

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



2246th
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 27 September 1974,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. FACIO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Costa Rica I should like to join the many speakers who have congratulated you on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. We trust that your leadership will be as effective as that of your predecessor. It is with pride that, as a Latin American, I have heard participants at the twenty-eighth session express their approval at the extremely effective manner in which Mr. Leopoldo Benites conducted our discussions. He was always an imaginative and dispassionate President, who never displayed any fanaticism and who did not allow his ideas to divert him from the proper application of the Charter and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

2. Costa Rica, a Central American country, has felt the tragedy of the sister Republic of Honduras as though it were its own. The Foreign Minister of that afflicted country, my good friend César Batres, described to this Assembly on 25 September [2242nd meeting] the loss of life and the suffering that Honduras has had to endure as the result of the fury of the forces of nature. The material loss and the economic destruction have been so great that the people of Honduras by themselves could never repair the damage.

3. That is why generous international assistance has become indispensable, and this Organization, representing the international community, and many of its Members individually have already started to give such assistance. We are thankful for this overwhelming expression of solidarity with our brothers from Honduras, and we make an appeal for redoubled efforts in the very difficult task of rebuilding the economy of Honduras, which Hurricane Fifi has left in such a deplorable state.

4. Costa Rica was the first Latin American nation to recognize the State of Bangladesh. Since 1972 we have supported its admission to the United Nations. On 10 June 1974 my delegation had the pleasure of voting at the 1776th meeting of the Security Council in favour of the draft resolution recommending the admission of Bangladesh to the Organization. Therefore, it should surprise no one that now that the representatives of that nation have taken their place in our midst, we Costa Ricans should extend our warmest welcome to them.

5. We are pleased to note that the admission of Bangladesh is the result of the improvement brought about in the situation in the Asian subcontinent by the far-sighted and peace-promoting attitude of the three Governments involved in the 1971 war, namely, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The manner in which these Governments resolved a conflict which was as bloody as it was ancient should serve as an example to other parts of the world.

6. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees also deserves a tribute for having implemented with singular effectiveness the New Delhi Agreement of 28 August 1973, which provided for the repatriation of the Bengalis from Pakistan and of the Pakistanis from Bangladesh. In the introduction to his report to this session, the Secretary-General states: "More than 241,000 persons were moved across the subcontinent in that operation, which has been described as the largest airlift of human beings ever organized". [A/9601/Add.1, p. 6]

7. The enlightened and progressive eradication of British colonialism in the Antilles enables us today to extend a welcome also to a new American State: Grenada. We wish this new Caribbean nation every success and we hope to maintain with it very close bilateral relations, as well as warm relations within the Latin American group of States in the United Nations.

8. The independence of Guinea-Bissau and its admission to the United Nations are of very great significance in the lengthy struggle against colonialism. It is the beginning of the end of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa, and that is the result both of the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau to achieve self-determination and of the revolution for liberation waged by the Portuguese people themselves. On 25 April 1974, in Portugal, a dictatorial régime which had tried to drown in blood every expression of freedom of the Portuguese in their own country, as well as of the population of the colonies, came to an end.

9. We were very moved by the statement made in this Hall by the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Mr. Mario Soares. Among other things, he said:

“... I represent here a . . . new Portugal which has nothing to do with the one which was so repeatedly condemned in this Organization . . .

“This new Portugal has ceased to be a hostile and silent country within the United Nations, constantly refusing to fulfil its obligations. . . .”

The Assembly warmly applauded Minister Soares when, with obvious sincerity, he said:

“I feel particularly honoured to have participated personally in the process of the decolonization of Guinea-Bissau . . . It can only be regretted—and I say this with a feeling of anguish—that this process of decolonization, so long delayed, has left behind it a long, useless war in which so many of the young men of both countries died or were left disabled.” [2239th meeting, paras. 95, 96 and 102]

10. In warmly greeting the representatives of Guinea-Bissau who have taken their seat in this Hall, I express the hope that very soon, and with the co-operation of the new Portugal, the States which will emerge from what have thus far been the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola and the Cape Verde Islands will achieve independence and enter our Organization.

