



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	
Speech by Mr. Motee'a (Democratic Yemen) .....	1
Speech by Mr. Wickman (Sweden) .....	1
Speech by Mr. Karjalainen (Finland) .....	5
Speech by Mr. Maghur (Libyan Arab Republic) ....	7

*President:* Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MOTEE'A (Democratic Yemen):<sup>1</sup> I have the pleasure to congratulate Ambassador Benites on his election to the high post of President of the General Assembly. I am confident that, with his vast experience and tact, he will guide the deliberations of the Assembly with success.

2. In view of the latest Israeli military aggression on both Egypt and Syria, and the ensuing political and military developments in the Middle East, I shall refrain from reading my original statement, which I request be distributed as an official document of the General Assembly. However, I shall now take the opportunity to address myself to the arena of war in the Middle East.

3. Since 1948 Israel has adamantly denied the Palestinian people their legitimate rights to return to their homeland. After the war of June 1967 it has been arrogantly following a policy of aggrandizement and outright territorial annexation of Arab lands. Counting on the myth of military superiority, Israel has undertaken a policy of continued military provocation and State terrorism. In the last six years, Israel has bombarded civilian populations in Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon; it has downed a civilian aircraft and hijacked another one. All this has been done on the pretext of the requirements of Israeli security.

4. In response to further Israeli provocations and aggression, Egypt and Syria, after having exhausted all means of regaining their lost territory through the Security Council and by other peaceful means, have resorted to liberation of their lands by force—the only language which the Zionists understand. A war of liberation of Arab lands is now under

way. The General Assembly whose many resolutions have been flouted by Israel, is in duty bound to support this war of liberation until all Arab lands are liberated and until the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are fully restored.

5. Egypt and Syria are fighting on their own territories against occupation; and the Palestinian resistance movement is struggling to regain the rights of the Palestinian people in their homeland. What people and what State would tolerate alien occupation and outright colonialism? What is the United Nations Charter about if it does not safeguard the rights of peoples to liberation and the rights of States to independence?

6. In the Security Council the representative of the United States of America asked Egypt and Syria to withdraw from their own territories in order to allow Israel to perpetuate its occupation. When his request was rebuffed by the majority of the members of the Security Council, his Government moved its Sixth Fleet nearer to the arena of conflict, and there are reports that United States military planes and equipment are being hurriedly transported to Israel. This act of United States involvement is directed against all the Arab peoples and is certainly one last piece of proof that the occupation of Arab lands and the usurpation of the national rights of the Palestinian people by Israel are not only condoned by the United States, but are also sustained and encouraged by it. The Arab peoples will prove that, regardless of the time, they can repel the dual American-Israeli aggression.

7. The latest bombardments of civilian targets by the Israeli air force in Syria are not only to be condemned, but are also against the principles of international law in armed conflict. The United States, which is supplying Israel with long-range bombers, cannot escape condemnation, and the Israeli murderers will certainly pay for the atrocities they are inflicting on civilian populations and targets.

8. The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen fully supports the struggle of Egypt and Syria to liberate their occupied territories, as well as the struggle to restore the full rights of the Palestinian people.

9. Mr. WICKMAN (Sweden): I am very pleased to be able to associate my delegation with the congratulations that have already been addressed to Ambassador Benites on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. The fact that an eminent son of Latin America is this year presiding over our deliberations is a fitting tribute to the ever more important role that the countries and peoples of that continent are playing in world affairs.

10. The prevention of war is the primary task of the United Nations. War means human suffering. The wars in

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Motee'a spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

our time not only affect the men at the battlefield; they are also a threat to the entire civilian population. The longer a war, the greater the risk of ever-escalating violence and of the use of more brutal methods of warfare. There is also an increased risk that the war may spread to other countries. The international community is shocked by what is now happening in the Middle East. The immediate reaction must be a passionate appeal for peace.

11. The fact that war is now raging in the Middle East represents a failure for the United Nations. The area concerned has for more than 25 years attracted the special attention of the world Organization. The competent United Nations organs have throughout this period sought roads to a durable peace in the Middle East. The point of departure was the creation of the State of Israel, which was based on a decision of the General Assembly [*resolution 181 (II)*]. The existence of Israel is a long-established fact.

12. Ever since the founding of Israel the future of the Palestinian Arabs has been uncertain. Israel and its neighbours have lived in a state of permanent tension with repeated outbreaks of violence. The aim must be a settlement which takes account of the legitimate interests of all the peoples concerned and which establishes security for all States in the region within recognized frontiers. No solution to this problem will be found by one party or another demonstrating its military superiority. Whatever the outcome of the present war, the risk of renewed military confrontations will remain as long as the parties are not able to agree on a common political solution.

