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President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE
(Sri Lanka).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*concluded*)

1. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is gratifying for us all to be able to applaud the unanimous election of Mr. Amerasinghe as President of the General Assembly. His wide experience, his well-known qualities as a diplomat and his dedication to the ideals of the United Nations make his election an act of justice. It is, moreover, an expression of gratitude to the Government and people of Sri Lanka, which, under the guidance of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, play an active role in the forefront of the struggle of the non-aligned countries to build a new order in international relations based on independence and equality. It is especially gratifying to my delegation to congratulate him by virtue of the brotherly relations that exist between Cuba and Sri Lanka and the friendship that has characterized our relations with Mr. Amerasinghe in the course of a number of years' work in the United Nations.

2. May we extend our congratulations to the Government of the Republic of Seychelles, which has recently obtained independence and has become a new Member of the United Nations. Those two events represent a tribute to the world struggle against colonialism and demonstrate once again the inevitable nature of the process of decolonization at the world level.

3. In welcoming the admission of Seychelles we must voice our protest against the exclusion of the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Those two States, which are members of the non-aligned movement and of its Co-ordinating Bureau, have become members of a number of international bodies and maintain normal relations with almost all the members of the international community. Their admission to the United Nations has the virtually unanimous support of countries of all regions and political and social systems. If Angola and

Viet Nam are not among us today, this is due exclusively to the disgraceful, irresponsible and obstinate opposition of the Government of the United States of America, which appears to base its foreign policy on whim and arbitrariness.

4. The year that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly has been characterized by advances and victories in the struggles of peoples against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

5. During that stage, together with the achievements of the socialist countries and of the forces struggling for peace, we must note the historical victories of the people in Viet Nam, which was reunified under the banner of socialism; in Laos, where the Democratic People's Republic was established; and in Kampuchea. We also witnessed the success of the liberation movement in the former Portuguese colonies, especially the defeat of the South African racists in Angola, the positive consequences of which have given a decisive impetus to the struggle for liberation in southern Africa and the continuation of the process of détente in Europe.

6. All those achievements show a predominant trend in international relations in favour of the cause of peace, independence and progress. However, together with those encouraging factors, we continue to witness trends that could lead to war and aggression and the activities of those favouring the use of force in international relations continue to threaten the process of détente, which has not yet become irreversible and universal. It is not difficult to see that the forces of imperialism and reaction are still stubbornly intent on changing the course of events and repressing peoples in order to halt or deflect the processes of liberation, while attacking progressive Governments. We are living in a situation in which the progressive forces and those which seek to hold back the march of history are engaged in a decisive struggle and bloody confrontation. That antagonism is the characteristic feature of the present international situation. In order to consolidate peace and to obtain an order of relations in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter it is essential to maintain the united efforts of the socialists, the non-aligned and all other countries interested in the promotion of true international co-operation. That effort must be channelled along three levels at the same time: we must consolidate, extend and make irreversible international détente; we must achieve effective agreements on the road towards general and complete disarmament; we must adopt measures for the speedy and total elimination of colonialism and racism in all its forms and manifestations and for ensuring the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and promote the establishment of a new international economic order. The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo last August, represents an important contribution to that

universal endeavour. It served to ratify the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist orientation of the non-aligned movement and its decision to strengthen co-operation with other progressive and peace-loving States and forces.

7. The African scene, at the time of the opening of the current session of the General Assembly, has undergone radical changes. The heroic and consistent struggle of the liberation movements culminated in the downfall of Portuguese colonialism and the accession to independence of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Angola. The racist régimes in the southern part of Africa were cornered by the impetuous advance of the liberating process. Faced with that different situation, the imperialists, colonialists and racists conceived a new strategy which was more brutal, more aggressive, more subtle and insidious. On the one hand, they organized the most shameless military aggression against independent Angola, invaded its territory and committed every kind of crime, misdeed and outrage against its noble people. On the other hand, the diplomats and theoreticians of imperialism, disconcerted by the image of an Africa that was standing on its feet and firmly repulsing its oppressors, showed an unaccustomed interest in that continent and attempted, through demagogy, deceit and the manipulation of docile collaborators, to confuse their peoples and disseminate deceitful formulas for the "solution" of their serious problems, the object of which was to sow division among the anti-colonialist forces and to perpetuate the supremacy of racism in that continent.

8. They are still today continuing this two-faced game which combines flattery with the stick, the cleverness of their professors with the bayonets of their mercenaries. While Mr. Kissinger hurries off to a region of the world which he has only lately discovered, his colleagues in the Central Intelligence Agency and in the Pentagon continue to forge aggressive plans against the People's Republic of Angola and are unflagging in their promotion of conspiracies against the progressive States of Africa. While the United States Secretary of State talks with Mr. Vorster and Mr. Smith of magic formulas to perpetuate *apartheid* and white oppression under the guise of new clothes designed at the eleventh hour, the racists in Pretoria are massacring children in Soweto and the Salisbury troops are bombing the territory of Mozambique and destroying refugee camps.

9. Those who believe that they can deceive those who have been subjugated and impoverished for centuries are mistaken. They will be even more mistaken if, dominated by an arrogance that makes them believe in their capacity to repeat successfully the deceitful practices of the first European sailors and discoverers, they attempt to pass themselves off as liberators of those whom they are oppressing and as friends of their victims.

10. There is no possibility, nor has there ever been or will be one, of reconciliation between the oppressor and the oppressed and between the victims and those who victimize them. We must not forget that, if today the former colonialists and racists are attempting manoeuvres to enable them to negotiate with those against whom they fought for so many years in the most difficult circumstances, this is precisely due to the effectiveness of the struggle, to the successes achieved by the liberation movements in their

difficult and selfless struggle. The international community must not condone any action which might affect the liberation movements or weaken them in their efforts. The correct and consistent thing to do in this decisive hour is to redouble the most resolute political, moral and material support to the African liberation movements in order to speed up the downfall of the colonialist and racist régimes, with which we cannot legitimately compromise until such time as the cause of freedom and independence has triumphed throughout the continent.

11. The General Assembly must renew its commitment of solidarity with the struggle of the African peoples for independence, freedom and racial equality. In this connexion the Assembly should energetically condemn the manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime designed to perpetuate its oppression over Namibia. The deceitful racist words spoken in the fraudulent "constitutional talks" in Windhoek must be categorically rejected. The only peaceful solution of this question consists in the transfer of all power to the Namibian people represented by its national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. This organization has indicated its willingness to contribute to a peaceful solution if its proposals are accepted, namely the holding of direct talks only between SWAPO and South Africa. The sole purpose of these talks would be to put an end to colonial domination over Namibia; they must not be part of previous talks with tribal groups and must be preceded by the unconditional release of all political detainees, and, finally, a cease-fire must be decreed and the army of SWAPO must be recognized.

12. The adoption of effective measures by the United Nations to expel South Africa from Namibia has now become obviously urgent, since Pretoria has systematically flouted all the relevant decisions and resolutions of the international community and has used and is continuing to use the Territory of Namibia as a base for aggression against African countries. Last year's invasion of the People's Republic of Angola, which ended in the most humiliating and decisive defeat ever suffered by the racists, their mercenaries and their imperialist tutors, served to draw the attention of the world to the threat to international peace posed by the continuation of South Africa's presence in that Territory. Now, while the General Assembly is in session, the South African régime is maintaining tens of thousands of soldiers concentrated close to the Angolan frontier, continuing to fortify the northern part of Namibia and carrying out constant attacks and provocations against the territory of Angola.

13. The situation in Zimbabwe demands the most careful attention of all progressive countries and forces. Encouraged by the success of Angola and the advance of the revolution in Mozambique, the national liberation movement is giving proof of growing vitality and is carrying out ever more effectively and victoriously its struggle against the Ian Smith clique and its imperialist partners. It is in this context of imminent bankruptcy of the Salisbury régime that Mr. Kissinger decided to carry out his recent and suspicious safari. The purpose of his journey could not have been more obvious. Representing the great North American monopolies—which are the main beneficiaries of the exploitation of the peoples of southern Africa and, therefore,

those which are more keenly interested in perpetuating the *status quo* in the region—the head of United States diplomacy is today attempting to serve as a vehicle for a new manoeuvre designed to save the essence of the racist and colonialist régime imposed on the masses in Zimbabwe. The main thrust of his proposals—which he reiterated before this Assembly a few days ago—seeks to gain time for the racist minority while promoting division among the nationalist sectors, attempt to suspend the sanctions against the illegal régime and organize the massive invasion of foreign capital, especially United States capital, which would strengthen white domination.

14. Mr. Kissinger's proposals must be rejected. They show that there is a need to strengthen our solidarity with the true freedom fighters of Zimbabwe in their armed struggle which they are engaged in and which will soon lead them to total victory.

15. We must not disregard the fact that a key interlocutor in Mr. Kissinger's recent travels was the head of the racist régime in Pretoria. This is not surprising if we realize that one of the strategic motivations of the present manoeuvres of imperialism in Africa is the preservation of the system of oppression and discrimination imposed on millions of Africans by the Government headed by Mr. Vorster. Regardless of the successes of the African liberation movement, however numerous its achievements against traditional colonialism, nothing can ever make us forget the fact that Africa will not be entirely free, that no African country can ensure its independence and sovereignty, that no African people can live in peace and security while there continues to exist in South Africa the heinous system of *apartheid* because there, in the southern extreme of the continent, there is a cancer which attempts to devour all the African peoples; there persists there the most brutal forms of human exploitation; there we find still the crudest manifestation of all that is inhuman, repugnant and hateful that colonialism and racism have meant to the peoples of the third world.

16. The struggle of the people of South Africa against *apartheid* has therefore acquired an importance going far beyond the boundaries of the continent. The whole world must pay a tribute to the South African workers, students and patriots who, in every corner of the racist territory, have heroically and resolutely raised their voices in protest, have unmasked the brutal and repressive essence of the Vorster régime, and have shown that the African masses are not willing to live with racial oppression. The General Assembly must adopt strong and effective measures against *apartheid* and in support of the struggle of the South African people, and must definitely reject the policy of "bantustanization" and repression practised by the Vorster clique.

17. The anti-colonial action must be consistent and must encompass all the regions of the world where peoples are denied the exercise of their national rights. We reiterate our support for the struggle of the people of so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti), of Western Sahara, of East Timor, of Belize and of Puerto Rico, as well as of any other territory still subjected to colonialism.

18. It is necessary to solve the problems that have arisen because of colonial domination and that prejudice the

sovereignty and territorial integrity of sovereign States. In that connexion we reaffirm our support of the people and Government of the Comoros, which have a just claim over the island of Mayotte, an integral and inseparable part of the territory of the Comoros; we support also the legitimate aspiration of the Argentine Republic to recover the Malvinas Islands.

19. It is indispensable to eliminate the vestiges of the aggressive imperialist policy that still weighs heavily on many States and affects millions of human beings. We must crown the victory of Viet Nam by admitting it to the United Nations very soon. Furthermore, the United States Government must comply with the commitment it assumed, in subscribing to the Paris agreement,¹ to contribute towards healing the wounds of the war that it imposed on that noble people. The international community has a debt of honour to the peoples of Indo-China, which so bravely defended the right of all peoples to decide their own destiny freely by facing up to the most ferocious aggression. Therefore, we are duty bound to give them all the co-operation they may require in their national reconstruction.

20. The so-called Korean question will never be solved without the complete withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea, the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the ending of foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people. Only in that way will we achieve the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean nation. My delegation reiterates its support for the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve that goal.

21. The Middle East crisis is still of grave concern to our Organization. A solution to that problem can be found only on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied since June 1967 and full respect for the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. This appears to be an opportune moment to convene the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, in which the Palestine Liberation Organization should participate on an equal footing with all the other parties involved in the conflict. My delegation participated actively in the work of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people and supports its recommendations [see A/31/35], which we believe could well trigger the process that will lead to the solution of this burning problem. The tragic events in Lebanon have shocked world public opinion. My delegation reiterates its support for the territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon and the right of its people to solve the country's problems by itself and without violence. It is urgent that an end be put to the fighting from various Arab trenches, since that is depriving the Palestinians of that centre of resistance against the common enemy. The continuation of the struggle in Lebanon is helping to strengthen Zionist aggression and the designs of its imperialist allies in the region.

22. Cyprus is still the object of intolerable aggression, which has taken specific form in the occupation of a large part of its territory by foreign troops. Once again we call

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

for their complete and unconditional withdrawal and demand respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, a loyal Member of this Organization and a founding member of the non-aligned movement. The problems that exist between the Cypriot communities will be solved satisfactorily only on the basis of strict respect for the principles of non-intervention and the sovereign equality of States, principles that have as much validity with regard to Cyprus as they have with regard to any other member of the community of nations. In reiterating our solidarity with the Government of Archbishop Makarios, the sole legitimate authority on the island, my delegation urges the Assembly to adopt effective decisions to put an end to the aggression, to alleviate the tragic conditions of the thousands of refugees in that country, and to restore peace and justice.

23. The peoples of the world have applauded the process of détente, which promotes the strengthening of world peace, the greatest aspiration of mankind. This process of détente, we repeat, must be strengthened in order that it may become irreversible and universal in character. To that end it is necessary to adopt effective measures for the speedy elimination of colonialism and to ensure respect for the rights of all States, large and small. An important contribution to the cause of peace would be the achievement of concrete progress in disarmament. In that connexion we reiterate our support for the convening of a world disarmament conference. Similarly, we reaffirm our support for negotiations to achieve effective and strict measures for the total prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. Among disarmament measures, we attach priority importance to the elimination of the foreign bases which the imperialists and colonialists have disseminated throughout the world against the will of the peoples. In this connexion we reiterate our demand that the Government of the United States return to Cuba that part of our national territory it usurps in the region of Guantánamo. Equally necessary for the security and peace of the peoples of the Caribbean is the dismantling of United States bases on Puerto Rico and Panamanian territory.

24. The proposal submitted to the Assembly by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Comrade Andrei Gromyko, relating to the conclusion of a treaty banning the use of force in international relations [A/31/243] is further proof of the constructive attitude of the Soviet Government and its desire to improve the international climate. The exclusion of the use of force from international relations is the aspiration and desire of all the peoples of the world, and we therefore trust that that proposal will receive the enthusiastic support of the General Assembly.

25. This year, as we commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean are engaged in a decisive struggle to preserve the independence for which they fought so boldly. History has brought them to a cross-roads where the cause of freedom today demands of Latin Americans the same readiness to fight, the same lucidity in working out the appropriate strategy and the same solidarity that was inculcated in them by Simón Bolívar.

26. The measures for the defence of national sovereignty adopted by some Latin American countries, the growing struggle of our peoples to recover their national wealth, Panama's firm defence of its sovereign rights over the Canal and the neighbouring zone and the active international policy of the Government of Mexico have made possible Latin America's participation in the world struggle being waged by the peoples of the third world to establish a new international order based on equity and respect for the rights of all peoples.

27. In these past few years the countries of Latin America have created some instruments which may help to defend their national interests and strengthen their ties of co-operation. The establishment of the Latin American Economic System, the Caribbean Multinational Maritime Transportation Enterprise, the Group of Latin American and Caribbean Sugar-Exporting Countries is the most successful example of this.

28. The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean are, however, confronted by the attacks of North American imperialism, which is seeking to halt recent advances and to reinstate its domination over the region.

29. North American imperialism is attempting to extend over the map of the continent authoritarian and servile régimes such as that established in Chile on 11 September 1973. Today Latin America is faced with the threat of a fascism dependent on the dictates of Washington, which co-ordinates its repressive practices beyond its national frontiers and commits crimes and engages in torture and persecution that know no geographical or humanitarian limits. The danger this phenomenon represents for the interests of all our peoples is clearly shown by the recent ties established between Pretoria and the régimes in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay and other South American countries with which the *apartheid* authorities are seeking to establish a strategic alliance.

30. The international community must resolutely support the Latin American freedom fighters who are resisting the repression of these dictatorial régimes. It will have an occasion to do so in the General Assembly when the report of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile [A/31/253, annex], which was established by the Commission on Human Rights to study the Chilean situation is considered. The information amassed by the *Ad Hoc* Working Group shows that there are strong grounds for the accusation of those who, having been established in power as a result of imperialist intervention, have unleashed against the Chilean people the most brutal and unbridled repression and terror. Vast sectors of Chilean society are calling for effective international action to put an end to the crimes and excesses of the Pinochet junta. Such action is especially urgent when it is remembered that the agents of the Chilean régime, obsessed by their complete internal isolation and their vigorous repudiation by the international community, are now committing crimes beyond their frontiers. The assassination in Washington barely two weeks ago of the former Foreign Minister of Chile, Orlando Letelier, confirms this fact. His death, like the deaths of thousands of Chilean victims of Fascist terrorism, will be justly dealt with in the not-too-distant future, when the Chilean people recovers its freedom through heroic struggle.

