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**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. KIRCHSCHLÄGER (Austria): The twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly is presided over by a prominent representative of Ecuadorian diplomacy. Your rich experience, Mr. President, in the various organs of the United Nations will contribute greatly to the success of this session of the General Assembly. On behalf of the Austrian delegation I extend to you our warmest congratulations on your election. I would add to these our best wishes for the exercise of your high office.

2. The general debate so far has provided an accurate reflection of the political situation of the world. That is a good thing. It shows that the United Nations is close to real life—in other words, that it constitutes a reality in the political process. That fact alone enhances its effectiveness—an effectiveness which is of service to all States and, in particular, to small and medium-sized countries.

3. The word “détente” has been heard in each of the statements made in the debate so far. There are good reasons for that. The process of détente throughout the world has indeed moved forward since last year. In the past year no new centre of international conflict has emerged. That is of itself a considerable achievement, since it shows that local or continent-wide détente is not only of significance for those directly involved, but also improves the climate of world politics as a whole, and that in turn promotes the settlement of conflicts of interest, even serious ones,

between States that were not originally participating in the process of détente.

4. However, it is not only détente that has been reflected in the course of the general debate so far. For those who have followed this debate, it has been impossible to overlook the continuing tensions of ideology, power politics and nationalism which still exist on various continents. The causes of conflict in the world are still numerous. Even without these causes of conflict constantly before our eyes, we could deduce their existence from the fact that advances in the field of disarmament and even in the limitation of the arms race have been extremely modest until now.

5. This is frightening for a world whose natural resources are beginning to be recognized as limited and whose inhabitants strive, as we all know, for quality of life rather than quality of weapons. Terrifying as this escalation of armaments may be, it is understandable in view of the fact that even today, and even among Members of the United Nations, it is not the removal of the causes of conflict or mutual faith in the peaceful settlement of disputes which guarantees peaceful coexistence, but the balance of military potential or—to take a term from the vocabulary of atomic-age philosophy—the concept of mutual assured destruction.

6. Coming at a time when we are not only talking about détente, but when, in wide parts of the world, strong elements of détente manifest themselves, these meetings in New York could and should afford us new opportunities to reflect on what we can contribute to the creation of a better world.

7. The present process of détente began by initiatives on the bilateral level. Without wishing to be exhaustive, I refer here, in a global context, to the rapprochement between the United States of America and the Soviet Union and to the establishment of a new relationship between the United States and China. On the European scale, this process of détente has been marked by the treaties the Federal Republic of Germany has concluded with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Poland, the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin. Bilateral initiatives were a prerequisite for these developments. We owe our gratitude to all the statesmen who undertook them and contributed to their success. Our task now, it seems to me, is to multilateralize these bilateral efforts—in other words, to render them of service to all other States on a broad international level.

8. This multilateralization of détente is necessary, as it reduces the incidence of crises in bilateral relations, which, as experience shows, are normally prone to it. It creates a

kind of network which strengthens bilateral détente, and also means that States which were not parties to the original initiatives can profit from this lessening of tension.

9. On the global level, the United Nations offers the best means for multilateralizing détente. On the European level, we have the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, from which, judging by experience gained so far, the participating States can expect a certain additional degree of security and, above all, an additional degree of co-operation.

10. The admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations is a clearly visible sign of the present developments in Europe—and not only in Europe. My Government has never left any doubt that it sincerely wanted the admission of these two States to the United Nations. Their membership is not only an expression of normalization in Europe, but also a further step towards universality and greater effectiveness of the United Nations itself. May I therefore take this opportunity to extend once more a warm welcome to the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and also to the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, as Members of this world Organization.

11. Smaller States—and they in particular—have to make their contribution to the multilateralization of détente. This duty can be discharged not only by constructive co-operation in international organizations, but also by the development of bilateral relations with other States, especially those which are our neighbours. Every day we all are faced with new problems in our respective regions. Differences of interest may and do arise. It depends upon us, on our approach to them, to find suitable and acceptable compromises in line with the new climate which is starting to prevail in international relations. If we wish to avoid outside interference, we have to settle our affairs by our own efforts. Conflicts of interest between States must be settled at the negotiating table. We are always ready to sit down to discuss problems which have arisen and to try to find solutions to them. Even if such negotiations should take a long time, we are convinced that patience and good faith will be rewarded by success.

12. An example of this is the treatment of the question of South Tyrol, which was the subject matter of General Assembly resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI). Three years ago, I was able to inform the General Assembly that Austria and Italy had agreed on a proposal for a solution which made provision for an extension of the autonomy of South Tyrol and a relevant time-table agreed to by both States.<sup>1</sup>

13. I am happy to be able to state that the implementation of the proposal for a settlement of this question has made further progress since the last session of the General Assembly, and that the major part of the measures have been implemented through appropriate legislative and administrative instruments. A certain part of those measures is, however, still open. May I express the hope that the develop-

ments now in progress will continue to advance in a satisfactory way, which, in turn, will lead to an even better relationship between the two neighbouring countries.

14. As far as Europe is concerned, the first phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held in Helsinki at the Foreign Minister level, established 10 principles which should prove of basic significance to mutual relations among States. I will not repeat them here. They are in full accord with the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which this General Assembly adopted on 24 October 1970 [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*]. These principles confer rights and impose obligations. Where they confer rights, these rights must be exercised within a framework corresponding to the present state of affairs in the world. Where they impose obligations, these obligations must be discharged in good faith. Only in this way can we take those small steps which are necessary in order to make the process of détente irreversible.

15. Détente is not an end in itself. From détente we must go on to co-operation in the widest possible sense. But we can do so only if we are supported by public opinion, if we are able to convince our citizens that détente and co-operation are of direct benefit to them. Their support of such policies will in turn influence the process of détente, give it new impetus and open up new vistas of international co-operation.

16. As is well known, the citizens of Austria have, with the citizens of our neighbours, many personal ties which have their roots in history. We do not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, just as we would resist any attempt to interfere in our own internal affairs. But I refuse to believe that an appeal to remove administrative obstacles to the reunion of families, to the visiting of old and sick relatives and to the very personal decision man makes in choosing a partner for life constitutes interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

17. In recent days, the Republic of Austria and the Austrian Federal Government have come into the spotlight of international interest, and there have been misunderstandings about Austria's basic philosophy in certain respects. I therefore feel the Assembly is entitled to expect a clarification from me in this respect.

18. First, with regard to the aspect of terrorism, it is the Austrian Government which has for several years—in the International Civil Aviation Organization, in the General Assembly, and, at the regional level, in the Council for Europe—very strongly advocated multilateral action against terrorism. Effective and practical measures to combat international terrorism can be devised only at the international level, if they are really to be successful. All members are aware that to date the international community has not been able to agree on such international measures.

19. As long as no such international co-operation exists in the field of terrorism, each State will be compelled to face alone this new form of warfare directed against those not parties to a conflict. Accordingly, reactions to an act of

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1855th meeting, paras. 169-174.

terror will not and cannot be the same in all countries. Guided by its humanitarian principles, my Government regards the saving of human life as the overriding objective which transcends all others. That and that alone is the reason why my Government did everything to create the pre-conditions which made it possible for the four hostages taken in the terrorist act of 28 September to be freed.

20. I do not wish now to dwell in detail on the way in which the Foreign Minister of Israel commented from this rostrum Wednesday [2139th meeting] on the act of terrorism perpetrated in Austria on 28 September 1973, and on the Austrian reactions to it. My Government is convinced that terrorists are not given encouragement by the fact that a Government is not prepared to sacrifice human lives. Past experience provides ample proof that even the supreme sacrifice has not been a deterrent; nor will it be so in the future. The main responsibility for the persistence of terrorism lies with those who have contributed to the blocking of efforts to establish effective international co-operation against terrorism. A world-wide disease can be fought successfully only with world-wide remedies.

21. Those who really care for the fate of people desiring to travel through Austria on their way to their new homes should not make Schoenau Castle their battle cry or an ideology. Nobody can profit from a campaign against Austria, especially not the people for whom it appears to be organized. Such a campaign will never serve any purpose. My Government will not yield to any pressure, wherever it may come from, and expects that all States will, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, refrain from interfering in Austria's internal affairs. It would seem advisable not to lose one's sense of proportion and to endeavour to find the way to objective judgements and appraisals.

22. My Government leaves the door wide open for any future talks on humanitarian questions, and thus I come to the second aspect of this matter: the humanitarian position Austria has taken in the past, is taking at present and will take in the future.

23. Since regaining full independence, the Austrian Government and the Austrian people have received several hundred thousand refugees. Those who wished to continue their journey were able to do so; those who wished to remain in Austria have become citizens, integrated into the Austrian people. They thus have become not a source of unrest but an element contributing to peace in Europe. Furthermore, the Austrian Government and the Austrian people have, since 1960 alone, greatly facilitated, and indeed made possible, the transit through Austria of about 165,000 persons seeking to make their future home in Israel.

24. Austria would have acted, and did act, in the same way also towards all other people irrespective of their nationality, their colour, their race, their religion and their political convictions. This, too, remains valid for the future.

25. I do not say this because the Austrian Government or the Austrian people expect special recognition for it, but because it seems to me that a reference to past practice is the most appropriate means to dispel misunderstandings and misinterpretations about Austria's humanitarian attitude

now and in the future. The Austrian Prime Minister, Bruno Kreisky, made this abundantly clear when, on 29 September 1973, he said:

"Austria is committed to the principles of democracy and humanitarianism, and I wish to emphasize that nothing will change in our basic attitude, our laws or our humanitarian practice because of what has happened or what may yet happen. In the interest of maintaining peace within Austria, certain minor changes will be made, but there will be no fundamental changes in our humanitarian approach. Austria remains a country which extends asylum to everyone who feels persecuted, and offers everyone who wishes to reach another country via Austria the opportunity to do so."

That is Austria's position. My Government is also ready to co-operate with international organizations, in particular the United Nations, if they are in a position to accept part of the responsibility which in the past Austria has carried alone.

26. Permit me finally to return briefly to the problems facing the United Nations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, to whom we pay tribute for his devoted work on behalf of our world Organization, asked in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization the question:

"Do the majority of Member States really want an organization which is more than a conference machinery and a forum for the pursuit of national policies? Do they really want an organization which can play a useful and active role in focusing international efforts on the solution of the most difficult and controversial problems and which in doing so will in certain situations develop an impetus of its own?" [A/9001/Add.1, p. 8.]

27. My Government's answer to that question is a very short and simple one, based both on Austria's own interests and on the principle of international solidarity. The answer is, Yes, we want such a world Organization, and we are prepared to work together with other nations for it.

28. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic):<sup>2</sup> Mr. President, it gives me the greatest pleasure to offer you, on my behalf and in the name of the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic, our warm congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The fact that you were chosen for this high office is a genuine expression of the appreciation and esteem in which the international community holds your country and people.

29. I am happy to welcome the new Members, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the German Federal Republic and the Bahamas. With their entry into the United Nations the principle of universality essential to the world Organization, which since the inception of the United Nations we have actively supported and have constantly striven to achieve, has been greatly enhanced. In this connexion, we wish to formulate the hope that the affiliation of the German Federal Republic with the Organization will usher in a

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Khaddam spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.



greater understanding on its part of the problems of the third world, and particularly those of the Middle East.

30. The convening of the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly comes on the heels of an event which stirred world-wide interest: the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, the greatest summit meeting human society has witnessed in the last decade.

31. The declarations and resolutions of that Conference [see A/9330] incarnated the drive of the non-aligned nations towards self-fulfilment and the assertion of their identity, and to a reaffirmation of the principles of non-alignment, proven to be universal principles aiming at achieving justice, equality, coexistence and peace among nations.

32. The basic significance of that Conference lay in the fact that it embodied the determination of over half the inhabitants of the world to be freed from unequal relations, to establish instead among nations a democratic relationship both in politics and economics, to eradicate colonialism in all its forms and to eliminate hegemony, foreign occupation, backwardness and deprivation.

33. If the non-alignment movement has been described in the past as an expression of world conscience, the Fourth Conference revealed that that movement is proceeding with a firm pace towards achieving freedom in the world. That Conference, with the clarity of vision which characterized its work, was able to adjust to the international changes, affirming and developing their positive aspects without swerving from the principles on which the non-alignment movement rests.

34. The Algiers Conference was a gathering that took a global view, at which it was pledged anew to realize the basic aims of the non-alignment movement—those universal goals conceiving world peace as a unit indivisible, centred on eliminating tension everywhere, increasing international co-operation, developing the innate capacities of developing countries, ending privation, backwardness, and unequal relations between peoples.

35. We hope the General Assembly of the United Nations will support the principal demands made in the declarations and resolutions of the Algiers Conference, because they are all fully compatible with the United Nations Charter.

36. The relationship between the Conference of non-aligned countries and the United Nations arises not only from the fact that the non-aligned nations form half the membership of the international Organization, but also from the determination of the non-aligned countries to strengthen the role of the United Nations and within its framework to take upon themselves the work of realizing its goals and the objectives of the Charter in such way as to benefit all mankind.

37. In our review of the international situation, special emphasis should, of course, be given to the new developments that have had an important impact on international relations. Aiming at eliminating the dangers of confrontation between the two great Powers and abating the tension

in Europe, those developments nevertheless will be of limited effect and uncertain results so long as their benefits do not extend to all parts of the world, eradicating the oppressive conditions still prevalent in the third world, such as colonialism, exploitation, racism, occupation and aggression at the hands of imperialism and foreign control.

