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CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>):	
Speech by Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka)	545
Speech by Ratu Sir Penaia K. Ganilau (Fiji)	549
Speech by Mr. Alarcón (Cuba)	553
Speech by Mr. Ganao (Congo)	557
Speech by Mr. Essonghe (Gabon)	560

President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Driss (Tunisia),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Sri Lanka): The Government of Luxembourg has established a record and added lustre to the long line of Presidents of the General Assembly by providing the first Prime Minister to preside over a regular session of the General Assembly. On behalf of the delegation of Sri Lanka I extend to Mr. Gaston Thorn our warm congratulations and best wishes on his election as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. In the discharge of his responsibilities he may be assured of my delegation's unwavering support.

2. We take this opportunity of expressing to his predecessor in office, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, our appreciation of his able conduct of the proceedings of two sessions of the General Assembly—the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session on development and international economic co-operation. The latter will rank as one of the most historic sessions in the 30 years of the United Nations existence. Mr. Bouteflika brought to the office of President the ardour and vitality of youth and, as he quite admitted, a revolutionary spirit. As the Foreign Minister of the country which at present holds the chairmanship of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, he articulated lucidly and convincingly the essence of the Movement's philosophy and policy.

3. Mr. Bouteflika's presidency occurred at a time when the non-aligned Movement was seen to be acquiring greater strength not merely in its membership but also as an increasingly effective moral force in the councils of the world. There is today no group of States in this Organization more advantageously placed to preserve a proper balance between conflicting ideologies and interests and to ensure that

the voice of smaller nations is no longer a muffled murmur but a clarion call.

4. Speaking as the representative of the country which will have the distinction of acting as host to the fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which will meet at Colombo in August 1976, I can assure this Assembly that we will remain loyal to the principles and policies of non-alignment as proclaimed and reaffirmed at the four summit Conferences so far held, at all of which my Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, led her country's delegation. These policies and principles are expressed in the Belgrade Declaration of 1961, the Cairo Declaration of 1964, the Lusaka Declaration of 1970 and the Algiers Declaration of 1973.

5. Lest we forget, I would draw attention to the provisions of the Belgrade Declaration of 1961, which 14 years later remain unimpeachably valid. In fact, the history of the last 14 years has proved that the Belgrade Declaration of the non-aligned countries has been one of the principal driving forces in international affairs in the unflagging search for security, economic stability and justice for the peoples of the world.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

6. The Belgrade Declaration called for the unconditional, total and final abolition of colonialism and declared support for the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

7. It expressed the conviction that all peoples should be free to dispose of their natural wealth and resources for their own ends, without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit and international law, and that in no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

8. It expressed the determination that no intimidation, interference or intervention should be brought to bear in the exercise of the right of self-determination of peoples.

9. It considered the establishment and maintenance of foreign military bases in the territories of other countries, particularly against their express will, a gross violation of the sovereignty of such States and called for the abolition of foreign bases as a contribution to world peace.

10. It pointed out that general and complete disarmament should include the elimination of armed forces, armaments, foreign bases and manufacture of arms as well as the elimination of institutions and installations for military training, except for purposes of internal security, the total prohibition of the production, possession and utilization of nuclear and thermo-

nuclear weapons and bacteriological and chemical weapons, and the elimination of equipment and installations for the delivery and placement and operational use of weapons of mass destruction on national territories.

11. It considered the urgent conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition of all nuclear and thermonuclear tests to be essential.

12. It recommended that the General Assembly, at its following session, which was to be held in 1961, adopt a decision either on the convening of a special session devoted to disarmament or on the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

13. It asked that efforts be made to remove the economic imbalance inherited from colonialism and imperialism; it demanded just terms of trade for the economically less developed countries and, in particular, constructive efforts to eliminate the excessive fluctuations in primary commodity trade and the restrictive measures and practices which adversely affect the trade and revenues of the newly developing countries; and in general it demanded that the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution be applied in all fields of economic development to hasten the achievement of international social justice.

14. A survey of the last 14 years will reveal clearly the influence the non-aligned Movement has exerted in all spheres of international activity. The Algiers Declaration is specially noteworthy for the prominence it gives to the economic problems of developing countries and to the need for resolute action by the international community to create a new and more equitable economic order.

15. After nearly 500 years of existence, the Portuguese colonial empire has been liquidated. We congratulate the Portuguese Government on their final relinquishment of their colonial Territories and welcome to membership in the United Nations as sovereign and independent States the former Portuguese Territories of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Mozambique. We wish the peoples of those sovereign States peace, prosperity and happiness.

16. We trust that the agony of Angola will soon be ended and that the warring factions in that country will compose their differences in the cause of national unity. We are confident that the Organization of African Unity [OAU] will exercise its authority and influence to bring peace to Angola and help to weld its people into one State, united in freedom and sovereignty.

17. We extend our warmest felicitations to Papua New Guinea on its attainment of independence and look forward to its early admission to membership of the United Nations. Australia has brought great honour and credit on itself by demonstrating that the trust reposed in it by the United Nations was fully justified.

18. The record of progress towards the attainment of universality of membership has unfortunately been marred by the rejection of the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam for membership. The mistakes of the past could be honourably redeemed and some slight amends made for the carnage and havoc that during more

than 20 years of war have been heaped on Viet Nam by extending to those valiant people the hand of reconciliation and by welcoming them into the United Nations. If the will of the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations is to be flouted and if the Organization is to be subjected to the dominion of one, we face a grave constitutional crisis. The maintenance of international peace and security is an even greater responsibility than the admission of new Member States. If, therefore, it is considered right and proper that when the Security Council is deadlocked over the problem of the maintenance of international peace and security the responsibility passes to the General Assembly, it could be contended with no less cogency that in regard to the admission of new Member States the General Assembly has the right to ignore the Security Council's recommendation. To make the admission of one country conditional on the admission of another is an attempt to introduce extraneous considerations not recognized in Article 4, paragraph 1 of the Charter of the United Nations. In an advisory opinion sought by the General Assembly as far back as 1948 the International Court of Justice stated on 28 May 1948 that the requisite conditions for admission to membership are only five in number. The condition invoked in justification of the exercise of the veto in this instance is not one of them. To introduce such extraneous considerations offends against the letter and spirit of the Charter.

19. By the same token, let me make it clear that my delegation must express its deep disappointment that the democratic principle of free discussion and debate was violated when the request for inscription of the application of South Korea for membership as an item on the agenda of the Security Council was rejected.

20. The period that has elapsed since the twenty-ninth session has been one of feverish activity, marked by achievements which augur well for the future if action on the decisions that have been taken is pursued in a manner consistent with the spirit behind those decisions.

21. We have in mind particularly the Sinai agreement recently concluded between Egypt and Israel. We welcome this agreement. Its architects would deserve the lasting gratitude of the world if the agreement was conceived and is executed with the genuine intention that it should provide the pattern for a complete, honourable and just settlement of the entire Middle East problem. The Sinai agreement must, therefore, with the least possible delay be supplemented by a settlement in regard to the other aspects of the Middle East problem. Some of the most vital elements of that final settlement which are still missing are the evacuation of the rest of the occupied territories and the granting to the Palestinian Arabs of the right of self-determination, including the right to their own national home and State. As the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom [2358th meeting] very succinctly expressed it, the final settlement must ensure security for Israel and justice for the Arab peoples. These are not mutually exclusive or contradictory objectives. We have stated quite emphatically and unequivocally that the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security must be recognized by one and all, but the same right must

be given to all other States in the area and to the Arab peoples of Palestine.

22. It might be ritualistic, but it is certainly not realistic, to question Israel's right to exist or to ignore its existence or to threaten it with extinction. The cause of peace and the interests and future welfare of the peoples of the Middle East, in particular of the Palestinian Arabs, would be constructively advanced if we bent our efforts to securing the immediate evacuation of the occupied territories by Israel and the exercise of the undeniable right of self-determination by the Arab peoples of Palestine as well as the termination of the state of belligerency in the entire area. Any utterances and declarations regarding the retention of conquered territory, any denial of the right of all nations, including the State of Israel, to exist in peace within secure boundaries must be categorically rejected by the United Nations as inconsistent with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. It would be the height of irresponsibility to encourage such ideas or to connive at actions in pursuance of those ideas.

23. It is in this light that we view the Sinai agreement. If it is allowed to be used as a means of securing a respite during which the occupation could become more firmly entrenched by the acquisition of overwhelming military superiority on one side and so of deferring indefinitely and even rendering impossible an honourable settlement, it would be an unmitigated disaster. This is the time for unremitting vigilance and dogged persistence in the search for a durable peace. It is not the occasion for bitter mutual recrimination. We are confident that the Government of Egypt is fully conscious of and will honourably discharge its responsibility and duty towards its fellow Arabs.

24. As we enter upon the last quarter of this century, the United Nations finds itself called upon to devote more attention to questions and measures which would help to improve the social and economic well-being and welfare of peoples throughout the world.

25. We have adopted all the declarations and resolutions that are necessary to guide us in our international economic relations, the most recent being the resolution entitled "Development and international economic co-operation" [resolution 3362 (S-VII)] adopted at the seventh special session of the General Assembly on 16 September 1975. What we need now are concrete measures and especially a mechanism which will help bring the new international economic order into existence without delay. Time is not on the side of the developing countries. Their economic position is deteriorating almost daily, and the relief they need so desperately is too slow in coming. Success and progress are not measured by expressions of intention, couched in Messianic declarations, especially if those declarations are diluted by strong reservations. Such declarations, however peremptory their tone, have no legally binding force and we must not let them lull us into a false sense of hope and complacency.

26. The resolution adopted at the seventh special session had only one concrete decision in the strict sense of the term, the appointment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, and that, too, to consider the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system. There is little advantage in building

an elaborate new structure if there is nothing of substance to put into it.

27. To take my own country's case, for over two decades our economy has been ravaged by the persistent and severe decline in our terms of trade. This has been the principal impediment to economic growth and social progress in my country. The international community has recognized our special problem and included us in the list of the most seriously affected countries. For this group of countries immediate relief is the only salvation. It is imperative therefore that earnest consideration be given to the latest proposal made at the Ministerial Meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] held recently at Vienna by the Shah of Iran for a special fund operated by the oil-producing countries for the grant of low-interest loans to the least developed countries. We trust that the benefits of the proposal are intended to be extended to all countries falling within the most seriously affected category.

28. Having failed to take advantage during the sixth special session of a similar proposal by the Shah of Iran for a low-interest loan fund to be established by the OPEC and the industrialized countries, we should not once again miss the opportunity of quick relief to the most seriously affected countries which the Shah's new proposal could provide.

29. We applaud the announcement made by the Foreign Minister of Venezuela in his statement at the preceding meeting that the President of Venezuela has proposed to other member nations of OPEC the creation of a fund of between \$1,500 million and \$2,000 million for the non-reimbursable financing of the increase in the cost of petroleum resulting from the adjustment of prices, for the benefit of third-world countries which do not produce oil. The Shah of Iran and the President of Venezuela, Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, have set a shining example of statesmanship and shown a high sense of international responsibility. We trust that their proposals will receive early endorsement from the rest of the members of OPEC.

30. Let me turn now to certain other matters in which my country has a special interest.

31. The *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean has continued its work in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3259 A (XXIX) of 9 December 1974. The littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean have been holding consultations with a view to convening a conference on the Indian Ocean. We regret very much that the co-operation that was expected of the great Powers and the major maritime nations is, with two notable exceptions—China and Japan—still being withheld from us. We deplore the refusal of the other great Powers and major maritime nations even to enter into an exchange of views with us. The reasons they have given are far from convincing.

32. My delegation would like to make it clear that the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and the efforts we are making to translate it into reality are not directed against any particular bloc. Its purpose is to rid the Indian Ocean area of all foreign military presence, without any exception. It is not our intention that the arms race and competition between the great Powers should be replaced by a similar form of rivalry be-

tween countries of the region. We do not believe in replacing Satan by Beelzebub.

33. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held its third session at Geneva from 17 March to 9 May 1975. The most constructive achievement of that session was the agreement reached, without dissent, that the Chairmen of the three Main Committees should prepare an informal single negotiating text covering all issues entrusted to their respective Committees. These texts were not to be regarded as negotiated texts or compromise texts. They were to serve purely as a procedural device to set in motion the process of negotiation. In addition, the President of the Conference has taken upon himself the responsibility of preparing an informal single negotiating text on the question of dispute settlement. Provision for dispute settlement must form an indispensable element in the future law of the sea.