11. Of course, Costa Rica does not confine its hopes to the decolonization of the Portuguese Territories. In keeping with its anti-colonialist tradition, my country will most firmly support all the efforts to achieve self-determination made by peoples still subjected to any form of colonial domination, irrespective of their geographical location.

12. My delegation agrees with the statement made by the representative of Brazil, Mr. Antonio Azeredo da Silveira, in his opening speech in this general debate, that just as important as the support to be given to the people struggling to achieve independence is the action undertaken to induce the Governments of the metropolitan countries to abandon, as Portugal has just done, their policy of colonial domination. He went on to say:

“For the Brazilian Government, the challenge faced by those who want to rid the world of the colonial stigma is the challenge of efficacy. To blame the colonizing past is not what matters; what matters is rather to help build the future of free nations.” [2238th meeting, para. 15]

13. Costa Rica is a member of the Credentials Committee and, since certain aims have been pursued which are not within that Committee's competence, I should like to state my delegation's understanding of its task. Rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly states:

“The credentials of representatives and the names of members of a delegation shall be submitted to the Secretary-General if possible not less than one week before the opening of the session. The credentials shall be issued either by the Head of the State or Government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.”

14. During the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly a request was made to the Legal Counsel of the Organization to give an expert opin-

ion on the scope of this article. In giving his opinion, the Legal Counsel made the following statement:

“... credentials for the General Assembly may be defined as a document issued by the Head of State or Government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of a State Member of the United Nations submitted to the Secretary-General designating the persons entitled to represent that Member at a given session of the General Assembly. Unlike the acceptance of credentials in bilateral relations, the question of recognition of a Government of a Member State is not involved, and substantive issues concerning the status of Governments do not arise. . . .”

15. My delegation shares the views expressed by the Legal Counsel. It is in keeping with the universal practice with regard to the competence of the credentials committee in any international body or conference. It is also in keeping with the competence which article 28 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly grants the Credentials Committee, whose sole function is restricted to the almost mechanical task of determining whether the credentials with which representatives are accredited to the General Assembly have been legally issued by the Head of State or of Government or by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of that Member State.

16. It is in no way the task of that Committee to decide whether the Government issuing the credentials is or is not the legitimate representative of the peoples of that Member State. To grant that power to the Committee by means of an interpretation would be to flout legal logic, and would, furthermore, flagrantly violate the principle of non-intervention enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter of the United Nations.

17. Not even the Assembly or the Security Council has the power to express a judgement about the Government of a Member State, be it *de jure* or *de facto*, because that would be tantamount to interference in matters which fall within the internal jurisdiction of the State itself. Representatives can imagine the chaotic situation that would prevail if we were to discuss here the legitimacy of the Governments of each one of the Member States.

18. Still less can we adopt a procedure whereby we reject the credentials of the representative of any Member State, as a means of preventing participation in the Assembly and in other bodies of the United Nations by any Government that may not be to the liking of the majority of Members. By not permitting participation by that Government, which, although perhaps repudiated by the majority, is still the Government in power in that Member State, in fact we would be excluding that Member State from participation in the Organization.

19. In accordance with Article 6 of the Charter, we can expel a Member State if repeated violations of the principles contained in the Charter have been proven. But this is not a decision that can be made by the Credentials Committee, either directly or indirectly. It is a most serious decision, and it can be taken only by the General Assembly by a two-thirds-majority vote of its Members, and only after

such action has been recommended by the Security Council.

20. In view of the foregoing, Costa Rica will oppose the Credentials Committee's going even one whit beyond its specific duties in examining the credentials of representatives to the General Assembly, duties that, I repeat, are solely to determine whether or not the document which informs the Secretary-General of the names of the people representing a Member State at a given session of the Assembly—the document which we call the credentials—has been duly issued by the Head of State or of Government or by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of a Member of the United Nations.

21. During the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly [2153rd meeting], Costa Rica was elected a member of the Security Council. My country humbly accepted this high honour, and promised diligently to discharge the very delicate duty assigned to it.