13. The guiding principles for such a solution are expressed in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), of November 1967. These principles retain their full validity. But time has been allowed to pass and the possibilities contained in that resolution have not been explored in earnest.

14. What is now happening in the Middle East was preceded by large-scale acts of warfare and by serious violations of State sovereignty. It was also preceded by a wave of terror and counter-terror, which left no part of the world untouched. The fact that the United Nations so far has proved unable to solve the serious problems of international terrorism is to a large extent due to the lack of a settlement of the conflict in the Middle East.

15. The situation in the Middle East places a heavy responsibility on the parties to the conflict. But an important part of the responsibility also falls on the great Powers which for a long time have been deeply involved in the area. Several of them have played important roles in the military build-up. Now that full-scale war has broken out, they must contribute effectively towards a political solution of the conflict. At the same time, it is in the interest of everyone that the involvement of the super-Powers should not lead to a confrontation between them. If one dares discern any encouraging element in today's sombre picture, it is the attitude of relative restraint that has been shown by the super-Powers during the present conflict. Their wish to pursue the policy of détente might facilitate the efforts to find a solution.

16. There is every reason to welcome the desire of the super-Powers to replace, in their mutual relations, confrontations with dialogue. Their effort towards détente has manifested itself in various parts of the world.

tations with dialogue. Their effort towards détente has manifested itself in various parts of the world.

17. The war that has ravaged Indo-China for so long has deeply engaged world opinion. It must be a source of satisfaction to us all that last January in Paris the parties to the war reached an agreement<sup>2</sup> leading to the withdrawal of the American forces and creating hopes of peace in all the Indo-Chinese States. Subsequently, the American bombings in Cambodia have also ceased under pressure from strong public opinion within and outside the United States. It has been possible to start reconstruction work in North Viet-Nam after the devastation of the war, and the parties in Laos have agreed to a peaceful settlement; but fighting still goes on in South Viet-Nam and in Cambodia. It is necessary to find a solution to the political problems of South Viet-Nam in accordance with the stipulations of the Paris agreement. In the first instance, the many political prisoners must be released and the hundreds of thousands of refugees must be given the right and the possibility of returning to their homes. The hard-hit people of Cambodia must have the right to shape their own future free from outside interference.

18. In Europe the most important result of détente is that it has made a settlement between the two German States possible. This settlement has in turn been an important contribution to the continued process of détente. The Swedish Government is happy to welcome the entry of the two German States as Members of the world Organization. This event does not affect the right of the German people to achieve reunification by negotiation.

19. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is an essential element of the continued trend towards détente. The Conference must be seen as a complement to the efforts of the United Nations to safeguard international peace. It is important to stress that the task of the Conference is to solve problems in Europe, not to promote the interests of European States in other parts of the world.

20. The very fact that 35 States, at the initial stage of that Conference in Helsinki, were able to agree on a programme for the continued work of the Conference is an important step forward. However, patience and hard work will be needed if the Conference is to fulfil what international opinion expects from it.

21. At the Conference Sweden has stressed that, in discussions on security in Europe, the question of disarmament cannot reasonably be ignored and that the policy of détente ought to be supported and confirmed by measures in the field of disarmament.

22. Although they are not directly connected with the Conference, preparations are now under way for negotiations on the reduction of armed forces in Central Europe. The Swedish Government hopes that in this field concrete results will be achieved that will be designed to increase security, not least for the small European States.

<sup>2</sup> Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973.

23. As regards the efforts within the framework of the United Nations to reach results in the field of disarmament, the situation is deeply discouraging. For the second consecutive year the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament comes empty-handed to the General Assembly. Ten years ago the partial test-ban Treaty<sup>3</sup> was signed. In that Treaty the parties clearly committed themselves to trying, by continued negotiations, to achieve a complete ban on all nuclear tests. In spite of the unequivocal request made by the General Assembly last year, no progress has been made towards a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

24. The General Assembly should now carefully consider by what methods new impetus could be given to the disarmament work. This is a task in which all Member States must actively involve themselves. It appears more and more absurd that such a large part of the material and scientific resources that should be seen as common to all mankind are now allocated to the arms race.

25. So long as we are not successful in our endeavours to avoid armed conflicts, it is all the more urgent to use every opportunity of limiting brutality and of protecting non-combatants. The rules of international law have not been adjusted to new types of conflict and new weapons or to new methods of warfare created by an accelerating evolution of military technology. The world conference to be held in Geneva early next year to deal with these matters<sup>4</sup> is therefore of greatest importance.