38. International concord will remain an elaborate fiction if it means the monopoly of the big decisions ruling our destiny in the hands of a few and the consolidation of unjust conditions to which the peoples of the developing world are subjected, or if it is to be achieved at the expense of peoples and their rights to freedom, progress and self-determination. In those circumstances détente would be tantamount to extinguishing the focuses of dispute in a certain region of the world while feeding the elements of conflict in some other areas.

39. In this connexion it is disappointing to see the United States of America bent on exploiting the international climate of relaxation in order to consolidate its interests at the expense of the interests of other peoples and sustaining aggression in all areas of the third world, especially in the Middle East.

40. The state of international security today is far from permitting the majority of nations to achieve their aspirations for freedom, independence, peace, and progress. Imperialist aggression continues in important areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

41. Faithful in its support of the principles of the freedom of peoples and their right to self-determination without foreign interference, and their right to territorial integrity, regional unity and permanent sovereignty over natural resources: faithful in its struggle against colonialism, imperialist control and exploitation, against discrimination on the basis of colour, race or creed; faithful to the Charter of the United Nations, the Syrian Arab Republic demands a cessation of imperialist interference and aggression against the people of Cambodia and considers that the five points of the Government of National Union are a practical and just basis for the solution of the Cambodian problem.

42. We further demand the solution of the problem of Korea through the creation of appropriate conditions to hasten the union of Korea as an independent, peaceful nation. We demand the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the southern Korean territories and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. We believe that this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations should work towards uniting, not consecrating, the division of Korea.

43. We welcome the Agreement on the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam.<sup>3</sup> We believe that the safeguarding of peace in this area is absolutely necessary for the carrying out in good faith of all the clauses of this Agreement. We therefore deplore the repeated violations of the provisions of the Agreement on the part of the imperialists and their agents, and we hope that the heroic Viet-Nameese will

<sup>3</sup> Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam, signed at Paris on 27 January 1973.

achieve complete success in their struggle to restore the social and economic structure of their country.

44. We emphatically support the struggle of the national liberation movements in Africa, America and Asia. We strongly condemn the role of the racist minority in Rhodesia and in South Africa and the imperialist manoeuvres calculated to overthrow national governments in these countries.

45. We warmly welcome the struggle of movements for national liberation bearing arms in the four quarters of Africa against the forces of racial discrimination and colonialist exploitation, and we offer them our support and encouragement. We wish them the early attainment of their aims.

46. In this connexion let me welcome the rise of that valiant country Guinea-Bissau to the status of independence through the struggle of its sons assisted by the great African continent and justice-loving peoples. It is high time that the Portuguese régime reviewed its reactionary policy and conceded the right of Mozambique and Angola to self-determination and independence. The admission of Guinea-Bissau—soon, we hope—to the ranks of the Organization's membership will be a landmark in the universal struggle for freedom and justice.

47. World opinion endorses the fact that the Middle East problem now poses the greatest threat to international peace and security. It is the one problem that bears within itself the seeds of a world war.

48. The origins of the question, its tragedies and dimensions are known to everyone. Its ugly traces leap to the eye in the Israeli occupation of the land of Palestine in 1948, which has uprooted its inhabitants and deprived them of all their national and human rights. These ugly traces were further manifested in the expanded Israeli occupation of June 1967, which was an extension of settler colonialism and an imperialist conspiracy against the Arab nation.

49. More than six years have passed since the Israeli occupation of territories of three Arab countries that are Members of the United Nations, and the imperialist forces are still striving hard to consolidate this occupation by the consecration of this aggressive fait accompli. The unlimited support offered by the United States of America to the Israeli aggressor has enabled Israel to defy the whole world and to deride the United Nations, its resolutions and its Charter.

50. But peace-loving nations have come to perceive the dangers inherent in the continuance of this menacing situation, with the result that American imperialism and its Zionist creature are now lined up on one side facing all other nations on the other.

51. The isolation of Israel and American imperialism in the United Nations and elsewhere in the international sphere has become one of the distinctive features of the present era in international relations. It reflects the attitude of rejection which the international community takes against aggression and the protectors of aggression.

52. We place again before this international Organization the case of Israeli aggression because we are convinced that the United Nations, despite its shortcomings, is capable of playing a useful role in opposing imperialism, and in eliminating the consequences of aggression and protecting world peace.

53. In a world of such intertwined interests, a world of common destiny, no responsible Government can be indifferent when its land and the peace of its people are threatened with destruction.

54. The Middle East crisis does not threaten international peace and security alone; it is a menace also to the economic security of nations. In addition to this area being the most important route of communications by land, sea and air between three continents, it has the greatest known reserves of petroleum in the world—oil constituting the main prop of life with respect to any advance in civilization during our era.

55. Signs and statistics indicate that the wheel of life in this world, and particularly in the advanced industrial nations, will for a long time and increasingly be dependent on sources of energy in the Middle East. Accordingly, a view of the Middle East crisis from this perspective should prompt nations to intensify their efforts to eliminate the focuses of explosion in the region and to put an end to the reckless playing by Zion with the destinies of its peoples. Men everywhere have commenced to understand that their national wealth is one of the elements of their inherent strength and must play a role in protecting their independence and the integrity of their lands.

56. Consequently, the situation in the Middle East calls for prompt, effective treatment by the United Nations and its Members. It requires that every effort be put forth to keep the Israeli aggressor from reaping the fruits of aggression. Condoning aggression by allowing the fait accompli to prosper threatens a continual erosion of the prestige of the United Nations and encourages aggression and expansion in every place upon the earth.

57. It has been demonstrated in recent years that Israel, prospering through illegality, and adopting violence, terror, war and occupation to serve the objectives of its settler colonialism, has no regard whatsoever for the resolutions of the United Nations, no respect for any international or human or moral law. Israel's leaders have gone so far as to consider the resolutions taken by the United Nations as a sign of the bankruptcy of the Organization, morally, politically and legally.

58. This Israeli arrogance and contempt for international law and custom has led Israel to embark on hideous practices that arouse the aversion and condemnation of the entire world. On 8 January 1973 Israeli planes undertook a brutal assault upon civilian targets in the Syrian Arab Republic, resulting in the slaughter of hundreds of civilians, old people, women and children. On 21 February 1973 Israeli forces raided the refugee camps in Al Baddawi and Al Barid in north Lebanon, killing a great number of women, old men and children. On 22 February this year Israeli armoured planes shot down a Libyan civil aircraft that had

lost its way over Sinai. This resulted in the death of 108 innocent passengers. During the night of 9-10 April 1973 Israeli commando forces raided the city of Beirut. They murdered three Palestinian leaders in their sleeping quarters and slew a number of Palestinian refugees and Lebanese civilians. It was a real Mafia operation, yet it was perpetrated not by outlaw gangs but by the authorities of a Member State of the United Nations.

59. Within this period Israel committed a series of deliberate murders of Arab individuals in Paris and Rome on the pretext that they supported the Palestinian cause or that they were suspected of supporting this cause. I think we all remember the murder of the Moroccan citizen Bouchiki in Oslo by Israeli intelligence staff and the ensuing expulsion of one of the members of the Israeli mission in Norway.

60. On 5 August 1973 Israeli armoured planes abducted an Iraqi civil aircraft flying in Beirut skies to Lydda airport, endangering the lives of 76 passengers and gravely violating Lebanese sovereignty and the safety of international civil aviation. In its resolution 337 (1973) the Security Council condemned this aggression, as did the International Civil Aviation Organization.

61. On 13 September 1973, 64 Israeli war planes of American manufacture undertook the most serious operation of violation of Syrian air space in an attempt to strike at civilian targets. They were only prevented from achieving their objective by the opposition of our fighting planes. It is highly ironical that the leaders of Israel claim their planes were on routine patrol when our planes attacked them. Israeli arrogance goes as far as considering that Israeli fighter planes flying at a depth of a hundred kilometres within Syrian skies to be performing merely a routine flight.

62. Israeli authorities have elevated terror to the level of the State's official policy in pursuance of the principle that the end justifies the means, with no regard to international law and without respect for the sovereignty of other nations. It is odd that such conduct by Israel, whereby it arrogates to itself the right to infringe the sovereignty of nations, has not aroused the foreign States that have suffered from it to take effectual counter-measures. Consequently, we find Golda Meir and Dayan announcing without trepidation that Israel will continue on its course, whatever the results.

63. We must ask what the United Nations should do in the face of this situation, which constitutes a grave challenge to the international Organization and to the international and human community as a whole.

64. The United States has impaired the competence of the Security Council by abusing the right of veto, which it has exercised to encourage Israeli aggression and the consolidation of the Israeli occupation of Arab lands, as reinforcement to American imperialist interests in the Middle East. It was natural that such conduct on the part of the United States should lead to the phenomenon of shifting the centre of gravity of United Nations activities and effectiveness from the Security Council to the General Assembly.

65. The General Assembly, therefore, must bear its responsibilities under the Charter, it must make specific practical recommendations in the face of a situation which

threatens international peace and security. The situation in the Middle East, menacing the peace and security of every nation, requires from the General Assembly that it adopt such resolutions as will exert real restraining pressure on Israel, in conformity with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Organization's Charter.

66. The passage of six years since the Israeli aggression and occupation of the territories of three Arab nations is a clear indication that the leaders of Israel are not influenced a hair's breadth by the counsels and recommendations thus far embodied in the General Assembly resolutions, and that there is no alternative but to give such resolutions a new content.

67. The Organization of African Unity [OAU] comprehended this fact thoroughly and acted accordingly when in May 1973 it adopted a resolution stating that the attitude of Israel might lead OAU member States to take, at the African level, individually or collectively, political and economic measures against it, in conformity with the principles contained in the OAU and United Nations Charters. Further, the Fourth Conference of non-aligned nations held in Algiers in September 1973 called upon member States to take steps to boycott Israel diplomatically, economically, militarily and culturally, as well as in the field of sea and air transport [see A/9330, p. 35].

68. I wish in this connexion to hail the dynamic, progressive step proclaimed at the 2140th meeting by the President of the Republic of Zaire, General Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga, before the Assembly and the world. This is the most genuine expression of deep respect for the principles of the Charter of our Organization. It is an affirmation of the commitment of our peoples to support the struggle for freedom, justice and self-determination, and to act together in solidarity and determination against injustice.

69. We welcome the spirit of courage and justice shown by all the States which, perceiving the aggressive expansionist nature of Israel, have severed relations with it. We call upon the General Assembly to adopt a resolution with such restraining provisions as will induce Israel to end its aggression, in accord with the provisions of the Charter. We remind the General Assembly, in this context, that Israel is the unique Member which has been received conditionally into the United Nations. The General Assembly's resolution 273 (III) of 11 May 1949 further recalls the two resolutions concerning Palestine and repatriation of the Palestinian refugees [resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III)]. Israel has continued to violate those resolutions from the day of its entry into the Organization up to this very day.

70. With this stand, Israel has put itself outside the pale of United Nations membership from a legal aspect, and there is no doubt that its repeated violations of the Organization's Charter have made it the more justifiable that Israel should have its membership stripped from it. We ask ourselves how the Organization can protect its existence from the fate encountered by the League of Nations if it does not cast out from its ranks any Member that is insubordinate to its constitution; that tramples on its prestige, and announces, with the tongue of responsible authority, that morally, politically and legally it is a bankrupt Organization.



71. We call upon the General Assembly, in defence of the international Organization's prestige and its very existence and out of respect for the principles of right and justice, to approve a resolution divesting Israel of membership and boycotting it diplomatically, economically, militarily, culturally, and in sea, air and land communications; demanding the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967, and that all measures taken by Israel in those territories to alter their demographic and geographic features be considered void, with non-recognition of the consequences of those measures; further, that it recognize the right of the Palestinian Arab people to the restoration of all its national rights in its homeland.

72. The authorities of Tel Aviv try to lead world public opinion by promoting the idea of negotiations and secure boundaries. The world, however, saw the spuriousness of the Israeli position when Israel announced that it would not accept withdrawal from the Golan Heights or the Gaza Strip or Old Jerusalem or Sharm el Sheikh or the areas of Sinai, behind a line drawn from Sharm el Sheikh to Rafah; that the West Bank, though to be restored in a large part to the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Jordan according to the Israeli plan, should remain open to the citizens of Israel, who should enjoy the right to own land and work there, and that Israel would retain a number of army sites along the length of the Jordan river. Israel sees all these as *sine qua non* premises on the basis of which any negotiations must start, though it does not consider them prior conditions. The very fact of continuous Israeli occupation during a period of over six years, in itself, constitutes a condition which hangs heavily over us, and in the shade of which equal negotiations between the occupier and the victim of occupation cannot take place. Any negotiations proceeding in such circumstances can lead only to submission and acceptance of the occupier's terms. This is what Israel and the forces behind her actually desire and are working toward.

73. As for the idea of "secure boundaries", as Israel calls them, this is a mere ruse. Israel is contemptuous of the intelligence of us all when it justifies its expansionist greed by terming it an effort to obtain secure boundaries. In our day is there in truth such a thing as secure geographic boundaries? Technological advance and the new developments in weapons—of which Israel possesses the most advanced types—have erased boundaries, and there remain no geographical barriers on land or water of any significant effect in the face of these weapons. There is not one nation in the world, therefore, that can claim for itself secure geographical boundaries.