34. The stage is now set for negotiations to commence in all seriousness, and I hope that when the next session meets in New York on 15 March 1976 all participants will come fully prepared to discharge their responsibility. We must strive to reach agreement during 1976. The longer we delay, the greater the danger of unilateral action, which could prove fatal to the conclusion of the universally acceptable convention which we all devoutly desire.

35. There are still areas of this planet where opportunities remain for constructive and peaceful co-operation on the part of the international community for the common good of all rather than for the benefit of a few. Such an area is the Antarctic continent. While we would refrain at this stage from commenting on the attitudes of States regarding the legal status of this last dark continent, or portions of it, there can be no doubt that there are vast possibilities for a new initiative that would redound to the benefit of all mankind. Antarctica is an area where the now widely accepted ideas and concepts relating to international economic co-operation, with their special stress on the principle of equitable sharing of the world's resources, can find ample scope for application, given the co-operation and good will of those who have so far been active in that area.

36. It may be noted that the Antarctic Treaty of 1959¹ was designed solely to preserve the area exclusively for peaceful purposes, to promote international co-operation in the conduct of scientific research and to prevent the continent from becoming the scene or object of international discord. Our reference to the resources of that continent should not be construed as an attempt to hinder the programmes of scientific research that have already been instituted or that may be instituted in the future in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty. At the same time, I should make it clear that the question of the status of Antarctica is in no way linked with the issues before the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and, therefore, this question should not delay agreement on a new Convention on the Law of the Sea. The mention of this subject will not, I hope, create a flutter in any dovescotes.

37. In deference to the President's appeal that lengthy statements be avoided at this stage, I shall not touch on other important questions such as *apartheid*, racial

discrimination and disarmament, all of which could be covered in the appropriate Committees.

38. I cannot, however, avoid a brief reference to the new item on the agenda regarding the prohibition of underground testing. This was promised to the world in 1963, and it was expected that it would be realized by 1968. Twelve years have elapsed since the signing of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water and the same excuse is given: that without reliable means of verification a ban on underground testing would not be enforceable. The prohibition of underground testing, however, is not, by itself, likely to reduce in the least the threat of nuclear war, which we all want to avert, unless other related and essential measures accompany it. We have stated before, and we should like to repeat today, that nuclear disarmament cannot be achieved without agreement on and the simultaneous implementation of four measures. Those who have attained what would appear to be final perfection—if there is such a thing—in the development of the most advanced and sophisticated nuclear weapons systems cannot reasonably expect others who are lagging far behind them to accept their overwhelming superiority in nuclear technology and weaponry as constituting the best safeguard against nuclear war. The comprehensive programme which we propose—and which we have proposed before—must comprise: first, a categorical undertaking by the nuclear Powers not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States; secondly, the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty; thirdly, the total cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the freezing of the existing stockpile of nuclear weapons; and, fourthly, the phased dismantling of the apparatus of nuclear terror.

39. We have referred to the need for an undertaking on the part of the nuclear Powers not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States. If the threat of nuclear war is to be eliminated altogether, there must be a categorical renunciation of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against anyone. The renunciation of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons would remove all justification for the manufacture or possession of such weapons. There is nothing in the conduct of the major nuclear Powers to indicate that they are willing to move in that direction. Given the scale and quality of their nuclear armoury and their continued competition in the production of even deadlier weapons, all talk of strategic arms limitation [SALT] must be taken with a pinch of salt. It must have taken an unconscious humourist to provide such an appropriate acronym for the talks on this subject. However, with a robust faith in the inevitability of gradualness, we do not despair of progress in this sphere.

40. Before concluding, I should like to express once again my delegation's appreciation of the work of the members of the international civil service, headed by our distinguished and conscientious Secretary-General. As a civil servant myself, I am aware that every civil service has its dead wood. But there are large numbers in the Secretariat of the United Nations and in the rest of the international civil service within the family of the United Nations who continue to discharge their duties with single-minded devotion, conspicuous

efficiency and admirable impartiality to make the United Nations and specialized agencies and other related organs effective instruments of the wishes and will of their members. The morale of the international civil service could best be preserved and efficiency encouraged by a sound appointments and promotions policy which would give due recognition and reward to merit over all other considerations, without prejudice to the principle of equitable geographic distribution. We need and the world deserves the highest standards of efficiency within the international civil service if we are to meet and overcome the challenges that will face the United Nations and allied organizations in the years ahead.

41. As for the States Members of the United Nations, they could acquit themselves best if there were, on the one hand, a clear appreciation of what a well-known American diplomat has termed the "discipline of power" and, on the other hand, an equally clear recognition of the power of discipline.

42. Ratu Sir Penaia K. GANILAU (Fiji): I am greatly honoured to address the Assembly from this rostrum and to convey to the President and to the Assembly the greetings of the Government and people of Fiji.

43. Let me hasten to add Fiji's congratulations to the President on his well-deserved election to the high and responsible office that he holds in this World Assembly, and to assure him of my delegation's full support and co-operation. I wish to express also our appreciation for the continuing good work of our dedicated and hard-working Secretary-General and all his staff in guiding this Organization in its efforts to achieve its objectives.

44. These objectives—the maintenance of peace and security and the promotion of economic and social justice—are matters of equal concern to every member of the international community, for no nation alone, or group of nations, can singly assure global peace and security. And no nation can any longer afford to live in complete isolation from events in other parts of the world.

45. We believe that the more universal the membership of this Organization, the more its effectiveness. Accordingly, we welcome into our midst the new Member States of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique. And we look forward with pleasure to the admission on Friday this week of a fellow Pacific Member State, Papua New Guinea.

46. For small countries like Fiji, membership of this world body is the logical stage to which we aspire after self-determination. Whether we are Member States or not, we look to the United Nations for recognition and acceptance of our sovereignty and independence. We wish to look to a strong and effective United Nations.

47. My Government attaches great importance to the universality of membership of this Organization. The United Nations derives its strength and effectiveness from its universality and the support given to it by all its Member States, large and small.

48. We therefore view with very serious concern developments that lead or tend to lead to a weakening of the role of this body. The Fiji Government will not

support any move to expel any Member State which has observed fully and consistently its obligations under the Charter. It is our firm view that any move aimed at dealing with an erring Member State should be considered strictly in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter.

49. The Fiji Government also regards with deep disappointment the recent decisions to deny membership of the United Nations to aspiring nations. At a time when there is a growing identity of interests and an awareness of our interdependence, it is to be regretted that national self-interests continue to hold primacy over the broader interests of the whole international community.

50. We in Fiji are totally opposed to all forms of discrimination and injustice at any level and in any country. We condemn any Member State which seeks to enlarge its territorial boundary through force and violence. And we shall continue to oppose all forms of nuclear contamination by any country in any environment.

51. We do not believe that a lasting solution to any of these problems can be brought about by force or by exclusion from the world family of nations. In seeking solutions to the problems arising from differences and conflicts of national interests, we prefer that the international community should actively encourage peaceful accommodation through continuing dialogue and constructive discussions among those directly involved.

52. It is for this reason that Fiji is deeply appreciative of the sincere efforts of the big Powers to narrow areas of disagreement and misunderstanding among them. In the absence of a universal resolve for general and complete disarmament, mankind can only hope to save itself from total self-destruction through purposeful détente.

53. We also welcome the recent Sinai agreement between Egypt and Israel and we wish to record our warm appreciation of the efforts of all those concerned, including the United States Government. This agreement is a further significant step towards a comprehensive settlement of the complicated and complex Middle East issue. Such a comprehensive settlement must be based on the principles contained in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). In such a settlement, there must be full acceptance of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people as well as secure borders for all States in the region, including Israel.

54. My delegation also wishes to express the hope that the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will continue their dialogue, guided by the joint North-South communiqué of 4 July 1972.² And we would urge this Assembly to consider carefully whether the continued presence of the United Nations Command, or any other authority in its place, in the Korean peninsula stands in the way of peaceful North-South reconciliation and reunification, which both sides want.

55. There are, of course, other areas in which there are conflicts and tensions between countries and peoples, principally in southern Africa. In our view, the best settlements for all concerned cannot be reached by the use of arms. They can be found only through

dialogue between the parties directly involved. But dialogue and discussion cannot yield positive results unless they are conducted in an atmosphere of open-mindedness, tolerance, trust, understanding and good will.

56. These are the principles which guide us in Fiji in our own efforts to maintain peace and harmony in our multiracial society and in our endeavour to promote the well-being of our people in a just and equitable way. They also provide the basis of our approach to our external relationships.

57. The South Pacific is an area not very well known to many members of this Assembly. Twelve years ago, apart from New Zealand and Australia, there was no other interdependent country in the region. But far-reaching political changes have taken place since then. Western Samoa, Nauru, Tonga, Fiji and Papua New Guinea have all attained independence. The Cook Islands, Niue and the Gilbert and Solomon Islands have all achieved full internal self-government.

58. In many areas of the world self-determination and independence have been achieved only after a long and bitter struggle. In the Pacific, however, political progress has been the outcome of a peaceful constitutional process. What has made this possible is a genuine readiness on the part of all those involved to engage in full discussions and consultations in a spirit of mutual understanding and responsiveness to one another.

59. We in Fiji are firmly committed to upholding the right of subjugated peoples to self-determination and independence, for there can be no lasting peace unless there is an end to political domination and economic exploitation. And it is only when the people are in complete control of their own destiny that they can fully realize their national aspirations and potential.

60. As an Organization dedicated to the pursuit of global peace and the collective security of mankind, the United Nations must encourage change in the peaceful and orderly way which we ourselves call "the Pacific way".

61. All of us share a common goal in the need to create an international society founded on respect for international law and order and peaceful co-operation. It is a society in which there is mutual respect among nations without distinction as to size, wealth or power. For unless there is recognition and acceptance of the sovereign right of every nation and people to develop and realize its individuality, there can be no hope for permanent world peace.

62. We in Fiji take pride in our diversity. Differences in custom, language and beliefs are looked upon as a source of great strength in our multiracial society. Our Constitution ensures the right of adequate representation of every community in our National Assembly. The Constitution also guarantees the fundamental rights and freedoms of every individual in our country.

63. Fiji, therefore, had no difficulty, upon joining the world community in October 1970, in accepting the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations which reaffirms our common "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of

nations large and small". Thus, we welcome the designation by this distinguished Assembly of 1975 as International Women's Year.

64. As a country in which every individual enjoys equality of status and equal opportunity to participate in all aspects of our national life, Fiji also fully supports the aims and objectives of the Declaration and Plan of Action adopted at the World Conference of the International Women's Year,¹ held in Mexico from 19 June to 2 July 1975. It is a matter of national pride for us in Fiji that women in our society have long been actively involved, with outstanding dedication, in public service, in setting a fine example of multiracial co-operative effort and in preserving the values of family life in an increasingly permissive and materialistic world.

65. The deliberate deprivation of basic human rights and freedom is a denial of our common regard for the dignity and worth of the individual. The protection and promotion of fundamental human rights and the ideal of the brotherhood of man must, therefore, be a vital function of this world body. If there is to be positive and effective action, what is needed is an integrated approach on the part of the United Nations as a whole through, perhaps, a human rights council with a commissioner for human rights.

66. The greatest threat to human liberty today is the continuing uncertainty of the world's economy. Rising prices, falling incomes, declining job opportunities, starvation and economic and social inequality, within and between nations, collectively undermine our national efforts to provide our citizens with the fullest opportunity to realize their right to a decent home, a broad and full education, adequate medical care and worthwhile employment.

67. In a situation of creeping inflation and spreading unemployment, there is a renewed urgency for immediate action by the international community to give every country and its citizens a fair chance. This calls for a massive commitment to measures to liberate the less fortunate from the vicious circle of poverty and to eradicate the widening disparity of wealth and economic opportunities between the rich and the poor, and between the urban populations and the vast majority who live in the rural areas.

68. It is unacceptable that while \$300,000 million are disbursed annually in military expenditure, millions of people should continue to live on the verge of starvation. And it is intolerable that 80 per cent of the world's population should receive only 30 per cent of the world's income, and that the upper 10 per cent of income earners in poor countries should receive over 40 per cent of the total income.

69. It is imperative for the peaceful and orderly progress of society and the stability of the international community that there should be a collective commitment to practical measures to help the poor.

70. In this task, the essential first step is a sympathetic understanding, on the part of the economically powerful nations, of the needs and aspirations of others, and a willingness to transfer essential resources on terms that would allow adequate and sustained positive growth in their economies. At the same time, those with small and less viable economies must accept the axiom that their progress and prosperity

lie in self-reliance. We believe that there is a limit to the extent to which one can continue to rely on others for the fulfilment of one's needs and aspirations.