22. In presiding at the 1761st session of the Council on 17 January 1974, the first meeting of this year, we stated the views that Costa Rica holds regarding that peace-keeping organ. After 10 months of the work of the Council, experience has confirmed the statement I made, and I am now able to give a brief analysis of the important matters discussed in that body.

23. Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations mentions the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members. Nevertheless, this equality was not maintained with regard to the formation of the Security Council, since it gave permanent seats in the Council to the five countries that were the main Powers when the San Francisco Charter was signed. Furthermore, its important agreements required the affirmative vote of the five so-called "great Powers" before they could be considered valid.

24. This was due to the fact that the very structure of the United Nations is based on the essential political assumption of harmony and co-operation among the great Powers; and since the maintenance of peace is the main objective of the Organization, its peace-making machinery is based on the hypothesis of joint action by the five great Powers. That is why the disagreement of one of them—namely, the veto—is sufficient to paralyse this peace-making machinery.

25. To some, the concentration of power in the permanent members implies an attempt to establish a world government of the five Powers akin to an international oligarchy. To others, this pre-eminence of the great Powers is a fair price which the medium-sized and small countries must pay to obtain the co-operation of the more powerful nations in the United Nations. The veto is a safety valve to ensure that the United Nations does not exceed itself in accepting certain unrealistic commitments which may be beyond its power.

26. Costa Rica has always felt that, irrespective of the thesis accepted as the ideal, the United Nations was so conceived that effective action for the maintenance of international peace and security is possible, as we have said, only with the assistance of the great Powers. In order to change that situation, we should not only have to create a new organization—a very unlikely eventuality—but further,

it would be indispensable to change the thinking of the main protagonists of the world, an even more unlikely eventuality.

27. In realistic terms, we are convinced that we cannot achieve that goal at this time. It cannot even be said with certainty that it is the most suitable goal. That is why it is better to base our action on what can be reasonably hoped for from the foreign policy of States. Otherwise, as we have already stated, we run the risk of drawing up catalogues of what is desirable rather than building on what is possible.

28. The Security Council was given immense power by the Charter. That power derives from the authority which it has to impose coercive measures and other measures which involve certain punitive elements, agreed upon in the name of the entire international community.

29. The compulsory and binding decisions of the Council along these lines become a kind of legal sentence. But they should not lead us to consider the Council as a law enforcement body whose decisions should be free from all the incidental elements characteristic of political decisions.

30. Far from hurting the Council, its political structure is the element which gives it its strength. Its decisions are not backed up by the impartiality of judges. The States of which it is composed are committed to finding viable formulas to harmonize differing and often opposing political ideas.

31. For that reason, the very strength of the Security Council becomes fully evident only when it makes decisions. Its function acquires true meaning and value to the extent that it ensures international peace and security under the Charter and, since decisions require first and foremost the agreement of the five great Powers, the validity of our premise is confirmed: peace-making by the Security Council is possible only when there exists harmony and co-operation among the great Powers.

32. Thus, when disagreement among the permanent members prevents the Council from reaching decisions in situations which threaten international peace and security, the Council's very existence as a peace-making organ is deeply affected. The nature of international disputes which the Security Council must deal with is a matter of such high priority that the absence of a decision is as harmful as a delayed decision. Any delay in implementing possible solutions undermines the international standing of the Council and cruelly harms the cause of peace.

33. In the Security Council the delegation of Costa Rica has constantly pleaded for immediate action in the face of situations which might affect international peace and security. Regardless of the political interests of the States which make up the Council, we have always maintained that peace is the highest priority and that there is no justification for putting off matters so closely tied to the vital interests of mankind—namely, those concerning war and peace. We must find a consensus, in order to be able to work on the basis of agreement, negotiation and compromise.

34. To those who tell us that it is immoral to compromise with an ideological adversary, we reply that

the problems of war and peace involve the highest of all moral values, namely, respect for human life. Therefore, we have always maintained in the Council that more immoral than negotiating with those having different ideologies is closing the door to dialogue, because, when it means the indiscriminate and large-scale destruction of human life, war is the greatest immorality of all.