74. True security is that which is built upon justice, on remedying any sense of injustice entertained by neighbouring countries, on respect for law and adherence to the principles of the Charter. This kind of security is naturally inconsistent with the expansionist goals of Israel. The "secure boundaries" which Israel is trying to promote for itself are expanded, movable boundaries which it carves out by altering the demographic, economic and geographic features of occupied territories and by bringing in millions of settlers from all quarters of the globe for conversion of the occupied territories into a Jewish land and preparatory to occupation of new territory at the expense of the Arabs.

75. Following a debate held in the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency three days before the creation of Israel was announced, Ben-Gurion said:

"Take, for instance, the American Declaration of Independence. They did not mention in it specific boundaries, and we are not obliged to mention boundaries for the area of Israel."

That shows the intentions of Israel; those are its aims.

76. The position of the Syrian Arab Republic with respect to the Palestine problem and the imperialist Zionist aggression against our territories is a firm stand upon principle, consistent with the Charter of this Organization and with all international law and the rules of justice and right. There are two basic conditions for the establishment of peace in the Middle East: firstly, recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to their lands and homeland and their full right to self-determination; and, secondly, immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories.

77. Our determination to struggle for the liberation of all occupied Arab territories and the restoration of all the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people has never been stronger than it is today. We are certain that liberation of Arab earth from the Zionist imperialist aggression is a part of the universal struggle to create a world built on equality, justice and freedom, and that the realization of our goal of liberation enhances the aims of the United Nations and its lofty objectives.

78. Mr. CALVANI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the distinguished speakers who have addressed this Assembly before me from this rostrum have offered their sincere congratulations to you on the great honour which the Assembly has conferred on you by electing you to preside over this session. On behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, may I tell you how pleased we are to endorse those significant tributes. Your election is a well-deserved tribute that we pay your country, which is so closely linked to ours by so many different ties, especially by the imperishable figure of our common Liberator, Simón Bolívar, and which is a land admirable for its natural beauty and the noble quality of its men. It is also a just recognition of your many and varied personal merits and virtues, of your long career as a public figure, and of your unflagging devotion to the cause of peace.

79. On this occasion it is likewise fitting to express our special appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, whose equanimity has garnered the sympathy and affection of us all.

80. It is particularly gratifying to us to take this opportunity to extend a cordial welcome to the new States Members of the Organization: the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

81. This twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly is of special significance to me personally. It is, in fact, the fifth and last year of the constitutional term of office of the

President of Venezuela, Mr. Rafael Caldera. It is also the fifth time that I am addressing this august Assembly.

82. For that reason, in the present general debate I shall refrain from giving in detail our position on the specific items on the agenda. My delegation will express the views of my Government in the relevant debates. In this unique United Nations forum I shall, on the other hand, refer to the fundamental principles that have guided the course of the international policy of my Government during these last five years in its endeavours to contribute to the coming into being of a new, just and humane international order.

83. Profound economic, social, political and cultural differences separate the peoples of the world. It is true that there are varying degrees of wealth and power, of poverty and weakness. Nevertheless, we can affirm that the world is divided into two major sectors, namely, a minority of countries which have everything and a majority of countries which have little or nothing.

84. The imbalance between the developed and the developing countries grows day by day. Wealth and progress are still in the hands of the same States. Whichever way one looks at it, there is a lack of three indissolubly linked fundamental elements of development—capital, educational level and technology—that engender a vicious circle of poverty.

85. These serious inequalities, added to the desire for domination and the ambition for power over human communities, have given rise to and maintain actual patterns of subjection exercised by the developed countries over the under-developed ones.

86. Four main instruments help to shape these patterns of subjection: so-called international aid, the deterioration of the terms of international trade, foreign investments and the power which weapons and money give.

87. Although any generalization invariably conceals a simplification, we might perhaps describe the patterns of subjection at present prevailing in the world as falling into two categories: a system of subjection based on economics and another based on ideology.

88. Under the economic system of subjection the under-developed countries, being a prey to the developed countries' desire for gain, suffer economic domination, which in turn leads to the loss of their political and cultural independence. Under the ideological system of subjection, the developing countries are prey to the developed countries' desire for ideological penetration and we see their structures infiltrated, falling under the control of the developed countries and, ultimately, losing their economic freedom and their political independence.

89. On the other hand, we are well aware that the international order engendered by the policy of blocs and the balance of power has not achieved peace. It has only succeeded in preventing a global conflagration, but armed conflicts have not ceased since the very moment when the Second World War ended. The very precariousness of peace teaches us that the system of international relations under which we live cannot lead us to the objective so

earnestly desired by all, namely, peaceful coexistence and the harmonious development of peoples. It is essential that we build a new international order, inspired by lofty and enduring principles and not by considerations of practical expediency.

90. We consider that the fundamental goal of the present-day world is development. Pope Paul VI, in his now familiar phrase, stated that the new name for peace was development. Indeed, as long as there are inequalities existing between men and an unjust distribution of the benefits of progress, in both the domestic and the international field, there can be no peace. Inequalities are a sign of injustice, and injustice in the end engenders violence.

91. Development, however, cannot be of any kind. It must be a development that is harmonious, fair and balanced, both within each country and among all nations. Therefore we must not confuse development with economic growth, or material well-being with progress. Man does not live by bread alone. Development must encompass the total man, and all men, the whole nation, and all nations.

92. On the other hand, the harmonious and human development of civilization transcends all divisions within States or among States. Art, science, philosophy, literature, are in our times more than ever before the fruits of collective endeavour.

93. The scientific and technological revolution has brought men and peoples closer than at any other time in the history of mankind. Thus the outbreak of a contagious disease in one part of the world endangers the whole world. As we stated in 1971 before the General Assembly:

"Thus there emerges a new concept: that of mankind. We think of mankind as all the peoples of the world and, thus conceived, mankind appears to us as a world-wide society which encompasses us all and which is in opposition to individual societies or States, having their own lives, it is true, but dependent on the development of that greater society.

" . . .

"Thus, then, as it does internally where each State seeks the realization of the common good of all its citizens, in the universal society of nations there is also need for a Universal Common Good which is the objective and *raison d'être* of international authority and of the action of each of the States making up mankind."<sup>4</sup>

94. How can we fight pollution and the destruction of nature unless we take a loftier view that compels us to be ever mindful of the supreme interests of humanity?

95. How can we radically change the existing unjust structure in the international division of labour, where some countries export their manufactures at increasingly higher prices and others export their raw materials at increasingly lower prices, other than by the conception of an economy on a world scale?

96. The universal common good presupposes a system for the international distribution of production; or, in other

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1944th meeting, paras. 8 and 14.*



words, all countries being members of the community of nations must be able to be a part of a real and effective system of universal economy that provides for all stages of the economic process. This necessarily implies the formulation of a global and comprehensive world economic policy aimed at the development of humanity; the universal common good—and not merely the development of a group of privileged countries. In the name of that universal common good we must question the development patterns followed by the modern industrialized countries, both in the East and in the West.

97. Every action has to be inspired and guided by an underlying principle. Hence at the international level we must have a set of values, that is to say, a principle towards which our action is directed and which guides our action. That principle is the principle of international social justice, which has been proclaimed with ardent conviction by the President of our Republic in many international forums.

98. The industrial revolution brought in its wake profound poverty among the workers, who were subjected to the law of supply and demand. Wages declined steadily, while their needs grew. In this situation, the workers became aware of their poverty and sought a principle that would raise their spirits and lend weight to their claims. That principle was the principle of social justice. They combined their efforts and turned their common weaknesses into strength. The first trade unions came into being, and with them the development of the labour movement.

99. Social justice became the dynamic moving force behind a multitude of economic, social, political and cultural changes. Justice was the regulating principle, seeking to restore the balance between the "haves" and the "have-nots", between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the employers and the workers, the socially strong and the socially weak.

100. In the name of social justice, fiscal legislation was changed and it seemed perfectly logical that those who had the most should shoulder the heaviest burdens. In the name of social justice, labour protection laws were passed to restore the balance between employers and workers. In the name of social justice, an entirely new perspective of struggle and global transformation emerged and a new concept of economic and social relations was defined.

101. Why should we not bring that social justice into the international order? Why should we not use the set of values that enabled men to change substantially the internal situation of many countries? Why should we not use that set of values as a principle to transform the international order and thus rid it of the injustices on which it is based? At this point I should like to yield to President Caldera and quote from his address to the United States Congress:

"Just as 'society', in the national ambit, has the right to impose different relations among its members, so the 'international community' demands that the peoples of the world participate according to their capacity, that 'all' may live a human existence. The rights and duties of the different peoples must therefore be measured in terms of the capacities and needs of each, in order to

make peace, harmony and ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~best~~ <sup>best</sup> possible and so that we may all develop in a spirit of genuine friendship.

"If we believe that an international community exists, if we honestly maintain that all men constitute a great society and that that great society has the right to exist and prosper, then it is essential that the burdens and responsibilities taken on for its sake be in keeping with the relative opportunities, the strength, and the degree of development and wealth of some people."

102. Furthermore, this principle applies to developing countries such as ours. Among us, too, those who have the most must accept greater obligations. We could hardly cry out against the injustices of the great Powers if we were to practise among ourselves the very acts of injustice which we reproach them for.

103. In the light of the principle of international social justice, the whole range and outlook of the unsuitably termed "international aid" takes on a completely different complexion and perspective. It is not a question of a favour, but of a duty. The greater the possibilities, the greater the obligations. On the other hand, it is inadmissible that a "developed" country should demand of a "developing" country a counterpart equal to, or even greater than, the "value" of the "assistance" rendered. And it is even more inconceivable that the "assistance" should be used to pressure or to coerce the "assisted" country. How can underdevelopment be overcome in such conditions? We were right when we stated, on several occasions, that the wealth of the developed countries has its roots in the poverty of the developing countries.

104. Let us also consider the over-all aspects of foreign investments from the point of view of international social justice. True, the developing countries need foreign capital to attain their own development. However, those investments should not be prompted either by a profit motive or by a desire for ideological invasion, because, in either case, such investments lead to the subjugation of the country in which they are made.

105. International social justice, on the contrary, demands that foreign capital investments be directed towards the development of the individual and of all the men in the country where such investments are made. It also requires that States respect each other, and hence exclude any abuse of power by the stronger against the weaker.

106. The realities of the present-day world prompt us to speak on the subject of ideological pluralism. May I be permitted to make a few remarks in this connexion to dispel any possible misunderstanding.

107. Man is a rational and free being. As a human being he is responsible for his destiny. Hence, he has the right to act out his role in life. That is why we speak of self-determination and the fulfilment of the human being.

108. Similarly, in a national community, the various human groups, legitimately constituted, have the right to pursue and give expression to the various conceivable ways in which their purpose may be realized. This, logically, implies the right to dissent and to express dissent.

109. For analogous reasons also, every national community in turn has the legitimate right to fulfil its own destiny and, consequently, to carry out in full freedom its historic mission within the international community. The existing system has enshrined that right in a number of principles, namely: legal equality and mutual respect among States; the self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

110. The diversity of economic and social régimes and systems which exist in the various States on the one hand, and, on the other, the need to establish conditions of legal security for the benefit of peace, have ushered in a new phase in the relations between peoples that we call "ideological pluralism". It follows as a corollary from the aforementioned principles, and it is in this context that it can be correctly interpreted.

111. Ideological pluralism implies the coexistence, at one and the same time, of different ways of establishing the scale of values according to which a society is structured and organized.

112. Because of its origin and source, if we wish to be consistent, ideological pluralism at the international level presupposes—or at least should presuppose—the application of the same principle that is applied at the national level, with the consequent right to dissent.

113. To invoke ideological pluralism at the international level while denying it at the national level reveals a serious inconsistency. In point of fact, it is tantamount to invoking in the international order the self-same right that is denied in the domestic order.

114. I should like now to refer to Latin America. In the international concert of nations there are countries that are bound by very special ties. This is particularly outstanding in the case of the Latin American countries.

115. For us, Latin American unity is a historical necessity if the countries of Latin America are to play their part in the development of mankind.

116. My Government is convinced of this historic reality. The President of the Republic, on a recent tour of a number of countries in South America, proclaimed the urgent need for that unity within what he termed "the pluralist solidarity".

117. It goes one step beyond ideological pluralism, because this can be viewed as a part of a system of "coexistence", namely, a system whereby one country accepts that another should have a different conception of its own economic, political and social order. However, such a system does not preclude there being a latent state of war, since one of the parties regards the internal order of the other as unjust, feels that it should cease to exist and is waiting for it to disintegrate, or even goes as far as to try to bring about deliberately its downfall, in a struggle for world hegemony.

118. For its part, pluralist solidarity presupposes a system of coexistence where it is not enough to "tolerate" those who are different, but where it is actually necessary to "want" to be different, in order to achieve the common

historic goals which we place over and above our contingent momentary differences. In other words, we sacrifice our present differences—which are merely contingent—for a future which is permanent and for the sake of which we must all unite.

119. It would be a serious mistake to begin to build the world of tomorrow on existing models. The results are before us.

120. History bears witness to one certain fact: under-development will not be surmounted by the use of familiar, known methods. We are aware of no under-developed country that has overcome its under-development. Other ways must be found. . . . The Club of the developed countries, Eastern and Western, is still exclusive and excluding.

121. We believe that it is possible for each country to find its own course. It is based on the methodology of the trade union struggle, an historic experiment that has proved to be effective. What were the trade unions? They were associations of workers who by combining their weaknesses turned them into strength.

122. The trade unions, however, soon realized that in order to be truly powerful they had to unite. And so the trade union federations came into being. These, in turn, realized that they, too, had to unite to acquire even greater authority. In fact, just as not all trade unions had the same strength, so too not all federations had the same power. Thus did the trade union confederations emerge. They moved from the national to the international level.