71. The international community has been pre-occupied with the formulation of a new international economic order, a new order to be founded on social and economic justice, an order that would ensure the narrowing of the income gap between the developed and developing nations. Our international development strategy, however, should not be restricted to these two economic groups, for there is an emerging fourth world in the least developed of the developing countries, a group towards which greater efforts should be directed in accordance with their development needs.

72. The labels and concepts of "developed" and "developing" nations and of "donors" and "recipients" are connotative of a colonial pattern of economic relationships, in which, among other roles, colonies and dependent Territories were looked upon primarily as sources of raw materials for the metropolitan Powers. But in a time when former dependent Territories have swelled the ranks of our Organization as sovereign States, there is the urgent need to adapt existing economic and social relationships to current needs and aspirations.

73. As long as we have an international order in which the world is divided and graded on political and economic levels, there can be no real progress towards international co-operation. What is needed is a new approach based on co-operation rather than confrontation and a new relationship between equal partners based on mutual respect and helpfulness to one another.

74. In the South Pacific, we have developed a consensus approach with remarkable success in the South Pacific Forum and its economic arm, the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation. These are two regional organizations that have been set up out of a common desire on the part of countries, within the region, including New Zealand and Australia, for consultation and co-operation on all matters of concern to the region. In fact, one of the basic functions of the Bureau is to seek to change the pattern of trade relations in the region in which the newly independent island nations were regarded as plantation areas and as markets for manufactured goods.

75. The same approach, based on a spirit of compromise and accommodation, has been an integral part of the Commonwealth system of regular consultation and co-operation. Indeed, a major outcome of the Commonwealth consensus approach was the joint Commonwealth report on the New International Economic Order⁴ submitted at the recent seventh special session of this Assembly.

76. But perhaps the most significant recent development in our search for a new pattern of international economic relationships is the Lomé Convention, signed between the nine-member European Economic Community and the 46 States of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. It is a comprehensive system of relationships based on equality and mutual respect. But it is more than just a trading relationship; it is a partnership between peoples—between the peoples of Europe and the peoples of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. It unites the peoples of Africa, the Carib-

bean and the Pacific in a common approach to their new relationship with the peoples of Europe.

77. It is this link between peoples that gives the Lomé Convention its unique character. For economic and social development concerns the welfare of people, and the ultimate aim of development is to provide every citizen with the maximum opportunity and freedom to fulfil his needs and aspirations. Material abundance and infinite growth are important goals, but improving the quality of life is more important than simply aiming to achieve a higher growth rate of *per capita* income.

78. The objectives of a new international economic order should, therefore, lay greater emphasis on a qualitative improvement than on quantitative growth.

79. Most of us are plagued with the twin problems of inflation and unemployment because there has been too much emphasis on material growth and expansion. There is, as a result of this growth mentality, a persistent demand for an increased share of the national income, even when there is zero growth in productivity.

80. But we all know that higher incomes and better living conditions do not necessarily create greater happiness. All too often a rise in the general standard of material welfare has been accompanied by increased delinquency, vandalism, crime and restlessness.

81. We, in Fiji, have experienced this phenomenon. The emphasis that we placed on promoting industrialization in our five-year development plan that comes to an end at the end of this year has brought new problems. There has been bitter confrontation between labour and capital. There has been a marked increase in urban drift and the related problems of housing, education and unemployment.

82. In our next development plan, the Fiji Government is giving the highest priority to improving the quality of life in our rural sector. There is much that can be done to make people comfortable in rural areas. This means devoting more resources to the provisions of roads, water supplies and electricity, and to improving education and health facilities for our rural population. In order that their basic needs for food and shelter may be met, they should be encouraged to appreciate the fact that locally-grown food and locally available building materials could be significantly better than imported items. Our aim should be to improve the subsistence economy of the rural sector but not to substitute for it.

83. As an oceanic nation composed of a group of islands scattered over 100,000 square miles of ocean, and with relatively limited land resources, we must in future rely to an increasing degree on the resources of the sea that surrounds our island group to support our efforts to improve the standard and quality of life of our people.

84. Fiji, therefore, attaches great importance to the success of the critical negotiations currently taking place within the framework of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It is our hope and expectation that the Conference will give full recognition to and acceptance of our special need. As an archipelagic State, we feel it a matter of vital importance to us that we should be permitted to enclose

the waters that join the many islands in our archipelago with archipelagic baselines, giving us the right to explore and exploit the resources that abound in these waters. At the same time, we would guarantee the right of passage of other nations through those waters.

85. We therefore hope that more urgent and concerted efforts will be made during the next session of the Conference towards the early conclusion of a comprehensive treaty. We cannot ignore the possibility that failure to reach early agreement over the rational utilization of two thirds of our planet may lead to unrestrained political and commercial rivalry dangerous for the peace and stability of the world.

86. Our endeavour to improve the quality of life of our people will continue to be frustrated so long as the environment in which we live is threatened by nuclear pollution. And there cannot be any lasting peace or stability in our world so long as nuclear-weapon tests continue and the armaments race remains uncontrolled and unchecked. There can be no permanency in a peace based on fear of mutually assured self-destruction. Unless nation States renounce war as an instrument of national policy, armed conflicts and the armaments race will continue to be the greatest threat to global peace and prosperity.

87. The question of disarmament—or, rather, the lack of progress in the field of disarmament—is a matter of concern for all States, big and small, near and remote. With the unabated arms race and the stockpiling in ever increasing quantities of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, no corner of this globe can feel secure from the indiscriminate effects of modern warfare. As Mr. Henry Kissinger has stated, all of us—friends, neutrals or adversaries—exist on a small planet threatened with extinction. The enormity of this threat increases year by year, and the halting of the nuclear-arms race is proving to be as difficult as reversing it. Peace based on ever more sophisticated nuclear-weapon superiority cannot endure the test of time nor will it inhibit nations possessing the technical capability from wanting to join the nuclear club.

88. Disarmament and the regulation of arms have been among the important objectives of the United Nations for the past 30 years and much has been achieved in the last five years. While some important agreements for the limitation and control of armaments have been achieved, the halting or even the limiting of the arms race in either nuclear or conventional weapons has not proved possible. As the Secretary-General states in the introduction to his report to this session of the General Assembly:

“The danger of nuclear proliferation not only remains, but has increased; nuclear testing continues; weapons are increasingly sophisticated and deadly, and the technological arms race continually promises new and more horrible developments.”
[A/10001/Add.1, sect. VIII.]

89. Recognizing the horrible prospects for all of us on this planet, the South Pacific Forum, comprising the heads of Government of the self-governing and independent countries of the region, has become increasingly concerned at the absence of agreement on an effective control of the arms race and the lack of substantial progress on a global scale in the achieve-

ment of a comprehensive ban on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons. Encouraged by the Antarctic Treaty prohibiting nuclear explosions in that area, and by the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) and the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, and by other regional efforts towards the same end, the countries of the South Pacific Forum have taken an increasing interest in the concept of nuclear-weapon-free zones and the importance attached to them as measures to control the nuclear-arms race. Indeed, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the introduction to his report to this session of the Assembly, has also stated:

“In a period where the widespread knowledge of nuclear technology and huge quantities of fissionable material are becoming available, nuclear-weapon-free zones provide the best and the easiest means whereby non-nuclear-weapon States can, by their own initiative and effort, ensure the total absence of nuclear weapons from their territories and enhance their mutual security”. [*Ibid.*]

90. It is with that consideration in mind that the member countries of the South Pacific Forum—Australia, the Cook Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, Western Samoa and Fiji—after their meeting at Nukualofa on 3 July 1975, issued, *inter alia*, the following communiqué:

“The Forum reiterated its strong opposition to nuclear weapons tests in all environments and called for renewed international efforts towards a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty and general and complete disarmament. In particular, the Forum emphasized the importance of keeping the region free from the risk of nuclear contamination and of involvement in a nuclear conflict and commended the idea of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific as a means of achieving that aim.”

The Forum agreed that it would be desirable for a wider endorsement of the idea to be sought through the adoption of a resolution by the General Assembly and for a study of the feasibility of establishing such a zone to be undertaken.

91. It is in pursuance of that communiqué that the delegations of New Zealand and Fiji took the initiative for the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly of an item entitled “Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific” [*item 120*].

92. As my colleague Mr. J. A. Walding, the Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs of New Zealand [2356th meeting, para. 228], has already explained from this rostrum, at this stage we are merely seeking an endorsement by the Assembly of the idea of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific. In order to find ways and means to implement this idea, the Assembly would invite all countries concerned, including the nuclear-weapon States, to undertake the necessary consultations on the more specific proposals which must obviously follow.

93. I should make it clear that it is not the intention of my Government to deprive any State, against its will, of its right to free and unimpeded passage in the

high seas or the right of innocent passage in other waters. But we will vigorously oppose any emplacement or testing of nuclear weapons within territories in the South Pacific region.

94. It is the hope of my Government that this Assembly will find it possible to endorse the proposal contained in the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of New Zealand and Fiji [A/10192, annex]. In doing so the Assembly would be recognizing the modest contribution of the South Pacific Forum towards the goal of general and complete disarmament.

95. It is an initiative that is motivated by a genuine desire of our peoples for an international society in which every individual is assured of his own survival. There can be no permanent peace when the world is faced with the nightmare of nuclear proliferation and self-destruction. At a time when all of us are agreed on the need for a just international economic and social order, real progress can be achieved only when we all accept the fact that the basis for a new international relationship is mutual self-respect, sympathetic understanding and co-operation.

96. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I wish to express the satisfaction of the Cuban delegation at the election of Mr. Gaston Thorn to preside over the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. The decision of the General Assembly is an expression of respect for the peaceful conduct of Luxembourg and for his qualities as an experienced statesman. My delegation reiterates its readiness to co-operate with the President in the discharge of his lofty responsibilities.

97. May I also extend a greeting to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria and President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His able and laudable action was a decisive factor in inscribing the last session in the annals of the Organization as one of the high moments in its necessary evolution in harmony with the positive changes that are taking place in international life.

98. Cuba enthusiastically welcomes the new States Members of the United Nations. The Republic of Cape Verde, the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe have joined our Organization after successfully completing their secular struggle against colonialism and have entered the stream of non-aligned revolutionary States. Their admission to the United Nations is a reminder to us all of the duty devolving on the international community to co-operate actively with the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies, thus helping them along the road to development. We await the speedy entry of an independent Angola, victorious over the intrigues of imperialism.

99. In welcoming the new Member States, we condemn the unjust exclusion of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam. The attitude of the Government of the United States in this connexion shows the stubbornness of imperialism and the total isolation to which it condemns the North American authorities. Only the veto repeatedly used by Washington has prevented Vietnamese representatives from taking their rightful place in our midst.

The General Assembly spoke out unanimously in favour of their admission. World public opinion, including that of the people of the United States demands that they be allowed to occupy their rightful places.

100. The North American veto on the diplomatic plane is the expression of their continued hostility to the people of the Viet Nam. The same warlike attitude which unleashed over Indo-China the cruellest of wars prompts the behaviour of those who today decree the economic, political and diplomatic blockade against Viet Nam and deny their right of admission to the United Nations. It is the obligation of all to oppose this warmongering attitude and demand of the United States that it put an end to it once and for all.

101. The General Assembly should consider the steps that it might take to counteract the obstructionist action of the United States. If Washington persists in its veto against Viet Nam it will be necessary to mobilize all the peace-loving States and forces of the world until Washington is made to feel the effects of the universal censure of its aggressive conduct, which is contrary to the course of history.

102. The people of Viet Nam has made an invaluable contribution to the cause of those who struggle for freedom and independence. Its tenacious resistance to aggression, its indomitable fighting spirit and its glorious and complete victory have shown that today there is neither a weak or small people nor any imperialist might capable of deterring or containing the will for freedom of subjugated masses. Its example will always take pride of place in the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and will be a living lesson and a permanent encouragement to them all. The historic magnitude of its struggle and triumph make it all the more necessary to assist, impelled by generosity, in the reconstruction of Viet Nam, laid waste by a war that was sustained for the sake of the salvation of all nations on the three continents.

103. The decision taken at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held recently at Lima, to create a Solidarity Fund for the reconstruction of Viet Nam [see A/10217 and Corr.1, annex I, resolution XIII], which Cuba applauds and supports and which was in fact originally an initiative of Prime Minister Fidel Castro, must be accompanied by concerted action until such time as the international community as a whole and the United Nations in particular offer Viet Nam all the co-operation necessary to speed up the country's rehabilitation, and to demand of the Government of the United States that it fulfil the commitment under article 21 of the Paris Agreement² to assist in healing the wounds of war in Viet Nam and Indo-China.

