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**Chairman: Mr. Radha Krishna RAMPHUL**  
(Mauritius).

**AGENDA ITEM 35 (continued)**

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General (A/8661, A/8665 and Corr.1, A/8673, A/8680, A/8749, A/8775 and Add.1-3, A/C.1/1024, A/C.1/L.627)**

1. Mr. ABDUL-LATEEF (United Arab Emirates): Since its second session, in 1947, the General Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions containing general recommendations aimed at reducing international tension and strengthening peace, security, and friendship among nations. On 17 November 1950, in resolution 380 (V) entitled "Peace through deeds" the Assembly reaffirmed that aggression is the gravest of all crimes against peace and security, and determined that for lasting peace it was indispensable that prompt united action be taken to prevent aggression and that every nation agree to accept effective international control of atomic energy, to strive for control and elimination of all other weapons of mass destruction, to regulate armaments and armed forces, and to reduce to a minimum the diversion of human and economic resources for armaments. We, the small nations, share the hope of fulfilling these goals. We stress also that these diverted and wasted resources should be developed for the general welfare, with due regard to the needs of the developing areas of the world.

2. In discussing the item on the strengthening of international security, we find ourselves obliged to refer to the disarmament question, since the former is a direct effect of the latter. There is another factor inherently linked both with strengthening international security and with disarmament, which cannot be ignored. It relates to the existence of millions of peoples who are still under colonial or foreign rule. They are denied the enjoyment of their inalienable rights and the exercise of the right of self-determination. To attempt to achieve the goals of international security and disarmament without, first, or at the same time, freeing these subjugated peoples would be unrealistic. It is needless for me, in this context, to speak about the legality and the morality that underlie the right of these peoples to freedom and independence. The main point which my delegation wishes to stress is the link between our goals and the

freedom of these peoples. No international security can be achieved without the full participation of all people of the world in this endeavour, under conditions of freedom and equality for all without exception.

3. Due to the very close connexion between international security and disarmament, and since my delegation did not participate in the debate on the disarmament item, my delegation wishes to shed some light on the link between them. In the whole history of mankind, no single force has cast a greater terror on mankind than the atom. Since the first nuclear bomb was tested for the first time on human beings at Hiroshima, the fear of a final catastrophe has seized on the minds and hearts of men. Nuclear armament has heightened the numerous problems of the world and, accordingly, has solidified them into one universal issue, namely: can a nuclear war somehow be avoided? Can the nuclear-power States work collectively for the elimination of the fear of the holocaust and sweep it from the minds and hearts of men?

4. I shall now turn to another point which is of great importance to the States of the third world, especially the small and weak among them. This point relates to their security against aggression, their safety from entanglements forced upon them by disputes involving the power politics of alien and strong Powers, and their freedom to strive for the attainment of the goals of developing their resources and improving the standard of living of their nationals, without exploitation or interference in their internal affairs by others. The irony of our contemporary world since the Second World War lies in the fact that the areas of strife, insecurity and war have been mostly, if not completely, in the countries of the third world. Accordingly, no nation in the international community has more need for security than the small nations belonging to the third world. Their need is obvious. It is interlinked with the preservation of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the useful management of their institutions and resources for the improvement of the well-being of their peoples.

5. From all this stem the following two imperative demands: first, that disputes between nations, whether neighbours or not, should be resolved by peaceful means and without recourse to force; and, second, that no force should be used by one country to occupy the territory of another, and, as a corollary of this, that forces of States that are in occupation of territories of others should be withdrawn.

6. We believe strongly in the very close connexion between the strengthening of international security and disarmament and, furthermore, between these two and the economic development of countries. Therefore, as one

element for the maintenance of international security, there is a need for urgent international action aimed at the elimination of the economic gap between developed and developing countries. To secure the full implementation of the Declaration there must be a solution of the problems of decolonization and the maintenance of peaceful coexistence based upon respect for, and full exercise of, human rights and fundamental freedoms, and recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed peoples to attain their human rights and fundamental freedoms and to exercise self-determination.

7. Mr. BENSMAIL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*):

International peace and security occupy an important place on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. It suffices to recall, indeed, that the First Committee has just finished considering the questions relating to disarmament, and the General Assembly has examined, successively, the problem of the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear arms, and the question of strengthening the role of our Organization with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security. This brings out quite clearly the close ties that exist between those questions and the one with which we are concerned today.