123. Let us transpose that experience to our own struggle against under-development on the international level. The primary-commodity producing countries would form organizations at the international level, enabling them to achieve their just aspirations on the world market. That is what we affirmed at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held at Santiago in 1972, in Santiago.

124. It has sometimes been said, "more trade, less assistance". And that would be so if trade were fair. But how can the terms of trade become more just unless the developing countries unite? We cannot sit at the negotiating table if we have no power to negotiate, and that power can be acquired only by having representative organizations backed by numerical strength.

125. It will therefore be of paramount importance to organize the primary-commodity producing countries on a sectorial basis.

126. This would be a unique way for the developing countries, for the producers of primary commodities, to organize, and a way that requires no promises of the kind that are made to be broken, a way that would change the structure of power between developed and developing countries.

127. It is a methodology that is taking its first steps in the field of petroleum, and it will not prove fully effective until we are able to extend it to other significant primary commodities—namely, those without which there can be no development process.

128. That methodology can and should be improved on, and even supplemented. Just as the trade union movement of the developed countries created its own security, economic, social and financial structures, so too there would be no obstacle to the primary-commodity producing developing countries initiating experiments towards the same goal.

129. There are difficulties involved in putting into practice the idea we propose. Stultifying national egotisms will have to be surmounted. But did not the trade unions encounter many and even greater obstacles in their struggle to improve the lot of the workers? This is the great challenge for the under-developed countries: to find their own way.

130. In conclusion, allow me to make a comparison. According to legend, St. Christopher used to help travellers across the river by carrying them on his shoulders.

131. The river is under-development; St. Christopher the developed countries; the travellers, the developing countries. Up until now the developed countries have carried us on their shoulders.

132. If violence is not to take over the world, and if peace is to reign on earth, changes will have to be made.

133. It will be necessary for St. Christopher to give travellers a helping hand, and no longer to carry them on his shoulders. Thus, and only thus will the travellers one day be able to cross the river by themselves.

134. The way lies before us. It is called "international social justice".

135. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*translation from Russian*): We frequently hear the question, What can be done in order that mankind may live in peace and security without fear for the future, and so that all its efforts may be concentrated on providing a better life for each country and for every individual? There is certainly no easy answer to this question. But experience in the past has shown that whenever peace-loving peoples have been able to achieve solidarity and unity, this has benefited peace and international security and has helped to solve all the most burning issues. Fortunately, recent examples give us hope that most peoples now understand the significance of the solidarity and unity of all peace-loving forces in order to strengthen peace and universal security.

136. I refer to a number of events which have occurred in the last few months of 1973. Of these I would single out first and foremost the exceptional significance of the July meeting in the Crimea of the leaders of the Communist and workers' parties of the countries of the socialist commonwealth, of which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is an integral part.

137. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries—a very important factor in present international relations—which took place at the beginning of September 1973 in Algiers, was also of undoubtedly great significance.

138. At both these forums it was emphasized how important it was for peace and social progress throughout the

world that all anti-imperialist forces should work together. And the general debate at the present session has shown that the overwhelming majority of States and peoples of the world realize the need for joint action and determined efforts to achieve the peace and security of nations, and the need for peaceful and constructive co-operation between all countries in the interests of social progress and development.

139. The successes recently won by the peace-loving section of humanity in its struggle for peace and peaceful co-operation between countries with differing social systems are undeniable. The continuing process of international détente is of prime importance for all mankind. The United Nations is therefore faced with the immediate task of becoming fully involved in this process, the purpose of which is to reach a fundamental turning point in international relations—by casting off the remaining traces of the cold war and turning towards peaceful co-operation. The United Nations can help in this process by its efforts to clear up conflicts and crises and to work out fundamental postulates to guarantee international peace and security. If we want good multilateral relations in the world, and if we want our Organization to fulfil its duty to mankind, then it must necessarily rely on good bilateral relations between countries.

140. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic attaches particular significance to this highly important principle. We want to have friendly good-neighbourly relations with all our neighbours. A great deal has been done recently to bring about this fundamental change in international relations, whether bilateral or multilateral. In this respect we particularly welcomed the results of the talks between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, and the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States and France. We value highly the signing of the Soviet-American Agreements, which are not only a valuable contribution to the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, but are also helping to improve the international atmosphere as a whole and to strengthen the foundations of international security.

141. An historic event, in our view, is the progress made as a result of the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was one of those socialist States which, as early as 1966, took the initiative of proposing that steps be taken in Europe to ensure the security of all States in that area, whatever their social system, and to provide an opportunity for comprehensive and mutually advantageous co-operation.<sup>5</sup>

142. Czechoslovakia's interest in these developments stems not only from the sad experience of our people during the first half of the century, when the continent of Europe became the theatre of two catastrophic world wars; it also stems from the fact that we consider the preservation of peace, the prevention of war and the creation of peaceful

<sup>5</sup> Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe, adopted on 5 July 1966 at the Conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, held at Bucharest from 4 to 6 July 1966.



conditions to be a fundamental task which will make it possible to develop fully peaceful co-operation between the nations of Europe and thereby also to develop and apply the principles of peaceful coexistence between States with differing social systems.

143. A successful start has already been made in Helsinki on discussing the creation of a system of security and co-operation in Europe. We regard this not merely as something that would benefit the peoples of Europe, but as an important first step, one that will help to make this development serve as an encouragement to nations in other parts of the world.

144. We subscribe to the view that it would be extremely useful if developments analogous to those observed in Europe were also to occur in Asia. The creation of a system of collective security in that area would, we believe, be a first step towards solving contentious issues, removing negative factors in Asia, and guaranteeing the vital interests of the peoples of that part of the world.

145. One major contribution to the creation of conditions that will reinforce the system of collective security in Asia is the ending of the war in Viet-Nam, which has brought peace, after so many years of suffering, to the heroic Viet-Nameese people, who have been fighting imperialist aggression for more than a generation.

146. We welcome the achievement of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, and the progress made in putting that Agreement into effect. We believe that throughout the region of Indo-China genuine peace will triumph soon and that the peoples of all countries of that area will be able to settle their own affairs without outside interference. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, like all peace-loving nations of the world, will continue to give resolute support to the Viet-Nameese people.

147. Scrupulous observance of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam, signed at Paris on 27 January 1973 and the joint communiqué on the Paris Agreement on Viet-Nam of 13 June 1971 is essential if peace is to be preserved in that area.

148. It is most heartening to see that conditions are gradually emerging for the normalization of relations also in the area of the Indian subcontinent. We believe that the People's Republic of Bangladesh will shortly take its place among us. Another factor that would, we believe, be of particular significance for the creation of favourable conditions for strengthening peace and security in the Asian region is a normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula, where fresh signs of constructive developments hold out hope that, thanks to the important initiatives taken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, normalization can be achieved.

149. We support these initiatives because their aim is to bring about a democratic reunification of the country by peaceful means, without any external interference. We believe that it is essential for the United Nations to encourage these aspirations by endorsing unreservedly the justified proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

150. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic also has made its contribution to the process of improving the international situation, particularly on the continent of Europe. We have taken steps to normalize our relations with our western neighbours, particularly the Federal Republic of Germany. Essentially, everything was settled in our bilateral relations, and it is to be regretted that by the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Munich Agreement, which marked the beginning of untold sufferings for the Czechoslovak people, we have been unable to close this unfortunate chapter in the new history of mankind honourably. We hope, therefore—as the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Husak, said recently—that the goodwill of the Czechoslovak Government will, sooner or later, be met with clear understanding on the part of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and that the process of normalization will be completed successfully.

151. This was referred to recently by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Brandt [2128th meeting]. Like him, we hope that the treaty, which has already been agreed upon, will be signed shortly.

152. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has traditionally maintained good relations with the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Moreover, it is extending those relations and giving those countries every possible assistance with their economic and social development. It is also developing, and is prepared to continue developing, relations with the western capitalist countries on the basis of equitable and mutually advantageous co-operation. More decisive and more active efforts by the United Nations to carry out its fundamental mission—to strengthen peace and international security—would undoubtedly be of great significance in speeding up developments towards further international détente.

153. It is gratifying that at the opening of the present session we had an opportunity to welcome the admission of the fraternal German Democratic Republic, and of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to membership in the United Nations. That will not only help to extend the universality of the United Nations; it is also a symbolic expression and confirmation of the changes that have occurred in the world. All the peace-loving countries brought together in the United Nations ought to bear in mind constantly that efforts to establish durable peace and security require that systematic, deliberate and timely steps be taken that will increase mutual trust between nations. We are referring, for example, to the fact that the Security Council must take steps to put a very important decision into effect speedily: resolution 2936 (XXVII) on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, which was solemnly adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly. It is also essential that progress should be made in convening a world disarmament conference [resolution 2930 (XXVII)]. We feel we must stress the constructive part that has been played by all those who have made efforts in the meanwhile to bring this about, but it is astonishing that a number of countries—including some which, according to the Charter of the United Nations, bear particular responsibility to mankind—have not displayed sufficient interest in the work

of the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference set up at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Consequently, steps should be taken at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly to satisfy all legitimate interests, taking into consideration any constructive proposals that would speed up progress in the Special Committee's practical preparations for convening a world disarmament conference.

154. Complete disarmament has been man's age-old dream. We are aware that to achieve this aim is an extremely complex and difficult undertaking. We must therefore welcome any step forward that we may take. One such step would undoubtedly be the implementation of the Soviet proposal made at this session [2126th meeting] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Gromyko, that the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council should be reduced by 10 per cent, and that part of the funds thus saved should be utilized to provide assistance to the developing countries. We sincerely welcome the inclusion of that item in the agenda of the General Assembly. We hope that discussion on it will be fruitful, and that the implementation of the action proposed will serve as an example to all other countries, particularly those with considerable military potential. In this way, it would be possible to accelerate the present trend towards détente in the world, and the nations of the world would reap definite material benefits. There are still many serious obstacles on the road to universal peace and security for all nations. There still exist forces hostile to peace which ignite and preserve centres of tension and war, and which see advantage for themselves in thus working against the interests of peace-loving peoples. Those forces are trying to extract some benefit from the inertia of the cold war. They try to make others believe that détente in the world and an improvement of relations between peoples that until recently were hostilely disposed towards one another is not in their interest.

155. But who would benefit from a deterioration in the international atmosphere? After all, if we do not solve the basic problems of international security and disarmament, we cannot improve, as we should like to, standards of living throughout the world, including those of the developing countries.

156. The forces of aggression, imperialism and colonialism are the instigators of a tension which, despite the general tendency to international détente, still exists in certain parts of the world, causing untold suffering to the peoples of those areas and threatening universal peace and the security of nations. It is deplorable that the efforts of the peace-loving nations and of the United Nations have not yet produced satisfactory results everywhere. It is therefore essential that those efforts be continued with even greater determination and that everything be done to ensure that the existing centres of war and tension, particularly those in the Middle East and in southern Africa, be eliminated.

157. The situation in the Middle East is particularly dangerous and alarming. It is the result of the aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel, which has refused for many years to heed the well-known resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly, which are the basis for a just settlement of the conflict in the Middle

East. Israel, in defiance of those resolutions, is intensifying its aggressive activities against neighbouring Arab States, is deliberately taking steps to annex occupied Arab territories and is flagrantly trampling on the rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

158. It is quite clear that Israel and all those who support it are becoming increasingly isolated, and that Israel, because of its illegal, terrorist and aggressive actions, finds itself resolutely rebuffed by all those who respect international law, as is demonstrated by the work of the Security Council this year and by its resolution 337 (1973).

159. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has consistently subscribed to the view that the situation in the Middle East should be settled on the basis of a withdrawal of all Israeli troops from occupied Arab territory, and on respect for the independence and the legitimate rights of the States and peoples of that region, including the Arab people of Palestine.

160. No less a danger to the freedom of nations and to universal peace and security is the existence of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, which are particularly strongly entrenched in southern Africa. Contrary to resolutions by United Nations organs, and in particular to the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], adopted on the initiative by the Soviet Union, the South African and Southern Rhodesian racists and the Portuguese colonialists continued to commit criminal acts against the African people, not even stopping short of genocide, and committing crimes that will never be forgotten by mankind.

161. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue, as before, its resolute support for the national liberation movements in southern Africa and in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, and also in Guinea-Bissau, whose heroic people has achieved in its struggle a resounding victory as a result of the proclamation of the independence of that country. As before, we shall continue to support efforts to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism throughout the world; in the forum of the United Nations we shall do everything necessary to achieve that goal.

162. The struggle of nations for national and social liberation and for democracy is being resisted by all the reactionary forces, which do not hesitate to employ any means to reverse the course of history, as has been demonstrated by the violent putsch by a military junta against the legitimate Government of the Republic of Chile. One of the first victims was Mr. Salvador Allende, a great scion of the Chilean people. The Czechoslovak people unreservedly condemns the violation of constitutional freedoms and democratic rights, and the bloody repressions and atrocities unleashed by Chilean reaction, supported from outside and acting against the progressive and patriotic forces in Chile. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic could not remain indifferent to this, and decided to break off diplomatic relations with the military junta in Chile.

163. It would be an unforgivable anachronism if the present trend towards détente and the development of co-operation between countries with different social systems that we are witnessing were not to have an appropriate

influence on international, economic and trade relations in general, and on the activities of the various bodies of the United Nations system in particular. The principled viewpoint of the socialist countries regarding the development of international relations was clearly expressed in a communiqué at the twenty-seventh session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Prague, which said:

“The active peace-loving policy of the countries members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance designed to assert in international relations the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence and the relaxation of international tension in the world provides conditions for a further extension of mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technical ties between States with different social and economic systems, especially in Europe.”