104. The peoples of Kampuchea and Laos were protagonists in a heroic struggle waged parallel with that of Viet Nam. With admirable courage, they confronted the aggression of imperialism and its agents. Their triumph represents a significant contribution to the cause of emancipation of the third world. To achieve it the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos accepted sacrifices and bore chastisement that make them worthy of the broadest and staunchest solidarity. The international community is duty-bound to contribute to the reconstruction of Laos and Cambodia with all the necessary resources.

105. The Assembly is meeting at an especially propitious time for peoples intent on their emancipation and on building a peaceful and prosperous future. The victories of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos open a new phase in which it is possible to stay the hand of the aggressor. The collapse of fascism in Portugal and the liquidation of its former colonial empire point to the advent of a time in which there will be no nation groaning under a foreign yoke.

106. The results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe show that it is possible to strengthen the process of détente. We live in an era in which the positions of socialism and being consolidated; in which the emancipation movements of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are growing, while the forces of reaction, imperialism and colonialism are forced to beat a retreat. And yet, despite the unquestionable achievements of recent times, the peoples of Africa, Asia and America are still confronted by many obstacles in their uphill march towards full freedom and development.

107. It is quite obvious that the main centres of imperialism do not resign themselves to their fate and endeavour everywhere to return to their positions of domination and exploitation. That is clearly illustrated by the conspiracies against States exercising their sovereign rights, by the attempts to halt the decolonization process, by encouragement of racist and Fascist movements and the refusal to introduce indispensable changes in the old and unjust structure of international economy as well as the maintenance of hotbeds of tension and constant threats against the process of affirmation of peaceful coexistence.

108. In Angola the conspiracy of imperialism, its allies and lackeys, has found concrete expression in the brazen interference designed to frustrate true decolonization while threatening its territorial integrity; snatching away from the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA] the fruits of its dauntless struggle against colonialism, while condemning the future State to control by transnational corporations. Cuba renews the expression of its full solidarity with the MPLA—yesterday heroic in its struggle against the European colonizer, today firm in its defence of true independence.

109. In the face of the scandalous interference of imperialists, colonialists and racists, it is an elementary duty to offer its people the effective assistance that may be required for that country to ensure its true independence and full sovereignty. In order to spur the decolonization process, a coherent strategy must be implemented with the participation of all progressive forces. This strategy is essential in order to face up to colonialist and racist machinations against the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe and must oppose colonialism in all its forms and manifestations in every corner of the earth.

110. In this connexion we reiterate our support for the independence of Puerto Rico, Belize and other colonial Territories in the Caribbean, and once again support the right of Argentina to recover the Malvinas Islands.

111. In the Middle East imperialism is manoeuvring to restore its influence and exercise control over its oil resources through the so-called policy of partial

solutions. That policy is designed, moreover, to isolate Syria, to perpetuate the occupation by Israel of the greater part of the Arab territories and to deny the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. We wish to state once again that there will be no lasting solution in the region unless it is on the basis of the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the territories occupied in 1967 and of the full exercise by the people of Palestine of its inalienable right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty in its usurped homeland.

112. The Korean peninsula, yesterday the stage for a cruel bloody war, is still a source of threat to peace as a result of the interfering policy of United States imperialism. If a just solution is to be found the General Assembly must pronounce unequivocally in favour of the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops garrisoned in the southern part of the country, and in favour of the peaceful and independent reunification of that territory without foreign interference.

113. United States designs of perpetuating their domination in Micronesia represent a challenge to the decolonization objectives of the United Nations and a threat to peace and security in the Pacific. Our Organization cannot disregard this fact and should adopt effective measures enabling the peoples of Micronesia freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

114. In the field of international economic relations, my country, as a member of the Group of 77, shares its just demands as put forward in countless forums and which were concretized essentially in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXX)], both documents having been approved despite the tenacious opposition of the United States delegation.

115. At a time when the capitalist economy is suffering the consequences of the acute recession it engendered, and when it seeks to unload its negative effects on the economies of the developing countries, it is of particular importance for the latter to change their traditionally unfavourable terms of trade and to obtain remunerative prices for their exports in the international capitalist market, to secure access to the necessary financing for their development on favourable terms, and to conduct their economic policies in the full exercise of permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, in particular, vis-à-vis the vast imperialist transnational corporations.

116. In this context, requests such as those included in the integrated programme of primary commodities—price indexation to protect the developing countries in the face of the sustained increase in the price of imports from the developed capitalist countries which generated the inflation, and the set of proposals relating to development aid—represent, *inter alia*, some of the measures which, in spite of the obdurate resistance of the United States and a number of other countries, none the less represent rungs to be climbed on the ladder of the inevitable establishment of a new international economic order.

117. Despite the over-all improvement in the European situation, there still subsist in that continent conflicts and tensions which may well lead to the disruption of peace. Cyprus is still the victim of armed attacks which have amputated part of the national territory, although so far the United Nations has not been able to confront it in the only manner compatible with the obligations enshrined in the Charter. It is high time for us to adopt strong measures in solidarity with Cyprus, a loyal, faithful State Member of this Organization and a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Our support goes unhesitatingly to the legal Government of that country, the only legitimate Government of Cyprus, presided over by Archbishop Makarios. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops, full respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus—all are prerequisites for the Cypriot people to solve by itself, without foreign interference, its domestic problems while finding a harmonious and just solution to the question of relations between the two Cypriot communities.

118. The Portuguese revolution, beset domestically and from outside by a whole set of hostile forces ranging from Fascists to pseudo-revolutionaries of every ilk, is still arousing concern and interest among all the workers of the world. Insistently they demand an end to imperialist interference in the affairs of Portugal and unrestricted respect for the right of its people to go ahead with the revolutionary changes it has begun.

119. The consistent policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in favour of peace and the elimination of international tension have resulted in important achievements that are above all reflected in the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Its persistence in such endeavours and the sustained struggle of the peoples of the world to tie the hands of the imperialist aggressors may well lead to a situation in which peace and détente acquire a universal and lasting character. The proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests [A/10241, annex] as well as the proposal for the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons [A/10243, annex], submitted to this Assembly by Comrade Andrei Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, confirm yet again the peaceful will of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its sincere and effective contribution to positive action by the United Nations. These proposals must be given due attention by the Assembly.

120. The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean are increasing their action designed to consolidate their national independence, to lead to the recovery of their natural resources and to help them play their rightful part in international life. The efforts of Peru, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and other countries in this respect are well known. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba again expresses its support for such actions.

121. The constitution of the Latin American economic system, the Multinational Caribbean Shipping Company and the joint protection of the price of

coffee, sugar and bananas are expressions of a new regional awareness foretelling the advent of a not-too-distant era in which Latin America will unite to form the community conceived by Simon Bolivar and José Martí which the realities of the present-day world are turning into a necessary goal. The historic task of Latin America will not be easy. It boils down to conquering its second independence. Its attainment, as far as the immediate future is concerned, calls for the total liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and the defeat of the aggressive purposes of reaction and fascism. That is why the nationalist action of Latin America and the Caribbean must place in the forefront solidarity with Panama in its struggle for full exercise of its sovereignty over the Canal and the Canal Zone, firm support for the independence of Puerto Rico and support for the anti-Fascist resistance of the Chilean people. Panama, Puerto Rico and Chile will serve as a measure of the degree of true solidarity of the world with the emancipating cause of our continent. Support for the Panamanian, Puerto Rican and Chilean peoples in their struggle for freedom is the key that will open the door to new progressive and liberating changes in that part of the world.

122. Panama's entry into the non-aligned Movement and the support of the Latin American group for its aspiration to become a member of the Security Council are signs of growing international support for the just demands of its people and Government.

123. The General Assembly must give highest priority to consideration of the situation in Chile. It is no longer merely a question of claiming human rights and alleviating the drama that torments the people of Chile. The institution of fascism in Chile, as we have said from the very beginning and as events bear out today, is part of an offensive by the most retrograde forces directed not only against the peoples of Latin America but also against their brothers in Africa and Asia who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

124. Latin American fascism is the natural ally of racism and colonialism. It is in fact at their service. It seeks to act as a wedge that will break the necessary solidarity between the peoples of the three continents. The struggle against it, therefore, becomes of primary importance for all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Were there no such colonial fascism, Mr. Vorster could not travel around South America; the South African Davis Cup team could not compete unconcernedly in Santiago, nor could the partisans and supporters of *apartheid* indulge in wild propaganda in favour of their hateful policy from a number of capitals in the southern tip of South America. Therefore the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries, meeting at Lima last August, rightly declared:

"The Conference took note with concern of the recent visit of the head of the racist régime of South Africa to Uruguay and Paraguay, as well as of the increasing relations of other Governments of Latin America, particularly the Chilean Government, with the South African régime." [A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, para. 37.]

125. The case of Chile is still the subject of unanimous concern. Engendered by the most repugnant treason

and violence and conceived as a means of reversing the democratic and liberating process undertaken by the Government of President Allende, the Fascist régime makes a mockery of all humanitarian principles, continues its crimes and outrages against the Chilean people and challenges the voices of protest that are raised in all sectors of democratic world opinion. Not a single international conference of note has been held in the past year that has failed to express its most categorical repudiation of the atrocities committed by the Pinochet junta or that has not called for the termination of his hateful policy of repression and the betrayal of national interests. To bear this out, we have the agreements of the International Labour Conference, the Dakar Conference of the developing countries, the World Conference of the International Women's Year, the Fifth Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, the recent meeting of the Governing Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and many other gatherings of a governmental or non-governmental character.

126. Last year the General Assembly gave its President and the Secretary-General a mandate in connexion with the protection of human rights in Chile [resolution 3219 (XXIX)]. The efforts deployed by both—which we appreciate—have proved fruitless. The Commission on Human Rights set up an *ad hoc* working group to submit a report and visit Chile. Initially, the Fascist authorities supported the decision of the Commission and declared, like demagogues, that they would welcome the members of the Working Group. At the eleventh hour, when its members were about to board a plane for Santiago, they cancelled the authorization for the journey. By refusing the visit of the Working Group, the Fascist junta gave proof of what it was uselessly attempting to deny and it did so, moreover, with the shamefacedness and contempt for the international community which have become a rule of conduct of a régime which today represents, to a degree only matched by its South African allies and mentors, a stigma of our times.

127. It is up to the General Assembly at its current session to give the insolence of the Pinochet régime the response it deserves. Solidarity with the anti-Fascist resistance of the Chilean people must be expanded and strengthened until we can put a stop to the activities of the clique which now oppresses them. We are convinced that the General Assembly will know how to do its duty.

128. It is increasingly clear that the case of Puerto Rico is evidence of the attitude that is today being maintained with regard to colonialism. In spite of the great obstacles it has had to confront, despite imperialist plans to absorb it and annihilate it as a nation, Puerto Rico is an admirable example of national resistance. Its people, which for over three quarters of a century has resisted foreign occupation, is deserving of the firmest and clearest international solidarity. Such solidarity was given unequivocal expression at the recent international Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico held at Havana barely a month ago.

129. By resorting to incorrect procedure the Government of the United States was able this year to postpone the debate on the question of Puerto Rico in the

Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those who are opposed to colonialism must considerably increase their solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico. Cuba will continue to do so unrelentingly, in support of the revolutionary principles governing its international policy and because of its affectionate friendship with the people of Puerto Rico, which has been united with the people of Cuba by over a century of common struggle against the same enemies and under twin flags.

130. Our solidarity with Puerto Rico is not a question of tactical expediency or a negotiable article. It is an unalterable expression of our policy of principle and is prompted by the same spirit instilled in our people by the farsightedness and generosity of José Martí. It is sustained by the blood shed by hundreds of Puerto Rican patriots who fought and died on Cuban soil for our common freedom. Some official spokesmen of the Government of the United States have declared that the North American authorities would make the raising of the illegal economic and trade blockade against Cuba conditional upon the attitude of Cuba towards the independence of Puerto Rico. The Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Commander Fidel Castro, in a speech on 28 September last, gave to such statements the response they deserved. With the unanimous support of our people, Comrade Fidel Castro affirmed the following:

"We must all know—first, we ourselves and secondly, our adversaries—that independently of Cuba's economic interests, independently of our foreign policy based on the principles of Marxism and Leninism and on the principles of peaceful co-existence with other States and on mutually beneficial relations with other States—a policy which serves the interests of our State and our people—there can never be any improvement in relations with Cuba that is based on the renunciation of a single one of our fundamental principles.