26. The monstrous effects of air warfare on civilians must be limited by a ban on area bombing and on acts of destruction which threaten the survival of the civilian population.

27. The conference should not content itself with a mere confirmation of the present general ban on the use of conventional weapons which cause unnecessary suffering or of weapons which, by their construction or use, lead to indiscriminate destruction. To be truly effective, such general rules must be supplemented by special bans, for instance on napalm and other incendiary weapons, as well as on the equivalent in our time of the dum-dum bullet, namely, high-velocity weapons.

28. In southern Africa the demands of the peoples for freedom and self-determination are countered by oppression and by an increasingly brutal use of force. There are ever more frequent reports about Portugal's inhuman warfare in Africa. Testimony concerning the massacres in Mozambique last summer caused the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to demand an international investigation. Consultations are now under way among Member States to prepare for such an investigation to be decided upon by the General Assembly. The pressure of public opinion against the colonial policy of Portugal grows ever stronger. The increased humanitarian assistance to the liberation movements in Africa is an expression of international opposition to the remnants of colonialism.

29. The General Assembly has before it the report of the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and *Apartheid* in Southern Africa, held at Oslo from 9 to 14 April 1973 [A/9061], organized by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. We are confident that the Assembly will welcome this report as an important contribution to the discussion of how to solve the problem in southern Africa.

30. Portugal has ignored the request of the Security Council to start negotiations with all parties concerned for the purpose of enabling the African peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. It is now up to the Security Council to decide what attitude to take in the face of this open defiance of its own earlier request.

31. The situation in southern Africa is particularly serious because of the co-operation between Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. This co-operation grows more evident every day in the political, economic and military fields. The sanctions against Southern Rhodesia are being systematically violated by Portugal and South Africa. The people of Namibia is still being denied the right to self-determination, which has been explicitly recognized by the world Organization. In South Africa the policy of *apartheid* is being pursued and the growing opposition of the majority is met with new acts of violence.

32. All States which are dedicated to human rights, democracy and national independence ought to find it natural to give moral and material support to the realization of these principles in southern Africa.

33. In recent years world opinion has become increasingly aware of the use of torture in connexion with armed conflicts and internal political conflicts in different countries. The efforts to ban torture must never stop. One of the achievements of the great French Revolution was an explicit ban on torture. Since then, nearly two centuries have passed, but the fact remains that these abominable methods are accepted by Governments in various parts of the world. In its Universal Declaration on Human Rights [resolution 217 A (III)] the United Nations has decreed an absolute ban on torture. This ban has been repeated in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [see resolution 2200 A (XXI)]. All Members of the United Nations voted in favour of this ban, which, consequently, is now part of common international law. If all States ratify this Covenant, protection against torture will be strengthened, especially if individuals are given the right to appeal to the international body to be established in accordance with the Covenant. And we should also consider whether, in order to make the ban effective, the question of torture should not be discussed also as a separate matter, not only as part of the said Covenant.

34. Not so many years ago Governments in the East and in the West proudly pointed to the fact that they had abolished capital punishment. Only two years ago the General Assembly adopted a resolution expressing the desirability of the abolition of capital punishment in all countries [resolution 2857 (XXVI)]. The renaissance of capital punishment, which appears to be under way, can only be described as a historic setback. It is important that the United Nations

<sup>3</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

<sup>4</sup> Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts.



be instrumental in creating a strong public opinion against superstitious ideas as to the effectiveness of capital punishment and against the contempt for human life of which the application of capital punishment is an expression.

35. The defence of human rights is clearly linked to the defence of peace. It is therefore a concern of all States. For this Organization, the protection of human rights has been a central issue ever since it was founded. But we can make no progress in this field without the support of a vigilant public opinion which condemns all forms of violence. The strivings for détente must not lead us to refrain from creating such an opinion. When we succeed in crystallizing this opinion in international recommendations or conventions which gain adherence from a significant number of countries, we are then making an important contribution to the long-term stabilization of peace. Essential progress in this area has already been achieved through various United Nations conventions and through the growing number of adhering countries.

36. The use of force within States can manifest itself in many forms. Particularly serious are those cases in which brutal military intervention in favour of privileged groups is directed against Governments which strive to bring about a more equitable society. The latest example is Chile, where the fight against the popularly elected Government finally took the form of naked military violence. Economic interests outside the country also contributed to the evolution which led to the *coup*. Salvador Allende has given his life for the sake of the poor. Members of his government have been arrested, Parliament has been dissolved and political parties have been banned. Resistance-fighters are being persecuted and killed.