164. Particularly noteworthy in this connexion is the proposal to adopt a charter of the economic rights and duties of States [*see A/9142*], the text of which has already been drafted in United Nations bodies. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has supported that proposal from the very beginning and is convinced that the charter can become a key document that will ensure progressive principles governing international economic relations and thereby serve as a dynamic instrument for developing those relations on a basis of equality, mutual advantage and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

165. The United Nations is a significant and important organization. It has a position in the world which places great responsibility on it. The United Nations will maintain that position and its significance only if it does not mark time, and if it does not hesitate to become completely involved in the fight to ensure that the shift towards détente and co-operation between States with different social systems becomes a constant feature of contemporary world development.

166. Mr. NA CHAMPASSAK (Laos) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, our Prime Minister, His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma, is retained in Vientiane by his many obligations and has done me the honour of asking me to be the leader of the delegation of Laos to this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Thus it is my pleasant duty to express to you, on behalf of my country, Laos, our feelings of great esteem and confidence as well as our warmest congratulations on your brilliant election to the presidency of the Assembly.

167. I could not at this time fail to pay a just tribute to your predecessor, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, who last year guided the twenty-seventh session with equal diligence and talent.

168. I should also like to refer with admiration to the dedication and unflagging activities of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. We hail with respect his praiseworthy initiatives and his frequent pilgrimages in the quest for peace to serve the principles of the United Nations Charter so as to adapt them to the new realities.

169. Because we ourselves have suffered from the Indo-China tragedy, we can fully appreciate the initiatives for

peace and goodwill which are presented to circumscribe an incipient conflict and to restore order and calm wherever they are threatened.

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

170. It is a fact that mankind does not know and has practically never known universal peace. But our common duty is patiently to seek it by uniting all our efforts so as to banish war and to promote the coming into being of a rational order. What might appear to be Utopian today may become a reality tomorrow. Perhaps we shall thus be able to limit conflicts and end terrorism, which all too freely springs up in many different places in a way which ensures impunity for itself while making innocent victims run grave risks. We understand the deep reasons for certain struggles and we respect the ideals and the aspirations which prompt them. But it is difficult for us as Buddhists to recognize that a systematic recourse to force is the right way to promote an ideal or a just cause. Furthermore, if the means used are cruel and repugnant, they may do a disservice to the cause which they are supposed to defend. In this sense and contrary to the well-known adage, “the end does not justify the means”, it should be possible to settle the most legitimate claims by peaceful means through national and international legal institutions.

171. This concept of non-violence obviously leads us to regret the bloody events which have overcome our neighbour the Khmer Republic, a country friendly to us. It came into the conflagration late and it deserves to have the hostilities on its soil come to an end soon and to have a peaceful life more in accord with its Buddhist traditions.

172. Further removed from us, three new States have been admitted to the Organization: the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. We congratulate them and welcome them.

173. Until they become reunited, the simultaneous admission of the two German States is a source of satisfaction to the international community at the level of political realities. This new event is the result of a long evolution and we see in it also a healthy result of détente. These are two States having different systems of government which recent events have brought much closer together and which are now on a footing of equality within the same Assembly. Because of this doctrine, other divided States may expect sooner or later to be admitted in similar manner to the United Nations. However, one must be forewarned against an improper application of that concept. It is not conceivable, on the pretext of universality, to take into consideration a mere dissident movement in rebellion against the central power of a State. To do so would create a dangerous precedent and introduce in international relations a centrifugal and pernicious force which would encourage new divisions or the erosion of sovereign States. We have recently observed the *de jure* recognition by certain States of political parties or movements which are far from having the attributes of a sovereign and organized State. An extensive interpretation of the legitimacy or representative character of these movements would lead us—and this would be mistaken—to multiply admissions to the United Nations at the whim of revolutions and alliances.



174. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, recently held in Algiers, rightly pointed out, among other considerations, this delicate problem of legitimacy among the non-aligned. It further drew attention to the polarization on a world scale of wealth and poverty. It is to be hoped that the views expressed and the settlements proposed on that occasion will prompt the rich countries to think these things over and lead them to consider or reconsider the problems of under-development with more sympathy and understanding.

175. Allow me now to speak on the problem of Laos in the light of the most recent events.

176. Emerging weakened after a lengthy struggle, my country is now reborn to hope, to a dawn of a new era of peace and national harmony. Whereas internationally there is détente and co-operation, internally we must liquidate the consequences of war and organize peace. Our efforts in this direction have not been in vain. To our great relief, the useless fratricidal struggles have stopped and there is on both sides, in a spirit of agreement and mutual understanding, a firm will to promote a mutually satisfactory negotiated settlement of the problem of Laos. A reassuring event has already taken place, which deserves our attention. On 21 February 1973, to the general satisfaction of all, the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos was signed in Vientiane in order to seal the reconciliation of all the people of Laos and decree the immediate cessation of fighting.

177. After lengthy and laborious negotiations on the thorny problems which remained in abeyance, this agreement was defined and completed by the Protocols of 14 September last. These new arrangements set forth in detail the conditions for the implementation of a vast programme of reconciliation of the people of Laos without foreign interference.

178. On the basis of the agreements concluded and under the decisive impetus of His Highness Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, who achieved this, a new Government of national union will shortly be formed.

179. The problems we had to face throughout the negotiations were many and arduous. The patient and determined quest for peace made possible the most difficult compromises and made the most delicate points easier to handle. It was not a question of sterile quarrels, of rhetorical jousts, of vain propaganda. It was rather a matter for the two opposing parties to undertake constructive talks and to clear the way for a broad consensus on the points which could bring us together and unite us. These sustained efforts have borne fruit. Moderation, common sense and, above all, the spirit of conciliation have prevailed. It is the victory of reason over division and misunderstanding. Whatever the results of the fights, the country does not wish to recognize either victors or vanquished. Everyone is an equal citizen, with the same rights and duties, and all are equally determined to work for the common good. A chapter of sorrow in our history has been closed.

180. Perhaps the situation has never been more favourable, nor the opportunities greater for our country to become again an oasis of peace.

181. If it so happens—and this is always regrettable—that some promises are not kept, or there are violations of the cease-fire, these may be isolated events caused by irresponsible agents, or ephemeral and localized acts of minor importance that cannot be allowed to jeopardize the policy of reconciliation which was won in noble battle.

182. We also know that the atmosphere of détente has had a decisive and beneficial influence on our own political situation and has greatly eased the problem of Laos.

183. It would be an illusion, nevertheless, and indeed even dangerous in some respects, to seek peace at any price. Need I remind you that Laos is a small country which has paid a heavy toll for the war imposed on it from abroad, a war which is not ours. My country must no longer, directly or indirectly, pay the price for détente. That is why we are striving to find a political balance in the best way possible which, while respecting treaties, will effectively guarantee our independence and neutrality. We no longer wish to be a battlefield for any nation, whether it is a matter of an ideological war or of territorial conquest. We reject any domination and oppose all the most insidious forms of a certain “mini-imperialism” which, under fallacious pretexts, would seek to expropriate a part of our national territory, carrying out what you yourself, Mr. President, have described as “partition by despotism”.

184. We also wish the international community to be witnesses, to recall solemnly to those who will bear the responsibility for it, that there is an imperative need for the total withdrawal of all foreign troops, in particular those which two decades ago brought war to our country. Under the terms of the Paris agreements and of the Vientiane Agreement, this withdrawal must be complete 60 days after the formation of a Government of national unity.

185. I shall spare you further details. We are at present embarked on our path of national reconciliation and peace, while aware that this will be long, difficult and full of pitfalls, because it is no easy matter to eliminate the seeds of distrust and suspicion which a quarter of a century of foreign interference and subversion have inevitably accumulated.

186. As such, the Laos Agreements nevertheless constitute an interesting experiment and a valuable contribution to world peace. It is indeed in Laos that progress towards a political settlement and the restoration of peace in Indo-China have been most marked. In comparison with our neighbours, the Laos solution is unique, because there never has been and there never will be in the new situation, either in law nor in fact, any division of the country. Under the aegis of our august sovereign, a single Government will be formed which will exercise its prerogatives over the entire Kingdom and will follow one policy only.

187. What can that policy be if not one of strict neutrality towards all States without exception, a policy which my Government has voluntarily taken up since 1962, at the time of the signature of the Geneva agreement?<sup>6</sup> Laos, because of its size, can be a threat to no one and cannot be considered as such. Its people have no hostile intentions

<sup>6</sup> Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, signed at the Conference for the Settlement of the Laotian Question at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

towards any country. It has never interfered in, nor will it ever interfere in, the internal affairs of another State. Its congenital pacifism predisposes it to the maintenance of a peaceful system in its own country and to the continuance of good relations with all its neighbours. Naturally it is entitled to expect that other States will show equally strict respect for its sovereignty and frontiers. Neutrality has become our creed and the aim and basis of all our foreign policy.

188. Yet it remains a fact that the Laos solution is only one step towards genuine peace. Without a global settlement, covering all of Indo-China, the peace will be precarious and my country may indeed fall back into the chaos of war. But the first corner-stone has been laid. We wish to strengthen it and place other corner-stones elsewhere among our neighbours.

189. Friendly nations who are interested in world peace and in maintaining a neutral Laos, have not spared their encouragement and support. We note with reassurance that the process of rapprochement and reconciliation has been followed with a great deal of sympathy by the concert of nations, as well as by the great Powers, which are more specially concerned with safeguarding and consolidating peace.

190. It is a good augury that those same Powers, in a spirit of generosity and of international solidarity, which is to their credit, are prepared to grant the countries of Indo-China the aid they need for reconstruction within a multilateral and bilateral framework and according to modalities that are to be determined. At present, a large-scale programme is being prepared among the donor countries.

191. Endless conflict has in the past accustomed us, in spite of ourselves, to launch recriminations and hurl invectives—to condemn, and to deplore from this lofty rostrum the ill deeds of an implacable battle.

192. The favourable turn of events makes me confident however and enables me to end my statement on a more optimistic note.

193. 1973 is a propitious and reassuring year. For my country it is the year of concord and the year in which peace has been restored. By giving us peace, this year has also given us faith in the future and new reasons for hope.

194. Mr. KHALID (Sudan): Mr. President, your opening remarks [2117th meeting] were worthy of the civilization you represent. The ethical and legal principles on which that civilization is based are today's most needed commodity. It was refreshing to hear you present your views in the light of those principles. It was about time we all did. Those principles are flouted by many every so often—in the name of national interest sometimes, in the name of self-defence at other times, and many other times out of wooden logic. All have paid you compliments. I sincerely join them.

195. Ours is one of those periods in history which you have so aptly depicted as "stormy periods when [man] can find no haven in which to pitch his tent" [2117th meeting, para. 93]. The problems holding man by the scruff of the

neck, enumerated by speakers before me, give authenticity to this view and corroborate the vision you put to us. I crave your indulgence and that of my colleagues to sound as grave as I do. I have my reasons.

196. Recently I accompanied my President on a tour of some western and northern African countries. We have not been to all the drought-stricken areas; we have been to some and as near as a person could be to the others. The experience was unwholesome. Never before have I felt the need for international co-operation. The misery of famine and disease one could visualize from world press reports and photographs. What struck more was the scanty relief given by the world. Valiant Nigeria, among many other African countries, offered all it could in the way of airport space and labour; but the use the world community made of the facilities at its disposal was depressing. I saw a solitary cargo aircraft waiting to be used, while hundreds of people in Africa were turned into fainting forms.

197. What I heard from Africans nearer the misery and suffering was to do with the present. The tales were distressing; they left me with a dismal feeling. In this age that prides itself on its technological achievements, that part of the world is in for an even worse predicament. It is not the short-term problem of relieving the stricken but the urgent need for long-term ecological strategies that seemed to disturb the peoples of the region. How to reduce and eventually eliminate future droughts?

198. It is not only the periphery of West African Sahara; it is also the area lying between Senegal in the west and Ethiopia and Somalia in the east, some 4,000 miles. The Sahara, after all, is a creation of uncontrolled natural forces; left unchecked, it may extend farther south. Superior intellects have warned us before, but we did not heed their words. C. P. Snow was one of them. Long ago he put the poverty problem in plain everyday words:

"We know it is happening. We see people starving before they die. We know they are going to die. We know so much and do so little. We draw what in England we call curtains, and we try to make an enclave of our own."

199. Professor Prosserman will not go the same way of the late Sir Charles Snow—I hope. He reckons that over the coming 12 months between 10 and 30 million additional deaths in Africa and Asia might occur because of starvation and because of disease rendered fatal by malnutrition. He goes further and marks the egotism of the countries which can do something to avert the oncoming disaster and says:

"America's garbage over the next year will contain a large enough amount of thrown-away food to prevent a significant proportion of the famine deaths that will otherwise occur in Asia and Africa."

200. The situation is one of tragic pauperdom on one side and insolent surfeit on the other. The poor nations in question are 2 billion people who lose 25 per cent of their children before their fifth day; 800 million of them live on the equivalent of 35 cents a day.