8. The adoption at the twenty-fifth session of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] gave rise to legitimate hopes in the international community; and rightly so, for that Declaration included a full and wide-ranging programme aimed at the maintenance of international peace and security. At the twenty-sixth session the Assembly extended and broadened certain principles contained in the Declaration which, if they were genuinely respected, would be an adequate guarantee of peace and tranquillity on all continents. Today we have a chance to consider how much ground has been covered and to evaluate the results achieved and the extent to which States Members of the United Nations are applying those principles in their relations with other States. We are compelled to note that the objectives we have laid down for ourselves are far from having been achieved, and the exceptionally highly charged atmosphere in which the twenty-seventh session began is evidence of that fact.

9. It is true that the general tendency is toward rapprochement and the peaceful settlement of disputes, and of course we, together with the entire international community, welcome the peaceful coexistence that has come about between the super-Powers, the treaties concluded between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland, and also the recent treaty between the two German States, all of which have succeeded in wiping out the last vestiges of the cold-war period.

10. We also wish to express our satisfaction at the agreement reached between the People's Republic of China and Japan, which brings to an end a long period of misunderstanding between those two countries. Similarly, the dialogue undertaken by India and Pakistan in an effort to restore peace to their region is perfectly in accord with the feelings of friendship we entertain for those two countries.

11. These are factors which might contribute to the creation of a climate of confidence, but they should not lead us to forget that international peace and security continue to be seriously threatened in various parts of the world. In this regard, we are unfortunately obliged to note that our Organization is becoming more and more an impotent witness to conflicts raging, particularly, in the third world. There is no need to recall here that more than a quarter of a century after the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations colonial domination continues in Palestine, Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and Namibia, various peoples still live under the odious régime of *apartheid*, and the peoples of Indo-China continue to be the victims of ferocious aggression and are deprived of their right freely to determine their own destiny.

12. In the Middle East, five years after the Zionist aggression of June 1967, Israel continues to occupy vast areas of the territories of Arab countries, Members of our Organization, and is trying to crush the resistance of the Palestinian people. Should we really be surprised at the recent outburst of passion and violence at a time when the effects of Israel's aggression continue to exist and the decisions of the Security Council remain dead letters? Even less should we be surprised if we think of the fate of the Palestinian people, driven from its country, living by grace of international charity, hounded throughout the world—a people which, aware of the injustice committed against it by the international community, can remind the world of its existence only by recourse to acts of desperation.

13. The countries of the third world, which are often the actual stage for the confrontation of the interests, covetousness and political designs of the great Powers, can no longer be kept from participation in the establishment of international peace and security. Of course it is not necessary to stress that direct participation is a positive factor in itself; but it should also be based on justice and respect for the inalienable rights of peoples. At the regional level such participation often arises from necessity, and this is the case in Europe today. That is why we can only take pleasure in the positive development of events in the European continent, particularly when we recall that that continent was the place of origin of two world wars. The forthcoming conference on security and co-operation in Europe will without doubt be an important step towards peace. But such participation should be limited to regional objectives. Indeed, the trend of events in Europe and the problems of security that arise there are closely connected with the Mediterranean situation and directly concern all coastal States. This situation is very much influenced by that prevailing in the Middle East, which has led to the creation of foreign military bases and the presence in the Mediterranean basin of sizeable naval fleets belonging to one or other of the two super-Powers. We are gravely concerned at this dividing-up of the region into spheres of influence, a fact which confronts our countries with the immediate danger of intervention in our affairs or pressure on our national policies. This problem, of course, affects all the countries around the Mediterranean which are concerned also with the preservation of their security and the establishment among themselves of links of co-operation. It is clear that their interest is to restore to the Mediterranean its historic role as a vehicle of civilization and not as a field of confrontation for navies.

14. This is the concern behind the initiative to convene a Mediterranean conference so that, free from any foreign influence or domination, these countries would take in hand their own destinies and extend to our own coast and borders the security and co-operation which we are happy to see being established in Europe. Our wish is to see the evolution in the world, characterized particularly by a diminution of tension between the great Powers, occur with the same will for détente in the regions to which we belong.

15. We certainly would be among the first to take pleasure in the efforts which have been made so far in various places to overcome problems and prevent the extension of conflict. However, we cannot stress sufficiently the fact that any action, no matter where it comes from, would naturally remain fragmentary and ineffective if it did not include at the same time all the regions where the cause of justice, freedom and independence remain threatened.