But now the international community must take strong measures against those who have made terror and crime into standard official policy.

31. The struggle of the Latin American people is not easy, nor will it be easy to stop their relentless march towards freedom.

32. Guyana and Jamaica bravely continue a policy of recovering their national sovereignty and they are making important economic and social changes which open up to their working masses prospects of a future of justice and well-being. Against both processes imperialism and international reaction are launching conspiracy, economic sabotage and hostile propaganda, and, in the case of Guyana, they are also threatening its territorial integrity. Prompted by sincere feelings of brotherhood born of a colonial experience shared for many centuries, Cuba reaffirms its full solidarity with the peoples and Governments of Guyana and Jamaica in their endeavour to consolidate and protect their national independence and to make the social changes that will liberate their peoples for ever from their past of servitude and oppression.

33. Both countries are protagonists in the profound process of renewal that is stirring up the whole Caribbean region.

34. International public opinion must be mobilized in support of full respect for the rights of the Caribbean peoples. After many centuries of colonialist and imperialist outrages, the time has come for those peoples to determine their own destinies freely, without foreign interference. That demand is expressed today particularly in their call for unrestricted respect for the independence, sovereignty, self-determination and territorial integrity of Guyana, Jamaica and other States of the region. It is also necessary to take effective international action once and for all to put an end to manifestations of colonialism in the Caribbean and, especially, to contribute to the struggle of the peoples of Puerto Rico and Belize for their national independence and for full respect for their territorial integrity and their enjoyment of their natural resources.

35. The cause of Panama is considered their own by all the peoples of the region. I am therefore happy to reiterate the support of my Government for its just demand for the full exercise of sovereignty over the Canal and the neighbouring zone and our solidarity with the Government of General Omar Torrijos in his strong defence of Panamanian national sovereignty.

36. Cuba confirms its full solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence. Despite the obstinate opposition of the administering Power, the international community is expressing ever more vigorously its demand that Puerto Rico be allowed to exercise its sacred national rights. Recently, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted by consensus a decision reaffirming the inalienable right of that people to self-determination and independence, reiterating earlier decisions of the Committee; taking note of decisions on that question adopted by the non-aligned countries at their

Colombo and Lima Conferences; and deciding to continue examination of that question next year in order to consider appropriate measures.² My delegation believes that that was a positive decision which will enable the Committee next year to move forward in the adoption of just decisions that will contribute to the liberation of the Puerto Rican people. For our part, we reiterate that we shall continue to give them our support in their just struggle for independence.

37. As we have repeatedly stated, this attitude of Cuba's is in keeping with our policy based on principle and therefore cannot be modified.

38. Economic problems have aroused much attention during the current general debate as a reflection of the growing concern of the developing countries over a situation which calls for strong and effective measures if we truly wish to establish an order of relations that will promote peace and be based on co-operation. The present economic crisis is placing an increasing burden on the peoples of the third world. The Declaration and Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] have remained a dead letter, and the majority of the developed capitalist countries have shown no true will to make changes in the structure of the world economy and trade, which is an inescapable need and a demand that is firmly supported by all the countries of the so-called Group of 77. Meanwhile, the inflationary process continues, and the capitalist world burdens with its consequences the under-developed countries, which in turn do not obtain remunerative prices for their exports or find favourable conditions for the development of their trade. It is imperative that the developing countries strengthen their unity to demand radical changes that will put an end to this unequal exchange and to the burdensome load imposed by external debt on many States, and that will help promote a true transfer of resources for development.

39. An important contribution to this unity and to the development of the developing countries would be for the oil-producing countries to adopt a policy of true co-operation with the other developing countries.

40. For the Cuban people the past year has been one of intense and fruitful work. It began shortly after the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, which served as the framework for an in-depth study of the national situation, laid the basis for the restructuring and institutionalization of the socialist State, traced the guidelines for the first five-year plan, adopted a new system for management of the economy, and took all-important decisions on the future orientation of Cuban society. This year has as its main orientation the concept of applying, enthusiastically and with confidence in the future, the conclusions of the in-depth, careful analysis carried out by Cuban Communists. Our entire people has undertaken this task with love, dedication and perseverance. In February, with the wide support of the people voiced in a plebiscite, it adopted the new socialist constitution, which enshrines the gains achieved by our working classes and by our people since the revolution of January 1959, and guarantees its definitive institutionalization.

² See document A/AC.109/PV.1051, pp. 2-3.

41. In the process of the establishment of genuinely and profoundly democratic machinery through which it will be the people itself which governs, takes decisions and permanently controls State affairs at every level, scarcely a few days ago, throughout my country, free elections were held, by secret and direct ballot, whereby the people elected their representatives. That process will culminate on 2 December with the formation of the National Assembly of the People's Power and the constitution of the main organs of the State and Government.

42. This stage will coincide with the twentieth anniversary of one of the major events in Cuban history: the day on which Fidel Castro and a handful of heroes disembarked on the beaches of Cuba's Oriente Province to begin the final stages of the armed struggle which was to do away with the Batista tyranny and lead to the final liberation of our homeland.

43. Twenty years ago, Cuba exemplified the degree of domination, poverty, corruption and despotism to which North American imperialism had led our peoples. It was oppressed by a corrupt and sanguinary military clique which, in the service of Yankee interests, instituted a brutal régime of terror. The struggle to do away with it cost my people 20,000 martyrs, who live today in the hearts and memory of all Cubans and serve as guidance for our revolutionary intransigent decision.

44. Those were hard, agonizing, unforgettable years, which formed the vanguard that was victoriously to lead the Cuban people to the successes represented by the singular honour of making socialism, for the first time, a triumphant reality in the Western Hemisphere.

45. Twenty years later, in the Cuban archipelago, transformed radically by the revolution, there emerges a reality which is a lasting tribute to the freedom fighters of *Granma*. In a space of time brief in historical terms, the revolution did away fully with illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, racial discrimination, unhealthy conditions and all the social vices of the past. It rescued Cuba's dignity and sovereignty, and marches firmly along the path of economic development. For each of the revolutionary martyrs there are today hundreds of Cubans who, for the first time, have an opportunity to attend the universities of our country; there are scores of new school centres which all Cuban children may attend; scores of hospitals which guarantee adequate medical attention to all citizens; hundreds of social buildings and housing developments, which ensure for the masses a well-being they had never known before. There are thousands of works of every kind which have completely changed the past backward and feudal image of our country of two decades ago. Each of our martyrs lives in the constant efforts of 9.5 million Cubans, who work feverishly to construct the new society. Those martyrs are reborn with each achievement, with the completion of each new work and with the culmination of each effort.

46. However, we are faced with serious difficulties which will affect our economic development plans. External factors beyond our control will compel our people to make new sacrifices, but our people will be able to face them, thanks to its unyielding revolutionary conscience.

47. Those external factors are the collapse of the price of sugar on the world market which has lowered the value of that product to levels that are no better than those that prevailed during the great crisis of 1931 and 1932; the persistent rise in the price of many items of equipment, machinery and primary commodities which we must import with the hard currency that we obtain from the depreciated value of our sugar; a severe drought which has seriously affected the eastern provinces of Cuba and substantially damaged important areas of our agricultural production; and the maintenance of the economic and trade blockade imposed on Cuba by North American imperialism which prevents our country from having access to international credit institutions and drastically limits our capacity for export. This last is reflected particularly in the closing of many markets to Cuban nickel, which could have been one of the few export products that might have compensated my country for the critical situation in which it now finds itself as a result of the decline in the price of sugar. The recent decision of the Government of the United States to triple the import duty on sugar in the American market is an aggression against sugar-exporting countries and will help to aggravate further the crisis in the sugar trade in world markets.

48. Considering these problems last 28 September, Comrade Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, stated:

"Of course, the news of our difficulties may make our enemies happy, but they do not know us well. We know the times in which we live. We know how much the world still has to go through as a result of the unequal system of trade and the exploitation to which the third world is subjected by the developed capitalist countries. We know that the world is subjected by the developed capitalist countries. We know that the world has still to change a great deal. We know that the road of revolution is long, not only the road of the Cuban people's revolution but also that of world-wide revolution, and that the underdeveloped countries will have, for many years, to face these problems."

49. Despite all these obstacles, the Cuban people will continue, firmly and perseveringly, along the road of revolution. The serious economic difficulties of the present will not affect the maintenance of basic social services which, in the fields of public health and education, have already reached levels of which we are legitimately proud. Neither will they affect the living conditions of the masses. It is precisely in these moments of trial and tribulation that we see clearly the superiority of socialism in facing up to difficulties without placing on the working masses the weight of the consequences of economic reverses.

50. While I am speaking before you, the peoples of Cuba and of Guyana are in mourning. Barely a week ago the Cuban people witnessed a further manifestation of the brutality of its enemies and of their miserable and cowardly actions. A DC-8 aircraft of the Cuban Airlines was a victim of criminal sabotage in the waters of Barbados, which cost the lives of all those aboard. In connexion with this serious incident, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba will, tomorrow, Friday, make an important statement which we will distribute in due course to delegations.

51. Our people will continue, with unswerving determination, on its revolutionary course. It will continue to raise the banners of socialism; it will continue to hold high the internationalist principles of its foreign policy; it will persist in its decision to defend its small territory and maintain it as an impregnable bastion of revolution. Nothing and no one can divert it from its course, because it knows that it is accompanied in its march by the solidarity of all those who are fighting for freedom all over the world; because it is impelled and encouraged by the mandate of thousands of Cubans who fell along a road bathed with blood and marked with sacrifice and heroism over a century of struggle for freedom and independence; because it knows that however many the obstacles, however great the difficulties at present, however great the sacrifices imposed by a world that is still unjust and unequal, the future is in the hands of the peoples who struggle and the future belongs entirely to socialism.

52. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): I recently had occasion to express to the President of the General Assembly, Ambassador Amerasinghe, who was elected to the high office of President of this General Assembly, our sincerest congratulations. Today, on behalf of the Lebanese delegation, I wish to renew those congratulations along with our best wishes for his success.

53. In this general debate, many statements have been made about various aspects of international relations and problems. At present, my delegation is not in a position to make any worth-while contribution to the discussion of the items on this year's agenda. It is not that these items have become unimportant or irrelevant to us, but that our priority is, most understandably, the murderous and ravaging war that has afflicted Lebanon and its people for the last 18 months. Are we expected to stand here and express our views on disarmament, when the unscrupulous flow of arms to Lebanon during the last few years has spread death and destruction in a hitherto peaceful and prospering country? Or to stand and speak of the strengthening of international security, when the peace and security of Lebanon have been shattered and this Organization is theorizing on how best to preserve peace and security in the world? Or should we discuss the question of how to enhance the role of the United Nations, when the scourge of war which it is supposed to prevent, according to the first consideration of the Charter, is decimating our people and turning a prosperous land into a shambles?

54. Should we deal with the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and of safeguarding their independence and sovereignty at a time when our sovereignty has been torn to shreds and intervention in our affairs has become so flagrant? Are we to discourse on the responsibility of the United Nations to protect the small and the weak among its Members at a time when the faith of international public opinion in the United Nations ability to perform this primary duty has been shaken? Or are we expected to discuss the new international economic order and social development when the thriving economic life of Lebanon has come to a standstill?

55. How stark is the contrast between what we discuss here at the United Nations and the harsh realities that our people are enduring in Lebanon. I say this neither in a spirit

of rancour towards, or disappointment with, the United Nations nor in an attempt to undermine its prestige. For one reason, we know that its capabilities are limited and, thus, so are our expectations of it. For another, we, as a founding Member State, so loyal to the United Nations and so consistent in the service and propagation of its ideals, cannot be a party, even in the darkest hours of our modern history, to the downgrading or castigating of an Organization that we want to be stronger, more efficient and more spontaneous in its response to the need to protect the security of its Members. I say this only to impress on the minds of delegations here that Lebanon's tragedy should be a warning—and indeed a stern one—that the security, nay the survival, of Member States cannot be viewed with lethargy and indifference. Furthermore, we believe that small States should draw the proper conclusion and realize that they must be ever more vigilant and effective in protecting their higher interests and national rights. They must principally rely on their national means to safeguard their independence and sovereignty. Alas, regional and international organizations have not yet reached the stage where they can provide these States with an adequate shield for their protection.

56. However, the general debate has revealed to us the growing interest of friendly nations in the fate of our country and people, and we are deeply moved and appreciative of their outpouring of expressions of sympathy. We note with satisfaction their call for the restoration of stability and peace in Lebanon and for the preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as of the unity of its people. President Elias Sarkis extends his appreciation for the references made to Lebanon and for the assurances given by some delegations that their Governments stand ready to assist him in his difficult task.

57. Similar calls and assurances have been made by our esteemed Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, on several occasions. We extend to him Lebanon's appreciation for the constant concern he has shown for the Lebanese people through their long and tragic ordeal. His many appeals and initiatives to end the bloodshed and destruction have been a testimony to his courage, statesmanship and deep interest in the welfare of a Member State. To him and through him we express the gratitude of the Lebanese people for the varied humanitarian assistance granted to them by many agencies in the United Nations family and for the initiative for the establishment of a special fund of \$50 million for Lebanon under the leadership of the able Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Buffum. It is our hope that when peace reigns again in Lebanon, which we hope will be soon, it will be possible for the fund to operate speedily and efficiently in meeting the growing needs of the country, which will require a new assessment in the light of more recent developments.

58. Lebanon has been in the throes of unprecedented, cruel and tragic events for over 18 months. The world has been baffled by the intensity of the fighting, the passions it has aroused, the large number of casualties and the extent of the destruction. Much has been said and written about the original causes of the fighting and about the obstacles which have prevented a satisfactory settlement until now. In the maze of analyses and theories, a good deal of

emphasis was wrongly placed on the internal character of the conflict, particularly in the first phase of events.

59. Lebanon is no different from other countries and naturally has its own political, economic and social problems. While this is not the forum to discuss our internal problems, we should like to stress from the outset that never were our internal problems of such magnitude as to generate so much violence, bloodshed and destruction. In themselves, these problems could have been resolved in the traditional spirit of conciliation, compromise and national concord which has always characterized the relationships between the various communities and parties in Lebanon. Mr. Kamel al-Assad, Speaker of the Lebanese Parliament, recently stated: "If there should be an inter-Lebanese conflict, it can only be solved through constitutionally established institutions." Lebanon has been a classic example of how various religious communities can live and prosper together in peace, harmony and freedom and within the framework of a democratic and progressive system of government. The vast majority of Lebanese realize that violence is not a means of improving or restructuring institutions, for it only begets destruction. The only sane and rational way is through dialogue and consensus and according to the organic laws of the country.

60. What, then, are the origins of the tragic and complex events that have disrupted Lebanese society for so many months? We believe that they are to be found in the web of Middle Eastern contradictions and complexities—that is, the establishment of Israel, the displacement of the Palestinians, the Arab-Israeli wars, the failures of the United Nations to implement its resolutions regarding the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab lands and the recognition and restoration of Palestinian rights, the Arab rivalries and the assaults perpetrated by Palestinians against the sovereignty of Lebanon and the security of its people. The unsettled conditions that resulted from these factors have maintained a state of tension and turbulence in the area, which was bound to affect directly a small country like Lebanon, lying at the cross-roads of Middle Eastern political currents and subject to their pressures.

Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) took the Chair.

61. This state of affairs was indeed accentuated by the presence of about 400,000 Palestinians in Lebanon, among whom the Palestine revolution had established deep roots. For years, friction between the Lebanese authorities and people, on the one hand, and the Palestinians, on the other, has intensified and resulted in a steady deterioration of their relationship. That was caused by constant Palestinian intervention in the internal affairs of Lebanon and intolerable encroachment on its sovereignty. By their very activities, Palestinian irregular and revolutionary forces aroused the apprehensions of the Lebanese population. In 1969 President Charles Hérou called attention to the risks that might occur from the disrespect of Lebanese sovereignty by various Palestinian factions. Nevertheless, the situation continued to deteriorate and the fighting which erupted was finally contained when the crisis was resolved by the Cairo agreement. That agreement regulated the activities of the Palestinians in Lebanon.

62. Further conflicts occurred in May and June 1973 between the Lebanese authorities and the Palestinians,

resulting in yet another agreement. At that time, President Suleiman Franjeh, while reiterating his support for the Palestinian cause, denounced the illegal occupation of parts of Lebanese territory by Palestinian elements, as well as the contradiction, in a country as small as Lebanon, between the logic of the Palestinian revolution and the logic of the State which wants to preserve its sovereignty.

63. But the Palestinians did not respect the accords that were concluded. And it pains me very much that I, after so many years' service to the Palestinian cause and to the rights of the Palestinians, should stand at this rostrum to bring these hard facts to the attention of the international community. The Palestinians acted as if they were a "State" or "States" within the State of Lebanon and flagrantly defied the laws of the land and abused the hospitality of its people.