37. Events in Chile have aroused a wave of protest around the world. That this has happened is important. That the protest does not die down is important. This Organization and its Member States are faced with the immediate and pressing obligation to assist the victims of oppression. A large-scale humanitarian endeavour is needed to provide safe haven for refugees of various nationalities. The appeal of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to Member States to receive refugees from Chile should be met by their speedy and positive reaction.

38. The developing countries, which represent an overwhelming part of the world population, are today struggling with enormous political and economic problems. The readiness of the industrialized countries to support them in their efforts is clearly inadequate. In fact, the policies of the rich countries tend to counteract in important respects the goal of international equality. As long as the deep gulf between the industrialized and the developing countries remains, there will be unrest and tension, which can spark new conflicts. From this point of view too it is urgent that the development strategy of the United Nations be pursued forcefully.

39. The General Assembly meets at a time when the distribution and utilization of the world's resources confront us with ever more serious problems. Catastrophic famine occurs ever more frequently in certain parts of the world. Support for the World Food Programme must therefore be

strengthened. Immediate action is required to create reserves of foodstuffs. The proposals made by the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] should be fully supported. It is the hope of the Swedish Government that these proposals will be made more concrete at the FAO conference later this autumn. The proposal of the United States Secretary of State for the convening of a global food conference in 1974 under the auspices of the United Nations [2124th meeting] is welcome as part of the efforts to attract world attention to the problem of hunger. The countries and regions hit by famine have in common, besides difficult climatic conditions, under-development and generally low productivity. A long-term solution to the food problem of the developing countries can only be reached through increased production of foodstuffs within these countries. Such increased production is in turn dependent upon fundamental structural reforms combined with social and economic rural development.

40. There is strongly increasing awareness of the dangers which threaten the human environment. The immediate threats are greatest where industrial development has been most rapid. As environmental standards are raised, industrialization in the developing countries is burdened by a cost factor which today's rich nations did not have to cope with in the corresponding phase of their history. The rising cost of energy creates similar problems. The questions of environment and energy demonstrate the interdependence of nations, but views and interests must inevitably vary according to the particular conditions of each country. In the environmental field the United Nations has already made important contributions towards the formulation of an international policy. This work can now be pursued through the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme. Also in the case of the energy crisis there should be a role for the United Nations in searching for solutions which take account of the interests of the smaller and economically weaker States.

41. Many of the problems, which I have only been able to outline in my statement, are being studied and discussed very thoroughly within the United Nations family. This takes place against the background of the new possibilities and risks created by rapid technological development. When the world Organization increasingly devotes itself to those questions, it is the expression of a realistic awareness of the interrelationship between economics and politics, between the distribution of wealth and peace, between freedom from hunger and freedom from fear. Perhaps many people regard it as overambitious when our Organization strives to encompass this entire field. But an Organization whose task it is to represent all mankind cannot but involve itself in all the problems which concern the peoples in the various parts of the world. The solving of these problems is the prerequisite for the realization of the goals which are contained in the Charter of this Organization. The United Nations is to serve man's longing for peace both by efforts to prevent breaches of the peace and by promoting developments which lessen the risk of conflicts. In the settlement of problems which concern the basic living conditions of people everywhere, all States, large and small, have a right to participate. The task of the United Nations is therefore more important than ever.

42. Mr. KARJALAINEN (Finland): On behalf of my Government I have the great pleasure to extend to the President my sincere congratulations on his election to the office of the President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I welcome him as an eminent representative of Latin America. I am confident that under his leadership the Assembly will fulfil its task efficiently.

43. For a long time it has been evident that the situation in the Middle East has been serious and explosive. Once again arms have been resorted to as a means for achieving a solution. The situation in that part of the world is now acute and very dangerous. The outbreak of hostilities may constitute a threat to the international political situation as a whole. I must voice the profound and sincere hope of the Finnish Government that resort to force will be terminated forthwith. It is now the responsibility primarily of the parties concerned and the great Powers to bring about, through peaceful means, a solution based on the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). In this search for a peaceful solution my Government gives its full support to the efforts and good offices of the United Nations, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. We believe that this is the only way to secure lasting peace in the area. It is also the way to secure and consolidate the general trend of international détente.