16. International peace and security are the business of all peoples and are the very *raison d'être* of our Organization. The responsibility for maintaining peace is shared by all Members of the United Nations, large, medium-sized and small, which are equally concerned with the establishment of a just peace and the promotion of understanding and co-operation among peoples.

17. Mr. MARTINEZ-SIMAHAN (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation attaches particular importance to the item under discussion—the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)]. Colombia, like all the other countries in the Latin American group, feels bound by that Declaration, which sets forth with great precision the loftiest objectives of the United Nations and reflects the desire for peace, security, progress, justice and equality for the whole of mankind.

18. Now, two years after its adoption, it is worth while asking to what extent it has been effective and whether the spirit of solidarity that inspired it has also inspired the actions of the States Members of our Organization.

19. World public opinion has recognized that the international situation has improved since direct contacts between the United States and China and the United States and the USSR have been established. The dialogue between the giants is a good example for all statesmen throughout the world and undoubtedly was the result of the entry of our neighbour to the left into the United Nations, with the corresponding strengthening of the Charter principle of universality.

20. Similarly, the old hostility between the two Germanys and the two Koreas is giving way to understanding. The Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan will bring relief to the Asian subcontinent. The Moscow Treaty,<sup>1</sup> the Treaty of Tlatelolco,<sup>2</sup> the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Agreement on the limitation of

strategic weapons and the Convention on the prohibition of biological weapons<sup>3</sup> are very laudable efforts of their authors and signatories for the achievement of peace. The resolutions that have been adopted at the current session—especially the one dealing with the possibility of a world disarmament conference, the one on a legal international instrument to regulate the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting, and the one which urges States not to test nuclear weapons anywhere in the world, including the Pacific zone—have the same purpose as the Declaration whose implementation we are discussing.

21. As is stated in the Declaration, in paragraph 19, "... there is a close connexion between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the economic development of countries". It is therefore relevant to mention as an important event in this field the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in May 1972 in Santiago, Chile, and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in June 1972. The efforts of the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank to assist the developing countries also deserve to be mentioned in this context.

22. However, the events and good intentions to which we have referred do not quiet the clamour for true peace and sustained development. There is too much that is opposed to these desires, and for that reason misery, ignorance and dependency still exist in two thirds of the world and the world itself is threatened with total annihilation.

23. By the association of ideas, the reasons for optimism call to mind the reasons for pessimism. Following the failure of the First United Nations Development Decade we witnessed the proclamation of the Second Decade and the adoption of an international strategy for development [resolution 2626 (XXV)] which, among other goals, established the average annual rate of growth of the developing countries at 6 per cent at least; annual agricultural expansion at a minimum of 4 per cent, and the obligation of economically advanced countries to transfer to the developing countries 1 per cent of their gross national product at market prices. None of these objectives was achieved in 1971. The transfers amount to only 0.7 per cent; the total gross national product reached 5.4 per cent, and agricultural production did not come near to achieving the expected figure: it was only 1.9 per cent. These over-all figures are much worse in reality. They were established on the basis of the growth of a few countries only, which indicates that most of them are far from achieving these goals. That is why we do not understand why, in the *World Economic Survey for 1971*,<sup>4</sup> this process is described as promising. We consider it inaccurate to make comparisons with the years of the First Decade. The differences must be established between our achievements and our purpose. If we look back, we shall eventually accept as encouraging the institutionalization of underdevelopment.

<sup>1</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

<sup>3</sup> Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction.

<sup>4</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.72.II.C.2.



24. This is well known to representatives but we wish to remind them of it so as to show the gap between intention and action because, to us, sustained development is the essential condition for international peace and security. To a large extent these meagre results are the product of the international monetary crisis that we are suffering. When development was defined as a joint enterprise we were given certain rules of the game and our countries, with their reserves in dollars, suffered a great economic set-back. However, the feeling of insecurity that permeated world trade was even more serious. It is an insecurity which prevails despite the transitional provisions adopted by the Group of Ten. The monopoly on monetary decisions affects development in most countries, is contrary to the spirit of international co-operation and compels us to elaborate and apply the concept of collective economic security as laid down in resolution 2880 (XXVI) of 2 December 1971.