64. Furthermore, after the events in Jordan of September 1970, the Palestinians introduced several units of their forces into Lebanon and transferred various commands of the resistance movement to Lebanon—without the approval of the Lebanese authorities and, sometimes, despite them. For years, they steadily increased the influx of arms into Lebanon—arms of all calibres and from various sources. They transformed most—if not all—of the refugee camps into military bastions around our major cities, in the heart of our commercial and industrial centres, and in the vicinity of large civilian conglomerations. That was done even in remote areas having no connexion with the Palestinians' struggle to regain their rights and their homeland.

65. Moreover, common-law criminals fleeing from Lebanese justice found shelter and protection in the camps, where the arm of Lebanese law could not reach them. Those camps in fact became centres for the training of mercenaries who were sent and financed by some other Arab States under the pretext of assisting the Palestinian resistance movement, but who, at their first call, found themselves fighting against the Lebanese authorities and people. Palestinian elements belonging to various splinter organizations resorted to kidnapping Lebanese—and sometimes foreigners—holding them prisoners, questioning them, torturing them and even sometimes killing them. Those elements took the liberty of erecting check-points on our major highways and cross-roads, stopping traffic, checking the identity cards of passengers and hampering the normal life of our people. They committed all sorts of crimes in Lebanon and also escaped Lebanese justice in the protection of the camps. They smuggled goods into Lebanon and openly sold them on our streets. They went so far as to demand "protection" money from many individuals and owners of buildings and factories situated in the vicinity of their camps.

66. It is difficult to enumerate all the illegal activities committed by those Palestinian elements—sometimes described as undisciplined and uncontrollable—which gave rise, in turn, to the dissatisfaction of the Lebanese Government and the resentment of its people, which charged an atmosphere already fraught with tension. That atmosphere became so explosive that it needed a mere spark to ignite it. A few incidents that occurred in the spring of 1975 provided that spark.

67. The friction between Palestinians and Lebanese could have been settled in a spirit of goodwill and brotherly co-operation, a spirit which had permeated their relations in the past. But it became apparent that the Palestinians had designs on becoming a major factor in the battle for political power in Lebanon. They openly allied themselves, and continue to do so to this very hour, with one group of Lebanese against another. Whatever grievances the Lebanese may have had among themselves or in their relationship with their Government, the Palestinians had neither the right nor the justification to become a party to any internal dispute whatever.

68. Why did the Palestinians risk all the gains we had achieved together for their cause? Why did they pursue a war in a country that had stood by them in all their years of exile and ordeal? Fifty thousand dead, 100,000 injured, 1 million Lebanese refugees in Syria, the Arab world, Europe and America; the dismantling of our administrative, economic, social and educational institutions and enterprises—all that could not be justified by any objective of the Palestinian revolution, or by any principle of morality and brotherhood. So much human suffering and so much destruction were the result of the Palestinian participation in the fighting and their stubborn persistence in it. It is deplorable that those who have been the victims of a gross injustice are inflicting an injustice of such inhuman proportions on Lebanon and its people.

69. It is incomprehensible to the Lebanese why western Beirut and peaceful towns and villages in northern Lebanon, in the Beka'a valley, or in the heartland of the Lebanese mountains or Sidon, having no connexion with any aspect of the conflict, should be besieged, occupied and sometimes destroyed by Palestinian forces. Why have so many innocent civilians been killed in the name of "liberation" and "revolution"? And why should many public utilities and buildings be under Palestinian control? Has all that happened in order to prove what a leading Palestinian personality has said, that "the road to Palestine cannot but pass through Aintoura, Aiyoun es-Simaan, and must even reach Jounieh itself"?

70. It is indeed sad for a Lebanese diplomat to stand before this Assembly and denounce the actions of the Palestinians in Lebanon. There is no need to remind delegations here that we have always been in the vanguard of all endeavours to promote the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Lebanese diplomacy has devoted its major activities here and elsewhere to the defence of the Palestinian cause and of every Arab cause for the last 30 years. Every President and Government of Lebanon has spared no effort in that connexion. That was, and is, in keeping with our belief that an injustice was done to the Palestinians which must be rectified: in other words that they have the right to return to their homeland.

71. That was not the only service rendered to the Palestinians. About 100,000 of them came to Lebanon in 1948 after they were expelled from their homeland. Their number swelled to over 400,000 by 1975. Lebanon provided them with a refuge and with several opportunities. In our midst they have enjoyed all the freedoms enjoyed by the Lebanese—the freedom to assemble to organize, to

express themselves openly, to disseminate information, to publicize and to contact the entire world through our communications facilities. In the environment of Lebanon and of the Lebanese experience, the Palestinian concept of a free, democratic and secular State in Palestine was born. The best research centres on Palestinian affairs were, in fact, established in Lebanon, and the finest publications on the subject emanated from Beirut.

72. Because of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, southern Lebanon endured Israeli bombardments and assaults for seven years. One hundred thousand of its inhabitants fled and became refugees in their own country. They swelled the misery belts around our major cities, aggravating an already complex economic and social problem caused by the nearby presence of several Palestinian refugee camps—and, mind you, that is in a small country of 2.5 million people.

73. Many delegations have referred to the fact that the Lebanese crisis is a direct consequence of the Middle East conflict. We agree with that statement. We are convinced that, had a definitive solution been reached about the binate Palestinian/Middle East problem, the conflict in Lebanon would not have erupted. We respect the assessment of the Soviet Union regarding Lebanon in its proposal concerning a settlement in the Middle East and the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East in that respect.

74. We also welcome the statements made earlier in this debate by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger [*11th meeting*], and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko [*7th meeting*], about the need to reconvene the Geneva Conference in search of a comprehensive solution to the problems of the Middle East. On our part, we should like to stress the urgency of such an action. I repeat—on our part, we should like to stress the urgency of such an action. We have become one of the parties principally interested, for our future and the lives of our people are at stake. We have consistently advocated the necessity of dealing with all aspects of the Palestinian and Middle East problems. Whatever steps were taken in the past must now lead to an over-all settlement. We cannot stress that urgently enough.

75. The changes resulting from the war of October 1973 and the subsequent efforts made to reach a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, whether through the Geneva Conference or through partial agreements, had a potentially explosive impact on Lebanon. The Palestinians and the Arab countries which favoured or rejected those peaceful plans took advantage of the liberal and democratic system and life in Lebanon and clashed on Lebanese soil in order to advance their different political objectives.

76. However, no matter how, where or when a comprehensive settlement is reached, it cannot delay the solution of our problem or affect our interests. Our position must be clearly understood. We want to restore peace and order to Lebanon as soon as possible and to re-establish our total authority and sovereignty over our land.

77. I should like now to deal with another point which has created some concern in the past. It was feared that events taking place in Lebanon might lead to its partition.

Sometimes the fears were generated by talks about "plans" and "plots" undertaken on the international level to achieve partition. We have never known of any such scheme or approach having as its objective the partition of Lebanon made by anyone in or from Lebanon.

78. Despite all the tragic events that have taken place, the Lebanese authorities and forces which persevered in the defence of legality and constitutional institutions have constantly proclaimed their determination to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon for the benefit of all its people without distinction, any fear or any accusation to the contrary notwithstanding.

79. Despite the various positions taken in the present conflict on any other aspect of the crisis, there is one aspect on which all the Lebanese are united, namely, their total opposition to partition and their determination to preserve Lebanon's unity. That was strongly affirmed by President Sarkis the other day in his inaugural speech when he said: "In my view, what is sacrosanct and inviolable is the sovereignty of Lebanon and the unity of its territory and its people."

80. Now I should like to make a few remarks about peace-making efforts. We welcome some efforts deployed by some friendly States and by several truly sister Arab States, which can perceive that higher Arab interests could be better served in the spirit of Arab brotherhood, fairness and justice to all than through the abuse of Arab wealth for the funnelling of arms, money and men for disruption and sedition in Lebanon.

81. We also welcome the efforts of the League of Arab States, although timid in the beginning, to help restore peace and order. However, we should like to pay a special tribute to our closest sister Arab State, the Syrian Arab Republic. Our special relations are such that anything which affects or afflicts Syria affects and afflicts Lebanon. The Syrian Government, under the wise and firm leadership of President Hafez Al-Assad, perceived the dangers inherent in the Lebanese crisis in all their dimensions and initiated several efforts to mediate the differences between Lebanese factions and to end the fighting between the Lebanese and the Palestinians.

82. The Syrian army was sent to Lebanon in a peace-making effort to separate the combatants and to help restore peace and order. It was resisted by the Palestinian forces and their allies, who called for the withdrawal of the Syrian forces as a condition for the cessation of hostilities and for their own withdrawal from the positions they occupied. The presence of Syrian troops in Lebanon is subject to Lebanese sovereignty and to Lebanese sovereignty alone. The Lebanese authorities, and they alone, can exercise the sovereign right to determine any position regarding that presence. The Palestinians have no such right and certainly cannot speak for Lebanon or determine what is best in its interests.

83. President Al-Assad said that the Palestinians should not disregard the fact that Lebanon is not Palestine and that Beirut is the capital of Lebanon and not of Palestine. He added that Syria would accept a demand for the withdrawal of its troops from the Lebanese President, or

Prime Minister, or Speaker of the Parliament, but not from the Palestinians. In this connexion I should like to bring to the Assembly's attention what President Elias Sarkis stated in his inaugural address on 23 September. He stated that the presence of the Syrian army in Lebanon must be considered within the framework of the special relationships that exist between Syria and Lebanon. He stated further:

"I am in a position to declare that the future of this presence and all that ensues from it depends on the Lebanese constitutional authorities, which must take on their responsibilities and decide their position in conformity with the higher interests of Lebanon and in the light of events."

84. This leads me to some final conclusions and thoughts.

85. First, we deeply regret the deterioration in relations between Palestinians and Lebanese. But, more than that regret, we in Lebanon are grieved and appalled at the number of casualties our people have suffered, at the extent of the destruction in the country and at the damage done to our way of life and to our world image.

86. Secondly, peace and confidence between the Lebanese and the Palestinians can be restored, and it must be restored. It is in their mutual interest to end the fighting speedily. The position of the Lebanese authorities and people is clear. Lebanon cannot and will not allow any encroachment on its sovereignty. Any settlement of its dispute with the Palestinians must ensure the following: the dissociation of the Palestinians from the fighting in Lebanon; their withdrawal from all the military positions they are now holding; their respect for the sovereignty of Lebanon and its laws; their strict adherence to the accords concluded with them by Lebanese authorities; and their refraining from interfering in Lebanon's internal affairs.

87. Thirdly, while we welcome some Arab and non-Arab efforts to help us solve the crisis, we regret the activities of some Arabs that are heightening tensions in Lebanon.

88. Fourthly, we believe that the time has come to solve the problems of the Middle East by effecting the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab lands and by enabling the Palestinians to exercise their inalienable rights, which have already been recognized, among them the right to self-determination and to nationhood in their homeland of Palestine.

89. Fifthly, while we welcome diplomatic efforts through the Geneva Conference or by others to find a comprehensive solution to the problems of the Middle East, we consider that any delay in achieving this objective should not impede the speedy restoration of peace to Lebanon or affect its interests.

90. Sixthly, while the Lebanese reject any thought of partition, their determination is to restore the freedom and unity of all the regions of the country, so that they can shape and determine their future together in a manner that will preserve their independence, sovereignty and fundamental liberties.

91. The question is often asked, Can Lebanon survive? Can Lebanon stand on its feet again and recover? My answer is an emphatic "Yes"—and it will. Our people have faced adversity many times in the past. They have the capacity and virility to absorb the present calamity, hard as it may be. We have suffered great material losses; however, we cherish our freedom and the unity of the Lebanese people, regardless of sacrifice. We pray that those who have died did not die in vain. As our President, Mr. Sarkis, stated:

"If we rediscover the right path, that of reason, of love and of conscience, our sacrifices will not have been in vain and the Lebanese martyrs of today will have died so that Lebanon might live."

92. The Lebanese have cut stones from the mountains to build their homes, places of worship and schools. With these stones they built walls against the slopes of the mountains, backed them with earth, terraced them, planted trees on them and transformed Lebanon into the verdant fruit basket of the Middle East. Without any significant help from outside, our people developed a thriving economy, despite the lack of natural resources. They have made Lebanon one of the best centres for education, health, trade, tourism and communications in the Middle East. Those who have built in the past can rebuild in the future. With the grace of God, with the aid of all Lebanese at home and abroad, with the assistance of our sister Arab States, friendly nations and the United Nations family, Lebanon will rise and thrive again.

93. Lebanon will transform the legend of the phoenix into reality. Out of the flames and ashes a new Lebanon will be born—a Lebanon that is more united and freer, more resolute and stronger, more dedicated to the social and human progress of its people, to equality and justice among them, to amity and co-operation among nations, and to peace in the world.

94. I am confident that the image of Lebanon as a land of peace, concord, love and conciliation will shine once again.

95. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, a few weeks ago the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries assembled in your great country and gave further evidence of the constructive role Sri Lanka plays in the non-alignment movement with a view to helping maintain world peace and security, promote development and prosperity, and enhance the struggle against colonialism, foreign domination and exploitation. Today we are gratified to see a distinguished citizen of that country, a brilliant diplomat with great experience, presiding over the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. It is my pleasure to congratulate your great country and you personally on the coincidence of these two important occasions, and to express our confidence that under your wise leadership the work of this session will be crowned with success.

96. I should like also to extend my congratulations, Sir, to your predecessor, Mr. Thorn, for his efforts as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

97. We note with pride and appreciation the high qualities of wisdom and patience shown by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and the indefatigable efforts he has been making in the interest of humanity and peace and towards strengthening the role of the United Nations and maintaining its independence and effectiveness. On behalf of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic I express our complete support for his efforts, support which we have given in the past and shall continue to give in the future.

98. One of the important events that has taken place at this session has been the admission of Seychelles to the United Nations. On behalf of the Government and people of the Libyan Arab Republic I extend most sincere congratulations to the people of the Seychelles and wish them progress and prosperity.

99. The recent passing away of Chairman Mao Tsetung was a very sad event, deeply affecting the whole world. I take this occasion to reiterate my condolences to the delegation of the People's Republic of China on the passing away of their great leader, who during his lifetime took strong stands in favour of peace and liberation. Our Arab nation will never forget the backing and support it received from China in its struggle against colonialism and foreign domination.

100. The year 1976 marks the beginning of the five-year plan in the Libyan Arab Republic. More than \$22 billion have been allocated for the plan, which includes programmes and projects in such areas as the economy, communications, and social services and social affairs. In the preparation of the plan, special emphasis was laid on the development of existing productive capabilities and the creation of new resources, with a view to adjusting the economic structure and freeing it from complete dependence on the petroleum sector through the creation of new sources of national income.

101. Like the other plans, this five-year plan is aimed at achieving the goals of the Libyan Arab Republic—namely, growth of production, equitable distribution, and reform of the economic and social conditions—the ultimate goal being the attainment of progress, prosperity and social justice for the people.

102. Aware of the fact that they influence and are influenced by the problems of the Arab world, the African continent and the world as a whole, the people of the Libyan Arab Republic are concerned with these problems as much as they are interested in the preparation and implementation of ambitious development plans. They would also like to take part, along with other peace-loving nations, in the effort to lay durable foundations for world peace and security, to promote prosperity and welfare for the peoples of the world, and to enhance the advancement of human civilization.

103. One of the aims of the people of the Libyan Arab Republic is the achievement of Arab unity—I repeat: the achievement of Arab unity—because the present backwardness, disunity and division are unnatural in our Arab nation. A nation having the same destiny, facing a common threat and yearning to achieve the same goals and objectives ought to be unified in the framework of a single, strong

unit capable of defending itself against any threats and of achieving advancement and progress.

104. We are aware of the hardships of the course we are taking and of the dimensions of the challenges we are facing. The present stage of our struggle for unity is inevitably accompanied by differences and disputes, but other nations also have their differences and disputes, and sometimes even wars and other tragedies occur in the course of their development and struggle for unity. We are determined to reach our goal of unity and will not be hindered by sterile attempts which stand against Arab unity; these attempts will be crushed by the Arab masses in their triumphal march to ultimate victory.

105. We can hardly conceal our feelings of sadness and pain at the tragic developments in the Arab world which have been initiated and exploited by colonialist reactionaries and heinous Zionist forces, in order to fuel the Arab differences and to sow the seeds of hatred among the sons of one Arab nation. The Libyan Arab Republic has made every effort to extinguish the fire of dissension and to alleviate the tragedy of the afflicted. We are confident that our nation, by virtue of its traditional vitality, will be able to overcome the difficulties, achieve unity and eliminate all the intrigues and conspiracies woven against its unity and progress.