"Our people, from the point of view of its economic development, needs the broadest trade and technological relations with all countries, without exception; but our country is even more interested in the purity of its principles and its international conduct. If this is not understood or accepted, we shall have all the patience needed. We shall wait and be blockaded with dignity as long as it is necessary to be blockaded. We shall move forward at a faster or slower pace and we shall make more or fewer sacrifices. But our clean banners, the dignity and principles of this country, can never be negotiated."

131. The past year has been for the Cuban people a year of great and continued victories, in spite of the persistent imperialist blockade, and we have continued to build socialism. In the field of agriculture, education, construction and public health Cuba's successes are still an example to other countries of Latin America.

132. Next year the Cuban people will put into effect the socialist constitution, which has been discussed broadly and in depth in thousands of assemblies throughout the country, and will establish the organs of people's power. The Cuban revolution will thus be entering a new stage resulting from its definitive

consolidation and the guarantee of its irreversible historic continuity.

133. Cuba's international position becomes stronger with each passing day; its ties of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are being strengthened. Its participation in the non-aligned movement is growing, as shown by the recent decision of the ministerial Conference held at Lima to recommend that the sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of those countries be held in Havana. Its solid links with the peoples of Latin America, which the imperialist blockade has never destroyed, are being renewed and strengthened.

134. At the end of this year our people will hold the most decisive and important meeting of this period—the first congress of the Cuban Communist Party. Our people are preparing for it enthusiastically and in all confidence. The Cuban Communist Party is the heir to and continues the age-old struggle of our people, the organized vanguard of our revolution. Born of the combative union of all Cuban revolutionaries under the supreme direction of comrade Fidel Castro, the Cuban Communist Party represents today the profound aspirations of our people to peace, independence and justice, which in the past century were grouped around the Cuban Revolutionary Party of José Martí.

135. When they meet next December to assess the progress achieved and make plans for new tasks, Cuban communists will be able to do so with profound revolutionary satisfaction. The road they have travelled has been long and arduous. Victories and defeats were met along the way, which led to bloodshed and pain, but also hope for the uninterrupted march of our people towards its liberation. Many freedom fighters died before they could get a glimpse of the shining future for which they gave their lives. There were countless sacrifices, and exploits and daily anonymous agony, which ended in victory in January 1959 and led to the conquest of independence and the possibility of establishing socialism.

136. The future, like the present, is not exempt from difficulties which will lead to new action by the Cuban people. To raise the socialist society at the entrance to the Caribbean Sea, under the conditions imposed by the blockade and imperialist hostility, in a developing country poor in natural resources and with an economy almost entirely dependent on agriculture, while firmly maintaining and upholding the high principles of internationalism and revolutionary solidarity, will always be the heroic goal of our historic dimension.

137. Our people will do this. Its unalterable revolutionary will is entrenched in such deeds and sacrifices of several generations of Cubans who for more than a century suffered death with dignity rather than lower their glorious flag. It is inspired by the supreme ideal of creating a new society, for ever free from all forms of exploitation by human beings. It is inspired by the immortal example of Ernesto Guevara, who, on a day such as this, left in the heartland of America his unforgettable message, which calls on the peoples of the continent to resist and fight.

138. Onward to victory!

139. Mr. GANAO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): The general debate, which is drawing to a

close, will be highly illuminating for our Organization. The analyses made by many heads of delegation on the international situation, and the proposals which eminent personalities have put forward on how to settle certain problems of concern to our Organization contain, in our view, interesting elements. The delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo wishes to speak now not with any claim that it is contributing anything new to our common deliberations; we come here, rather, to make clear or to reaffirm some of our positions on topical issues at a particularly dangerous time in our history, when a certain element of confusion has been wilfully sown among us with the idea of encouraging the peoples of the world to doubt themselves.

140. In the People's Republic of the Congo, we have every confidence in the United Nations, and it is precisely because we have placed in it not only our confidence but also our hope that we feel in duty bound, whenever it seems necessary to us, to say, even forcefully, what we believe or know to be just.

141. I would only remind you of the positions which we have taken here on, for example, the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and the admission of the German Democratic Republic as a full-fledged State Member of our Organization. At the time, we were called—as were a very small number of fraternal countries of the third world—dreamers, trouble-makers and even political illiterates. Today, history, which has always been the only reliable judge of truth, has vindicated us. That is why we say that whenever a country comes freely to address this Assembly, it makes its modest contribution to the search for solution to the ills which gnaw at the vitals of mankind.

142. And so it is entirely without pretension that we should like to remind you that the peoples of the third world—that is, the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa—are mature and comprehensively reject exploitation and neo-colonialism in any form. Therefore, we, the countries of the third world, must look inwards and ponder the fundamental interests of the vast masses we represent. We must, on the basis of our own analyses, gain a clear insight into the problems of the world if we want to find solutions for them.

143. We should no longer allow ourselves to be taken in by specious, harmful assertions designed simply to mislead us and to keep us in ignorance so that we may the better be exploited. For us, there is no such thing as an evil people. There are imperialist, Fascist, colonialist, racist and exploiting régimes; and it is these régimes, of which there are still so many today, that we must fight.

144. Only yesterday we were told that we must not go to Moscow or to Peking because there was a monster in those places called communism. Today, most countries co-operate with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China, and no one has been asked, as far as we know, to become Red—although becoming Red is the indispensable choice of tomorrow; it is the only choice which effectively and genuinely places power in the hands of the people. The Congo, for its part, has in all freedom and conscience chosen to become Red, under the leadership of the Congolese Labour Party and its President, Commander Marien Ngouabi. This choice explains,

as was solemnly reaffirmed by our President, two months ago in Kampala, that all our positions have been dictated exclusively by the fundamental principles of our policy, the background to which is proletarian internationalism and the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist struggle. This choice places us among the supporters of all just causes, the triumph of which is nothing but a matter of time now, as recently demonstrated by the smashing victories of the heroic Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples over imperialism—victories which are a great spur to those who are still fighting.

145. After five years of absence, during which the puppets of the Lon Nol clique had never represented Kampuchea except in their imaginations, the people of Kampuchea has just resumed its usurped seat. The important speech made on behalf of that people by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Chairman of the United National Front of Kampuchea [2376th meeting], constitutes an important contribution to the work of this session.

146. Unfortunately, there are still States which, in spite of the political and crushing military defeats sustained in various places, continue to swim against the current of history and today wish to prevent the Vietnamese people from working here among us for the strengthening and consolidation of international peace and security, which are, and remain, the primary objectives of our Organization. There is no doubt that, here again, the adepts of the policy of anachronism will suffer new defeats.

147. We remain similarly convinced that the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of their country, free from all foreign interference—particularly after the withdrawal of the American troops stationed there under the banner of the United Nations—will triumph. I hope that the Korean people will understand this as an expression of the determined support of the Congolese people.

148. The People's Republic of the Congo similarly supports the Palestinian people in their relentless liberation struggle against imperialism and Zionism. The Palestinian cause is just, and in the Congo we are totally committed to it. This is a commitment which should be shared by all those who, here or elsewhere, speak of peace, justice and liberty. A people has been cruelly torn from its land and today finds itself painfully compelled to impress itself upon the conscience of the world, sometimes by acts forced upon it by the deafness of the capitalist West. The people of Palestine are entitled to a country as indeed the Arab countries, which we so firmly support, have the right to recover their territories illegally occupied by Israel since 1967.

149. In our view, the occupation of Arab territories is no more than a consequence of the spoliation of the Palestinian people, and we have every reason, therefore, to believe that any settlement to the conflict which fails to take account of the rights of the Palestinians will be precarious. We also wish to state here that it would not be good politics to ignore the existence of the Jewish people established in Israel. In the Congo, as I have said, we condemn régimes and their policies, but not peoples. So in this case we vigorously condemn the Zionist, hegemonistic, expansionist and arrogant policy of Israel, but not the Jewish people,

which is no different from the other peoples of the world.

150. The first half of our century was one in which twice in the space of 20 years, the selfishness, ambition and folly of men nearly destroyed the world, while the second half will undeniably be marked by the development and success of the liberation struggles, particularly in Africa. We can only express our satisfaction at seeing the political map of the world showing day by day profound positive changes leading towards the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed peoples.

151. The liberation war of the peoples of Africa, as the Assembly is aware, freed the Portuguese people itself from the worst fascism of our day. The wild dreams of Salazar and Caetano met with the fate history always reserves for retrogressive and criminal enterprises.

152. After Guinea-Bissau, three other fraternal countries—Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe—have just achieved sovereignty. We warmly welcome them as States Members of the United Nations. This is also an opportunity for us to hail the memory of the illustrious freedom-fighters who fell on the field of honour in the struggle for independence.

153. But the international community must now become imbued with a sense of its new duty, that of helping these young States to staunch the wounds of an unjust war imposed upon them and which did so much damage to their economies.

154. Now I turn to Angola. Although we all agree in recognizing that one month before the accession of this country to independence the situation there remains one of concern, we for our part still wish to denounce those among us in this Organization, the alarmists, who cry "fire". The war raging today in Angola is one more hotbed kindled by imperialism in order to make sure that the State which will emerge will be run by men in its pay and in the service of its interests, which, as the Assembly is well aware, it is doing everything in its power to perpetuate everywhere.

155. The people of Angola paid a heavy price for their liberation and wishes only for independence in dignity and national harmony, an independence which it intends to enjoy to the full because it will not have been something granted. The people of the Congo firmly support the fraternal people of Angola, particularly the brave freedom fighters of the MPLA who are the only true architects of national independence. We call upon the backward colonialists, the racists snugly entrenched in their egoism and the rapacious imperialists to understand that the time of the "Angola of papa" has gone for ever.

156. The fact remains, however, that all men of good will, of whatever race, have a place in Africa, as was stated here from this very rostrum just a few days ago [2370th meeting] by Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada, President of the Republic of Uganda, current Chairman of OAU. And as was quite recently confirmed by the political leaders of MPLA, all whites, particularly the Portuguese in Angola, who are ready to accept the new situation have no reason to leave and should indeed remain in the country to make their contribution to its reconstruction which is so indispensable.

157. We therefore wish to issue an urgent appeal from the General Assembly to the world to leave it to the Angolans themselves to settle their own problems and to bring their country to independence in respect for its territorial integrity. We condemn out of hand any attempt at secession and state that an independent Angola will itself alone examine special cases, such as that of Cabinda.

158. The situation in Rhodesia and South Africa has shown no sign of progress. The racist and minority régimes of southern Africa have learned nothing from the masterly history lesson just given to the Portuguese Fascist régime of Salazar and Caetano. Ian Smith persists in rebellion and Vorster is bogged down in *apartheid*—both policies without a future and inexorably doomed.

159. The capitalist West alone bears responsibility for a situation which, in an escalation of violence, may lead to a confrontation between racial communities in spite of the good will demonstrated a thousand times by the Africans through their reluctance to respond to blind, abominable and mindless racism by another racism just as reprehensible.

160. An independent Africa, which began to believe at one time in all good faith that every avenue likely to lead to a settlement of the situations in Rhodesia and South Africa should be explored without exception, finally woke up to the fact that only through armed struggle could it put an end to the reign of injustice and anachronism. The People's Republic of the Congo can only express its gratification at the increased support being given by OAU to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and South Africa.

161. Once again we vigorously demand the unconditional transfer of power to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe.

162. On the question of Namibia, we believe that the United Nations should do its duty because, while it is true that the African States are more closely concerned than others by this problem, there is no denying that morally and legally speaking the question of Namibia is primarily a problem between our whole Organization and South Africa. The United Nations possesses, in its own texts, provisions which make it possible for it objectively to resolve its problem with South Africa, and all it needs to do is to apply these provisions.

163. We are pleased with the efforts of European nations to narrow differences even further and to establish better understanding among their peoples. We believe that, after the Second World War and the cold war which followed, the détente which is gradually being brought about in Europe is an important step on the road to peace. We therefore believe that the results of the Helsinki Conference, however modest they may be, are none the less an encouraging landmark.

164. But Europe, the place where the two world conflagrations which almost destroyed the world broke out, would be wrong to believe that it can be secure while the third world is insecure. That is why it is in our common interest that Europe, which has known the horrors of war, should refrain from sparking conflagrations or fuelling them as it is doing throughout the world, particularly in southern Africa.

165. International détente and non-intervention in the affairs of States should, in the view of our delegation, be prerequisites for serious discussions on disarmament.

166. We repeat that the oppressed and exploited countries, which are today still exposed to all kinds of intervention and aggression, have the right and duty to defend themselves. However, the People's Republic of the Congo is ready to take part in a world disarmament conference, if it is ever convened, under the auspices of the United Nations in the hope that a dialogue marked by candour can be established on a problem which becomes of graver concern with each succeeding day.