25. Can there be security and peace when, contrary to our expectations of co-operation, understanding and sensitivity at the third session of UNCTAD, all that was suggested was that the gap between the developed and less developed was growing larger? The great scene of general harmony became the scene of national egotism of the powerful, before whom all requests came to nothing—the requests of those of us who rightly expected equitable trade relations, divorced from the exploitation of the past, which would in no way hamper our development.

26. The industrialized countries realized suddenly that they were killing the earth. They convinced the world of the need immediately to undertake the defence of the human environment because nature itself could be exhausted. The developing countries understood the two-fold danger that threatened them—on the one hand, the reality of the denunciation of pollution and contamination and, on the other, the paternalistic attitude of the industrialized countries, which began discreetly to point to goals for development different from those which they themselves had followed and which undoubtedly implied a slow course for those who sought development.

27. At the Stockholm Conference there were the obvious confrontations but, once the Conference was over, the initial enthusiasm for the whole idea of environment lost momentum among the industrialized countries. Today, when it appears that the headquarters of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme will be in a developing country, that enthusiasm is changing into utter silence. Observers state that many of the contributions originally offered probably will never be forthcoming. Also in regard to this important world problem, do the industrialized countries believe that their interests are the only interests that count on this earth? Will egotism make them continue along this path of covetousness and backwardness? Can we not save mankind from the death of the human environment, as we were unable to save it from colonialism and war?

28. Namibia, Viet-Nam, the Middle East are names that tell us loudly every day that the Organization is unable to secure enforcement of its own resolutions. They are names that laud the victory of the powerful against the good intentions of the majority.

29. Is there truly international peace and security? If so, the threat that looms over it grows daily. It grows when, despite the resolutions of the United Nations, there are still nuclear tests being carried out in the Pacific, and when despite the exhortations to those responsible to stop the tests, various countries abstain in the voting and show themselves indifferent to the radiation to which they may expose human beings on this earth.

30. It is precisely nuclear and thermonuclear weapons that constitute the most serious and the most real of all dangers. Those weapons are of sufficient destructive power to put an end to life on earth. The perfecting of ballistic missiles makes it possible for any point on earth to be attacked with nuclear weapons. The qualitative nuclear-arms race continues because those who possess them always assume that the other side may improve the quality of its own weapons. However, the two great nuclear Powers have informed us of an agreement they have concluded, and of their decision never to employ such weapons. Is this satisfactory? The Secretary-General replied for us in the introduction to his report:<sup>5</sup>

“... I do not believe that any Government has any intention of letting us drift into a third world war, but unless we are prepared to learn from the past and to make our international political institutions work as they were intended to work, that danger will always exist. History tells us that we cannot afford to take for granted the persistence of moderation and reason in international affairs, and that international organization is necessary as a safeguard when moderation and reason fail.”

31. The so-called détente does not conceal the truth. We live in a kind of peace ruled by fear which poses for the peoples of the world an over-all and monstrous threat; and the race for new invention, rightly or wrongly, gives rise to the concern that the imbalance caused by fear may be as precarious as the old balance of power.

32. There are those who ask whether it is enough for States to have the means to “atomize” each other so as not to fight each other any longer. Why not make these means available to all States? This approach shows how absurd is the world we live in. And despite all this, the atomic club is growing larger, thus expanding the possibilities for destruction either through irresponsible decision, technical error, or because of subjective legitimate defence or erroneous reading of radar data. And if we are not close to war, why so much emplacement, stockpiling, installation and testing of weapons? Or is the Roman adage: *Si vis pacem, para bellum* still in effect? Do not the powerful of our times ponder the decline and fall of the Roman empire? A year ago in the General Assembly the Foreign Minister of Colombia said that we should change the Roman aphorism to: *Si vis pacem, para pacem*—if you desire peace, prepare for peace [1952nd plenary meeting].

33. Our peace is the peace of development and social justice as proclaimed in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Incidentally, this relationship between security, disarmament and development also

<sup>5</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1A.

reflects the gravity of the problem. The experts of the United Nations inform us that military expenditures are at present two and a half times greater than the total sum devoted by Governments to health; one and a half times greater than expenditures for education; thirty times greater than the total amount for official economic assistance rendered to the developing countries by the developed countries. Moreover, between 1950 and 1970, the proportion of world production devoted to military purposes was 7 per cent, which is still higher than the 6 per cent target established as a goal for the growth of the developing countries in the International Development Strategy. Similarly, the so-called second industrial revolution—that is to say, the commercial and technological exploitation of computers and electronics—has had an even greater repercussion in the military sector than in the civilian sector, and has helped to improve conventional weapons.