106. The unity we seek is a requisite for our nation's ability to enrich civilization and contribute effectively to the progress of the international community. Arab unity is a legitimate national movement, and in the light of the trends of history is viable. It is considered an essential factor in the struggle against backwardness, colonialism and imperialism.

Mr. Kondé (Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

107. By virtue of its geographical location our Arab nation is linked to Africa by bonds of blood, history, culture, religion and common interest. We also have in common the struggle against colonialism and imperialism and mutual efforts to move away from the state of backwardness. Eighty per cent of the Arab population and 70 per cent of their land is in Africa. Bearing these factors in mind, it is our conviction that Arab-African solidarity is inevitable for the advancement of the masses in the Arab world and in Africa. Contributing its share in the strengthening of Arab-African solidarity, the Libyan Arab Republic champions all sincere efforts made in this connexion by other sister States and by the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States. Sound development, reasons of interrelated security and historical changes all demand that we should develop and increase Afro-Arab solidarity and create a genuine unified Arab-African front.

108. The problem of the Palestinian people is the primary concern and cause of the Arab nation. Although this question has been before the United Nations since 1947, the lot of the Palestinian people has been alleviated, and neither the United Nations nor the international community has been able to reach a final just solution in this cause. The deterioration of the situation has, as we all know, been due to the arrogance and stubbornness of the criminal Zionist gangsters and the unjust and unlimited

support they receive from various countries and primarily from the United States. The most recent flagrant support at the United Nations was given when the Security Council discussed the question of Palestine on four occasions last year. The majority of Security Council members endeavoured to reach a consensus, but their efforts were in vain because the United States could not but satisfy the Zionist gangsters at the expense of the Palestinian people by abusing its right of veto.

109. We still believe that the optimal solution of this problem lies basically in enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its legitimate rights and in the creation in Palestine of a democratic secular State within which Moslems, Christians and Jews would be equal. We also believe that the settlement of the Palestine question is the basis for solving what is now called the Middle East question.

110. The people of the Libyan Arab Republic stand firmly by their brethren the people of Palestine and will continue to do so until victory is achieved, despite the pressures, blackmail and slander waged against us by colonialist reactionaries and exploiters of people.

111. On this occasion I should like to comment on the statement of the last speaker and to express our sorrow and pain at hearing a representative of an Arab country at the United Nations saying things that sadden us and undermine our cause. Unfortunately he was trying to justify the slaughter of the Palestinian people. We do not wish to turn this meeting, which is the last of the general debate, into an Arab quarrel, because we Arabs are engaged in lengthy talks and, as I have said, the problems of the Arab nation are acknowledged by us. We are very well aware of them and we would have hoped that the problems of the Arab nation and Arab questions could be dealt with within the Arab family. Regrettably, however, what happened, happened.

112. The question of Palestine and the tragedy of the Palestinian people cannot be discussed without reference to the deplorable role of the governing establishment of the United States of America as champion of unreasonable, unjust and unlimited support for the Zionist colonial aggressors in the Arab homeland. From the United States the Zionist gangsters get material, economic and military aid; from the United States the Zionist gangsters also receive moral, diplomatic and political support. Without this continuous and steady flow of support for more than 30 years the Zionist gangsters—who gathered from all corners of the world—would not have been able to remain and live in Arab Palestine and to oppress the Arab people of Palestine. Events have shown the deep and close association between the governing establishment of the United States of America and the aggressive racist Zionist movement. Events have also shown how sensitive the American leaders are regarding anything that might affect the racist Zionist gangsters from near or far. As a result of Zionist influence on American politics, the American information media, the Congress and Government officials all compete in ingratiating themselves with the Zionist racist gangsters by trying to keep them happy at any sacrifice, even at high cost to the interests, money and sweat of the working-class people of the United States themselves. Above all, in doing so they ignore the high ideals of the founding fathers of America, who revolted against British colonialism in America.

113. The most recent example of American leaders capitulating before Zionism was to be seen on television last week. What we beheld was painful if not ridiculous: the two presidential candidates humbly and pitifully competing to ingratiate themselves with the criminal Zionist gangsters, even though those gangsters create devastation and destruction in our homeland and use the armaments given them by America to destroy our farms and houses in Palestine, Sinai and the Golan Heights.

114. It seems as if at stake in the current election campaign is the office of the mayor of Tel Aviv rather than the office of President of the United States, which is one of the super-Powers of this world.

115. In that debate no criticism was made of the Zionist gangsters. On the contrary, generosity in offering more assistance to the Zionist gangsters in all areas was pledged, as if the debate was an auction in which bids were being desperately offered by the two candidates to assist the Zionist entity. Neither of the duelists dared utter a word in favour of the struggling people of Palestine or the 150 million Arabs who have suffered from American napalm and whose land the American economy has been draining of tens of billions of dollars every year.

116. It is a tragedy beyond description to see the American giant being dragged into supporting injustice and the oppressor, arming the aggressor and contracting the enmity of a nation struggling for freedom, unity and progress, such as the Arab nation, by allowing America's great capabilities to be used in the aggression against our land and in killing our people.

117. However, our nation is determined to pursue the struggle against the twentieth-century tyrants, whom it will teach a lesson, as it has done in the past in its long, continuous civilization—which has endured for thousands of years in spite of difficulties and obstacles—and in its struggle against invaders and tyrants.

118. Mr. Carter has threatened to wage an economic war against us, not because we have wronged the United States, but as a reply to our boycott against the Zionist entity. He must be aware that the Arab boycott of Israel is a legitimate international weapon against this artificial entity which invaded our land and plans to stay there brazenly at the expense of our struggling peoples. The other candidate, who joined in the parade of those attacking the Arab boycott of Israel, knows better than any that the United States is the last country to be justified in condemning the Arab boycott, because it practises a boycott against many countries, for illegal causes in most cases.

119. The governing establishment in the United States knows that the Arab boycott is an economic weapon against an entity which we do not recognize, and with which we are at war, and not against any religious, ethnic or cultural group. The Arab boycott list includes Moslems, Christians and Jews—white, red, yellow and black. We boycott anyone who supports the economy of Israel and violates the regulations agreed upon unanimously and collectively by all Arab States invoking their right under all rules and laws effective in the world of today.

120. I would like to make it clear that I speak on behalf of all Arabs when I say that threats will not intimidate us, nor will the rumbling of the election campaign. If the candidate who threatened us with an economic war is fortunate enough to win the election, we will be watching to see how he is going to carry out his threat. He might discover that to carry out his threat will not be as easy as he thought, that the life of the Arab nation is not in the grip of the American governing establishment, and that the United States is not the only State nor is it the only power in this world. He will discover that we will find markets—other than American markets—which will be available to us for products, technology and trade.

121. The imminent future will set the record straight. Perhaps the mad threat we heard will help to unify us and awaken those who because of bad judgement and misguided ideals are backing the American horse. This group has to be assured, as we have been, that the American horse has disappointed them, and has given its rein to the gangsters of New York and Tel Aviv, the warmongers and exploiters of peoples.

122. American disregard was recently manifested in the decision taken a few days ago to provide the Zionist entity with new, highly sophisticated weapons. This conduct confirms anew the unreasonable policy and irresponsible conduct of the United States in our region, and the fact that it is hastening unwisely to give unlimited and unrestrained support to the Zionist gangsters. This latest foolish conduct shows that American leaders have lost their minds and are obviously acting beyond the realm of reason and logic, in a flagrant challenge to the Arab community and the morality of the world.

123. Even the American press, which supports the Zionist gangsters, has voiced its surprise and its fears at this foolhardy conduct. Yesterday, for example, the *Washington Post* stated that: "This is an obvious case of the principles of national security falling victim to political interests."

124. The question of decolonization in general, and that of Africa in particular, is closely linked with the question of world peace and security, and is a matter of concern to our people. The white minority régime in Zimbabwe continues to pursue its repression of the black majority in defiance of all United Nations resolutions. The situation there is explosive, and a dangerous war is already in progress. Despite repeated United Nations efforts at reaching a solution, as well as the efforts of African leaders and other mediators, the racist minority régime continues to refuse to recognize realities and listen to the voice of reason.

125. In Namibia, the imperialist, racist collusion is quite apparent. The racist régime of South Africa, disregarding all United Nations resolutions and the appeals of the world community, clings to its rule in Namibia; continuing to perpetuate *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and to sow the seeds of dissension among the people of that Territory by pursuing the policy of "bantustanization". The continuation of South Africa's presence in Namibia is illegal and in violation of the international Organization's resolutions. South Africa's administration in Namibia must be withdrawn and its occupation of the Territory must come to an end. The United Nations should also reject any step taken

by the South African Government that would prejudice the unity and territorial integrity of the Territory, or that would hinder the Namibian people's free and legitimate expression of their will with regard to their future. Any constitutional arrangements made for the Territory are void unless based on the desires and views of the genuine representatives of the people of Namibia, and such arrangements should be made under the supervision of the United Nations.

126. The racist régime in South Africa could not have dared to take the stand it has taken without the support it receives from colonialist, racist, and Zionist circles, which provide that régime with arms and military support, and stand by that régime in the Security Council, by placing their veto at its disposal.

127. We hope that the United Nations will be able to achieve full decolonization and the total elimination of racism on the African continent, thus ending bloodshed, suffering and destruction. We also hope that the peoples of the area will detect any conspiracies implanted to raise false hopes, to sow the seeds of division, and to perpetuate the interests of colonialism and racism, once the advocates of colonialism and imperialism feel that the strong winds of liberation are irreversible and that the hour of salvation is inevitable.

128. The increasing tensions between Turkey and Greece are a cause of great concern for us because of our traditionally brotherly and historically friendly relations with both countries. Therefore, from the moment of the eruption of the Aegean Sea crisis, we took the initiative by offering our good offices in order to prevent the situation from deteriorating further. As a friend of both States, we hope that they will be able to settle their disputes in the imminent future.

129. The question of Cyprus also is a matter of concern for us. We hope for the achievement of a solution that will be acceptable to both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities, that will preserve the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and affirm its role in the non-aligned movement.

130. The Security Council is the body entrusted with maintaining world peace and security. Yet, the Council's performance has been restrained on a number of occasions by the abuse of the right of veto. In this connexion I would like to mention the following examples.

131. First, there was the opposition to the draft resolution submitted by five Member States³ during the consideration of France's announcement of its intention to conduct a referendum on 8 February 1976 in the island of Mayotte, which is a part of the territory of the Comoros.

132. Secondly, there was the opposition to the draft resolution submitted by nine Member States regarding the admission of the Republics of North Viet Nam⁴ and South

Viet Nam⁵ to the United Nations, and the threat to use it against the admission of the Peoples' Republic of Viet Nam. This was the primary obstacle preventing the admission of Angola and Viet Nam to the United Nations—and in violation of the principle of universality. We wish to take this occasion to commend from this rostrum the struggle of these two great peoples. We look forward to their participation in the work of our Organization in the near future.

133. Thirdly, there has been opposition, on three occasions, to draft resolutions submitted during the consideration of the Middle East question including the situation in the occupied Arab territories, and the examination of the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

134. The abuse of the right of veto obliges us to insist on the urgent necessity of reviewing the United Nations Charter and of finding an alternative to the veto in order to make our Organization more effective in maintaining international peace and security.

135. Our people value equality among peoples and abhor all forms of racial discrimination as being degrading to man and denying his dignity. That is why we condemn the racist régimes in South Africa and in occupied Palestine, where the ugliest forms of racial discrimination are practised against the black majority in southern Africa and against the Arab people in occupied Palestine. The report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has exposed the evil collusion between the two racist régimes in all areas, particularly in the military sphere.

136. My country had the honour to act as host to the International Symposium on Zionism and the Racial Questions in Tripoli from 24 July to 28 July 1976. The Symposium urges all States to sever diplomatic relations with the racist régimes in South Africa and in occupied Palestine. The Symposium responded to the defamatory campaign waged against the United Nations by the Zionists and racists and their allies in the wake of the General Assembly resolution at its last session declaring zionism as a form of racial discrimination [*resolution 3379 (XXX)*]. The communiqué by the Tripoli Symposium stated that:

“Nothing is more dishonest than the slogan unleashed by the United States and Israel as the principal weapon in their campaign against the resolution of the United Nations that anti-zionism is anti-Semitism. This dishonest slogan is predicated on the false equation of Judaism with zionism, and the equally false equation of Jews with Zionists.

“It should be remembered that the first opposition to political zionism was forcefully voiced by Jewish spiritual leaders, who stressed that zionism's ethnic, nationalistic and territorial priorities were incompatible with the beliefs and moral precepts of the Jewish faith. . . .

“Other prominent Jews have opposed the exclusivist nature of zionism, its ethno-centrism, and the racial injustices it has perpetrated, on moral, humanistic and universal grounds”.⁶

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1976*, document S/11967.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Thirtieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1975*, document S/11796.

⁵ *Ibid.*, document S/11795.

⁶ See document A/C.3/31/2, annex I.

137. In the light of the necessity of escalating the struggle against all forms of racial discrimination, the International Symposium has established an international organization for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. It is a popular, independent and non-governmental body, whose objective is to participate in the implementation by all means possible of the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination everywhere and to co-ordinate the efforts of all those struggling to achieve this end. The decisions and the communiqué of the International Symposium have been distributed as an official document of the General Assembly dated 30 September 1976.

138. Our policy regarding both the old and the new colonialism and racial discrimination has been declared and is well known. We are opposed to both forms of colonialism and to all forms of racial discrimination, and we support all peoples suffering from colonialism, foreign domination and racist régimes. We fully assist the national liberation movements in their struggle to rid themselves of these racist régimes. We also stand ready to confront all the evil schemes being hatched for the purpose of liquidating the cause of the Palestinian people. The policies of the Libyan Arab Republic conform fully with United Nations objectives, principles and resolutions and hence it is naturally adverse to the common interests of the imperialist and Zionist circles, and, as a result of this, it is the target of a mad, defamatory propaganda campaign waged by these circles who rely on prevarications and false allegations. The imperialist and Zionist circles deliberately seek to distort the honourable image of the national liberation movements by confusing their struggle with individual acts that have nothing whatsoever to do with those movements. They seek to establish a link between the assistance of the Libyan Arab Republic to the national liberation movements and the irresponsible acts which are deplored by all, particularly by the Libyan Arab Republic. The colonialist and Zionist circles also seek to associate the Libyan Arab Republic with the hijacking of planes and the taking of hostages, although the Libyan Arab Republic has repeatedly denounced such acts as being reckless and irresponsible. Therefore, we emphatically deplore all hijackings because they threaten the lives of innocent people. Moved solely by humanitarian reasons, and sometimes at the request of the authorities concerned, the Libyan Arab Republic has, on several occasions, permitted hijacked planes to land at its airports.

139. The colonialist and Zionist Powers are attempting to undermine the Libyan Arab Republic and to create a demagogic atmosphere in order to conceal their terrorist actions against people under the yoke of colonialism and foreign domination.

140. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly were turning-points—and essential turning-points—in the field of international economic relations. They have opened the door for international efforts to correct the deteriorating economic situation that has prevailed for many years, by the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity, and on respect for the sovereignty of States and their inalienable right to utilize their natural resources.

141. The key element in the implementation of General Assembly resolutions concerning this new order is the

political will and genuine determination to implement these important resolutions.

142. The developing countries are determined to develop their economies, depending mainly on their own capabilities and in co-operation among themselves, by using their collective power in negotiations for the establishment of a new economic order with a view to guaranteeing a better life for their peoples.

143. It is clear from the resolutions adopted by the Conferences of Algiers, Dakar, Lima, Manila, Colombo and Mexico that the developing countries stress the necessity of a complete restructuring of international economic relations by the establishment of a new system based on equal sovereignty, common interests and fruitful co-operation among all peoples of the world.

144. The developing petroleum-exporting countries have fulfilled satisfactorily their responsibilities, and continue to shoulder their responsibility, by assisting their developing sister-countries in overcoming economic difficulties caused by the present economic situation, which has dominated the world for over a quarter century. Through bilateral or multilateral channels, members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] have given assistance to developing countries. Furthermore, they have established a number of banks and funds for this noble purpose, their most recent efforts in this connexion being the pledge of \$400 million to the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

145. In addition to its contribution through OPEC, the Libyan Arab Republic gives assistance to developing countries through bilateral arrangements and through its participation in international projects and its contributions to regional and international banks and funds. Furthermore, in 1972 it established the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, whose basic objective is to finance development activities abroad, particularly in the developing countries. The Bank has contributed to the capital of a number of banks and financial institutions in developing countries. The number of its contributions rose from four in 1972 to 19 in 1975. The assistance of the Libyan Arab Republic to the least developed countries reached in 1975 about 6 per cent of its net oil income, which is approximately 3 per cent of its national income.