167. We cannot talk of disarmament without thinking immediately of the Charter of the United Nations because they both throw into relief the intolerable inequalities within the international community, where some can decide for all and others are reduced to expressing an opinion which is hardly ever taken into account in the settlement of problems of concern to us all.

168. Decisions relating to crucial questions which determine the life of the Organization and the future of mankind continue to be the privilege of a minority of Member States. We therefore reassert vigorously that the Charter, which of course at one time did correspond to a political map of the world, today needs to be revised in order to be brought into line with the new realities.

169. The right of veto, for example, which has become an instrument of oppression of third world countries wielded by the Western Powers, might go. A striking illustration of the anachronistic and unfair use of the right of veto has been given by the shameful conduct of the Government of the United States, which blocked the well-deserved admission to membership in the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam.

170. The American double veto gave grist to the mill of the detractors of our Organization who consider that the Security Council is a sound-proof chamber, an organ walled up in the Escorial, haunted ceaselessly by phantoms of unreality. This incident, it will be recalled, marked the increasingly pathological solitude of a great Power, a Power worthy of respect, the United States of America, to whom none the less the heroic people of Viet Nam, in its noble desire to turn one of the gloomiest pages of contemporary history, is holding out the hand of friendship.

171. Our country, which always supported the heroic war of resistance and national liberation which the Vietnamese people waged so successfully against the foreign invaders, is more than ever convinced that the friendly people of Viet Nam will triumph over all the manoeuvres which we are now witnessing.

172. We therefore wish to state once again that it is only when these two questions of disarmament and the revision of the Charter have been tackled with courage that a decisive step will have been taken towards the indispensable democratization of international relations. Then, it will be possible for the economic problems, the discussion of which in various places daily throws more light on the selfishness of the "haves" in the face of the poverty of the "have-nots", to be

examined in a new light. In the meantime, we call on the industrialized countries to understand that the unequal economic relationships governing the world are objectively a genuine threat to international peace and security. The alms-giving policy practised by the industrialized countries must give way to mutually advantageous co-operation where everyone has something to give and something to get.

173. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, after having broken the ice of caution and immobility, enabled our Organization to take decisions which promise an end to the relationships of dependence and domination which hitherto have governed international trade and the establishment of new co-operation on the basis of dialogue, not confrontation, while respecting cultural diversity and the specific decisions taken by our various nations.

174. The achievements of that historic session have just been consolidated by the very considerable results of the seventh special session, thus contributing to an acceleration of the process of building a new system of international relations which lays down the principles which should guide the conduct of all our States. In such an approach, applying the technology mastered by some to the primary commodities produced essentially by others would establish among the nations of the two camps a complementarity which is the essential basis for the very delicate balance which our world is attempting to achieve.

175. Those are a few considerations which, on behalf of the President of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party, comrade Marien Ngouabi, it is the duty of our delegation to submit to this Assembly at its thirtieth session.

176. We are convinced that, thanks to the wisdom of the President of the Assembly, his eminent statesmanlike qualities which made him a natural and unanimous choice for the presidency of the thirtieth session, on which we warmly congratulate him, and the always valuable support and assistance of the Secretary-General, he will be able—as the successor to my friend and brother Abdelaziz Bouteflika, of whom Africa has every reason to be daily more proud—to channel our energies so that our work will have successful results as regards progress, peace and understanding among peoples.

177. Mr. ESSONGHE (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Regular sessions of the General Assembly are nothing exceptional because we have become accustomed to them. But the present session should be of particular importance because it is without doubt the session of hope—hope for the third world in particular and hope for mankind in general.

178. It is for me a pleasant task to convey to Mr. Thorn, on behalf of the delegation of Gabon, my warm and sincere congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly. I know that the President is not here at this time, but I am sure that he will hear my voice. We who speak the French language have particular reason to be pleased at his election because he is the son of a country in which the sixth biennial congress of French-speaking peoples has just been celebrated, under the chairmanship of one of the most eminent scholars of the French language, President

Senghor of Senegal. My delegation is firmly convinced that as a result of his broad experience of international questions, his outstanding competence, his proven level-headedness and his sense of humanity, the work of this anniversary session will be crowned with success—outstanding success.

179. The delegation of Gabon would like to pay a particular tribute to the former President, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, that son of Africa, who guided the debates of the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session with a talent and an ability which will assure him of a place of honour in the annals of the United Nations.

180. Gabon, through me, pays a solemn tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts to give to our Organization its full meaning and purpose. I should like to assure him that my country will continue to give him its support.

181. On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, it is with deep feeling that I welcome the presence here of countries which, thanks to their determination to become free, have at last been able to join the family of the United Nations. I am speaking of the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique. I should like to tell them that in the past Gabon was with them in their struggle towards the sunlight of freedom; today Gabon is with them still as we sing deep our hearts the alleluia of victory; and tomorrow there is no doubt that Gabon will stand by them, through the vicissitudes of their growth in the name of solidarity, that is of African solidarity.

182. My delegation would like to congratulate the country of Vasco da Gama which, after having so long refused to heed the voice of reason, has finally espoused the cause of truth and bowed to the inevitable course of history. We hope that Portugal will recover its former stability, so that it may fully assume its moral obligations towards its former overseas possessions, which today are on the threshold of their international existence.

183. The United Nations has already been in existence for 30 years, and during that 30-year period it has not ceased to grow or to play the humanitarian and universal role which makes it a haven of peace and the hope of nations. The lengthy agenda of this session is a tangible proof of the vitality of our Organization.

184. The guns have been silenced in Cambodia, the guns have been silenced in Viet Nam and the entire international community cannot but rejoice.

185. The situation in the Near East continues to concern us. However, it can be said that the interim Egyptian-Israeli Agreement marks a step which gives us a glimpse of hope. But the Palestinian problem remains unsolved. In fact, the Palestinians must no longer be considered refugees. And when it is possible for them to return to their homeland, when they themselves are able to set up their own institutions, then mankind will have made a great stride towards the strengthening of universal peace.

186. My delegation does not believe that the United Nations has the right to stray from the principle of universality. All States must be admitted once all the conditions of admission have been fulfilled. It is

in this context that at the appropriate time Gabon will support all initiatives concerning the admission of any country as a full State Member of our Organization.

187. While the military situation has improved in South-East Asia, there are in that region some hotbeds of tension which must be contained. We refer here to the situation in the Korean peninsula.

188. Gabon believes that only dialogue between the two parties can establish peace in that country, arbitrarily divided by the accident of history. Because of its desire to work for that purpose my country thought fit to establish an embassy in Pyongyang and another in Seoul.

189. We believe that the United Nations should take all the measures necessary to ensure the implementation of the mandate of maintaining the peace that has been entrusted to it.

190. The great Powers also have the duty of encouraging the process of reunification in order that the people of Korea, once again united, may be able, like all the other peoples of the world, to play its full part within our Organization.

191. The thorny problem of Cyprus is of concern to us. Our Organization should be able to play a decisive role in that problem, in the well-understood interest of the two communities involved. For its part, Gabon will do everything it can do to make its modest contribution to the achievement of that aim.

192. Several delegations have raised here the problem of Spanish Sahara. I too must briefly refer to it.

193. I think that everyone agrees that the term "Spanish Sahara" is not a felicitous one. That is why, on behalf of my delegation, I express the hope—and I request—that "Spanish Sahara" will be called "African Sahara". I request also that the historic context of this African Sahara should be taken into account. I do not wish to dwell on this point, because I think the problem will be discussed in detail in the appropriate bodies of our Organization.

194. With regard to Angola, we hope that the three liberation movements will reach an understanding so that the date of 11 November 1975 set for the accession to independence of that country, which is one of the flowers of the African continent, may be met.

195. As far as Cabinda is concerned, we must recall that Gabon, which has always advocated the right of peoples to self-determination, voted in favour of resolution 1514 (XV). It is because of that sacrosanct principle that Gabon believes that the people of Cabinda must freely exercise its right to determine the future of its territory.

196. The international conscience remains concerned about the situation in southern Africa.

197. Indeed, the constitutional conference on the future of Rhodesia—a conference the convening of which we always supported—is still at an impasse. The hopes raised by the meeting in Victoria were quickly dashed. We dare to hope that Great Britain, which is still the administering Power for Rhodesia, will assume its responsibilities in order that a solution may be found to this problem which constitutes a challenge to world opinion.

198. With regard to South Africa, Gabon has an unequivocal position. No dialogue with the Pretoria authorities should be undertaken from abroad. During the Assembly of Heads of State and Government held recently at Kampala, the President of the Republic of Gabon said: "If there is to be a dialogue, it must be undertaken in the first place between the whites and the blacks of South Africa. How could it be otherwise?" Although the word "dialogue" is inscribed in letters of gold in the motto of our political party, the Democratic Party of Gabon, we in Gabon feel that no dialogue with Pretoria should take place in the absence of those who struggle every day in South Africa against arbitrariness, humiliation and spoliation.

199. Again quoting the President of the Republic of Gabon, we say that "dialogue must take place with persons who are capable of engaging in a dialogue". By refusing systematically to engage in a dialogue with the representatives of the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, the Pretoria authorities have clearly shown that they are not in favour of dialogue.

200. That refusal to engage in a dialogue is also blatant proof of the obstinate intention of the South African authorities not to put into effect our Organization's resolutions on Namibia. Under its mandate over Namibia, the United Nations must commit itself more than ever to lead that Territory to independence.

201. Formerly one prepared for war in order to make peace, but today one prepares for war in order to make war. That is why Gabon, which wants mankind to survive, is in favour of disarmament by the great Powers, because universal peace depends on them.

202. My country warmly welcomed the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki. We hope that the agreement signed at the conclusion of that historic Conference will not remain a simple pious wish but will become a moral code for ever committing the conscience of the signatories, small and large.

203. The seventh special session, which concluded its work three weeks ago, envisaged a redefinition of the relationships that must from now on exist among States in the spheres of trade and international co-operation. That means that the countries producing raw materials must themselves establish the prices of those raw materials, just as the developed countries establish the prices of their manufactured goods. It is inconceivable that the prices of raw materials should be established outside the countries producing them.

204. This is why Gabon has always proposed, together with other countries, the setting up of regional or interregional groups of countries producers of raw materials with a view to fight more efficiently this absurd and obsolete trend which we have witnessed so far in the field of international trade.

205. Gabon, which belongs to OPEC and, more recently, to the organization of countries producers and exporters of timber, whose headquarters is established in Libreville, has already chosen its road and will not admit of any other.

206. I said that countries producers of raw materials must be the masters and the only ones to establish prices. Along the same line of thinking, we in Gabon think that the coastal countries should have sov-

ereignty over the replenishable and non-replenishable resources of the sea. We consider that this exclusive sovereignty must be exercised taking into account the principle which has always governed the relations of good-neighbourliness which we have maintained with non-coastal African countries, and also taking into account the relations based on co-operation which we have always maintained with the developed countries in this specific area.

207. The United Nations cannot, and should not, be the scene for negative confrontation. It should always be the laboratory of universal peace and the sanctuary of international conciliation.

208. A country of balance and measure, a country aspiring to peace, a country opened wide to the world, Gabon, under the impulse of the President of its Republic, practises an open diplomacy. This practice has two essential objectives: direct contact in order to get to know one another, and discussion aimed at overcoming difficulties.

209. In following this road, Gabon remains faithful to the ideals of our Organization of which it is a Member, not through necessity, but by conviction. Gabon today affirms its will to contribute to the effectiveness of the Organization so that we may be able to concretize daily its basic ideal, which is the construction of a world where there is peace, justice and brotherhood.

210. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have asked to exercise their right of reply. Members will recall that the General Assembly at its 2353rd plenary meeting decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. I shall call now on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

211. Mr. PAPOULIAS (Greece): I wish to exercise my right of reply to the Permanent Representative of Turkey.

212. In his statement yesterday [2378th meeting], Mr. Türkmen quoted certain passages from a statement made by President Makarios in the Security Council on 19 July 1974, regarding the *coup d'état* perpetrated in Cyprus on 15 July 1974 by the Greek military dictatorship, which, may I repeat once again, was condemned from the outset by everyone and, above all, by my country.

213. However, the General Assembly knows full well that the military dictatorship in Greece collapsed as early as 23 July 1974, subsequent to which democracy and constitutional order were restored in Cyprus and in Greece. Therefore, the way was open to a peaceful settlement.