44. For some years we have in fact witnessed a positive trend, a détente in the international situation. My Government sees détente not as an end in itself but as a means further to improve relations between independent and sovereign States Members of this Organization. A positive development in the relations between the major Powers is a necessary pre-condition for the improvement of the over-all international situation. But genuine détente, in our view, is possible only if the interests of the medium and small size countries, which form the majority of the voice of the United Nations, are also duly taken into account. This Organization is a forum where the interests of the great, medium and small Powers alike can be harmonized. By giving their full support to the United Nations Member States serve not only the interests of the world Organization but ultimately also those of their own.

45. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9001/Add.1], the Secretary-General has stated that Member States should make a realistic judgement of the Organization's potential and decide on contemporary and imaginative ways in which it can be used to meet the problems it faces. The time is, indeed, ripe to try to translate détente into concrete action in the political as well as in the economic and social activities of the United Nations. As a small country pursuing a neutral foreign policy and fully committed to the Charter, Finland supports this approach. In our view the membership should now undertake concerted self-searching to further improve the capacity of this Organization to fulfil its primary functions.

46. This year we welcome here three new Members, among them both German States. Finland has consistently advocated the application of the principle of universality. The accession of both German States to the United Nations is of vital importance in this respect. In pursuing reconcilia-

tion with each other and in committing themselves to the principles of the Charter the two German States have given fresh impetus to our work for peace and security.

47. The accession of the German States to the United Nations became possible thanks to détente and its impact on developments in Europe. We must guide these developments further towards decreasing political tensions and fear. We must work towards increasing co-operation and mutual confidence on the basis of equality and the right to self-determination. Thus we must also show willingness and make determined efforts towards compromise and conciliation.

48. The Finnish Government is happy to note that its initiatives, especially the multilateral preparatory talks in Helsinki for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, have helped to set in motion extensive negotiations covering many sectors. The multiplicity of fields and the working methods applied, which underline the equal rights of all participants, give the Conference depth and strength. They will ensure that détente will not only affect the actions of Governments but will also enrich the lives of individuals. At the same time co-operation in the economic and humanitarian fields will reduce causes for political tension.

49. The serious commitment of the parties concerned show the existence of a political will to achieve concrete results. Finland expects that the Conference as a part—as an important part—of international and European co-operation will lead to a situation where agreed principles guiding international co-operation and their equal application can be made more effective. We consider the idea of elaborating a method for the peaceful settlement of disputes to be of great importance. We support measures to strengthen confidence and to increase stability. The bilateral and multilateral negotiations on disarmament in Europe—the objectives of which are close to those of the Conference on Security and Co-operation—constitute essential elements in the broader process towards peace and stability on the continent. It is natural, therefore, that these negotiations are also followed with great interest by countries not directly connected with them.

50. The Finnish Government holds the view that the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations must also be the main guide-line in the efforts to achieve the objectives of the European Conference. The Conference is not directed against any non-participating State or continent. Europe may now see the beginning of a new era of security and co-operation, but we in Europe cannot afford isolation—to withdraw into a citadel of peace and plenty—while the greater part of mankind still suffers from under-development and over-population.

51. My Government had hoped that the prevailing international situation would have created favourable conditions for new measures in the field of disarmament. We welcome the recent accord between the Soviet Union and the United States to conclude an early agreement on further limitations of strategic weapons,<sup>5</sup> including qualitative re-

<sup>5</sup> Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Washington on 21 June 1973.

strictions. But, to our regret, there has been no real progress in completing the treaties on a prohibition of chemical weapons or a comprehensive test ban. I sincerely hope that the remaining difficulties can be surpassed so that these treaties can be finalized in the near future. A World Disarmament Conference, if well prepared and if all nuclear Powers participate, would permit a universalization of the discussion on the subject. From such a Conference new impetus and new ideas could emerge to the benefit of us all.

52. My Government has been encouraged by the fact that the method of dialogue and negotiation has successfully been employed in several areas of unrest and tension. We have welcomed the peace agreement on Viet-Nam and hope that an early political settlement can be reached in the whole area of Indo-China. We also welcome the agreement on humanitarian problems concluded between India and Pakistan at Delhi on 28 August 1973. It is our hope that the positive development in the Korean peninsula can continue and that the dialogue between the Korean States can advance.

53. The Government and the people of Finland have been deeply shocked over the recent developments in Chile. In addition to profound disappointment and sorrow caused by the violent elimination of a legally elected President, we in Finland are seriously concerned at the future of peaceful democratic progress not only in that country but also in a wider context. My Government joins in the appeals of world public opinion addressed to the present régime in Chile that violence should cease. The Government of Finland hopes that a democratic system will be restored in Chile as soon as possible.