146. The peoples of the developing countries awaited with high expectations the outcome of the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Yet UNCTAD, unfortunately, was unable to solve the problems of reforming the world market structure in the areas of raw materials and commodities which are important for the exports of developing countries, raising the developing countries' share in world industrial production and attaining the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] regarding the flow of financial resources into developing countries, especially the objective of official development assistance specified at 0.7 per cent of the gross national product. Nor was UNCTAD able to reach a conclusion concerning the transfer of technology, the reform of the international monetary system in the interest of international trade and promotion,

and the easing of debt-servicing problems. It should be pointed out, however, that UNCTAD has made some progress in the area of the development of an integrated programme for commodities, whose major component is the common fund, with a view to financing the international stock of commodities. Still needed, though, is the political will to implement the principal objective of this programme, which will constitute an important element in international economic relations.

147. My delegation notes with satisfaction the attention given by the international community to two of its initiatives during the last session. One of them related to the question of mines planted in the Libyan Arab Republic by the parties to the Second World War. At that session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3435 (XXX), dated 9 December 1975. The Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme also showed interest in the question and adopted Decision No. 80 (IV), dated 9 April 1976 [see A/31/25, annex I]. My delegation expected the study envisaged in paragraph 3 of resolution 3435 (XXX) to be submitted during this session; yet it will be content that adequate time should be allowed for the experts to prepare a comprehensive study. In this connexion, we endorse the proposal that an intergovernmental meeting be convened to take up this important matter. We also support resolution No. 32 of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo, calling for an international conference to consider all aspects of this matter [see A/31/197, annex IV].

148. The second initiative was concerned with bribes and the role of transnational corporations. Consideration of this question led to the adoption of resolution 3514 (XXX) on 15 December 1975. The Commission on Transnational Corporations, at the request of the General Assembly, took up this question at its second session, held in Lima from 1 to 12 March 1976. Furthermore, the Economic and Social Council adopted resolution 2041 (LXI) on 5 August 1976, establishing an 18-member *Ad Hoc* Intergovernmental Working Group to consider this question. The Libyan Arab Republic delegation is gratified by this attention and hopes that a proper solution will be reached in the near future by this international group.

149. The United Nations has made commendable efforts in the social field, especially with regard to a group who have been partially or totally unable to provide for their individual or social needs because of physical or mental disabilities. In this regard the General Assembly adopted resolution 2856 (XXVI), containing the Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons, and resolution 3447 (XXX), dated 9 December 1975, containing the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons. In appreciation of the importance of care of the disabled, and in affirmation of the United Nations resolutions in this respect, the Libyan Arab Republic has submitted, under agenda item 12, "Report of the Economic and Social Council", a draft resolution proclaiming the year 1978 as the International Year for Disabled Persons with the theme "Compassion, Equality and Peace",⁷ with a view to the achievement of a number of objectives, including: first, the

attainment of social and psychological adjustment and conformity for the disabled, to ensure their ability to overcome their physical and mental problems; secondly, the increase of all forms of assistance, care and direction and the creation of appropriate employment opportunities for the disabled with a view to giving them equality with normal individuals; thirdly, the dissemination of information on the importance of this sector of the population and the need for their participation in all the economic, social and political aspects of life. We trust that all States and international organizations concerned will do their best to help in making this humane endeavour a success.

150. Because of our interest in human rights, we are deeply concerned that these rights are still being grossly violated. Despite the enormous material success made by man in recent decades in the exploration of outer space and the sea and the ocean depths, man on this planet still suffers injustices from his brother. Racial discrimination is still at its peak and is practised officially and unofficially; in some countries, human suffering and injustice on grounds of colour, race and religion still exist. Some minority groups around the world are still suffering injustice and tyranny; brutal physical and psychological torture is still being practised against prisoners-of-war and prisoners in general.

151. The question of torture was dealt with in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It is also being given attention by this international Organization. The General Assembly adopted resolution 3452 (XXX), containing the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. We call for further achievements in this area. Hence, protection of human rights should be the corner-stone in rebuilding the international structure, an objective which we all should endeavour to achieve.

152. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Since he assumed the post of Foreign Minister of Algeria, this is the first time that Mr. Bouteflika has been unable personally to take part in the general debate of the General Assembly. Of course, there were such compelling reasons for this, that Mr. Bouteflika had to break with the tradition that he had always valued extremely highly. Algeria, as representatives are aware, is now involved in an extremely active stage of the political reorganization and establishment of its State institutions. Just a few months ago a new national charter was adopted by the Algerian people; a draft constitution is now being prepared; and Mr. Bouteflika has highly important responsibilities in the work and discussions made necessary by those preparations. Those are the reasons why Mr. Bouteflika has asked me to be his spokesman here and to express to the President and representatives his regrets for not having been able, as he would have liked, to address the Assembly himself. Consequently, he has asked me to read for him the text of the statement he had prepared. I shall do my best to carry out that delicate task.

153. I have many reasons for satisfaction at Mr. Amerasinghe's elevation to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. My feelings of personal friendship

⁷ See document A/C.3/31/1, annex I.

towards him are one reason, as is the fact that he represents a country linked to mine by so many common concerns and common concepts in our international outlook. But my satisfaction and that of my delegation is based, above all, on our conviction that the abilities he has already so often demonstrated are of themselves a guarantee of the success of the work of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

154. Mr. Gaston Thorn, his predecessor in this important office, without doubt has earned our gratitude for the way in which he conducted the proceedings of the thirtieth session. The talents he displayed—though, of course, not a surprise to us—have won him our admiration, to which I should like to add an expression of my own personal friendship.

155. The discreet and silent presence of our Secretary-General on this podium clearly belies the always active, often stimulating and sometimes decisive role which he has played for five years at the head of our Organization. We have all appreciated his tireless efforts to perform a task which at times has almost been impossible, efforts to ensure that the United Nations enjoys influence and prestige worthy of its mission in the world today. I should like to take this opportunity to extend to him our gratitude and thanks.

156. I should also like to take this opportunity to express once again to the representatives of the People's Republic of China our sympathy and most sincere condolences on the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung. His loss has been felt not only by the Chinese people; he is mourned also by all those who have found in the example, wisdom and teachings of Chairman Mao the courage, perseverance and faith to wage their own struggles for a future of justice and dignity. No tribute could be adequate for someone who will remain a giant of our time and whose memory will, I am sure, long illuminate the evolution of our time.

157. I would not wish to continue my statement without first of all extending the warm congratulations of my delegation to the young Republic of Seychelles, which has just become a new Member of the United Nations. To that young African State which has just acceded to independence we wish every success, happiness and prosperity.

158. We should have liked also to welcome in the same way the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Angola, to which no one should deny the obvious right of membership in our Organization. The Security Council has, however, not been able to recommend their applications on account of the use of the veto against their admission by the United States of America. As we did last year, we deplore what we deem to be the abusive and irregular use by a permanent member of the Security Council of a privilege which is itself already difficult to accept. That privilege becomes quite inadmissible when it is used to serve considerations which have absolutely no connexion with international peace and security.

159. Each session is for us an occasion to look back briefly over the past year, to take stock of the problems that are in the forefront of our concerns and to suggest the

ways and means which may lead to their solution. A superficial analysis of the international panorama, as with a review of the agenda of this session, could lead us to believe that today we are faced, as we were yesterday, with the same difficulties, which our efforts seemed powerless to overcome. With regard to most of them, the positions that have been described during the general debate have not adduced any radical change from those positions with which we are already familiar, and they do not give the impression that we are moving towards a solution.

160. On the basis of that observation we might easily allow ourselves to slip into facile pessimism, explaining our past failures and apologizing for our future weaknesses. However, fortunately the situation is quite different and, without trying to provoke any undue optimism, it does nevertheless allow us to see an evolution in thinking and in behaviour which can only be seen after a global appreciation of the movement of those past years.

161. Indeed it would appear that we have passed an important phase since the calling into question of the structures of the international community by a third world which is obviously much more aware of its rights, more able to define its aspirations and more skilful in defending its interests. The crisis which was fermenting through the imbalances and the injustices of a world order built up by the major Powers in order to serve and conserve their supremacy came as a surprise only to those who wished to ignore the transformations—slow, perhaps, but far-reaching—of international society following the Second World War, or to those who felt secure in the complacency of a fictitious security or those who were too sure of their prosperity to be concerned by their environment.

162. The last sessions of the General Assembly were marked by the appearance of that new phenomenon which, chipping away some of the old certainties, sometimes gave to our debates the character of a confrontation whose real significance was not always clearly perceived by all. In point of fact we have lived through a period of transition and adaptation which has replaced the former pattern of international relations by a system which takes more account of the preoccupations of all and which gives a more reasonable, if not a more equitable, share to everyone in the settlement of our common affairs. I should like to recall, without dwelling on them, the controversies arising from the spectacular revelation of a new majority in the taking of our decisions. I should also like to remind members of the resistance that was met by our concept of the new international economic order.

163. That shock was perhaps necessary in order to awaken consciences and to highlight the true priorities which face us. The acceptance, even the unwilling acceptance, of that new order of affairs is the first condition for a better understanding in relations among members of international society. The discussions at this session undeniably testify to such an evolution, which allows us to believe that perhaps we are using the same language in speaking of the same problems. That, however, does not mean that we have found an end to our concerns or that our misgivings have vanished. The problems are still there, as a challenge to our will, to our wisdom and to our intelligence. But once we cease to try to hide the true facts or to shirk our

responsibilities, there can be joint efforts, rather than a stalemate, in the search for solutions.

164. The credit for this change must to a very large extent be attributed to the movement of non-aligned countries, which simultaneously crystallized the collective awareness of developing countries and led the industrialized world progressively to take account of the new requirements and demands of international life. The pursuit of that dual aim is perfectly well illustrated by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers, which produced a precise definition of the common objectives of the non-aligned countries, and also by the Fifth Conference which recently took place in Colombo, and which traced the major lines for a co-operation that would bring together the developed and the developing partners in the building of a new world order. The decisions adopted in Colombo [see A/31/197] demonstrate the willingness of the countries of the third world to participate in constructive action based on the broadest understanding of the painful necessities of an adaptation to the constraints of a new world that is sometimes difficult. In any case, they give the lie to the allegations of those who incorrigibly persisted in seeing in our steps only the characteristics of an aggressiveness to be combated with the blindest obstinacy.

165. The maintenance of this situation and the pursuit of a fruitful dialogue between partners equally interested in going beyond the present-day difficulties demand scrupulous respect for the new rules of the international game, as mutual confidence can be based only on everyone displaying goodwill in the defence of his own positions and in his appreciation of the interests of others.

166. We have already had the opportunity of expressing our satisfaction at the progress achieved in the relations among major Powers. We would have been even more gratified if the relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China had followed the same trend towards normalization and détente, not only for a better international equilibrium but also because of the sincere friendship we have for these two great countries and their peoples.

167. The many delegations which praised the results of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe could not, however, be unaware of the fact that the policy of détente will be meaningless if it remains limited in geographical application and in scope. Peaceful relations among major Powers are certainly an essential pre-condition for international peace and security; they do not, however, suffice to guarantee them unless they are supplemented by peaceful relations between the major Powers and the under-developed world.

168. This presupposes first of all an end to interference in the internal affairs of our countries, an end to using our countries for strategic purposes in which our national interests count for very little. I should like everyone to share our indignation at interferences aimed at provoking or encouraging internal disorders in certain countries of the third world or at overthrowing their Governments or their régimes. This short-sighted policy obviously does not lead to the establishment of a climate of confidence necessary

for any genuine détente; on the contrary, it leads to a radicalization of opposition which would render any peaceful approach in the solution of our disputes even more difficult.

169. It would be highly regrettable if the willingness of third world countries to curb their impatience and to enter into a frank and sincere dialogue with the developed world were to be interpreted as a change in the objectives of our countries or as a sign of the resignation of our peoples to a fate which they would be powerless to alter. It is perhaps clever, or even a good ploy, for some to try to exploit the differences which necessarily appear in the positions of the developing countries and, through the granting of minimal and astutely calculated concessions, to wish to bring about a discussion of our efforts and confusion in our priorities. This would not, of course, be a new tactic. It would also not be profitable, first of all because the developing countries know full well that the stakes are now far too high to sacrifice them for immediate and partial gains but also because it would mean that our partners are not yet convinced of the need squarely to face up to the true problems in order to find satisfactory and lasting solutions to them.

Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) resumed the Chair.

170. No one could still doubt that the present system governing international economic relations is experiencing a severe crisis greatly affecting the vulnerable economies of the third world and threatening the prosperity of the developed countries themselves. This situation, which is intolerable for all, demands that radical solutions be arrived at by common agreement in order to lay the foundations for a new international economic order better adapted to the requirements of our times.

171. This crucial task is a matter for all the members of the international community; it requires a global vision which truly takes into account the needs and interests of all peoples and effective decolonization of the relations imposed by the wealthy countries on the rest of the world. Whereas most of the developed countries have now reached the post-industrial stage, our peoples have not yet seen a technological take-off, because they are subjected by the capitalist countries and the big monopolies to an industrial and technological blockade which condemns them to a dependence that is practically without recourse.

172. The conduct of the developed countries has not been completely in keeping with the good intentions that they professed during the seventh special session of the General Assembly. That goodwill has been neutralized by the manoeuvres designed to turn developing countries away from their essential aims and to weaken their solidarity by creating contradictions among their interests. To realize that that is true one need only note the unenthusiastic reception given the legitimate and reasonable proposals formulated by the third-world countries at the fourth session of UNCTAD at Nairobi or at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, particularly with regard to debt rescheduling and the protection of earnings from the export of raw materials. The industrialized countries do not limit themselves to delaying tactics in connexion with the modest and constructive proposals of

the developing countries; they formed an exclusive club and strengthened their position by setting themselves up as an international board of directors during the monetary Conference at Kingston⁸ and the Rambouillet and Puerto Rico conferences. The result has regrettably and inevitably been tension and increased misunderstanding, distrust and confrontation between developed and developing countries.

173. The countries of the third world obviously must draw the necessary conclusion from that disappointing experience and must be wise enough not to have too high hopes about the true extent of the willingness of the industrialized world voluntarily to agree to the sacrifices necessary to the re-establishment of minimum justice in international economic relations. The Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries at Colombo demonstrated a clear awareness of that situation and, not wishing to get bogged down in useless recriminations about a state of affairs which is regrettable but which must be faced up to, it called on the developing countries to maintain their solidarity by making clear the priorities of their common programme and defining the immediate aims of their common action. The Colombo discussions also stressed the importance of a rational management by the developing countries of their own resources and capacities, and the necessity of making the most of the complementary nature of their economies by developing their mutual exchanges in all sectors.

174. It is thus clear that, while stressing the responsibility of the developed countries and the great Powers in this undertaking to change the present international order, the developing countries have an accurate assessment of their own responsibility and of the obligations they must assume to ensure the achievement of their aspirations. Their achievement of maturity and of a real ability to take part in the settlement of international affairs is in direct relation to their capacity to distinguish what is vital from what is secondary and not to confuse the true problems with their spin-offs. Our sincerity in regard to ourselves and to the principles that we proclaim is the prerequisite to our acceptance as a serious partner on the international scene. More than others, we must be aware of the need to understand that our common good imposes certain limitations on our national concerns. More than others, we must demonstrate our respect for international morality and the rules that we are attempting to impose on the conduct of the most powerful members of our community. Any hope for the triumph of our cause would be irremediably compromised if we were again to witness the re-emergence of that selfishness which in the past doomed all our efforts at common action to failure. This applies not only to economic questions which, despite appearances and the crisis which gives them a character of immediacy and urgency, remain, after all, auxiliary problems within the political framework in which they must be solved. The principle of non-interference in the affairs of other countries must obviously be applied first and foremost in the relations among countries of the third world. Respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, which we have so energetically defended against the hegemony of the colonial Powers, must be the corner-stone of our mutual conduct

and our attitude of support for the peoples struggling for their liberation. The policy of *faits accomplis*, which we vehemently denounce in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world, must not be excused when it is practised by countries whose membership of the third world makes such a violation of the most elementary rules of international law even less acceptable. Such deviations do, however, exist. We know of them and we regret them because they are so many additional obstacles to our common progress towards the attainment of our most vital aspirations. Obviously it is up to the third-world countries themselves to find a solution to this dramatic situation and to become more aware of the price they will have to pay to benefit from solidarity based on free acceptance of a code of ethics we ourselves have clearly defined.

175. I should like to turn to several special problems to which my Government attaches particular importance. The deterioration of the situation in the Mediterranean basin and around the Mediterranean, where conflicts are degenerating or taking on broader dimensions, disturbs and preoccupies us. In particular, the Middle East crisis was already serious and complex enough without the present tragedy in Lebanon, which is so dangerously affecting that country's national unity, its territorial integrity and, perhaps, in the final analysis, its very existence as an independent nation. It is not possible to arrive at a clear picture of the situation there arising from the forces and influences enmeshed there, some of which obviously, bear the stamp of imperialism and zionism. Efforts are being undertaken, in particular in the framework of the League of Arab States, at least to bring to an end the murders and the unleashing of violence, while awaiting the moment when the Lebanese, listening to the voice of reason, give up the fatal madness which seems to have taken hold of that people, who were so well known for their peace-loving character, and face the real problems of their common future. We give our total support to these initiatives in reiterating our conviction that no solution imposed from outside will have any real possibility of leading to a just and lasting settlement of the Lebanese drama.