201. The problem is no longer one of inequities and inequalities. It is becoming a threat to the very fabric of human society. Edgar Faure, in his brilliant introduction to

the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization report on education—the first international survey of the geography of ignorance—has put it so ably:

“The great changes of our time are imperilling the unity and the future of the species, and man’s own identity as well. What is to be feared is not only the painful prospect of grievous inequalities, privations and suffering, but also that we may be heading for a veritable dichotomy within the human race, which risks being split into superior and inferior groups, into masters and slaves, supermen and submen. Among the risks resulting from this situation would be not only those of conflict and other disasters (for present-day means of mass destruction might well fall into the hands of destitute and rebellious groups) but the fundamental risk of dehumanization, affecting privileged and oppressed alike. For the harm done to man’s nature would harm all men.”<sup>7</sup>

202. There is need for a mental revolution, a revolution that defies the origins of contemporary social and political thought. The poor of the world, some 800 million of them, cannot be wildly interested in peace in the world, which preoccupies the big Powers. They own nothing to lose; they are unaware of this preoccupation of some of us here. Détente, dialogue and accommodation are but vacuous utterances. The poor nations are not cynical, but how can a skeleton of a man have the wits to be bothered about anything but a bowl of rice and a calabash of water. On the contrary, even an empty stomach can be a menace without knowing, a factor of instability at home and abroad. Indeed, it was as early as 1912 when Woodrow Wilson said—and right here in New York—that no one can worship God or love his neighbour on an empty stomach.

203. One cannot escape the feeling that a considerable part of the food crisis is largely artificial. It is ironic indeed that extensive means for production of food are at our call while people die of hunger and fall victims to prolonged droughts. We in the developing world have generous potentialities that could lend a hand to the combat of hunger beyond the limits of the boundaries of under-development. This potential has not yet been exploited, save certain partial efforts. The example of my own country is striking in this respect. The arable land in the Sudan is estimated at about 50 million hectares, but only 6 million hectares have been developed. Some would perhaps wish us to accept penury and pestilence, in the best Malthusian tradition, as a destiny that must visit the human race.

204. It is in this sense that we note with interest the call for a world food conference in 1974. This call tallies well with the resolve of the developing countries, as expounded in the decisions of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, to convene a world meeting on food and trade.

205. The proletarian nations of the world, exhausted by monstrously frequent internal upheavals, can well join the President of this Assembly in saying:

“With few exceptions, the industrialized countries amassed their wealth as true colonial or neo-colonial

Powers. In one way or another, they rely upon exploiting the natural resources of the less developed countries—whether or not they were politically independent—since they provided cheap raw materials in return for costly manufactured goods.” [2117th meeting, para. 84.]

That is a truism, and one hopes that none of us will be driven to bickering and recrimination.

206. But let us not forget that in our world progress and the well-being of man are not segregated variables; they are an integral part of world peace and international tranquillity. That is not only an incontrovertible proposition; it is a peremptory truth. History points to that with an infinity of examples. So we need peace to develop, to make progress and possibly to surpass ourselves. In our clamour for peace and liberty we are neither trouble-makers nor “noisy riders of great causes”, as some would like to think. We are plain and simple fighters for the reconquest of our independence and the affirmation of our dignity, and this we do at a very heavy cost in life and property. Nobody knows that better than people who are conversant with Africa’s past and present.

207. It is in that spirit that I now turn to some events in Africa and the Middle East in this year that marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

208. The happenings in the Middle East cannot help anybody who is pondering over a formula for restoring peace and stability. I shall deal briefly with three developments that have started to vitiate the air, and even more so since the Security Council’s special meetings in June 1973.

209. First, I would mention the irresponsible talk about occupying the oilfields in the area. It may be loose talk, but it is widespread. We have recently been hearing and reading about an Israeli professor who declared that his country might occupy Kuwait, there being no force capable of standing up to Israeli power. Senator Fulbright must have sensed the folly prevailing when he indicated that it was not unlikely that the United States might go out to control the oilfields through Israel, a militantly potent surrogate. What gives credibility to that sort of plan is Israel’s view of itself, brazenly put to American television audiences by Mr. Teddy Kollek in 1967: “You are supporting Israel”—he said—“only because it is in your self-interest to do so and not because you are doing us any favour”. One trusts that these voices of insanity will be silenced in time, good time. Let loose, they are not unlikely to get their way. If they do, that “will make Viet-Nam look like a picnic”, to use the words of Elmer Bennet.

210. Second, in spite of all pleas to Israel not to change the face of the land and implement the policy of “creating facts”, Israel is planning a \$375 million scheme to develop the West Bank—“develop” being a euphemism for “annex”. The Israel Land Authority says it will acquire land on the West Bank and in Gaza for new Jewish settlements. It is worth noting that since 1967 some 4,000 Israelis have been settled in territories occupied then. The present plan is to bring in a further 10,000 Jews by the end of the four-year scheme. The idea is prompted by the race for power inside Israel, and not because of any tender-heartedness about the Jews living outside Israel.

<sup>7</sup> See Edgar Faure and others, *Apprendre à être* (Paris, UNESCO-Fayard, 1972), p. xxv.



211. With that in his mind and in his heart, Mr. Ariel Eliav commented at the last meeting of the Israeli Labour Party:

“... this programme is brought before us with the lashing of the whip of time and the scourge of haste and panic. There are many in this land whose souls weep in silence because of this document. I will be the voice of the ideological Jewry of silence and never, at any price or in any form, will I ever vote for the document.”

Such emotions did not appeal to the Prime Minister and the most eligible contenders to the throne, and Eliav had to be chided and pilloried for entertaining such sentiments.

“I have lived through 50 years of political activities”—the Prime Minister said to him—“and never before have we had a comrade who set himself up as a Messiah.”

The Israel Land Authority, she went on to say, “will acquire land by every effective means”. Benjamin Disraeli must have been the mentor. “Damn your principles. Follow your Party”, he once said.

212. In 10 years there will be a different Jerusalem. The sane Israelis can take it or leave it, and the world will have to lump it, along with statements like that made on 3 October, and right here from this rostrum, that Israel’s policy “is not unilateral annexation” [2139th meeting, para. 79]. Sanity must live in the shadows, unheard and unseen.

213. Third, there is a current rush of propaganda against “the gnomes of Araby”, as a senior senator in Washington referred to oil-rich emirs. King Faisal is quoted and misquoted almost daily. The publicist twists both his words and his intentions. I personally detect a deliberate campaign to belittle the importance of the writing on the wall, as well as the man’s diplomatic pragmatism and his capacity to influence events. Attributing to him obliquely ideas never put forward by him, some publicists are working hard to create hostility between him and the people of the United States. How far can mischief go? Some want to assume that “the gnomes of Araby” are an unthinking bunch of tribes, given to histrionics—an image that might lull the untutored into false comfort but would not change the facts which will ultimately determine the settlement.

214. But what are the facts? David Hurst, whose knowledge of the Middle East cannot be improved upon, put them in a simple way:

“... as a result of the energy crisis, never have America’s vital interests in the Arab world seemed so precariously exposed by its commitment to Israel as they do today—never has ‘bastion Israel’ seemed quite the glaring fallacy it is.”

215. These are no dead facts or unfounded views. They need the urgent attention of this Organization. The machinery existing at the moment has not been able to check the wiles of Israel. That is a fact. To wait until it is improved is no intelligent counsel either. Let us admit it. There are Powers that could do more than they say they can. They must move. The United States of America and Europe have the means. If they are intimidated by the hell Israel can raise in face of any State that goes counter to its wishes, as witness

the case of Austria, then we have nothing to say to them except “What of the peace on earth that you say you serve?” They would do well to remember the African voices raised yesterday and today by two of our dynamic leaders, prompted by nothing but a sense of justice. I should like us to contrast them with the hollow rhetoric indulged in the other day by Mr. Eban, who did not budge an inch from the position taken after the June 1967 hostilities. I refer to the recurrent theme of “negotiation between the parties”. The United States and Western Europe have the means to advise Israel to come out of the quagmire it has drawn itself into and into which it is about to pull the whole world. There is no point in wailing about being alone and outvoted. Israel must produce something other than rhetoric, or must be made to do so. It is no use quoting *Al Akhbar* and *Al Gumhuriya* often out of context, deluding itself and tormenting the world.

216. The African scene is another case of peace thrown to the winds, and barbarity rampant. Three aspects of the tragedy presently played on the scene there need to be brought to the fore: first, the commendable role of the Church in unravelling the brutalities of Portuguese armies in Mozambique; second, the inhuman manner in which hundreds of men and women are languishing in the detainee camps; and third, the indifference of world conscience to the tragic drama played out there by South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia.

217. It is our duty as the voice of the world here to recognize, in some formal manner, the part now being played by many priests, bishops and cardinals of the Catholic Church in Portuguese Territories. Some young men and women not only are bringing the details of massacres to world public opinion, but are also risking their lives; indeed, some of them are in gaol. We shall be failing these brave souls if we do not take up their case seriously, see to it that those in gaol are released, and that those who had to leave their flock go back. I am certain there are ways of achieving this. It is the will that is needed.

218. The Church has definitely set itself on a new course. Let us contemplate the words of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Umtali, Msgr. Donald Lamont, looking into the origins of racism. It is, he says:

“... a pernicious heresy, deep-seated in theological origins and disastrous in the conclusions it could lead to. If the Christian Church were to seem by its silence to give its consent to a system of government inspired by racial prejudice, any discrimination against men, or harassment of them on account of their colour, condition of their life, or religion, it would be contrary to the mind of Christ.”

Noble words in the true tradition of the sacred books, but never before brought to light as forcefully as this.

219. Equally forceful in encouraging to men and women in the bush fighting for their freedom is Cardinal Bernard Albrink. He is no less a man than the Archbishop of Utrecht and, at the same time, the international president of the Pax Christi movement, a man to reckon with. In a letter to Bishop Ferreira de Silva he calls upon him “to take all necessary measures and probably make a public protest. ...

We have a duty to show every African citizen that he can count on our solidarity in securing his right to self-determination". At long last the All-Africa Conference of Churches is not alone. Surely these men are rejuvenating the Church, injecting into it a spirit that centuries ago impelled a few similar souls to petition the Pope to intervene with secular authorities for the purpose of prohibiting slavery. According to press reports, Father Martin Hernandez and Father Alfonso Valverdi have been in gaol since early 1972.

220. There must be others because several missions have been closed for fear of missionaries informing the world. And inform it of what? I can tell you. Vania's story is too well known now to recount. Zostin's story is too gruesome not to mention. Portuguese soldiers asked Zostin whether she knew the sex of the child inside her. They opened her stomach with knives, violently extracting her entrails, showing her the foetus which throbbed convulsively. They told her that she then knew and were chucking like maniacs. What little Serina, a 13-year-old girl, told reporters about the massacre of her family is as horrifying. Vania, Zostin, and Serina should find their way to sainthood. The hundreds of churchmen we honour, but must not content ourselves with honouring them.

221. To begin this process, the Sudan joins with those who call for an investigation of the atrocities in Wiriyaumu, Mucumbora and other areas. The investigation conducted by Portuguese authorities cannot be convincing. Evidence is in the shaky words of Prime Minister Caetano. Here they are: "The competent authorities will seek those responsible in order that justice may be done". The result of what he called "rigorous enquiry" is, in his own words, "a total absence of the alleged facts in the places alleged by the accusers".

222. The second question is that of the fate of the hundreds of detainees in South Africa and Rhodesia. The world knows about Father Sithole and Joshua Nkomo in Rhodesia, Nelson Mandela and Alexander Neville in South Africa, luminaries who have been silenced behind bars for a decade or so. We do not know about the others. We call upon this world community and other international institutions to take up seriously the matter of those men and women whose sole guilt is standing up for their inalienable right to independence and freedom to determine their future. It is also setting a pattern for life under the racist Governments of that region until the day of deliverance comes. The obtaining pattern is desperate and therefore unaware of decisions it takes. Mr. Smith has recently gone so far as to ban churchmen from preaching in their own Church. No one will be surprised if, under strain because of his many political and economic defeats, he locks them up. Some action is needed. In what form? Let us think together. After all, this year we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

223. Thirdly, recent developments go to show the near-maniacal eagerness of the white settler régimes to use armed suppression against the African population in order to entrench their rule and prevent the African from participating in government. The murder of Amílcar Cabral, the massacre of 400 defenceless civilians at Wiriyaumu, the mas-

sacre of African mine workers in Carletonville, illustrate the length to which those minority régimes will go. Yet, despite brutality, African resistance in southern Africa not only has remained undaunted but has risen to unexpected heights. The recent labour strikes in South Africa have gone to prove how prophetic Nelson Mandela was when he said at his Rivonia trial:

"Government violence can do only one thing and that is to breed counter-violence. We have warned repeatedly that if there is no dawning of sanity on the part of the Government the dispute between the Government and my people will finish up by being settled in violence and by force."

224. It is against this background of terror that Africa has repeatedly pointed to the gathering storm south of the Zambezi, a storm that threatens to engulf the whole of Africa and the world beyond.

225. But South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal are not the ones to read the writing on the wall. Large portions of Mozambique and Angola are already in the hands of freedom fighters. The South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] has plunged into the fray with indomitable gusto, after the miserable failure of elections in Ovamboland and the arrest of five of its leaders as the culprits who prevented a turn-out to the election booths. Mr. Smith is sending his bombers, jet fighters and helicopters to subjugate the Tete Province in Mozambique because, according to him and his followers, "the Portuguese have lost the stomach to hunt out FRELIMO<sup>8</sup> guerrillas", as reported by newsmen who managed to get into the area. This is a logic for which we have only infinite scorn. The thickest writing on the wall is the triumph of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde in announcing the independence of Guinea-Bissau only days ago. That lesson will also be lost on the racists in South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. It will not be lost to the Africans. After all, one cardinal point announced by independent Guinea-Bissau is that it will help to liberate other Portuguese Territories.

