had refused to accept the request of Guinea. It was this refusal for which we cannot be forgiven and which leads the Guineans to believe that we are at the root of all their evils, of all their problems, of all the plots that are hatched against them. We are authorized to affirm from this high rostrum that the Ivory Coast does not intend to extradite its brothers who live freely among us, all the more so since there is no agreement of extradition between our two countries and, further still, because international practice expressly precludes extradition for political motives. The Guinean brothers who live in our midst can go back to their country. That is up to them; they are free to leave the Ivory Coast when and by the means they choose, but let no one rely on us to give them up, because we know what their sad fate might be. If they want to stay in the Ivory Coast, they are free to do so for as long as they wish provided they respect our laws of hospitality.

484. As for our other Guinean brothers and sisters, we understand your drama of conscience, because you know that these accusations are unfounded, but you cannot do otherwise. But be careful not to meet the fate of some of your predecessors. A lot of people wonder what has happened to them, except for some who sought asylum in time under more clement skies in order to enjoy some more freedom.

485. Our colleague from Guinea read out a telegram, a message addressed to all heads of African States. I believe that she has, too, the reply of the Government of the Ivory Coast to that telegram, and I shall read out a passage from it. The essential elements were given by my colleague from Senegal and it will be unnecessary for me to repeat them. I merely wish to say, as regards the accusations against us, that the Ivory Coast and its President are in no way involved in that conspiracy of which we were accused on the eve of international meetings. It has been shown that, to mask these untruths, the head of State of Guinea tries to find a scapegoat to take the responsibility for his problems and difficulties. He invents conspiracy after conspiracy. He speaks with a delirium that is not worthy of a head of State, a verbal delirium that seeks to make the poor abused Guineans forget their misery, their torture, their depersonalization. Guineans are leaving by the thousands to find asylum and security in the Ivory Coast. Thus, the last of these conspiracies can only be analysed in this context and no other.

486. The telegram which was read out by our colleague has already received a reply and, in view of the late hour, it is not my intention to read it out in its entirety. The passages I have quoted establish the facts as they define our position on the dispute we have with the Republic of Guinea.

487. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am obliged to exhibit the greatest respect for the representatives in this Assembly and therefore, although I have made an appeal that we be allowed to adjourn this meeting, I must accede to a request made by the representative of Guinea to be allowed to exercise her right of reply, and I call upon her.

488. Mrs. MARTIN CISSÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, once again I have to crave your indulgence, and I should like to tell my colleague of the Ivory Coast that I have taken note of his concern for his colleague of Guinea. I should like to stress that I do not need such concern. I am fully responsible; I know what I do. I act in full knowledge of what I am doing, believing in what I do.

489. The people of Guinea is a sovereign people that has selected the policies and politics that it prefers. I should like to say here that subversion is found in all countries, it does not exist only in the Republic of Guinea. It is because the Republic of Guinea has selected a way of life that is worthy, that the press of all countries that are afraid of being contaminated by it are pressing down on the Republic of Guinea. I fully understand the allegations of the representative of Senegal and of the representative of the Ivory Coast when they say that they could not hand over the Guineans who have sought refuge there. Of course they cannot hand them over because they have their complicity. How can they deliver them, knowing that it is precisely they who are maintaining this type of hatred against the Government of Guinea?

490. The representative of the Ivory Coast spoke earlier in a language that appealed for calm. He spoke in the language of fraternity, but we noted how bitterly our colleague of

Senegal came to the point of coming to this Assembly and bringing with him part of the dossier. He cited the book that we ourselves had distributed and, as he so correctly put it, when the problem comes to the Security Council, if we deem it appropriate, I am sure that at that moment there will be plenty of things said. And there are many things with which we will tell world public opinion so that world public opinion will be enlightened and told of the drama among these three sister republics.

491. I apologize to you, Mr. President, but I believe that this rostrum should be used for the truth. We should not bandy words here in order to sow confusion and make believe that some States are there only to complain about others. As was said earlier—using an expression that was used by the President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast to the effect that the Guinean workers who have sought refuge in the Ivory Coast escaped from the Republic of Guinea to find peace, work and calm. It was in reply to that that we took up the expression cited by the President of the Republic. Out of courtesy to the President of the Republic we did not want to name him. I want world public opinion to know that the Republic of Guinea also seeks peace and that we wish to work, we wish to build our country and we wish to create a State. But unfortunately every time we have plans, every time we want to develop our country, we have to confront these manoeuvres designed to divert us from our main tasks so that we are unable to build and develop our country as we would.

492. Sir, I do not wish to tax your patience further and through you I should like to apologize to all members of the Assembly whom I have addressed for so long.

The meeting rose at 10.40 p.m.