176. As we are aware, this tragedy is closely linked with the struggle of the Palestinian people, which a particularly cruel destiny appears to have pursued throughout its history. However tragic and deplorable the upheavals in Lebanon may be, they cannot jeopardize the right of the Palestinians to pursue their liberation struggle, nor can they impose on their necessary freedom of action any abusive constraints designed to do no less than thwart their efforts and weaken their ranks. The Lebanese crisis should not lead us to close our eyes to the real facts of the Palestinian problem, solution of which is inconceivable outside the context of recognition and satisfaction of the inalienable rights which our Assembly itself has recognized as belonging to the Palestinian people.

177. Whatever imperialist and Zionist attempts are made further to confuse these facts and to confuse priorities, the evolution of the Middle East problem shows without a shadow of a doubt that a global solution is essential, a solution comprising both the total evacuation by Israel of all occupied Arab territories and the satisfaction of the national aspirations of the Palestinian people. This is a truth that has today finally been recognized by the international

⁸ Interim Committee of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund on the International Monetary System, held at Kingston, Jamaica, on 7 and 8 January 1976.

community. Its implementation, however, is something else again, since it will involve both the determination of the Palestinians to defend their rights and their ability to do so competently and responsibly, as well as the readiness of our Organization and its Members to give their decisions sufficient force to ensure their execution.

178. Still in the Mediterranean context, the problem of Cyprus continues to resist all attempts to settle it, and the talks between the two Cypriot communities, which have been held under the aegis of our Secretary-General, have hardly yielded the results we all expected of them. We believe that the principles contained in resolution 3212 (XXIX) of the General Assembly are still a valid basis for a satisfactory solution which would guarantee the rights, particular requirements and security of each community while at the same time maintaining the political unity, the territorial integrity and the non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. Algeria will continue to make its contribution, particularly in the contact group set up for that purpose by the non-aligned group, in order to investigate, in close co-operation with all parties concerned, the possibilities of effecting a reconciliation of views and a basis of agreement for the urgent settlement of the primarily humanitarian problems that have been a source of so much pointless suffering, which it is the duty of us all to allay immediately.

179. Despite the importance of the problems to which I have alluded, it appears, none the less, that this session of the Assembly will continue to be dominated by the way the situation in Africa is developing, particularly in southern Africa, where the hour of decision appears to have finally arrived. So spectacular a change is by no means due to a sudden awakening of international public opinion, since it was already well-informed of events in that region. It is, first and foremost, something which has been wrought by the Africans themselves, who, with the passing of the years, have learned how better to defend their rights in order to regain their freedom in dignity and equality. It is that struggle which is now yielding its fruit, and which shows that the dead in Soweto, Alexandra and elsewhere did not lay down their lives in vain; nor have the sufferings of those who have languished for years in the prisons of Vorster and Ian Smith been in vain. The interest which is now being shown by the Western countries in bringing about a satisfactory solution to the African claims, while at the same time preserving, albeit partially, the privileges of the white minorities, is not based on any humanitarian considerations or on a sudden upsurge of sympathy for the African peoples—not that the African peoples are in any way demanding that. As we know, this interest—and, to a certain extent, we find this quite logical—is more aroused by the desire to safeguard economic or strategic advantages, which were linked with the existence of the *apartheid* régime and which are threatened, as the régime is, by those transformations which are occurring or which are now taking shape in that area. We in Africa would like to be better convinced that the calculations of the Western countries are sufficiently accurate for them to conclude that their interest, properly interpreted—their long-term interest—does not lie in the survival at all costs of the *apartheid* system and of the political régime which is the embodiment of that system, but rather in the friendship which they can preserve with the African peoples of the

region, which, in the final analysis, are the masters of the future of that part of Africa.

180. The problems of Namibia, Zimbabwe and *apartheid* in South Africa are closely interrelated, and the ways in which they evolve must necessarily go hand in hand. This means that any progress achieved in settling any one of them will have its effects on the others, and may well make their solutions easier. That also means that it would be dangerous to tackle these problems in isolation from one another, and particularly to believe, or to give the impression, that the problem of Namibia, or even the problem of Rhodesia, can be settled in order simply to give a brief respite or a certain aura of international respectability to the die-hard upholders of the system of *apartheid*, when, in the final analysis, it is the survival or demise of the *apartheid* system which is the very focal-point of the crisis which has for so long now beset all of southern Africa.

181. At all events, the final decision is up to the Africans concerned themselves. We have confidence in their sense of responsibility and in their awareness that they are passing through a crucial period in the history of their countries. We hope that they will be able to transcend their differences or their divergent views in order to concert their efforts in this ultimate stage of their struggle. The African countries of the region, since they are better aware of the situation and know the people involved, undoubtedly will be able to play a decisive part in guiding the leaders of the liberation movements and in helping them to overcome their difficulties and differences. But there can be no doubt that, as in the past, we will continue to give total and unflagging support to the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa until their aspirations have been completely fulfilled.

182. Finally, I should like to say something about the Western Sahara. This is a problem which has been and remains one of decolonization, in the same way as those which our Organization has had to settle during the last quarter of a century, and which it has invariably solved by opting for the exercise by colonized peoples of their right to self-determination.

183. This is by no means a new problem for our Assembly, which, over many consecutive years, has in various resolutions traced the pattern for the decolonization of the Sahara, and which, furthermore, was able to complete its familiarity with the background of this affair through the report of a commission of inquiry⁹ sent by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and also through the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice¹⁰ on this matter.

184. It is not my intention to hark back to all these facts, which must be quite familiar to all Members of our Assembly, but I would like to dispel certain confusions which have crept into this discussion.

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. XIII, annex: report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Spanish Sahara, 1975.

¹⁰ *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975*, p. 12.

185. It is, first of all, obviously false to claim that the problem of the Sahara has been solved and that the Saharan people have exercised their right to self-determination by accepting the partition and annexation of their country. This claim is contradicted by daily events, which prove, on the contrary, that never has this problem been so acute, never has it so completely overshadowed the situation in that region. It would be difficult to make anyone believe that the procedure used at El Aaiún can in any way be regarded as an authentic consultation of the Saharan people. Without even dwelling on the spurious representative character of the members of a Jema'a which was initially appointed by the Spanish Administering Authority, it is quite obvious that the guarantees spelled out by our Assembly have not been respected, nor has there been any guarantee of the presence and supervision which should have been exercised by the Secretary-General. I would add that the Spanish Government itself, although a signatory to the Madrid agreement of 14 November 1975, disavowed its responsibility and clearly proclaimed that the Saharan people could not be considered as having in fact exercised their right to self-determination.

186. The second element of confusion which an attempt was made to introduce into the discussion concerns the Saharan refugees who are now in Algerian territory in the Tindouf region. An attempt was made to give the impression that these exiles had been detained against their will, that they had even been forcibly kept and that they would be pleased to return immediately to their homes if they were not prevented from doing so. I have no doubt of the burning desire of these exiles to return to their country; what prevents them from doing so is certainly not any barriers erected against them by the Algerian Government but rather a situation which was created by the military occupation of their Territory and the threats it has presented and continues to present to their security and liberty. It may be comforting to those occupying a country to believe that those who have been forced into exile by their occupation are ready to welcome them as liberators were they not in the grip of a hostile foreign Power. It would, perhaps, be wiser for them, and more positive, to come to grips with reality and to realize that absorbing a territory is not that easy without the consent of its population. The material conditions and the morale of the Saharan refugees in Tindouf cannot be a secret to anyone, and the numerous visitors who have had an opportunity to see them, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and journalists of various nationalities, are well aware of the trials that they have undergone with courage and resignation in order to keep alive their ideal and to preserve their identity and recover their freedom. The Algerian Government is giving this uprooted population all the humanitarian aid that it can afford to give, and it appeals to international solidarity to do likewise to improve the lamentable conditions in which the refugees find themselves. This mass of refugees is, of course, not anything directly to do with the Algerian Government, but it is proof, if proof were needed, of the fact that in the Western Sahara there continues to exist a decolonization problem, a problem which there can be no doubt is far from being solved.

187. The third element of confusion, which some have tried to inject into this discussion, is the advancing of the

view that the problem of the Sahara has been solved but that it has been supplanted by a dispute between the States of that region. Far be it from me, of course, to overlook the tension which in fact exists in that region of ours, but we should not confuse cause with effect. Tension exists because the problem of the Sahara has not been solved, and if it were solved there is every reason to believe that this tension would likewise disappear. To assert, therefore, that the only problem which exists at present is that of the relations among the countries neighbouring the Sahara is deliberately to fail to see the central crucial point of the situation and to disguise, by presenting things in this light, the essential and paramount fact, which is precisely that of the military occupation and annexation of the Sahara. The Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity gave a masterly analysis of the situation as it now stands when they decided to convene a special summit conference, not to study—as has been wrongly stated here—the tension which prevails in North Africa but, rather, to consider the question of the Western Sahara and try to find a way to settle it in association with the neighbouring countries and the Saharan people themselves.

188. I feel, therefore, that I must reiterate here that the Algerian Government will not let itself be drawn in by these attempts to distort the problem of the Sahara by promoting the idea of some conflict among neighbouring countries, because Algeria has continued to state most solemnly that its fundamental position is not inspired by any territorial designs, even less by any feelings of hostilities towards its neighbours. This position of ours is based on the profound conviction that the only guarantee for a true and lasting solution to the problem of the Sahara resides in the exercise by the Saharan people of their right to self-determination on the basis of the territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers and by means of an authentic referendum monitored and guaranteed by the United Nations.

189. During this session there can be no doubt that our Assembly will have to consider how events are developing in the Sahara and to gauge, particularly through the report that is to be presented by the Secretary-General, the extent to which the decisions that it took last year have been implemented. My delegation continues to believe that responsibility for the decolonization of the Sahara lies squarely with the United Nations, and we reserve our right to develop the ideas which I have just touched upon during the specific discussion devoted to that item.

190. The problem that I have just outlined, like the many other questions which require decisions by our Assembly, poses in even more acute terms the problem of the responsibility of our Organization and its ability to secure the implementation of its resolutions. I am not only speaking here of the General Assembly. We know how limited its powers are in regard to sanctions. I am also speaking of the Security Council, which the Charter has provided with methods of constraint that allow it to enforce its decisions. I hardly need to stress the extent to which the credibility of our Organization might suffer because of the impotence of its major bodies and their inability to implement their decisions. It is quite obvious that this is a question of authority, and if it is to be solved it means necessarily that every Member State will have to give up a portion of its prerogatives of sovereignty and

agree to submit to the higher will, which is that of our Organization. Such accommodations are never easily accepted, but perhaps it would not be redundant or otiose to encourage the widest-ranging exchange of views possible on this aspect of the activities of our Organization.

191. These somewhat theoretical considerations are intimately connected with the desire, largely expressed here, to strengthen the role of our Organization in maintaining international peace and security and in helping to bring about ever growing co-operation among all peoples. These ideas at least express our attachment to this institution which, despite the weaknesses which still beset it, still appears as the most appropriate instrument for bringing about understanding among men and friendship among nations.

192. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate, but I have had requests from several representatives to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. Before calling on those representatives, I should like to recall the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. I would appeal to all those speaking in exercise of the right of reply to adhere strictly to this rule, especially because of the lateness of the hour. I shall now call on those representatives wishing to exercise the right of reply.

193. Mr. HERZOG (Israel): My delegation has refrained from replying to the numerous attacks uttered by some of the Arab delegations against the State of Israel and the Jewish people in the general debate. I refrained from reacting, because the remarks were so patently unimportant and irrelevant, having regard to what is in fact happening in the Arab world in general and in the Middle East in particular. However, with the conclusion of the debate, I cannot refrain from rising to express my appreciation to those Arab delegations which by their very statements have once again served Israel's cause so ably, setting out in their own words the problem that Israel faces in its desire to achieve accommodation and ultimately peace in the Middle East. Some of the statements ranged from the most extreme expressions of hatred to the utterly ludicrous. Many of them very conveniently ignored the massive blood-letting in the internecine struggle of Arab against Arab in so many centres of conflict in the Middle East, most of them far removed from Israel and completely unrelated to the Israel-Arab conflict.

194. I am grateful to those Arab delegations that have spelled out in more ways than one what their true intentions are in fact. Nowhere was this service performed better for Israel than by the Iraqi delegation and by the Libyan delegation. The prospect of the paymaster, organizer and instigator of international terrorism decrying acts of terror and hijacking was very moving. Indeed, it would have sounded like a poor joke were it not so tragic.

195. Furthermore, we were regaled by the unlikely foray into the field of psychological analysis by the representative of Yemen and his intriguing theory about the soul of a new Hitler. Like those of his colleagues who sided with the Nazis in the World War, he is an undoubted authority on this subject.

196. Let me say a word of understanding to my Syrian colleague. I fully appreciate the difficult situation in which he finds himself, for obviously he feels that the vehemence of his attacks on Israel in the General Assembly must be in direct proportion to the number of Arabs being killed by the Syrian armed forces in Lebanon.

197. Frankly, I had hoped for a glimmer of hope in the statements by the Arab representatives—hope engendered by a change in tone, by a willingness to compromise, by even a mention of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), by an appreciation of the fact that conflicts in this world must in the final analysis be resolved by face-to-face negotiation on the basis of mutual respect.

198. Instead we sat here again listening to the same old cracked record, grinding out the inevitable theme of hate, of venom, of perverted argument as certain Arab representatives came forward, launched their tirade and retired for the next one to take over. Not one word of reason; not one word of compromise; not one word of accommodation; not one word about Israeli rights; not one word about negotiation; indeed, the very word is taboo. What a sad commentary!

199. Has the Middle East not bled enough? Do the speeches we heard constitute any kind of progress towards peace? Are they not out of tune with recognizably constructive trends on other issues? Has the time not come for a change of heart and approach? Why can we not sit down and talk as other adversaries do?

200. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I never introduce sarcasm, hatred or rancour into any of my speeches. I am glad that Mr. Herzog has taken a seat, because usually when I speak in the Security Council, he leaves. I have a few words to say to him from this podium, hoping that he will realize what the actual situation is—with no hatred, with no rancour, with no sarcasm.

201. Time and again I must declare that we have no quarrel with our brothers, the Jews, who are descendants of Abraham, the patriarch of the whole region. We have a quarrel with those Khazars who embraced zionism in the eighth century A.D. and who consider themselves Semites after Herzl propagated his Zionist ideology.

202. We would wish the Khazars well, if they were not intruders into the area. It so happens that their ancestors embraced Judaism, but that does not make them Semites. Again, inasmuch as the British and the French became Christians, they have a Semitic religion, but that does not make them Semites. And yet again, our Nigerian and Indonesian brothers have a Semitic religion, Islam, but that does not make them Semites.

203. The descendants of those Khazars who hail from eastern and central Europe use a noble religion, Judaism, as a motivation for political and economic ends. It is not the diplomats here who are using harsh terms for not being able to eject them through war from our midst. I am not for war; I am not for terrorism; but I must remind Mr. Herzog that I visited Jerusalem in 1925 and was told how intransigent those descendants of the Khazars were. Do not forget that they are central Europeans. They forgot that

they could not survive in the area for very, very long, so they thrive on tension—unfortunately so. There is tension not only among them but throughout the area, from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf. Why? Because the people consider them a foreign element in the body politic and the body social of the Semitic Arab world.

204. The days are gone when Europeans could use religion or even ideology as a motivation for political ends. That motivation has lost its credibility. The Israelis are there by force of arms and by the support of our American friends.

205. Who could refute what my Libyan colleague said? Those who want to be President, Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford, are vying here in currying favour with the Jewish voters, 3 per cent of the population of the United States. Can you imagine what a force they are here? It is a wonder that we still trade with the United States, but we remember that we Arabs have been in the Middle East for 6,000 years. This is, as we say, a dark cloud in our history.

206. Now in fairness to you, Mr. Herzog and your delegation, we do not hate you; no. I know many people who would like to make peace with you, but not on your terms. You know very well that if there is no tension you will disappear—either by attrition or by assimilation. It is a question of time.

207. Where are the crusaders? There is a tribe in northern Arabia with blue eyes and golden hair. They are Arabs and wear Arab garb, remnants of the crusaders. Where are all those conquerors who passed through the area? So why do you not seek acceptance, adapt and adjust to the Arab world?