34. From whatever angle we analyse the implementation of the Declaration, the balance is negative. We must therefore try to make it effective. The problem that arises and which is implicit in the Declaration is that we try to find some means for the future which may make it possible to bring order out of chaos and to do away with the dangers threatening in the present relations between States. Not even durable peace is acceptable. Nuclear weapons with possibilities of total global destruction demand eternal peace. With nuclear weapons, there can be no just war, because what is at stake is the life of all on earth, and there is no other mankind in reserve.

35. The only hope that we have is that of the sense of self-defence of the peoples living on this earth. They are all represented here. Let us make that hope a reality. Let us without prejudice review this world Organization. Let us make its action effective. Let us bring all States here. Let us avoid our resolutions being no more than "a catalogue of good intentions"; for the sake of harmony and universal security, let us defeat national egotism, and let us facilitate the way to progress for the under-developed; let us remember that so long as there is a poor man on earth there will not be security for the rich.

36. It is because this accumulation of problems and objectives has been the concern of my delegation for many years that Colombia, together with many other States, has proposed a review of the Charter—not to destroy it, as has been stated, but in order that its principles may truly govern us and do away with differences between rules and practice, in order that security and peace may prevail in the world.

37. It has been said in this room, and rightly so, that our earth is like a ship in space and that the same fate awaits us all. But as in any conventional jet, on this ship too there are first-class and second-class passengers, and only a few sit at the controls. It is therefore to them that we address our exhortation. Let us not lose hope, despite good reason for pessimism, if we have spelled the latter out it is because we believe this exercise may help overcome the existing problems and draw up a morality for the human species capable of leading our ship towards common progress, towards eternal peace. We are aware of the difficulties, but we believe, like Pascal, that man infinitely surpasses man.

Those of us who are alive today cannot fall short of this belief, of this hope.

38. The CHAIRMAN: I assure the representative of Colombia that the ship will arrive safely at the shore.

39. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): My delegation attaches paramount importance to the current debate in this Committee regarding the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)]. The maintenance of international peace and security is, after all, the major preoccupation of the United Nations. The adoption of the Declaration by the General Assembly, in 1970, was in recognition of the important responsibility that our Organization had assumed on the occasion of its inception more than 25 years ago. The peoples of the world, whose right it is to live in conditions of peace and security, naturally look to us to transform this responsibility into a practical reality.

40. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is a document of immense value in the search for a just, stable and durable world order. It stipulates cardinal principles in international relations which, if scrupulously adhered to by all States, would put an end to acts of aggression and subversion; to the erosion of human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to political as well as economic pressures, which, regrettably, still very much afflict our world.

41. It is undeniable that since the adoption of the Declaration we have witnessed some positive changes and trends in the international situation. Last year, the progressive world hailed the restoration in the United Nations of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, a country which for more than 25 years had been unjustly prevented from occupying its seat in our Organization. The seating of China in the United Nations was, without doubt, a major contribution to the strengthening of international security.

42. We have also witnessed the process of détente in Europe and the normalization of relations among the major Powers. These too are welcome developments, since they go a long way towards reducing the danger of nuclear confrontation, which could have global consequences. We hope that this atmosphere of reconciliation and accommodation will continue to yield positive results.

43. As was pointed out by my Foreign Minister, Mr. Mudenda, in his statement to the General Assembly on 3 October 1972 [2051st plenary meeting], my delegation welcomes the cessation of hostilities on the Indian sub-continent. We are all the more pleased at the willingness of the parties concerned to create conditions that will guarantee peace and security in the region.

44. My delegation is also encouraged by the bilateral contacts going on between North and South Korea. We hope that the ultimate goal of reunification of that country can be achieved soon. In this connexion, it is a matter of regret to my delegation that the General Assembly has again this year been prevented from discussing the Korean question. The fact that there are thousands of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag is enough reason for this Organization not to be aloof and indifferent. We cannot shake off our responsibility

now. We have a duty to create all favourable conditions for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

45. The few and limited positive developments I have cited should in no way make us complacent. If viewed along with what remains to be done, it is obvious that their significance is minimal. Having adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security with near unanimity—save the negative positions of Portugal and South Africa, the two champions of racism and tyranny—it is incumbent upon us all to strive for its unreserved acceptance and scrupulous implementation.