214. In this specific context, it is fitting to remind ourselves of a solemn statement made by the representative of Turkey before the Security Council on 19 July 1974, at the same meeting, from the records of which Mr. Türkmen took his quotation yesterday. He said:

“As is well known, Turkey has special responsibilities under international agreements. These apply to the constitutional structure and the international status of Cyprus. It is, in our view, the duty of the world community to restore the *status quo ante*. For its part, Turkey considers it its duty

to make use of the rights conferred on it by international treaties.”⁶

215. Now, article 4 of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee,⁷ which Turkey invoked, provides clearly that any action by the Guaranteeing Powers should have as its sole aim “the re-establishment of the state of affairs created by the present Treaty”, and nothing else, as for instance, the massive uprooting of populations.

216. So, apart from the fact that any use of force flagrantly violates the Charter of the United Nations, nothing justified, especially after 23 July 1974, the renewed use of force by Turkey against the Republic of Cyprus, particularly at the moment when, after the restoration of constitutional order and the disappearance of any threat to the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus—as demanded by Turkey according to the previous statement—negotiations were being conducted in Geneva for the purpose of finding a satisfactory settlement. The second attack, unleashed on 13 August 1974, brought about terrible disasters, the tragic suffering of the island's population, the creation of the inhuman problem of the refugees, as well as the expansion of the military occupation of territory of the Republic of Cyprus.

217. It should be added that Turkey undertook its repeated invasions of the Republic of Cyprus, after and although the Security Council had been seized of the problem, by ignoring the Security Council and in open violation of Security Council resolutions 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974, 354 (1974) of 23 July 1974 ordering a cease-fire and 357 (1974) of 14 August 1974 ordering, once again, a cease-fire which was again grossly violated by Turkey, and so on. It is clear with whom rests the responsibility for the tragic and dangerous situation in Cyprus.

218. I will also deal briefly with another remark made by the representative of Turkey alleging that “It was Archbishop Makarios himself who invited the occupying forces of Greece to Cyprus. . . . for more than a decade”. [*Ibid.*, para. 210]. In this respect I do not think it is necessary to say anything more than that the General Assembly and the whole world community know only too well that since 1964, in violation of the Charter, Turkey has been constantly threatening the Republic of Cyprus with an invasion, which it ultimately carried out in July and August 1974 under the first pretext it could find. It is also common knowledge that when the Turkish forces invaded Cyprus, they did not find, contrary to the Turkish allegation, any so-called “occupying” Greek naval, air, or land forces, but simply a defenceless island.

219. Instead of indulging in polemics of this kind trying to justify the unjustifiable, it would be more in keeping with the overall feeling of the General Assembly, expressed in its resolution 3212 (XXIX), for Turkey to comply promptly with all the provisions of this resolution as well as of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

220. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I do not think one need elaborate unduly on what is manifest to all the States Members of this Assembly, namely, the fact that Cyprus is under aggression and an invasion which continue in violation of the repeated resolutions of the Security Council and of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), mandatorily endorsed by the

Security Council and which has been completely disregarded in a contemptuous manner by Turkey. This disregard is for the whole membership of the United Nations whose unanimous resolution is thrown out as worthless paper.

221. Further to what my colleague from Greece has said, I should like to point out that the Turkish representative in his statement yesterday tried to blur this obvious issue of aggression and invasion, and the international crime involved, by repeating an outworn propagandist cliché of a wholly unsubstantiated allegation that, for 10 years since December 1963, the Turkish Cypriots have been the victims of oppression and discrimination by the Government, compelled to be segregated in enclaves, deprived of their freedom of movement and otherwise mistreated. That is the cliché that has been deliberately spread by Turkish propaganda.

222. The falsity of these charges was incontrovertibly revealed and exposed by detailed references to the best and only independent authority on the subject, namely, the Secretary-General, in his reports for the 10-year period in question, as given at the 1795th meeting of the Security Council on 30 August 1974 and at the 923rd meeting of the Special Political Committee. These facts are irrefutable and no attempt was made by the Turkish side to contest them as it was impossible to do so. Yet the Turkish representative has no qualms and no difficulty in repeating these untenable and discredited accusations.

223. I do not want to take up time so I will quote only a few for the benefit of this Assembly in order that it may realize the extent of the spuriousness of these charges. I quote from one of the Secretary-General's reports:

"... the lack of movement of Turkish Cypriots outside of their areas is also believed to be dictated by a political purpose, namely, to reinforce the claim that the two main communities of Cyprus cannot live peacefully together in the island without some sort of geographical separation."⁸

That is dated 15 June 1964, the year when this trouble commenced. That was the reason for the suffering of the Turkish Cypriots. They were enclosed by force in the enclaves and not allowed to go out.

224. I quote again from the Secretary-General's report of 10 June 1965:

"The Turkish Cypriot leaders have adhered to a rigid stand against any measures which might involve having members of the two communities live and work together, or which might place Turkish Cypriots in situations where they would have to acknowledge the authority of Government agents. Indeed, since the Turkish Cypriot leadership is committed to physical and geographical separation of the communities as a political goal, it is not likely to encourage activities by Turkish Cypriots which may be interpreted as demonstrating the merits of an alternative policy."⁹

The alternative policy was that of understanding, co-operation and working together. What the Turkish Cypriot representative said yesterday, very hypocritically, was "We want co-operation, we want to work together". But as the President said, "the acts of

Turkey speak louder than its words". I quote again, still from the Secretary-General's report:

"The result has been a seemingly deliberate policy of self-segregation by the Turkish Cypriots. ... the hardships suffered by the Turkish Cypriot population are the direct result of the leadership's self-isolation policy, imposed by force on the rank and file."⁹

225. This demonstrates the Turkish policy of apartness and segregation which Ankara imposed on the Turkish Cypriots against their will. In pursuance of that policy the agents of Ankara in Cyprus—the so-called "TMT underground organization"—issued an order enforcing separatism and giving a list of punishments for those who would not comply with the order. The order, which I quoted at the 1270th meeting of the Security Council on 17 December 1965, reads as follows:

"Turkish Cypriots not in possession of a permit are forbidden to enter the Greek Cypriot sector.

"(a) Those who disobey the order with a view to having trade connexions with the Greek Cypriots should pay a £25 fine or should be punished with imprisonment.

"(b) A fine of £1 will be imposed on:

"(i) Those who converse or enter into any negotiations with Greek Cypriots or accompany any stranger into our sector;

"(ii) Those who come in contact with Greek Cypriots for any official work;

"(iii) Those who appear before the Greek Cypriot courts."

That was one of the measures taken since 1964 imposing segregation of the Turkish Cypriots from the Greek Cypriots. It was also a call for rebellion against the established authority of the Republic.

226. There is a pile of these things. I have given them fully. The representative of Turkey has heard them, but he pretends he has not, or he ignores them.

227. The Government of Cyprus never prevented the Turkish Cypriots from returning to their homes, as Turkey is now doing in Cyprus in the case of 200,000 refugees. On the contrary, the Government of Cyprus was inviting them to return and offering assistance and all security for such a return, but that was disallowed by the Turkish leadership. The rank and file of the Turkish Cypriots were kept as prisoners in the enclaves, and those who could not bear this oppression and tried to escape were shot and killed, as in the case of Yeroavassa, where the victim was shot and killed while trying to escape. Among others is the case of Hassan Hussein of Palekytheon, who was publicly executed before his wife and child because he was trying to go back to their home. Similarly, Kemal Hussein of Neohorio was shot down while in the act of escaping. It is to be noted that more than half the Turkish Cypriot population remained outside the enclaves although the sway of TMT terrorism extended beyond the enclave.

228. Secondly, the representative of Turkey tried in another way to distort the picture by making quotations wholly out of context in a manner that changed their meaning. As to the statements of the President

of Cyprus in the Security Council on 19 July 1974, castigating and condemning the intervention in Cyprus by the Athens military régime for having carelessly violated the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus, quoted by the Turkish representative *in extenso*, I wish to point out that this shows that President Makarios condemned intervention against Cyprus by the Athens junta no less than by the Ankara military régime.

229. The President and Government of Cyprus stand for the independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus against any outside interference. Furthermore, it is neither logical nor true to say that Archbishop Makarios was trying hard to get Cyprus out of its independence and unite it with Greece while he was the target for assassination by the Athens junta in its effort to achieve such a union. This contradiction shows the artificiality of the allegations, which are designed to mislead. This is what happens with anyone who tries to present an untrue picture. It is not easy to do so and contradictions necessarily result.

230. The fact remains that co-operation, understanding and the progress of Cyprus, which can only be understood as co-operation between the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots, is prevented by Ankara and, more precisely, by the Ankara military régime, because just as there was a military junta in Greece that dictated that situation in Cyprus, so there is a kind of military régime that dictates the situation in Ankara and in Cyprus. We want to bring unity to Cyprus and the understanding and solution of the problem through co-operation between the two communities without intervention from either one side or the other. But the continuous intervention by the Turkish military still riding astride Cyprus and trying to dictate their terms prevents any meaningful negotiation and any progress towards a just and peaceful solution.

231. I hope it will eventually be realized by the people of Turkey that it is against their interests and certainly against the interests of the Turkish Cypriots if this policy of division and strife with the aim of partition continues to be encouraged and imposed on the people of Cyprus.

232. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): At yesterday afternoon's meeting [2378th meeting], at a late hour, the General Assembly decided that sterile polemics on the question of Cyprus would not serve any constructive purpose whatsoever, particularly since the question is scheduled to be debated with the participation of the two parties directly concerned, the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities, in less than a month. My delegation would have sincerely hoped that the inveterate passion of the representative of Cyprus would have been subdued overnight, enabling him to recognize the wisdom of the General Assembly as manifested in last night's voting.

233. Yesterday and again today the General Assembly has been subjected to hearing slanderous propaganda against Turkey. I, for my part, categorically refuted the propaganda launched against Turkey in the statement I made yesterday.

234. We find nothing new in Mr. Rossides' statement today, just a mere repetition of embittered hostility

and abusive language. I therefore have nothing to add to what I said yesterday.

235. I wish now briefly to refer to what the representative of Greece has said. Yesterday, I took care to point out in my statement that by our reference to Greece we meant the Greece under the military dictators. What he said is true in that respect. What happened on 15 July 1974 was the responsibility of the Greek military dictators. We have no quarrel with him thus far. But he must remember that the Greek forces, which the Archbishop himself has called the forces of invasion, were sent to Cyprus in 1964—that is, exactly three years before the military dictators took over.

236. In his statement the representative of Greece said those forces were sent to Cyprus against a threat of invasion from Turkey. The record shows that these forces have not served at all against any threat of invasion from Turkey but only to oppress the Turkish community and to create an explosive situation. That was the case in 1967 and again in 1974, when they went all out and brought about a *coup d'état* in Cyprus in order to ensure the annexation of the island by Greece.

237. The representative of Greece also made reference to the Treaty of Guarantee, and he said that Turkey was committed to restoring the Constitution of the island. That is true. That is what the Treaty of Guarantee says. But, with the *de facto* situation created after 1963, with all that has happened since then, and after what happened with the *coup d'état* in July 1974, I think not only Turkey but all the Member States of this Organization realize there was no possibility of returning to the constitutional set-up of 1963. That was accepted by Greece and also by the Greek Cypriots, since they agreed that the Turkish and Greek communities should have a dialogue and should negotiate in order to elaborate a new constitution. So I think that what the Greek representative said in that respect is not valid either.

238. I do not intend to tax the patience of the representatives. When we were debating the inclusion of the question of Cyprus in the agenda, both in the General Committee and here in the Assembly, my delegation pointed out the dangerous consequences of a possible debate held in an atmosphere of propaganda and polemics. I am sorry to observe that we have been almost dragged into this atmosphere, through no fault of ours, even before the debate on Cyprus has started. Nevertheless, we should like to maintain the hope that we shall approach the forthcoming debate on Cyprus with moderation and reason. We for our part shall do our utmost in this respect.

239. Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As we are coming to the end of the general debate at this session, the delegation of Chile can draw up a balance sheet of the allegations against Chile made by some delegations.

240. We have been able to observe two attitudes which are clearly distinct from one another. Some have merely repeated the same terms that have been used for more than two years, with some lack of imagination. They have spoken of repression, of dictatorship, of reactionary forces, of retrograde factions, of terrorism, of crimes, of massive violations of human rights.

Others by their words have indicated a genuine concern for the condition of mankind in the world and have proposed to extend to all continents the United Nations activities in that sphere.