208. Many Jews are proud to be Americans; many Jews are proud to be French. You want to ingather them all in Israel? There are 16 million Jews, but how many could you get in Israel? Only the people for whom you created a problem—and, unfortunately, you created a problem for our own Jews, our brothers, not Khazars. But you are not related to them by culture. By religion? So were the Germans related by religion to the French and the British, but they fought two world wars. And you know about the wars between Judea and Israel. Brothers fight one another.

209. How do you expect to be accepted there when you are imposing yourselves, setting yourselves apart, considering yourselves as “the chosen people of God”. Is God a discriminator? We are fighting discrimination here; *apartheid* is one of its forms. You set yourself apart. And you repeat it so many times—you who went to Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard, many of you scientists; you play on their religious sentiments. Those Jewish savants do not believe you in their innermost hearts, but they rally to your aid because the American taxpayers are footing the bill; they give you money. Do the mass media, does the press, dare to repeat what I am saying here? No, I have been saying this for too long.

210. So I can assure you that what is happening in Lebanon is nothing but a consequence of your invasion and incursion into the land of Palestine, which should be holy to the three monotheistic religions. You have no monopoly on Palestine.

211. You are only 16 million and the Zionists among you—Zionists by indoctrination—3 million or 4 million. If Palestine is holy to the Jews, to the Christians and to the Moslems alike, by what yardstick of justice and by what democratic criterion do you want to be there? You want to be there because at one time Israel happened to be there for 300 or 400 years? Many others were also there. The Romans were there for a longer time. How would you like our Italian friends to say, “We Romans were there”. That argument does not hold water.

212. Mr. President, how much more time do I have?

213. The PRESIDENT: You have two minutes more.

214. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I can say a lot in two minutes. This offers some humorous relief, because really if we do not have a little humorous relief the tragedy would engulf us all.

215. When will you Europeans come to your senses? Look at the British. They wanted you there to ensure the safety of the route to the British Empire. Where is the British Empire now? The great uncle of Winston Churchill, Charles Churchill, was sent to the area in 1843. He stayed 20 years to make sure that the route to India would be safe. Where is the British Empire? Where are all the empires? And you people descended from the Khazars, you want to stay there and trade at the cross-roads and ingather all the Jews. That is a dream of Mr. Herzl's that could not be fulfilled and, as I have said time and again, it became a nightmare.

216. For heaven's sake, I must tell you again and again, adapt yourselves, adjust yourselves, seek acceptance and you will have no problem. We will take you; we will assimilate you. What is wrong? You will not let us marry your women? Abraham married Aramaean and Canaanite women. Your blood, Mr. Herzog, is not pure. You cannot claim that you descend from Abraham, the patriarch of all. We will marry your women and there may be some of our women who will want to marry your men. You will merge and become part and parcel of us all. Forget about the exclusivity of being Jews.

217. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform the representative of Saudi Arabia that his time is now up.

218. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I shall stop speaking. I am glad that the President has used the gavel. I know we are at the threshold of this thirty-first session and I shall have many other occasions on which to drive some sense into Mr. Herzog's mind and thereby into the minds of all the Khazars who are intruders in the Middle East.

219. Mr. SCRANTON (United States of America): I wish to exercise my delegation's right of reply to the statements made this afternoon by the representatives of Cuba and the Libyan Arab Republic.

220. Among the many unfounded allegations and inaccuracies which characterized the Cuban representative's remarks were detailed references to a domestic matter, namely, the subject of Puerto Rico. The United States policy on Puerto Rico is based on complete acceptance of

Puerto Rico's right to self-determination. The United States came into possession of various territories at the beginning of this century and each has been able to determine the course it wished to follow. The Philippines chose independence; Hawaii chose statehood; and Puerto Rico chose a special commonwealth relationship with the United States, which continues to evolve.

221. The people of Puerto Rico made that choice by approving commonwealth status and their own Constitution in 1952. They reaffirmed that choice in a status referendum in 1967 in which 60 per cent voted for the commonwealth status, 39 per cent for statehood and less than 1 per cent for independence.

222. It has been the policy of the United States, since it was stated in 1953, that if the Puerto Rican legislature should adopt a resolution in favour of independence, then the President would recommend to the Congress of the United States that independence be granted.

223. Free and open elections will again be held in Puerto Rico in November of this year, as they are not held in other nations.

224. In 1953 the United Nations General Assembly explicitly recognized the self-governing status of Puerto Rico and removed Puerto Rico from the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories by adopting resolution 748 (VIII), and it reaffirmed that decision in 1971 when it rejected an attempt to include an item on Puerto Rico in its agenda.

225. So long as the people of Puerto Rico wish to continue that relationship with the United States, any discussion of Puerto Rico's status by any international organization is offensive to us and to the people of Puerto Rico. President Ford made this point with particular emphasis in June when he visited Puerto Rico and said that those who might be inclined to intervene in our freely determined relations should know that such an act would be considered intervention in the domestic affairs of Puerto Rico and the United States and that the United States is confident that nations with which it enjoys friendly relations will understand the strong feelings of the American and the Puerto Rican people on this matter.

226. The charges of the representative of the Libyan Arab Republic against the United States, the President of the United States and the Democratic candidate for the presidency, and the language in which those charges were phrased are so extreme and offensive that they could only be intended to elicit a reply in other than civil terms. I refuse to indulge in any such reply for I honour this institution. Suffice it to say that the United States has undertaken many efforts with considerable success towards a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. We shall continue to do so in our determination to help to bring peace and justice to all the peoples in that area. It would be truly welcome if one could honestly and objectively say the same thing of the Government that is now making these outrageous charges against us.

227. Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): During the course of the general debate representatives from various countries referred to the situation existing in

Chile. My delegation is exercising the right of reply for the sake of the truth and seriousness which should prevail in the debates of the General Assembly.

228. As it is impossible for me to reply to all those countries in the short period of time at my disposal, I am obliged to group my replies together in accordance with the motivations that prompted them. First of all, I shall refer to those Western countries which have reiterated their genuine concern with regard to the present state of human rights in the world. We know that their concern is sincere, albeit mistaken with regard to the true state of such rights in Chile, and we reply that we shall continue to co-operate with them to establish the truth in the face of so many lies and falsehoods and also to respond to any initiative aimed at improving man's condition throughout the world.

229. We continue to advocate the adoption of an automatic and mandatory universal system of investigation in this respect but, at the same time, we would point out to them that no system will fully meet its objectives if it is limited to singling out the smaller countries and, at the same time, if the will and the courage do not exist to deal with those who are truly guilty, whose names we all know and who wrap themselves in the cloak of hypocrisy in order to point the finger at others, motivated as they are by political passions and by their desire to divert attention from the atrocities carried out within their own borders.

230. There are also countries which lack a voice of their own because they suffer from the misfortune of having been subjugated by the Soviet Union or because they depend on economic assistance from that Power for their existence. We say to them that we hope that the day will come when they will be able freely to forge their own destiny and enter into dialogue with the rest of the world without being subjected to having to use the words dictated to them by their oppressor.

231. There are also other countries which, even though they lack true information on what is happening in Chile, have joined the chorus of the countries I mentioned above. To them we reply that they should carefully study the methods of Soviet expansionism and that when danger threatens them they should bear in mind the experience and the example of Chile and remember that foreign tyranny can be avoided if there is decisive action, will and patriotism.

232. Finally, there is the Soviet Union, the source and the origin of the entire anti-Chilean campaign, for it cannot forget the magnitude of the bitter defeat which its strategy of imperialist penetration suffered in our country. Is it too much to ask the Soviet Union to respect the independence, sovereignty and self-determination of a people which it believed already conquered? It is perhaps just as useless to ask that country to respect the principle of non-intervention as it is to hope that it will open up its own borders? The Soviet Union fears the breath of freedom; it is afraid of showing itself to the world in its true light; it is afraid that the international community will use its good offices to improve the lot of those who are deprived of their fundamental freedoms, of those who despair in concentration camps or of those who languish in psychiatric clinics. If this were not so, then we would not be

witnessing the grotesque spectacle of the Soviet representatives masquerading as defenders of human rights.

233. If the world community truly wishes to take concrete steps for the respect of human rights, a prerequisite is to abandon cynicism and discrimination to reject confrontation and hatred, and valiantly to tackle the crux of the matter. My country will always be ready to co-operate along these lines.

234. Less than a month ago international terrorism, which Chile has been denouncing for years, found a new victim in the person of Mr. Orlando Letelier. My country's Government was the first to condemn this murder and immediately to request a thorough, complete and rapid inquiry. At the same time, it instructed its diplomatic representatives to agree to give evidence, if this were asked of them, and to waive their privilege of diplomatic immunity. Those who have read the United States press in the past few days have been able to realize how slanderous and defamatory are the allegations which we have heard in this connexion.

235. We wish to lodge a vigorous protest with those representatives who, either overtly or covertly, have with utter contempt for the dignity of this Assembly blamed the Chilean Government for such an odious murder, irresponsibly and malevolently anticipating the results of the inquiry and the course of justice.

236. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): During my statement this afternoon I referred to the decision taken last month by the Special Committee entrusted with the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) regarding the question of Puerto Rico. As is known, this decision was adopted by consensus, on the basis of the broadest agreement among the members of the Committee on decolonization. Representatives will be able to verify that from the verbatim record it will appear that my reference to that decision formed the main part of my remarks about Puerto Rico in my statement.

237. I should now like to recall to the Assembly that, when this decision was adopted by the Special Committee, the United States press, the information media which echo the interests of United States imperialism, unleashed a campaign—at least throughout this hemisphere—presenting this decision, this consensus, of the Special Committee as a victory of the United States Government, as if the Committee had in fact shunned its responsibilities with regard to the case of Puerto Rico.

238. I should like to express my satisfaction at learning from what we have heard this afternoon from the Ambassador of the United States of America, that this is not the position of the United States Government. That pleases me very much, because my country, like the Puerto Rican Patriotic Movement, interpreted that decision as, in effect, a step forward along the path to the universal recognition of the existing situation in Puerto Rico and the need and the duty of the United Nations to act on this case, in implementation of the mandate conferred upon the Committee by resolution 1514 (XV).

239. If Mr. Scranton had not given his opinion in this way, if his Government did not now indirectly consider it

necessary to reject this consensus of the Special Committee, we would not understand why he felt obliged to come to the rostrum.

240. Although he used language more polite than that made famous by his predecessor here, that same speaker did repeat some veiled threats that the United States Government has made with regard to countries that support the inalienable rights of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence. Once again I should like to say that Cuba categorically rejects such threats and that whether it is a question of Puerto Rico or of any other country struggling for its national rights, Cuba will lend its support as it has always done. That is a matter of principle and we will never be deterred by threats, whether they are made politely or impolitely.

241. Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the statement of the speaker who preceded me to this rostrum. He felt that it would be more practical to group together the countries that had referred to the tragic situation in Chile. That is easy to understand, to say the least, since it would be the only way in which he could refer in a single statement to the vast range of representatives who, in the general debate, expressed their concern about and denounced the violations of human rights in Chile.

242. I would merely like to draw this Assembly's attention to the scope of the movement of solidarity with the Chilean people, the universal denunciation of the crimes being committed by the Pinochet régime, the universal repudiation of that régime created as the result of imperialist intervention. That the Pinochet régime was created as a result of imperialist intervention was publicly and formally admitted by the then President of the United States. And in passing I would note that Mr. Scranton recognized that President Nixon had been elected in "democratic elections" and that, also as a result of the democratic process, he is no longer occupying that post. Ex-President Nixon admitted that the United States had participated in overthrowing President Allende and in establishing the régime that is today oppressing the people of Chile.

243. The representative of the Chilean junta tried once again to submit to this Assembly the idea that this universal denunciation and repudiation of the Chilean régime is part of a Communist conspiracy, an international action of the socialist camp. I would merely inform the Assembly that my delegation will soon be distributing a document, translated into English for the benefit of all the representatives here, which relates to an interview—it appeared in a West German publication, which certainly is not Communist—with Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, Primate of the Chilean Catholic Church, an institution which, as everyone knows, is not part of the international Communist conspiracy. In that interview, the Cardinal clearly and categorically spoke of the Nazi régime that is today oppressing his country. Just to satisfy my curiosity I should like to know where the Primate of the Chilean Catholic Church appears in Admiral Huerta's classification.

244. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic): It had not been my intention to reply to the representative of the Zionist régime. I am, however, compelled to do so because of his reference to the tragic events in Lebanon.

245. The representative of the Zionist régime is very much mistaken if he thinks that the tragic events in Lebanon could prevent a representative of the Syrian Arab Republic from denouncing zionism and the crimes of the Zionist régime in the occupied Arab territories, whether in Palestine, in Egypt, in the Syrian Arab Republic, or in Lebanon—for, as we know, from time to time the Israeli aggression goes as far as the southern part of Lebanon.

246. On the contrary, the cause of the events in Lebanon is the fact that we Arabs want to defeat the conspiracy to divert Arab effort and struggle from the real enemy, which is zionism occupying our territory and violating the national rights of our Palestinian brothers. What we are trying to do in Lebanon is to stop the fighting. We are not there to fight—as the representative of the Zionist régime alleged—but to stop the fighting. We are not there to kill, but to stop the killing. The fighting and the killing can only benefit the enemy of the Arab nation: Israel and imperialism.

247. The Zionist representative cannot deceive anyone by shedding crocodile tears about what is happening in Lebanon.

248. I shall mention only two of the many objectives that zionism and imperialism are trying to achieve by encouraging the fighting and the killing in Lebanon.

249. The first of those two objectives was clearly referred to by the Zionist representative himself in his statement to the General Assembly on 7 October. Mr. Allon said:

“There is yet another conclusion to be drawn [from the situation in Lebanon]. For years now the world has been bombarded by a propaganda campaign peddling the notion of the replacement of Israel by a so-called secular democratic State where Moslems, Christians and Jews would live in blissful amity. But where is this beautiful mirage now?” [22nd meeting, para. 156.]

Thus, the first objective of zionism is to discredit and destroy this dream of the Arabs and the Palestinians to live in a State where people can coexist and be members of the same nation, regardless of their faith, race or colour. If the Lebanese example is destroyed, the Palestinian and Arab dream is destroyed. That is why Israel is interested in destroying Lebanon as an example of the fulfilment of that dream.

250. The second objective of zionism and imperialism is to justify the creation in the Middle East, our area, of artificial entities on the basis of ethnic and religious considerations. Everyone knows that we are fighting the notion that a State can be built on the basis of religion alone. We are not fighting Judaism; we are fighting zionism, which claims that people of one faith have the exclusive right to exist on a territory and that those who do not belong to that faith—even if they and their ancestors have lived on that territory for centuries—have no right to be there.

251. So the Zionists and imperialists thought that, if they could encourage this strife and civil war in Lebanon, then the partition of Lebanon would be an unavoidable fact and Lebanon would be divided into a Christian state and a Moslem state and that would justify the previous partition

of Palestine into a Jewish state and a Moslem state. And that, again, is why we are fighting to stop the bloodshed in Lebanon—because all of us are against any partition and any threat to the territorial integrity of Lebanon. We do not want the bad example of a State based on religion to be repeated in our region.

252. The Zionist representative really should not in his joy exaggerate all the Arab differences taking place everywhere in the Arab world. It is, as my Libyan brother has said, a sign of Arab dynamism and Arab determination to be united and to build a strong nation. Many nations, including the great American nation, the great Soviet nation, the great French nation, the great Spanish nation, the Italian nation, the German nation and all the nations of the world have passed through similar experiences and they emerged from their fighting and civil wars to become great and united nations later on. That is the destiny of the Arab nation, and we are sure that the Syrian blood, the Palestinian blood, the Libyan blood, the Iraqi blood, the Lebanese blood, the Moroccan blood, the Saudi blood, the Algerian blood and the Sudanese blood shed in defence of Arab rights in Palestine and the Middle East will be shed again if necessary and unitedly in order to save our region from the evils of zionism and Israeli aggression.

253. Mr. BENGELLOUN (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The Moroccan delegation does not intend in any way to impose on Members a new statement on the question of the Sahara. This question has been discussed at length by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Morocco [21st meeting]. But I think it timely having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, Mr. Rahal, to make certain clarifications for the Assembly, first on the process of decolonization and then on the tragedy of the refugees and finally on the tension existing in the area.

254. As far as the problem of decolonization is concerned, I should like to remind the Assembly that, in order to recover its territory and to restore its territorial integrity, the Kingdom of Morocco has always favoured negotiations in its international relations in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter and specifically its Article 33.

255. At the signing, on 7 July 1956, of the Act of Independence, His Majesty the late Mohammed V expressed reservations about the fact that independence was incomplete because it did not include all the territory occupied by Spain. After nine years of discussions and bilateral meetings, Morocco unfortunately encountered a great many delaying tactics from Spain in connexion with the Saharan Territory. It was therefore obliged to bring the Sahara and Ifni questions before the United Nations. For that reason, at its twentieth session the General Assembly adopted its resolution 2072 (XX), urgently requesting

“the Government of Spain, as the administering Power, to take immediately all necessary measures for the liberation of the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara from colonial domination . . .”.