54. Some of our most serious problems are in southern Africa. Finland has consistently advocated that the African peoples should be given the right to self-determination in accordance with the Charter. We reject and condemn the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government in South Africa. As the sanctions against the illegal Rhodesian régime have not been successful, we support the efforts of the sanctions committee of the Security Council<sup>6</sup> to work out realistic measures through which the sanctions could be made fully effective. We firmly urge Portugal to abandon her colonial policy so that the peoples in the territories concerned may be granted their inalienable right to self-determination.

55. On the question of the law of the sea, we consider it important that the international area of the sea-bed should be exploited for the common good. Furthermore, it is our opinion that in the field of fisheries certain privileges should be given to those coastal States, such as Iceland, whose economy is overwhelmingly dependent on fishing.

56. International co-operation in the economic, social and human rights fields has reached a scale and intensity unforeseen when our Organization was established. Over the years new problems have emerged, bringing with them the necessity to create corresponding institutions. This development has not always taken place under a systematic or co-ordinated plan. As a result we have today a very

complex network of organizations and institutions, without a clearly defined division of responsibilities and work. This does indeed necessitate a reassessment by the membership of how the capacity and potential of the Organization can best be used to meet present and future needs. My delegation believes that the invitation of the Secretary-General for such a reassessment is timely.

57. This becomes all the more urgent today as the world community is embarking on new ventures of global importance. The new round of multilateral trade negotiations, the reform of the international monetary system, our determination to fight against the threats to our environment, the necessity to achieve a minimum of world food security and the World Population Year prove that the United Nations system is well aware of the challenge and of its own responsibilities. But these problems must be dealt with comprehensively and in an integrated manner.

58. Our ultimate objective under the International Development Strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] must be to improve the condition of man, of the individual. The implementation of the Strategy is at present under review. One cannot but agree that there is cause for frustration and criticism; but there is still time for determined efforts to bring the Decade to a successful conclusion. The responsibility for mobilizing, guiding and co-ordinating action towards that end rests, inside the United Nations system, with the Economic and Social Council. The Council has recently shown an increasing awareness of this responsibility. My Government will continue to give the Council its full support in that task.

59. The responsibility for achieving the goals and objectives of the Strategy lies, however, ultimately with the Member States themselves, developing and developed alike. Although the impact of the contribution of a relatively small country cannot be decisive, Finland also has its share of this global challenge. Thus my Government in submitting its budget proposals for next year, has included appropriations for international development assistance which represent an increase of 36 per cent as compared to 1973. In this connexion I can announce that my Government is ready to participate with an increasing share in the replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association decided upon only a few days ago at the Joint Annual Meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Nairobi.

60. A prerequisite for the attainment of the basic goal of the Strategy—the improvement of the conditions of man—is that no one should be excluded from the benefits of the development process on any discriminatory grounds, be they of race or of religion, or on any other grounds. It is therefore deplorable that today, 25 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, one still has to reaffirm from this rostrum the necessity of eliminating racism and racial discrimination. The continued existence of systematically exercised racial discrimination in southern Africa and other tragic events in that part of the continent unfortunately prove that we are still far away from the goals of the Charter. My delegation will therefore fully support the launching at this session of the international Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

<sup>6</sup> Committee established in pursuance of Security Council resolution 253 (1968).



61. Mr. MAGHUR (Libyan Arab Republic):<sup>7</sup> I should like to express my delegation's sincere congratulations to Ambassador Benites on his accession to his high office. He is a distinguished son of Latin America, and his election therefore constitutes a source of pride to all of us in the third world, particularly the countries of Latin America that are struggling against difficult circumstances to achieve progress for their people. Despite the tragic events in Chile and the overthrow and cruel murder of President Salvador Allende, we are confident that the peoples of Latin America will continue their efforts to make progress and to gain complete control over their national resources.

62. Permit me also to express our consummate admiration to Ambassador Benites' predecessor, Mr. Trepczyński for his efforts while presiding over the affairs of the last session of this Assembly.

63. In the name of the Libyan Arab Republic, I should like to welcome from this rostrum the declaration of independence of the State of Guinea-Bissau, a country in Africa that is very close to our hearts. We look forward to the day when that country can take its rightful place in this Organization.

64. My delegation also takes this occasion to welcome the admission of the German Democratic Republic, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in this Organization. However, we cannot fail to deplore the policies pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany in maintaining relations with the racist and Nazi régimes in occupied Palestine, South Africa and Rhodesia.