241. I shall not at this time consider the lack of originality shown by the first group to which I have referred, who have merely made negative accusations without making a single constructive comment. Nor shall I refer to the total lack of moral authority of those countries which take an accusing attitude when they themselves for many years have been the targets of suspicion and have attempted laboriously to hide their own internal situation from the world. The weakness of the arguments and the doubtful sincerity of those who call themselves "peace-loving States" do not justify my stopping to give an individual response to what they have said; nor am I prepared to lower the tone of debate in this world-wide Organization by replying to false and offensive accusations by the representative of a Government which appears finally to have renounced the exercise of its national sovereignty and which therefore cannot and will never understand the independent, proud attitude of others who tolerate neither masters nor "big brothers".

242. However, we believe that the comments made by the second group, when they referred to the implementation throughout the world of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, deserve the full attention of this Assembly.

243. My delegation fully supports the search for an effective, fair formula which, on a non-discriminatory basis and without any political intent, would be designed to achieve respect for human rights at the universal level. Even more than this, we should like to add our experience so that we can give shape to the constructive views expressed here. We should like to contribute to the fairness of the standards which the Organization adopts and to the successful achievement of its purposes.

244. We believe that the generalization of a system of investigatory committees and the criteria which would govern them require that preliminary criteria be established first. Any prejudicial attitude caused by ignorance of reality must be rejected, as must be those expressions of condemnation which are not based on proven cases. We must eliminate the tactic of attempting to influence international forums, conferences, committees, governmental or non-governmental organizations, thus avoiding the accumulation of a mass of agreements and resolutions without any objective foundation which would merely be used for political purposes. We believe that a distinction should be drawn between those isolated acts which can and do occur in any human grouping and a sustained and systematic violation of fundamental rights, which must be judged with all the more priority the less the States concerned show a desire to correct the situation. Investigations concerning human rights should not serve as a pretext for interference in sovereign affairs, which might affect the security of a country. It is necessary that each specific case, such as that concerning my country, against which an offensive by an entire political bloc has been unleashed, should instead be the object of calm and objective study.

245. Only by paying attention to these and to other factors will it be possible to establish the international

climate which would guarantee progress rather than provoking any retrograde movement.

246. In the sometimes heated climate of the debate in the General Assembly, in which we hear the most diverse opinions, rather curiously points of decided coincidence can also be observed. I believe I am not mistaken when I say that the interest in the "Chilean case" is shared by many of the States represented here.

247. There is no doubt that since the United Nations was established 30 years ago there has never been such a broad and costly campaign waged against a country on the basis of a collection of falsehoods and we have the right, therefore, to request you to go to reliable sources of information to study the opinion of diplomatic representatives and learn of its situation through reliable media; to reflect on the relief with which the Chilean people welcomed the order and tranquillity which followed upon chaos, bankruptcy and insecurity; to look for an explanation in the overwhelming support which my Government is receiving, as shown both by the surveys carried out by specialized international agencies and the unequivocal attitude of the population, and to note the attitude of a citizenry whose maturity has been recognized and who are awaiting with confidence the judgement of history and the restoration of truth.

248. Mr. MALDONADO AGUIRRE (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I regret that I must exercise my right of reply, but I feel obliged to do so in view of a mistaken reference made with regard to a matter which concerns the integrity of the Guatemalan territory. The reference was made by the representative of Cuba, who agreed with the position that the representative of the United Kingdom [2372nd meeting] was trying to maintain.

249. I believe that the reference to the case of the usurped Territory of Belize is incorrect, since the representative of Cuba did not take into account the fact that that Territory, both in theory and in practice, is an integral part of the national territory of Guatemala.

250. There are many historical, social, geographical, legal and other reasons supporting the Guatemalan national claim. First, it is well known that the original settlers of the north-eastern territory of Guatemala, known as Belize, were the aboriginal Amerindian tribes, descendants of the Mayans and Kekchies. There is surely no need to explain who the Mayans are. Theirs is an ancient civilization, known for its achievements in art, science and philosophy, and possessed of a political and social organization. In other words, the possibility of those tribes being savages is excluded—just in case anyone should try to uphold the strange and unnatural argument in support of conquest. In addition, since these civilizations were politically and socially organized, the possibility is also excluded of the land of Belize ever having been *res derelicta* or *res nullius*.

251. Secondly, it has been proved—and the United Kingdom knows this very well—that the possessions granted in usufruct by Spain never implied a grant of sovereignty and, in any case, grants of land in simple usufruct from one colonial Power to another were not binding on the new independent State that was constituted in 1821 as the United Provinces of Central

America and emerged into independent life on the principle of *inter alias actae*.

252. Thirdly, the 1859 Convention mentioned by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 2372nd meeting has no formal or intrinsic validity. That is because it lapsed owing to the surreptitious non-compliance of the United Kingdom and also because of the fearfully burdensome and difficult conditions, of which all delegations are well aware, that were imposed by the great Powers on weak newly independent nations. And if, as has been affirmed in this forum, the conventions which were imposed at the beginning of this century are completely unjust, representatives will all the more readily understand how unjust and how burdensome was a convention signed between a great Power and a weak newly independent Power in the middle of the last century.

253. The case of Belize should be studied in the light of the doctrine of resolution 1514 (XV). That doctrine recognizes the right of peoples to self-determination, but requires them to respect the territorial integrity and national unity to which all States have a right. There are many States in this Organization which succeeded in upholding the principle of territorial unity when the metropolitan Powers tried by manoeuvres to exert pressure on them to split up their own territory. When by those manoeuvres the colonial Powers attempt to divide territories, there is no way in which an unjustified principle of self-determination prevails because the right of peoples to territorial integrity is supreme.

254. We would also like to state that the solution of this problem should be subject to the principles of international law and in particular to the principle which confirms and acknowledges the equality of States. It is incongruous to claim to recognize the right of some States to territorial integrity and yet to try to deny that right to others merely on the basis of special considerations, and never for legal reasons. I imagine that if a State with some 800 million inhabitants were to claim territorial integrity here there would not be another State which would dare deny it that right.

255. The right of States to legal equality is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Its interpretation must not be partial, it must be comprehensive; it must not be fragmented, it must be complete; it must be egalitarian, not biased. It is a single right that applies to all because our sense of equality and justice is offended by any opportunistic interpretation whereby a right is recognized for one and denied others.

256. Guatemala believes that the Charter and resolutions with which we willingly comply should be interpreted as a whole, with a full sense of equality. Those are the requirements of good faith in the fulfilment of the commitments that we have assumed so as to ensure the reign of international justice and law. Those are fundamental bases for an order of lasting and stable peace.

257. The United Kingdom is trying to shun the peaceful means of settling disputes stipulated in the Charter, so as to impose by force a unilateral and illegal solution that will allow it to disguise its colonial exploitation

behind the apparent independence of a territory and even ensure its success in that regard.

258. In conclusion, let me quote a phrase of one of the most illustrious of those who have visited Guatemala, José Martí, who said: "No one who refuses to struggle for the rights of others can insist on his own."

259. Ms. MAYMI (United States of America): Earlier in this meeting, the Cuban representative saw fit once again to attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. My Government regrets that the Cuban delegation makes it necessary for us to state once more the facts of the case and our very strong and well-known views on this subject.

260. The people of Puerto Rico attained self-government by fully and freely participating in a referendum in 1952, in which they voted to establish a Commonwealth, freely associated with the United States, and by which they adopted a Constitution for that Commonwealth. They have repeatedly reaffirmed that decision in free elections conducted on the basis of universal adult suffrage in 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968 and 1972, and in a status referendum in 1967.

261. The General Assembly at its eighth session, in 1953, specifically recognized Puerto Rico's attainment of self-government by adopting resolution 748 (VIII), which, in paragraph 5, states that:

"... the people of ... Puerto Rico have been invested with attributes of political sovereignty which clearly identify the status of self-government attained by the Puerto Rican people as that of an autonomous political entity."

Paragraph 6 of the same resolution states that:

"... the Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories and the provisions established under it in Chapter XI of the Charter can no longer be applied to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico."

262. The General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session, in 1971, endorsed those decisions on the self-governing status of Puerto Rico by rejecting a proposal to include an item on Puerto Rico in its agenda.¹⁰

263. In 1972, as in previous elections, the overwhelming majority of the Puerto Rican people supported the Commonwealth and Statehood Parties. Only slightly more than 4 per cent of the electorate voted for the Independence Party.

264. Misrepresentations in this forum will not change these facts, nor will such attacks weaken the adherence of the United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to decisions made by the people of Puerto Rico in free, democratic elections.

265. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset I should like to refer to the statement made by the representative of Guatemala, who emphasized the fact that, according to him, the position expressed by my delegation with regard to Belize coincided with that of the United Kingdom. I do not know if that is so but, if it were, we would congratulate ourselves on being in agreement with that delegation, since we do not unfortunately share the same position in the Assembly very often.

266. Actually, however, ours is not exactly the British position but rather the position which is maintained

by many other countries and above all by the neighbouring countries of the Caribbean region. This position was categorically and much more fully expressed, not so much by me in my statement as by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held recently at Lima, where more than 70 States also declared their support for the independence of that Territory.

267. May I also comment briefly on some indirect allusions that the representative of the Chilean Government apparently attempted to make. I think it is clear that behind language which seeks to be painstakingly elegant, the Chilean régime is attempting to split into two sectors those countries which, within this Assembly and in many other international bodies, have clearly and categorically expressed their views with regard to the violation of human rights being committed in Chile. A similar attempt was made last year, and its results are known. My delegation trusts that the Assembly will be able to deal with this effort appropriately.

268. With regard to his repeated haughty references to his Government as if it were the highest exponent of national sovereignty, I need not labour the point, but will just recall what all representatives have been able to read and can still read profusely reported in the United States press about who created the régime of 11 September 1973 in Chile, more popularly known by the three initials CIA.

269. Finally, with regard to the statement made by the representative of the United States, Ms. Carmen Maymi—I suppose that that is how it is pronounced in Santurce—let me merely state that the repetition of well-worn arguments that have been advanced in this Assembly for a number of years can in no way contradict the fact that the international community is expressing with increasing clarity its support for the right of the Puerto Rican people to achieve national independence. Perhaps because Ms. Maymi has not been in her country of origin for some time she does not realize that the elections to which she referred—according to all the candidates who participated in those colonial elections, to the present Governor of Puerto Rico and to his predecessor—were in no way plebiscites, but were held in conditions which the international community cannot accept as valid for determining the national feelings of a people. She has spent some time in Chicago and Washington and has perhaps forgotten how the data she put forward here are regarded in Santurce.

270. Mr. GALLARDO MORENO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the conclusion of the 2372nd meeting, on 2 October, during which in the context of the general debate we heard a statement by the Foreign Minister of Guatemala, my delegation stated that it would study with the attention it deserves the statement made here by the Foreign Minister of Guatemala in relation to the question of Belize, in order to decide whether we need to make another statement on the matter.

271. My delegation wishes to reconfirm what we said on that occasion. It will decide whether to make a statement later and reserves its right to do so.

272. Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): My delegation's position on the question of Belize was

made very clear by Mr. Richard last week on 2 October, and I do not want to weary the Assembly at this late hour with a refutation of the assertions which we heard a short while ago from the delegation of Guatemala.

273. I wish simply to state that my delegation stands, and will continue to stand, for the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence by the democratically elected Government and the people of Belize, a people which has enjoyed full internal self-government for 12 long years, and whose independence is long overdue and has only been delayed by what my Permanent Representative qualified last week as an anachronistic claim devoid of any legal foundation.

274. We are glad to note that the principle of self-determination and independence for Belize has already received substantial support in the course of this general debate.

275. May I add that my delegation has listened to and noted most carefully the statement just made by the delegation of Mexico.

276. Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of the Government of Cuba has insisted upon making political attacks on Chile and hurling insults at us. He particularly referred to the alleged interference of the Central Intelligence Agency. That is an allusion he already made last year, and he is still frantically trying to find confirmation of it in the press. But he cannot find any.

277. The delegation of Chile does not intend to follow the same course. Out of respect for the countries represented here and for the United Nations itself, we wish to avoid any sterile political confrontations and will therefore never make the mistake of bandying insults. Those that are offered to Chile are not worthy of our attention, nor should they take up the time of this Assembly. Chile, in all its 165 years of sovereign independence, has never been hurt by the attacks of a tyranny.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

³ See the document which was issued subsequently entitled *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. I and chap. II, sect. A.

⁴ A/AC.176/5.

⁵ Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 935, No. 13295).

⁶ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, 1780th meeting, para. 55.*

⁷ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964*, document S/5764, para. 113.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Twentieth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1965*, document S/6426, para. 106.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1938th meeting, para. 110.*