226. We of the OAU shall, of course, soon take steps to help Guinea-Bissau to stand on its feet by making available to it whatever resources every single member of us can afford—and that apart from what the rest of the world can do at this stage.

227. It is useful to note that we have voted into our community some 130 million people in this particular year when we are seriously grappling with the improvement of the United Nations. To the representatives of those peoples, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, I bring the congratulations of my country and its people. Our work in this Organization is incomplete without their industry and inventiveness. They will bring in a breath of fresh air, I hope. Some of those who have been at it for a long time have taken positions in the light of their own national interests, I am afraid. The steely muscles of the Organization need oiling. Some of us preach a "don't-rock-the-boat" philosophy; a conservative view that hopes to keep the *status quo*. Some preach the dismantling of the whole edifice as unsuited to our current needs and the construction of another

<sup>8</sup> Frente de Libertação de Moçambique

that would be in tune with the times—a radical view that fails to take stock of the realities of international life. The dialogue started by the Secretary-General's notes and your own remarks, Sir, should end up in a serious endeavour to look into the matter and present recommendations to our next session.

228. Those remarks and particularly your views of the General Assembly, so perceptively outlined, Mr. President, cannot be served by Olympian aloofness. These are not times for any one of us in a position of authority to shy away from creative leadership. To halt the tendency "to under-rate the powers of the General Assembly" you need daring souls on your side. Many of us demonstrated this morning that we are ready to do so.

229. We appeal to you, Mr. President, not to be hemmed in by the stern rules and practices that have reduced the highest office of the General Assembly, our collective voice, into an honorific position. Worse still—they have even led us into the contented acquiescence in and acceptance of the presence in our midst of such political obscenities as the spokesmen of *apartheid*.

230. The social and economic establishment of the United Nations cannot be left unchanged either. The United Nations can pride itself on many of its economic assistance programmes where differences among States have been effectively conciliated in the pursuit of common goals. Such programmes can materialize in limitless benefits if the necessary requirements for successful performance are made available.

231. Apart from the primordial requirement of resources there is a need to increase the efficiency, effectiveness, and economy of the United Nations economic programmes. The implementation of those programmes demands a degree of emotional commitment beyond what is normally acceptable. And for such a change to be effective, all partners in the process of multilateral co-operation—and more particularly the recipients—should take part in the rationalization of procedures and modes of operation. What is needed in the prevailing conditions of international co-operation for development is a forward-looking perspective to development assistance and a dedicated spirit of performance at all levels. Nothing less will meet the pressing needs of the developing countries.

232. The Assembly had a taste of this from President Mobutu of Zaire [2140th meeting]. His was a message of Africa pure and simple, freed from the trimmings of diplomatic niceties, and armed with the philosophy of his ancient land. His concept of aid is our concept—and not on the abstract level either. His country's experience of Chinese co-operation happens to be my country's experience too. It is the possible ideal of aid. I could go on and tell an identical story. The President's words were clear enough, yet one would like the "better-equipped" countries, as he prefers to call the richer members of the international community, to draw the moral. In my humble thinking, he was calling upon this Organization and upon the rich of the world to reconsider ways of co-operation with us, in the light of the Chinese experience our two countries have, and to improve on it. Why not?

233. It is in that light that we say there is a need to review the Charter, to infuse the rules of procedure with a breath of life, to modify antiquated modes of operation, and to rejuvenate the administration with a timely blood transfusion. The Charter of the United Nations is not Holy Writ, however revered. It is a document reflecting the consensus of nations at a certain juncture of history. It will have to change with the changing times. The Organization is not an oracle. It is a political institution. And political institutions that tend to perpetuate themselves become reactionary. What use is a reactionary United Nations?

234. The resolutions of the non-aligned summit Conference at Algiers on the reorganization of the United Nations [see A/9330 and Corr.1] should not be passed over in silence, even by those who have a vested interest in the *status quo*. The change is necessary if the United Nations is to be at all efficient, efficacious, and truly representative of the infinite diversity of the world's culture and beliefs.

235. In order to achieve that change, we do not intend to fly in the face of prevailing facts. That does not do the job of strengthening this world forum. To be their prisoner, if they prove to stand in the way of new ideas, does not do the job either. There will have to be a golden mean between realism and idealism. To discard one or the other is to invite paralysis. It is not beyond our intelligence to be pragmatic idealists.

236. Africa is keen and willing to put its genius at the service of a machinery of reform. That is the meaning of the presence of four of our leaders here, one of them the current President of the OAU, General Gowon, who devoted a substantial part of his address [2141st meeting] to this question. It is not that they need the Organization more than any other continent in the world; it is that they realize only too well that Africa is the hope of peace and equitable distribution of the resources of the world. Africa is young and has not yet accumulated the cynicism that comes with old age and flabby wrinkles. Africa sees less of the seamy side of man and can speak up as the leaders you have heard this morning and yesterday did.

### *Organization of work*

237. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before I call on the next speaker in the general debate I should like to make a statement about our programme of work. As representatives are aware, the Assembly is now two meetings behind in the time-table which was originally established. Consultations have been held with the representatives of the regional groups to find a solution to this problem, since the General Assembly decided on 21 September [2123rd meeting] that the general debate would end on Wednesday, 10 October. In those consultations it was the general feeling that the end of the general debate should be postponed for 24 hours. Since no plenary meeting had been planned for Thursday, 11 October, may I take it that the General Assembly agrees to set that date for the end of the general debate, it being understood that in principle the present list of speakers for each day will be automatically carried over to the next day?

*It was so decided.*



## AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

238. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): It is with particular pleasure that my delegation associates itself with the speakers who have extended congratulations to Ambassador Benites on his unanimous election to the high office of President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. This election marks the crowning point of an outstanding career that has been devoted to the service of world peace and understanding among peoples. The high office of the presidency to which he was so deservedly elected is made more significant this session because of the unique opportunity offered and the challenge involved to derive the most for mankind from the new trend of negotiation, peaceful coexistence and contact, which hopefully appeared on the world scene during the past two sessions of the General Assembly. My delegation is certain that under his wise guidance and leadership our work will be effectively accomplished in a spirit of co-operation that will contribute significantly towards peace and harmony in the world.

239. I should like also to associate myself with the expressions of appreciation which preceding speakers have addressed to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, for the able and statesmanlike manner in which he guided the deliberations of this body during the preceding session.

240. As the President has so rightly observed, the outstanding feature of this Assembly session is that it marks the beginning of genuine universality. I take great pleasure in extending a warm welcome to the three new Member States of the United Nations, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, the proposals for whose admission Cyprus sponsored as a gesture of friendship and goodwill. We hope and trust that the constructive participation of the two German States in the work of the United Nations and the beneficial influence of the Charter principles will prove conducive to the closer co-operation and unity of the great German nation. Our traditional stand has always been and continues to be for the unity and integrity of all nations and peoples. World experience during the years after the Second World War has amply demonstrated that partition is an ever-bleeding wound in the body of any country.

241. The twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly has convened in an atmosphere of confidence and hope. Not since 1946, when this Assembly held its first session, have there been so many good auguries for peace in the world, and such revival of hope for the emergence of an era of conciliation and relaxation of tensions.

242. In the past year the course of international relations continued to be influenced by the spirit of the Charter, and, further to peaceful coexistence, great efforts were exerted to promote international co-operation among States with different social and political systems.

243. The process of détente, which had commenced among the big Powers, was followed this year by the personal meetings between leading Heads of State. Such meet-

ings are of fundamental importance and are beneficial to the cause of peace, in view of the great responsibilities which their countries bear for the maintenance of international peace and security. When relations among these Powers develop on the basis of mutual accommodation and co-operation, they exert favourable influence on the international situation as a whole. The cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam and the resulting truce agreement is, we believe, a case in point, and one which the world community has welcomed as a triumph of statesmanship, and as a good point of departure for achieving durable peace in that part of the world. At the same time, I wish to express the hope and conviction that accommodation among the big Powers will not result in a situation in which the legitimate interests of small countries would be ignored.

244. The constructive results of the recent session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki in July, the second phase of which has now commenced in Geneva, of the Commonwealth Heads of State Conference in Ottawa in August, and of the Fourth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers in September, all of this year, in which my country participated and made its modest contribution, have helped to bring about a substantial easing of tensions in international relations, signalling the beginning of an era of positive developments which undoubtedly will facilitate the search for peace in the world.

245. Cyprus shares the fervent hopes of all mankind at this juncture, when there are signs that goodwill is replacing antagonism and mistrust. We would like to restate our belief that, as a natural sequence, the new spirit of bilateral and group co-operation should be channelled into the United Nations so that the much needed unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council in matters affecting peace and security may be finally achieved. The Charter of the United Nations presupposes, and indeed bases itself upon, a reasonable degree of accord and unity between the big Powers. This accord has many times in the past been lacking, in a manner hampering and even frustrating the task of the United Nations to fulfil its pre-eminent purpose, giving thus rise to grave apprehensions concerning the Organization's effectiveness in the maintenance of peace and security. In the light of the near universality of the United Nations, this new trend will not only render the United Nations more effective, but will also assure the permanence of relaxation of international tensions; moreover, it will ease the concern of many Members about the paralysing effects which the abuse of the veto frequently produces on the United Nations organ bearing the greatest weight of political responsibility. At the same time, the United Nations will become what mankind intended it to be: an effective instrument for securing peace, and not merely a spectator of hopeful signs of easing of tensions brought about by bilateral initiatives and agreements.

246. A stronger Organization need not raise apprehensions in any quarter, for it is through this world body that small States can ensure their security and respect for their independence and territorial integrity, as well as promote their economic and social progress. It is also in this Organization that the true and long-term interests of the big Powers lie.

247. The Government of Cyprus considers the United Nations as the pillar of its foreign policy, and will continue to support unreservedly its strengthening, and work together with all peace-loving nations to enhance the sphere of its activities and the degree of its effectiveness so as to make it the supreme instrument for peace, justice and progress for all mankind. We realize that these are high goals, especially in the light of the fact that the successes so far achieved by the United Nations fall short of the vision of its founding fathers and of the hopes the vast majority of peoples everywhere continue to place in it.

248. Yet it must be pointed out that during the last 28 years the achievements of the United Nations in various fields, and particularly in the socio-economic field and decolonization, have been substantial. It is this quiet, long-term work of the Organization that merits the greatest praise, particularly from the small States, which perhaps derive the greatest benefit from long-term development programmes.

249. The increasing degree of economic, legal, scientific and humanitarian co-operation of nations taking place under the aegis of the United Nations is proof of the fulfilment of the many purposes of the Charter at the basic level of human endeavour. Although such co-operation rarely elicits sensational recognition such as is bestowed upon purely political issues, nevertheless the importance of these developments must be recognized.

250. Although the same cannot be said of the Organization's efforts in handling the major problems which still confront the world community, the role it has played in peace-keeping is surely constructive and it can, if we wish it, become truly the custodian of world peace and security. In this connexion, one basic fact we should bear in mind is that the armed conflicts of the past 28 years have not led to a world war. That does not mean that the armed conflicts of these later years are inconsiderable and that the lives lost and resources wasted should be ignored. However, given the technology of modern warfare we must be thankful that we have not had to face extinction through a nuclear holocaust. The United Nations has played an essential role in this regard, and if we are willing to strengthen and consolidate its machinery it can yet become the catalyst of differences which arise among nations, the protector of human rights and the promoter of the economic and social well-being of peoples throughout the world, which was the vision of those who created it.

251. In sum, if we have the courage and determination to back this Organization with unselfish support in all its efforts towards the full realization of the aims and principles of the Charter, it can become a dynamic instrument of Governments for collective security, peace and progress.

252. The Secretary-General has significantly posed two vital questions to us all: "What kind of world organization do we need? And what kind of world organization are Governments prepared in reality to accept?" [See A/9100/Add.1, p. 8.] The greater effectiveness of the United Nations and the enhancement of its image must ultimately depend on the answers we give to those questions. To my mind, the universality of our Organization, the common need for collective security, peace, justice and equality and the neces-

sity for concerted action to face vital world problems in an effective manner point to the answers to the questions the Secretary-General has posed. The need to develop a new concept of allegiance to the United Nations as an authority representing the world community is obvious and pressing if peace and justice are to prevail in the world.

253. The continued existence of colonialism is not compatible with international peace, much less with freedom and justice. It is a fact that much progress has been made towards decolonization since the adoption of the epoch-making General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, which gave a new impetus to the application of the concept of self-determination to colonial peoples.

254. However, the decolonization process has encountered several setbacks because of the outmoded policies of two Member States of this Organization—Portugal and South Africa. The recent commendable efforts exerted by the Secretary-General with regard to the granting of self-determination to Namibia have not produced progress. Full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) thus remains a major challenge to the United Nations.

255. In that respect my delegation is anxious to see progress sharply accelerated. The world has confirmed the undeniable truth that, once a people has expressed a desire to assume the duties and responsibilities of independence, denial of freedom thereafter compels recourse to force, which immediately develops into an active threat to the maintenance of peace and security.

256. Cyprus having itself emerged from colonial rule, it has all along fully supported the struggle for the granting of independence to colonial countries and the ending of the abhorrent practices of *apartheid* in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. We stand in full solidarity with all peoples still deprived of their inalienable rights to freedom, independence and human dignity and have consistently fully implemented the concerted efforts and sanctions of the international community as stated in the relevant United Nations resolutions.