35. When, because of disagreements that have emerged between permanent members, decisions have been delayed that called for urgent and immediate action on the part of the Council, we have seen that the further development of the conflict has made it even more difficult for the Security Council to find solutions.

36. In the various situations in which peace-promoting activity has thus been paralysed, my delegation has always expressed its concern, because each time it has become more firmly convinced that the Council's decisions can have their desired effect only if the action it has decided on is promptly and swiftly carried out. Experience shows that any delay inevitably widens the gulf between the uncontrolled forces at war with each other and unleashes new elements that increase the danger of the conflict.

37. Year after year, the crisis in the Middle East has occupied a preponderant place in the debates of this Assembly, indicating the great importance the international community attaches to the problem and also its inability to resolve it.

38. The fourth Arab-Israeli war broke out in October 1973—that is, at the beginning of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Thanks to the combined efforts of bilateral diplomacy and the collective action of this Organization, it was possible to ensure that the conflict did not unleash a new, and last, world war. It was also possible to put an end to armed conflict between the Israeli, Egyptian and Syrian combatants.

39. Security Council resolution 338 (1973), which called for a cease-fire and the initiation of peace talks between the parties, was not implemented immediately. That was one more example of failure to comply with decisions of the Security Council, which unfortunately occurs frequently these days. Hostilities ceased only when, thanks to the action of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, on 19 January 1974, Israel and Egypt, and, on 31 May 1974, Israel and Syria, signed cease-fire agreements.

40. Those agreements were important because they constituted the first direct contact between the warring forces. If they are diligently maintained, they may open the way for successful peaceful negotiation of all the problems separating the Arabs and the Israelis.

41. At the beginning of the general debate, the Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, told this Assembly:

“[These agreements] were achieved, above all, because of the wisdom of the leaders of the Middle East who decided that there had been enough stalemate and war, that more might be gained by testing each other in negotiation than by testing each other on the battlefield.”
[2238th meeting, para. 59]

42. Nevertheless, earlier on, the Secretary of State had said that although the cease-fire and the two agreements for separating the forces had provided a breathing space, the shadow of war was still there. He said:

“The legacy of hatred and suffering, the sense of irreconcilability have begun to yield—however haltingly—to the process of negotiation. But we still have a long road ahead.

“One side seeks the recovery of territory and justice for a displaced people. The other side seeks security and recognition by its neighbours of its legitimacy as a nation. In the end, the common goal of peace surely is broad enough to embrace all these aspirations.” [Ibid., paras. 56 and 57]

43. The general framework for the establishment of peace in that region was laid down by Security Council resolution 338 (1973), as a result of which the Peace Conference on the Middle East started its work in Geneva in December 1973; the Conference has since then not made much progress. However, it is heartening to recall that all parties have recognized that the problems to be dealt with are complex, and for that reason one must be patient and try to dissipate doubts before making commitments in any new initiative.

44. The international community can, however, facilitate those very difficult negotiations by creating the right atmosphere for reconciliation. Mutual recriminations expressed in this forum undoubtedly do not help to achieve that purpose. We must strive to maintain the progress made before the signing of the agreement on the separation of forces. We must struggle to see to it that the hunger for peace and the desire to find lasting solutions that emerged as the result of the devastation caused by the last war in the Middle East are not weakened by sterile discussion or the bitterness that grows from the lack of speedy and positive solutions.

45. The international community could take the initiative in seeking ways to make the warring parties and their allies moderate their mutual verbal attacks. The mass communications media of some of the Arab States and their allies are very effective in presenting Israel as the hated enemy which has no right whatsoever to be located in former Palestine. That kind of propaganda can boomerang against those very leaders who might otherwise be prepared to negotiate a just peace, because their peoples, encouraged by the constant publicity campaign of the mass media, may resist accepting whatever their leaders have in good faith succeeded in working out.