65. The events that have occurred in the course of the past year still confirm the determination of colonialism and imperialism to pursue policies of threat, domination and extortion. Imperialism still employs all its resources to maintain a grasp over peoples. How else can one interpret the latest criminal aggression by Zionist gangs on 6 October than as one in a series of repeated aggressions within the over-all international imperialist and colonialist plot? The establishment of the puppet Zionist clique in the midst of the Arab nation was directed towards the control of the area and its resources. They also sought to impose on peoples of the area a state of fear and terror in order to prevent them from devoting all their attention to development and progress. This puppet clique was established through an international and colonial conspiracy, and the Arab people of Palestine were and remain today one of its victims. The Arab people of Palestine were expelled from their homes and their country and were dispersed to different parts of the world. They were replaced by hordes assembled from different parts of the world with no common purpose other than blind fanaticism and false slogans not based on any religious, historical, or national foundation.

66. The Zionist gangs took as their example chapters in United States history to establish the machinery that perpetuates itself through treachery, plunder and mass slaughter. They employed the same criminal methods that were used by the white settlers on this continent in subduing and

exterminating the American Indian people. The record of the conduct of this clique and their United States supporters is overflowing with acts of aggression and conspiracy against the Arab nation. The current events in the Arab region illustrate just one further chapter in a series of aggressions oft repeated over the last 25 years.

67. This Zionist clique would not have been able to continue its aggression and expansion were it not for the material support of the United States of America, its partner in mass murder, extermination, and expulsion of the indigenous people of Palestine.

68. It has become very clear to the world that the United States of America has placed in the service of the Zionist gangs all its military and material potential, without any limit. Moreover, it has become a matter of fact that the same member of the Security Council has placed its right of veto in the hands of the Zionist gang, challenging the conscience of the world community in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations.

69. The Zionist gang, with the connivance of the United States, terrorizes, murders, annexes and expands with the intention of imposing on the Arab nation a policy of defeatism and acquiescence. When the Arab nation defends itself by liberating its territories, the Zionist gangs and their supporters deny us our legitimate rights.

70. In the context of the latest aggressions against the Arab nation, is it not strange that the partner of the Zionist gangs, in its naked insolence, should demand the withdrawal of the forces to the positions they held prior to the outbreak of hostilities on 6 October 1973? The United States of America, abusing its seat in the Security Council as one of the five permanent members, has the audacity to demand that the Arabs withdraw from their own territories, evacuating them to accommodate Zionist immigrants. It backs up this audacious demand by threatening to use its Sixth Fleet, based in the Mediterranean, in a deliberate attempt to intimidate the Arab nation.

71. This ugly logic of domineering colonialism is based on deception, treachery and distortion of facts.

72. With these facts in mind, we can easily understand the motives behind these aggressions and the collaboration of the United States with the Zionist gangs. In plain terms, it is the lust for domination of the area, subjugation of its people and the exploitation of their resources.

73. The situation in Palestine can be dealt with neither from the approach of who it was who did or did not start the hostilities nor from that of finding superficial temporary solutions. The problem can be dealt with only in its real essence and historical roots, which are that the Palestinian people have been expelled from their homes and their land and have been deprived of all their legitimate rights. Any solution that ignores this basic fact will be doomed to failure, whatever the magnitude of the Power that seeks to impose it.

74. The Libyan Arab Republic, which commits all that is in its power to the cause of the Palestinian people, calls upon the international community to support the Palestinian

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Maghur spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

struggle against Zionist and colonialist forces. It is high time for the international community to raise its voice demanding the restoration to the Palestinian people of the inalienable rights of which they have been dispossessed in their usurped land.

75. It is all too clear that there is a threefold unholy alliance between, first, the forces of the Zionist clique, second, the colonialist régimes and, third, the régimes of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in Africa. They devise the same conspiracies, practise the same methods and pursue the same objectives, namely, close collaboration with international monopolies, suppression of the aspirations of legitimate indigenous peoples, imposition of alien settlements, and the practice of racial and religious discrimination. The struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, the Saquia el Hamra, so-called Spanish Sahara, and Palestine for the liberation of their homelands encounters every day a greater deployment of force and terrorism on the part of the colonialist and racist régimes, supported by all the war machinery of the NATO Powers. The Libyan Arab Republic has stood and always will stand ready to place all its material and moral resources in support of the African and other struggles in the liberation movements in the world.