257. We attach great importance to the upholding and safeguarding of human rights and to the protection of the individual from all forms of discrimination. We cannot therefore but deplore the denial of human rights prevailing in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, South Africa and the so-called Portuguese Territories. It is our earnest hope that the colonial Powers will seize upon this new climate of co-operation and negotiation and—on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the launching of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination—heed public opinion. In so doing they will no doubt contribute to world peace and to their own true national interests and will at the same time observe with deeds this landmark in the quest for human rights.

258. In the same way as colonialism is not compatible with peace, economic deprivation is not conducive to world order, peace and justice. The recent reports with regard to the question of economic development indicate that the

standard of living of millions of people is pitifully low, that conditions of undernourishment and illiteracy are still conspicuously prevalent and that the gap between developed and developing countries has further widened. The First United Nations Development Decade, launched in 1961 by a hopeful world for the creation of conditions of economic stability and well-being ensuring a minimum standard of living for the peoples of the developing countries, fell short of its goals, and a review and appraisal undertaken this year of the Second United Nations Development Decade of the 1970s indicates that the growth rates of the developing countries burdened by debts, scarcity of aid and drought, are well below the average 6 per cent target rate set for the Second Decade and below the average achieved in 1960.

259. Those disappointing reports, coming at a critical time when the economic world is beset by uncertainty of monetary and trade interchanges, present a challenge of the highest magnitude to the efforts of the international community to bring about an equitable distribution of wealth and to secure economic, monetary and social order. We welcome the negotiations now under way regarding the structure and future shape of the international monetary system and on world-wide trading arrangements, which undoubtedly will have a very important bearing upon the future of development in general and of the developing countries in particular. In addition, we agree that the concept of collective economic security should be further advanced. Co-operative international action in the economic field is vital to mankind—as, indeed, is international action in securing peace—and whatever difficulties may be encountered the United Nations remains the instrument best suited for universal economic co-operation and for the solution of outstanding international problems.

260. The growing realization of the international community that many problems facing the world cannot be finally dealt with within national boundaries makes the concept of collective economic security especially timely.

261. The recent monetary crisis and the drought which plagued many countries, including my own, underline the common problems and interdependence of big and small nations, rich and poor alike, and point to the necessity for collective action through the United Nations system for their solution.

262. The effective approach to the problem of the human environment and the consensus reached by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held last year in Stockholm, coupled with the efforts now under way to translate such consensus into concrete action, demonstrate the international community's willingness and ability to act when the will to act exists.

263. The United Nations determination to tackle world problems was demonstrated again on another question of vital international concern, the sea and the sea-bed, a subject marked by diverse national interests but of immense potential benefits to mankind. Marine resources will be needed urgently by a world whose population is expected to double within 30 years.

264. The law of the sea in its various aspects and, more specifically, the equitable distribution of the wealth of the sea and the sea-bed, are a field of vital concern to the United Nations and one to which my Government attaches particu-

lar importance. The traditional rules of the law of the sea have to be examined afresh in the light of recent revolutionary technological changes and political developments, and have to be adjusted so as to conform to present-day realities. At the same time, particular care should be taken so as to preserve principles firmly based on law and on equity that have stood the test of time and have for centuries served mankind well.

265. One of those principles is that there should be no artificial distinction at the expense of islands between continental and insular land masses in so far as the delimitation of maritime spaces is concerned. Also, the principle of the median line should continue to be the residual rule to be applied, failing an agreement to the contrary, in matters of delimitation between States which are opposite or adjacent to each other.

266. In general, the over-all approach should be one of balancing in a fair and equitable manner the legitimate rights and expectations of States with those of the international community as a whole. It is our fervent hope, and for our part we will use our best endeavours to see that, despite the obvious complexities, the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will be successful, and that thus the United Nations will have responded positively to the challenge it faces in this field of vital national and international concern.

267. The outstanding issues of peace and security, colonialism and the problem of economic under-development hamper the creation of the necessary international atmosphere for disarmament and frustrate efforts for the strengthening of peace.

268. Any improvement in international relations, and any progress in solving outstanding international issues, would have a favourable bearing on the solution of the disarmament problem, and vice versa, because of the inherent interdependence of these problems. There is no need to try to find out where to start, as it is obvious that the greatest efforts should be exerted in both directions for the solution of this grave problem.

269. In addition to the perils which the continuing arms race presents to world peace, it deprives mankind of vast human and natural resources urgently needed for more constructive purposes. The interrelation between economic growth and disarmament is clear and direct. In this respect, we welcome as constructive the proposal put forward by the Soviet Union for reduction of the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council and the utilization of part of what is thus saved for development assistance [A/9191]. Such a proposal, once given more specific content and if generally accepted, would constitute an important step in the right direction. At the same time, we wish to commend those countries which already are making available substantial sums in development aid.

270. The agreement worked out between the United States and the Soviet Union at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in Helsinki has given rise to optimistic expectations among the peoples of the world. With the spirit of co-operation now prevalent, it is hoped that a determined effort will be made to stop the arms race, which has already reached unmanageable dimensions.



271. The Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [see resolution 2826 (XXVI)] is an example showing that real progress can be made, and it is to be hoped that the international community will soon move towards an effective prohibition of chemical warfare. In a humane world society which is devoting such consistent efforts in the United Nations to helping mankind in combating disease and protecting the environment, the development of enormous quantities of paralyzing chemicals for the purpose of using them against people of other nations is a tragic contradiction.

272. The question of nuclear testing is another area in which urgent progress is needed. In addition to the Treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests in the atmosphere, concluded 10 years ago,<sup>9</sup> the time has now come, especially because of the favourable climate resulting from the détente, for a general agreement to stop all nuclear testing.

273. Disarmament will, it may be hoped, open the way towards the creation and development of a permanent world peace force, a force accountable to the United Nations which gradually can become stronger than any national power or coalition of powers, a force whose one and only task will be to preserve world peace against infringement by any nation, great or small. The creation of a permanent peace-keeping force underlines the great importance of defining aggression so that objective criteria and guide-lines may be used by the Security Council for identifying aggression. We welcome the further progress achieved by the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression, meeting in Geneva last May, in defining aggression, and express our confidence that a consensus will be reached during its next session. The strengthening of the peace-keeping and peace-making functions of the United Nations is an essential requirement and an inducement for disarmament, for the latter cannot be realistically promoted without parallel efforts towards the creation of a world body whose purpose is to ensure international peace and security.

274. Another item offering the possibility of fruitful results at the present session is the draft convention on the prevention and punishment of crimes against diplomatic agents and other internationally protected persons. The speedy adoption of this convention, coupled with its acceptance by the largest possible number of States will, we trust, mark yet another step forward by the international community in the already respectable series of measures taken in the legal field towards the observance of international legal order.

275. We also hope that constructive steps will be taken during this session towards measures to prevent international terrorism and, at the same time, towards understanding and alleviating the causes which bring it about.

276. The crisis that still persists in the Middle East, indirectly affecting all States in the area, is a source of deep concern to us. Along with so many others, we have supported the efforts of the United Nations to secure peace in

that part of the world. Those efforts must continue and they must be intensified. The need for them grows greater as the issues become more clouded by suspicion, distrust and fear. We believe that, if success is yet to attend those efforts, a greater willingness must be shown by the parties directly involved for the solution of their problem on the basis of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions, and specifically Security Council resolution 242 (1967), of 22 November 1967. That resolution contains in a balanced manner all the elements necessary for a just settlement and takes into consideration the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned, including those of the Palestinians. A basic principle in this regard is that the acquisition of territories by force must not and cannot be condoned or recognized.

277. It is not my intention to dwell at any considerable length on the question of Cyprus, a subject which has been before the United Nations for several years. It has been debated at length both before the Security Council—which is still seized of it—and in the General Assembly, which in 1965 adopted resolution 2077 (XX), reaffirming the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus. I would, however, naturally consider it appropriate to inform the Assembly of how the situation is at present.

278. The local talks between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, which were resumed last year in an expanded form, as suggested by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with the participation of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and in the presence of constitutional experts from Greece and Turkey, have continued in an effort to reach a peaceful and agreed solution of the constitutional problem confronting Cyprus. To some extent, progress has been achieved and certain points of disagreement have been bridged.

279. But there is still a serious gap and divergence of views on cardinal points, one of which is the demand of the Turkish Cypriot community for unrestricted local autonomy.

280. While this is not at the present juncture the appropriate forum to enter into the details, I would simply say that in fact we have offered to the Turkish Cypriot community, which forms no more than 18 per cent of the population, far greater degree of local autonomy than has been given by any other State to any section of its population in similar or analogous situations. What the Government cannot do is to go beyond the safety zone necessary for the preservation of the independent and sovereign Republic of Cyprus. It is impossible, therefore, to subscribe to provisions in the Constitution of such abnormal divisiveness and patent unworkability as would inevitably disrupt the State, with all the dire consequences of strife and conflict and with the disaster of partition looming on the horizon.

281. Our stand is for solidarity and co-operation between the two communities in goodwill and mutual respect in a sovereign, independent and unitary State. In this way Cyprus can become a link of unity and not an arena of conflict in the region and in the world. This is our position, which is consistent with the principles of the Charter and the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and in keeping with the world trends of today.

<sup>9</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

282. I wish once again to express our deepest appreciation and thanks to the Secretary-General and his collaborators in New York and Cyprus for their untiring efforts in the cause of peace in Cyprus, as well as to the Commander and the members of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. We are also grateful to those countries which through their contributions in men and money make possible the continuation of the Force. We sincerely hope that it will not be too long before circumstances will permit the Force to be no longer necessary, thus relieving all concerned of this burden which they have been bearing so nobly.

283. It is becoming increasingly realized that a greater sense of unity and co-operation between all nations and peoples of the world, cutting across ideological or other boundaries, is now a demanding necessity in order to meet the global problems which threaten humanity as a whole in its fragile environment on this planet, for the dangers to all nations are common and so is the concern, calling for common action through an enlivened and activated United Nations.

284. Cyprus, with its very modest means, has always supported any world-unifying effort. In this spirit we salute with hope the present Assembly as the Assembly of transition from cold war antagonism to world co-operation in a dawning new era of positive human endeavour and achievement.

285. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Equatorial Guinea, who wishes to exercise the right of reply. I should like to recall the decision already taken by the Assembly to the effect that rights of reply shall be limited to 10 minutes.

286. Mr. ESONO MICA (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply, but since I am addressing this session of the General Assembly for the first time I should like first of all to congratulate the President on his outstanding election to preside over the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Assembly. The President's competence as a jurist, his indefatigable devotion and his knowledge of international affairs are well-known to all of us. For those reasons, my delegation is firmly convinced that under his guidance the General Assembly's work will be successful.

287. I cannot refrain from extending my congratulations to his predecessor, Mr. Trepczyński, the great Polish diplomat who wisely and successfully presided over the debates of the twenty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly.

288. Taking advantage of the few minutes left me, I should like to enter a clarification so that the records will bear witness to the fact that the Government presided over by His Excellency the President-for-Life of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, Francisco Macías Nguema, interprets interdependence as the mutual recognition of the sovereignty of each State. This should call for full respect of the territorial integrity of nations and their political independence.

289. While aware that the General Assembly is to convene preliminary meetings of the Third United Nations

Conference on the Law of the Sea, which the Assembly has decided to convene next year, in the meantime my delegation reserves its right to set the extent of its territorial waters and the air space over them according to its own decisions. I have no doubt that the struggle for the law of the sea must be based on manifest economic needs, but no one could conceive of this ambition undermining the sovereignty of States. Thus, may I be permitted to appeal to the forthcoming Conference on the Law of the Sea to consider that its success will depend on whether there is respect for the sovereignty of other States over their territories and territorial waters, decided upon within reasonable limits recognized by international law.

290. Sovereign equality among States must reject any idea that implies an imperialist concept of sovereignty, which may lead to underestimating and sapping the rights of neighbouring States over their own territorial waters.

291. The statement made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Gabon on 28 September attracted the attention of my delegation because he said the following in it:

"In regard to our sovereignty, I wish to go beyond the strict framework of the political situation exclusively and to speak of the full enjoyment of the riches which a generous and bountiful nature has placed upon our soil and buried within our subsoil and under our waters. Such a sovereignty can suffer no restriction. We intend to remain, in spite of our limited means and possibilities, the only masters of our soil, of which our territorial sea to a limit of 100 miles is an integral part." [2132nd meeting, para. 16.]

That emphatic assertion, somewhat in the guise of a challenge to what was already decided upon to solve the problem, in a friendly dialogue imbued with Africanism, leads my delegation to make known its own answer.

292. The Republic of Equatorial Guinea, true to its tradition of peace and good neighbourliness, with its Government and people, abides by Presidential Decree No. 17/70 of 24 September, which sets the territorial sea at not more than 12 nautical miles, in keeping with the existing tenets of international law. But this cannot in any way counteract or gainsay anything that the forthcoming Conference on the Law of the Sea may decide. The fact that the Government and the people of Equatorial Guinea have decided not to resort to violence should not be understood by others as an indication of cowardice, but rather as proof of our peaceful policies of good-neighbourliness, pursuant to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and of the OAU, as I said earlier. We trust that reality will be accepted for what it is.

293. May I, finally, take this opportunity to announce to representatives here that, during the celebration of his official proclamation as President of Equatorial Guinea, on 29 September last His Excellency the President-for-Life, Don Francisco Macías Nguema, in an address to his revolutionary people, among other things, recognized as legitimate the new Government of Guinea-Bissau.

*The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.*