46. Even a casual glance at the international situation today convinces one of the imperative and urgent need for the comprehensive implementation of the provisions of the Declaration.

47. Foreign troops and military bases are still maintained in the territories of other countries. Big-Power rivalries are being intensified in the seas and oceans around the world. The arms race continues to drain the vital financial resources desperately needed for economic development. Meanwhile, the growing economic disparity between the developed and the developing countries has reached dangerous proportions. In this regard, the phenomenon of economic coercion of developing nations by the big corporations of the developed capitalist countries not only constitutes interference in the internal affairs of nations but is also a major factor in the ever widening gap.

48. In Viet-Nam, a big Power is still desperately bent on influencing the political direction of the people by military pressures and is completely heartless about the loss of countless innocent lives and the misery caused by its savage bombing.

49. A state of “no war, no peace” persists in the Middle East at the pleasure of big-Power politics. In the meantime, Israel continues to occupy Arab territories in spite of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

50. On our own continent, Africa, the evils of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* are still rampant. On a number of occasions my Head of State, Mr. Kaunda, has warned the international community of the grave danger to international peace and security posed by the situation in southern Africa. In this connexion I wish to point out that a number of correspondents on African affairs have recently been referring to the southern African situation as a “mini-Viet-Nam”. Those are not empty words. This Organization must reflect seriously on the whole issue and in particular must take measures which will prevent the emergence in Africa of a situation like that existing in Viet-Nam.

51. The continuation of racism, *apartheid* and colonialism has been possible only because of the support of the big Powers for the minority régimes in southern Africa. The senseless Portuguese wars are sustained because of the military and economic assistance Portugal receives from its NATO allies. During the course of this session we heard in the statements made in the Fourth Committee and in the Security Council by Mr. Amílcar Cabral,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Marcelino

Dos Santos<sup>7</sup> and Mr. Manuel Jorge<sup>8</sup> that Portugal has been using napalm and defoliants in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola. Those cruel and dastardly methods of war used by the Portuguese on people whose only sin is that they are striving for self-determination and independence must not only stand condemned in the strongest terms, but in addition Portugal must be called upon to cease forthwith use of napalm and defoliants. This is all the more imperative in the light of the report of the Secretary-General entitled *Napalm and Other Incendiary Weapons and All Aspects of Their Possible Use*,<sup>9</sup> which highlighted the harmful effects of napalm and other incendiary weapons, thereby prompting this Committee to deplore the use of such weapons.

52. In this connexion it is the view of my delegation that Portugal's NATO allies would make a significant contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on international security by prevailing on Portugal to opt for a peaceful settlement of its colonial problem in conformity with Security Council resolution 322 (1972).

53. Despite the number of denials we have heard from many members of NATO and other Western countries it is a fact that the military position of Portugal, South Africa and the Ian Smith régime continues to grow. Weapons are obtained by those minority régimes mainly from members of NATO, and those responsible cannot be said to be working towards the alleviation of the dangerous possibility of a racial conflagration in Africa. It is also well known that those minority régimes have on a number of occasions carried out acts of aggression against African independent neighbouring States in pursuance of their criminal policies.

54. The present situation in Africa, and particularly in southern Africa, does not, certainly, augur well for peace and security. It is therefore imperative, in the view of my delegation, that urgent measures be taken by those concerned to stop the supply of arms to the racist minority régimes in Africa.

55. In conclusion, I should like to draw attention to the call made by the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries in their statement on international security and disarmament issued last August in Georgetown, Guyana, for a comprehensive and detailed discussion of this item during this session of the General Assembly. An annual debate of this question is important since it enables us all to take stock of events which have a direct relevance to the Declaration. Above all, it enables us to assess what remains to be done in the commitment for the full implementation of the Declaration.

56. Zambia, along with other non-aligned countries, has time and again spoken in favour of a strong United Nations. We shall continue to support all ways and means aimed at strengthening our Organization in order that it may live up to its expectations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

*The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.*

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year*, 1673rd meeting.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1674th meeting.

<sup>9</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.I.3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Fourth Committee, 1986th meeting.