76. Colonialism and its agents perpetrate to this day acts of international terrorism. The determination of national liberation movements to achieve their objectives is confronted with even greater use of force and violence on the part of colonialist forces. This use of force has reached an unprecedented level in the practice of organized international terrorism, leading to mass murder and political assassination of such martyrs as Amílcar Cabral, Edouardo Mondelane, Kamal Adwan, Abu Yusuf and Kamal Nasser.

77. The recent developments in the international relations of the super-Powers, which have resulted in what has been called *détente*, should not be at the expense or the interests of the small countries. The developing countries have suffered extensively, during the period of international confrontation between the major Powers, from the policies of domination and division of the world as pursued against colonized and small nations alike. We are afraid that this *détente* is an agreement among the super-Powers to divide the world into permanent spheres of influence and to resolve international disputes among themselves without due regard to the interests of the international community, where the small countries constitute an overwhelming majority. At a time when it is said that the world has entered into a period of *détente*, we witness the consolidation of the bases of colonialism in Africa and Asia. We also witness conspiracies to exploit the natural resources of developing countries which are becoming increasingly extensive and devious. The methods of monopoly have reached the level of armed attack against the sovereignty of States to undermine the social and political systems of these countries.

78. In order that international peace and security based on equity and justice among nations may prevail, the non-aligned countries, in awareness of their responsibility to international society, have consolidated their efforts to destroy the monopolies and the political domination of the major Powers. These efforts are also aimed at rectifying the

imbalance prevailing in the international, political, economic and social scene, especially with regard to narrowing the gap between the have and the have-not nations.

79. Unfortunately, it is a fact that there are among us those who question the right of peoples and nations to exercise full control over their natural resources. This right constitutes an integral element in the exercise of national sovereignty by all States. It is high time for those who still undermine such national sovereignty because of their greed to recognize this legitimate right. The gravity of the situation becomes even more alarming when the States that are incited by international monopolies begin devising conspiracies, threatening to use force, and fabricating reasons in order to enlist other States in defiance of the recognized principle of national sovereignty over natural resources.

80. The situations in Indo-China, in the Arab region, and in the African continent are a constant reminder that the peace we seek remains elusive. The great victory of the heroic people of Viet-Nam against the forces of aggression and treachery is a triumph for all people struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Despite their great victory, the heroic people of Viet-Nam still suffer because of the violation by the United States and by the Saigon administration of the provisions of the Paris agreements, as well as of other international instruments related to the question of Viet-Nam. The situation in Cambodia is no better than that in Viet-Nam. The forces of colonialism remain represented in the puppet régime of Phnom Penh, which, with the support of the United States, still pursues inhuman policies against the people of Cambodia, struggling under the leadership of the Royal Government of Norodom Sihanouk.

81. One of the results of *détente* has been the imposition of partition on peoples and nations; and, what is worse, the United Nations has been used to consolidate and give legal status to such partition. Yesterday it was Germany, today it is Korea, and tomorrow it will be Viet-Nam.

82. The right to self-determination is the inalienable right of all nations, and can be exercised only in a context of free will, devoid of foreign interference and pressure.

83. International security is indivisible, and any disturbance in one area will result in disturbance of the international peace and security of the whole world. The current attempts of European countries to create in their continent new conditions of peace will not meet with the expected success unless Europe achieves self-reliance and terminates its reliance on foreign force, dismantling all foreign military bases, pacts, alliances and treaties.

84. In this context the presence of foreign fleets and foreign military bases in the Mediterranean area constitutes in itself a direct threat to the peace and security of the littoral States.

85. The Libyan Arab Republic, in raising this basic issue, wishes to draw the attention of all peace-loving States to the dangerous situation that resulted from the acts of aggression and provocation perpetrated by the United States of America in order to intimidate the people of the Libyan Arab Republic and prevent them from exercising their



legitimate rights over their territorial waters and natural resources. The provocations of the Sixth Fleet and its repeated infringements of our territorial waters are just one further chapter in a long series of American aggressions against our coasts. The first attempt to realize this colonialist dream began in the early years of the nineteenth century and is, in fact, still embodied in the official anthem of the United States Marine Corps, which begins "From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli".

86. The Libyan Arab Republic, in informing the international community of these provocations, assures it that it

reserves its unequivocal right to protect its national sovereignty against all aggressors, however mighty.

87. In conclusion, I should like to hail the heroic people of Egypt, Syria and Palestine, as well as the peoples of the third world, for their struggle to restore their rights and their land. This is an historic, crucial moment that will always be remembered in the annals of human history as one of the most noble missions of mankind in his struggle to achieve justice and peace on earth.

*The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.*