256. In 1974, when the administering Power was preparing to set before the Moroccan Government and international public opinion a fait accompli by declaring

the province of the Sahara an independent entity, Morocco and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, aware of the danger which threatened their territorial integrity, proposed to the General Assembly that resort be had to the International Court of Justice. The General Assembly responded favourably by adopting its resolution 3292 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974. The International Court of Justice handed down its advisory opinion in October 1975. It acknowledged that the Sahara was not a territory that belonged to no one. It also recognized the existence of legal and territorial ties between the Saharan provinces, on the one hand, and Morocco and Mauritania, on the other.

257. The mission of inquiry stipulated by the resolution visited the area and noted the peculiar nature of decolonization in the Territory.

258. It may be recalled that last year, at a critical moment in the history of the area, the Security Council met twice and adopted its resolutions 377 (1975) and 380 (1975), which made reference to Article 33 of the Charter.

259. In accordance with the spirit of those resolutions, negotiations were undertaken between Morocco and Mauritania, on the one hand, and the administering Power, on the other. Those negotiations led to the Madrid agreement of 14 November 1975, which was transmitted to the United Nations Secretariat.¹¹ The General Assembly took note of it in its resolution 3458 B (XXX).

260. Regarding resolution 3458 A (XXX), referred to by Mr. Rahal, Morocco considers it is not to the point because it was addressed to the administering Power, which left the Territory on 26 February last.

261. This brings me to the very grave and grievous problem of the refugees. What is the point at issue here? What must be recalled with objectivity is that Algeria, which is a brotherly neighbouring country, seized the opportunity of the last Saharan fair, which attracts nomads from the south of Morocco and the north of Mauritania as well as the Sahel region and took advantage of the fact that a drought in that area caused a great exodus of nomads from bordering countries towards the north, that is the south-east of Algeria. That is the truth about those "refugees" that we have been hearing about today.

262. Further mystification is provided by the figures, which correspond neither with the figures provided by the administering Power nor with reality. In 1973, which according to official documents marked the formation of the so-called Frente POLISARIO, the figure of 5,000 was quoted. The figure was then multiplied by 2, by 3, and then by 10. Some have even put forward the fanciful figure of 70,000. If we look at the recent statistics provided by the administering Power, which took a census of the population and obtained the figure of 73,000; if we note that 18,000 persons have registered to take part in the elections now being organized by Morocco; if it is agreed that for each person registered there are two others living with him who for reasons of age or other reasons do not meet the voting

requirements; and if one considers the number of persons working abroad without counting those in the part of Western Sahara recovered by Mauritania, it is clear that there has been some mystification in the figures that has been purposely used in order to camouflage certain more or less inadmissible political motives.

263. International public opinion is aware of these distortions, and the observers who visited the spot have all noted a concentration of destitute women and children, exposed to sickness, weather and the rigours of the climate, who have obviously been kept against their will.

264. Is there not a contradiction here between the communiqués which refer to mortar, rocket and missile attacks and to seasoned fighters, and the appeals for humanitarian assistance to help a disinherited and destitute population which has no means?

265. What solution can be found for this tragedy? His Majesty the King of Morocco and President Ould Daddah of Mauritania put forward a solution, and my Minister of Foreign Affairs recalled that solution in his statement of 7 October last. Is this not the best sort of assistance that can be given to that population in order to allow them to return to their country, to their families, to their homes and property? Is that not the ideal solution to bring peace, security and concord back to the region? Is this not the solution that will provide hope for these populations giving them new life and to making it possible for them to participate in the uplifting task of the construction and development of their country?

266. It is this hope which the members of the Executive Committee of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees wished to express in a decision which they adopted quite recently in Geneva, in which the High Commissioner advocated permanent solutions including voluntary repatriation and durable settlement [see A/31/12/Add.1, para. 119 B]. We hope—and our hope is well founded—that Algeria, which is a member of that Committee and which gave its assent to that lasting solution, will contribute to the common efforts of Morocco and Mauritania to settle this problem in accordance with the decisions taken by the Executive Committee of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees.

267. Finally, and trying to be as brief as possible, I should like to tell my friend Mr. Rahal that he has tried to minimize the seriousness of the situation prevailing in the area by adducing many arguments regarding the tension there. I merely wish to emphasize that that tension is real, that it is serious. Only yesterday, a newspaper, *The New York Times*, which is noted for its responsibility, provided certain alarming details when it spoke of pro-Algerian guerrillas armed by Algeria with bombs, machine-guns, mortars and anti-aircraft missiles. The African community realized the seriousness of this when they held their summit meeting in Mauritius;¹² they indeed intend to settle this matter within the context of a special summit meeting.

268. What the Kingdom of Morocco seeks above all is that peace should reign in that area, that concord should win

¹¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.

¹² Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Port Louis, Mauritius, from 2 to 6 July 1976.

over men's hearts, and that the spirit of good-neighbourliness and co-operation should prevail as it did previously.

269. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First of all, I do not intend to reply to the accusations levelled by the representative of the Zionist entity, because we have grown accustomed to accusations of the sort that have been levelled against the Libyan Arab Republic and against a sister country, Iraq. But as regards the statement made by the United States representative, Mr. Scranton, in exercise of his right of reply, I wish to recall the fact that Mr. Scranton did not refute any of the facts I had mentioned: first, that the presidential candidates are hostile to the Arabs; secondly, that those candidates are vying with each other in seeking to be cordial to Zionist institutions.

270. There is no doubt that Mr. Scranton has used the well-known tactic of invoking the respect due to this Assembly. But that was done because he cannot face the facts.

271. We have the right to speak of the American electoral campaign since matters of vital importance to us are being discussed in it. But in so doing we have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the United States.

272. The second point I want to deal with is that perhaps we have expressed our denunciation of the role played by the United States in sharp words or in strong language. But that language actually expresses the facts, and it is language which springs from the heart. We are not being hypocritical and we did not attack the American people. But we do condemn the conspiracy of the ruling circles in the United States with the Zionist entity, particularly nowadays, and we wish to repeat that condemnation.

273. We address to Mr. Scranton words which may be strong, but his country sends destructive weapons against us, and there is a world of difference between the two things.

274. Mr. Scranton said that the United States is playing a positive role in helping to settle the Middle East crisis. I would like to put this question to the American administration and to American public opinion: how can the same person or the same circles be adversary and intermediary at one and the same time? And how can the United States play any role in solving the Middle East crisis between the Jews and the Arabs—or the Arabs and the Zionists—when it has taken a prior decision to support the Zionist entity at all costs? "My country right or wrong" is a phrase coined by an American admiral, and that same phrase can now be applied in the case of Israel: "We support Israel, whether it is right or wrong". What role, I ask, can the United States play, or are those American claims perhaps not serious at all?

275. My last point relates to the competition between the American presidential candidates to which I referred. I am actually basing myself on what has been reported in the American press. It cannot be said that it is directed against Zionism or against the American Government. There is the *Christian Science Monitor* of 13 October which had this to say:

"The American voters will take all the politicking in stride. But what concerns us is that there should be so

much distortion surrounding the Arab-Israeli question in the campaign. Mr. Carter does little to educate the public by treating the issue simplistically as he has. Whether he actually would tend to be more sympathetic to Israel than to the Arab States if elected is hard to know. But two points might be made: Washington has not reduced its support of Israel, and in fact continues to be a generous supplier. Israel has never been stronger militarily."¹³

276. The same newspaper said in the same article that:

"There has been more heat than light on the subject. The public would be better benefited by less politicking and a more thoughtful, less partisan discussion of the American national interests in the Middle East."¹³

277. As regards a boycott, I would like to quote phrases from the same article which said:

"... if elected, he would no doubt quickly face some blunt realities. One is that an economic boycott against the Arabs which he said he would institute if another oil embargo was declared is not likely to work. They would simply go elsewhere for their imports. In any case it does no good to convey an air of threat to such countries as Saudi Arabia."¹³

278. In today's *Christian Science Monitor*, an American citizen wrote the following:

"... Not only can Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries get along without United States trade. They do get along without it, which everyone in this country should be aware of before jumping on the Arab boycott bandwagon. My husband and I spent almost all of last year as residents in Tripoli, Libya, where he was putting in a pipeline at the new Tripoli airport. Also, we lived there from 1968 to 1970, before, during and after the 1969 revolution which put Colonel Qaddafi in power. During both periods the predominance of consumer and construction goods was from Europe, Asia, and even much from Russia. We had American products, but they constituted a small minority, sometimes more available than at others and always more expensive in an already over-inflated market. They were nice to have because of their generally superior quality, but we learned to do well without them. If the United States chooses not to trade with these Arab countries, there are many others anxious to fill any void."¹³

279. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Chile has asked to speak once again in exercise of the right of reply. Before I call on him, I think it is opportune to draw the General Assembly's attention to rule 35 of the rules of procedure, under which the President may propose that the number of times that a representative may speak shall be limited. I suggest that the Assembly agree that the number of times that a representative may speak in exercise of the right of reply be limited to two. If I hear no objection I shall take it that it is so decided.

It was so decided.

¹³ Quoted in English by the speaker.

280. Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I apologize for taking up a few more minutes of the Assembly's time, but it is necessary after the statement made by the representative of Cuba that things should be set straight.

281. The Cuban representative spoke as an incontrovertible fact of the intervention of the United States in the overthrow of the previous Government of Chile. All representatives and public opinion throughout the whole world were able to read the report of the committee presided over by Mr. Frank Church, in which the categorical conclusion was reached that no relationship was found between the armed forces of Chile and the intelligence agencies of the United States. This was quite categorically stated.

282. Secondly, reference was made to words spoken by the Archbishop of Chile, Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez. I need only quote the statement issued by the Archbishop refuting the statements he was alleged to have made to the newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine*. This statement says:

"The political views attributed to the Cardinal are, both in form and in substance, completely at variance with his thought, as clearly formulated in the public actions and statements by the Chilean prelate".

This is the statement of the Archdiocese of Santiago, which we shall distribute to the Assembly.¹⁴

283. Finally, the representative of Cuba asked where the representatives of Chile would place the Cardinal. We would place Cardinal Silva Henríquez, our pastor, among all those Chileans whose words are distorted.

284. Mr. RAH/L (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Just now I made a rather lengthy statement and I will not lay claim to the attention of the Assembly for too long.

285. When my friend, Mr. Bengelloun, the representative of Morocco, came to the rostrum just now, I thought that he was going to respond to some of the developments which I read out just now on behalf of my Minister. In point of fact, he pursued a line of argument that was not unknown either to my delegation or to members of the General Assembly. I think that Mr. Bengelloun did not, in fact, participate in the discussion we held last year on the question of the Sahara. Otherwise, he would have been aware that his line of argument had already been developed by the Moroccan delegation and that the Algerian delegation, for its part, had refuted, or at least, corrected, some of those arguments.

286. I shall not emulate him and I do not wish to repeat those arguments now. The records of last year's discussion on this item are available. However, I note with considerable interest his appeal for harmony among neighbouring countries, and I feel that I must tell him of the readiness of the Algerian Government and of its leaders to seek a way towards brotherhood among neighbouring peoples based on the settlement of those problems which are disturbing the situation there. But settling problems requires, first and

foremost, that they be considered in their true light, that we do not shrink from recognizing facts as they are or attempt to hide behind illusions which, sooner or later, will be dispelled and nullified by the reappearance of reality.

287. This was the purpose of the statement which I just now made. It is extremely dangerous for the settlement of disputes for the Moroccan Government to continue to regard the problem of the Sahara as being already settled, because this is not true. It is extremely dangerous for the Government of Morocco to hold that the Saharan refugees at present in Algeria are Algerian agents, forcibly detained by Algeria, and that they are not in fact Saharans, because such assertions are false.

288: I recognize, as I said just now, that there is a state of tension in the area, but the reason for that is in fact that the Saharan question has not been settled. Therefore I think that it is erroneous to consider that the Saharan problem no longer exists, when what has replaced it is this state of tension among the countries of the area. As long as the Moroccan Government views the problem in this way, I think it is drawing further away from a settlement of the problem and also drawing further away from establishing with the Algerian Government relations that are devoid of any type of hostility. At any rate the Algerian Government has no reason to feel any hostility whatsoever towards the people of Morocco or the Government of that country or any other country at all. It appears that the way in which the decolonization of the Sahara was carried out is not in accordance with the views of the Algerian Government, and that this manner of decolonizing the Sahara clashes with the convictions of the Algerian people. We said before that the solution of the problem of the Sahara would reach this point, and we said this before the International Court of Justice handed down its advisory opinion. We said this before the Government of Morocco made the arrangements whereby it occupied part of the Sahara. I do not wish to dwell particularly on the construction which should be placed on the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, but it cannot be considered an authorization given to the Moroccan Government to occupy the Sahara, unless it is misinterpreted. One has only to be in good faith to realize this immediately. Having said this, I wish to make it clear that the Algerian Government has not lost hope that wisdom will prevail and that, instead of obstinate attempts to defend an indefensible position which corresponds neither to reality nor to our principles, nor to the decisions that have been taken, nor to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, the reality will be recognized for what it is. Only then can the affair be settled.

289. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to repeat what I said before. I referred to an interview with Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez. He was interviewed by a Norwegian, and the interview was published in Oslo first and then in a publication in the Federal Republic of Germany. The representative of the Chilean Government has suggested that this interview was disavowed—or at least some of it—by the archbishopric of Chile.

290. I merely wish to say that the Assembly may judge the value of the assertions and the disavowals it has heard from high-ranking Chilean military officers, who have made

¹⁴ Subsequently distributed in document A/31/300.

many other solemn assertions—as, for instance, when they solemnly took oath to defend the Constitution of the country and respect the elected Government of the Chilean people and then later, responding to the purposes and plans of foreign imperialism, plotted against the elected Government, trampled on the Constitution and subjected the Chilean people to a régime of terror and repression such as prevails now in that country.

291. He also ventured to suggest that the members of this Assembly would be so ignorant as to be unaware of the repeated acknowledgements by United States authorities of the responsibility of the United States Government in the Chilean events, of their conspiracy against the people's Government of President Allende and their responsibility for its overthrow.

292. I wish merely to refer to the most recent instance of such acknowledgement, which has been alluded to on other occasions in this debate. I mean the recent televised debate between the two candidates in the United States presidential elections. Governor Carter on several occasions referred specifically to the responsibility of the United States Government in the overthrow of the Government of President Allende and to the responsibility of the United States Government for the prevailing situation in that country and its responsibility for the violations of human rights in Chile. The present President of the United States and candidate of the Republican Party, Mr. Ford, who is the person with the highest responsibility in the United States administration at this time, as is well known, preferred to remain silent and not to comment on this matter. Obviously, he will know why he did so.

293. The representative who spoke on behalf of Chile a few moments ago is a career officer. As they say, "where the captain gives orders the sailor does not", and the least we could ask of Admiral Huerta is that he maintain the same discretion as does his highest officer—in this case, President Ford.

294. The PRESIDENT: The general debate has now been concluded. This year it has been exceptional in many respects. Never before have there been so many participants: a total of 134. In addition, we have had the honour of hearing one Head of State and seven Prime Ministers. Never before, I believe, have so many Prime Ministers addressed us in the course of the general debate. At least

two spoke not only on behalf of their own countries but on behalf of very large sections of the membership. This is in itself something of great moment. Six Deputy Prime Ministers and 105 foreign ministers spoke in the general debate. Not only was the participation on a very high level but so also was the quality of the debate. It is no reflection at all on those who have participated in previous years in the general debate that I should refer in such terms to this year's debate. The level of participation has, however, been impressive.

295. Apart from everything else, the debate itself has been conducted with a degree of dignity and decorum that is most becoming to the United Nations and its principles and ideals. It remains for me to thank all those who have participated in the debate and especially the Head of State and prime ministers who addressed us, as well as the foreign ministers who participated in the debate, for the contribution they have made towards the carrying out of the work of this session by their comprehensive review of the international situation. I sincerely hope that the spirit of constructive exchange of views that characterized the general debate will prevail throughout this session and will influence our deliberations and decisions in the weeks to come. Even if our disagreements may be sharp, I hope that our verdict will be uniformly just and fair.

296. I must take this opportunity of warmly thanking all those speakers who have expressed their congratulations to me on my election as President of this session. Those congratulations were at times couched in terms which I found quite embarrassing, as they were, I felt, unduly generous. They have discovered in me qualities which I have so far failed myself to detect. I acknowledge the good wishes I have received and derive from them the comforting conviction that I can rely on the co-operation of all delegations in the smooth and efficient conduct of the work of this session.

297. Finally, on the request of the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I should like to convey to the Assembly his appreciation of the concern and support expressed by many delegations with regard to the Palestinian cause and his decision to use the good offices of the League of Arab States to settle inter-Arab problems and disputes.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.