46. Thus there seems to be a marked contrast between the slow progress towards the achievement of peace that has been made this year—progress which must be maintained and protected at all costs—and the policy of open enmity between the parties that is made public even in these halls. Costa Rica hopes that the sense of the responsibility we share in resolving the problems of the Middle East will serve to moderate written and oral statements of aggression here and help the Assembly to co-operate in the creation of a less hostile atmosphere between Arab and Israeli that, unfortunately, I do not think will be favoured by the inclusion in the agenda of

the item on the question of Palestine as an issue separate from the Middle East, which was adopted at the 2236th meeting. This, however, does not mean that Costa Rica is indifferent to the destiny of the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees seeking a permanent home. In this connexion, I would recall what was said by the Foreign Minister of Uruguay, Mr. Juan Carlos Blanco, on this problem [2240th meeting].

47. The United Nations is familiar indeed with the problems of Cyprus, problems that have existed since the moment when Cyprus attained its independence. The fight between the two communities on the island, Greek and Turkish, has been followed with close attention by the international community. For more than 10 years a United Nations Peace-keeping Force has been stationed in Cyprus. Our awareness of the problems of that island made us even more grief-stricken at the tragic events which broke the precarious peace at the beginning of August of this year.

48. In the Security Council Costa Rica has followed the events in Cyprus very closely. At the beginning of the crisis, when the peace was disturbed on Cyprus, we noted a lack of decision on the part of some of the permanent members. An opportunity was lost to take effective peace-making action in time and thus prevent further hostilities.

49. Costa Rica shared the pain of that small nation which was powerless to stop a dispute involving other nations and other interests. We were greatly moved when we heard the news of the *coup* that had overthrown the constitutional President of Cyprus and learned that Cypriot soil was being trampled upon by foreign troops.

50. The delegation of Costa Rica severely criticized the badly timed and short-sighted attempt of the Greek military dictatorship—which, as we now know, did not represent the Greek people—to overthrow a legitimate Government. For my country could never accept any change in the structure of an independent and sovereign nation brought about by foreign intervention.

51. At the initial stages of the Cyprus conflict we were told that this was an internal matter, which meant that the Security Council could not take action on it. Costa Rica opposed that view. We stated that the removal of President Makarios had been planned and carried out by Greek military agents responding to the reckless ambitions of the military dictatorship that had done so much to that country, the cradle of Western civilization.

52. Costa Rica stated that the Security Council must not allow itself to be paralysed in cases where the "... danger or threat no longer takes place on a battlefield but is surreptitiously displaced to a country and slyly disguises itself as an internal affair ...".²

53. Subsequently, when the Turkish invasion took place, because of the vacuum left by the lack of action by the Security Council, the fatal failure of the Security Council to act decisively in time became very obvious. When finally the Council decided to acknowledge that peace was being threatened, resolution 353 (1974) was adopted calling for a cease-

fire and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus.

54. Our delegation has followed with attention the subsequent developments in Cyprus. We regret that the cease-fire resolution was not immediately implemented and, furthermore, that the part of the resolution regarding the withdrawal of all foreign troops has still not been put into effect.

55. Costa Rica wishes to state for the record that it approves the efforts made by the Secretary-General to restore constitutional order and peace to the afflicted Cypriot nation, and we will do our utmost to help find a formula under which the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus can be maintained because of the successful coexistence of the communities of Greek and Turkish origins.

56. In the year which has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly, Argentina—and indeed Latin America as a whole—has suffered the loss of a great leader: President Juan Domingo Perón. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the memory of that statesman. His people will be guided by their memories of him in their search for justice, economic development and the reaffirmation of national sovereignty.

57. As was so well stated by the Argentine Foreign Minister, Mr. Alberto Vignes, great statesmen such as Peron will live beyond their lifetimes because "their principles and objectives remain in force" [*ibid.*, para. 60]. And all of us here must agree with the eloquent and moving statement by Foreign Minister Vignes, on 24 September last, that "[Peron's] prophetic ideas transformed him into the precursor of universalism and of a 'third-world position' which are today recognized as being essential means for international coexistence" [*ibid.*].

58. Costa Rica continues to have faith in the United Nations. We believe that, even though the Charter contains provisions which it would be desirable to amend, the greatest effectiveness of the Organization depends not on its legal foundations but rather on the political will of its Member States to live in accordance with its principles and to abide by the resolutions of the appropriate bodies and organs. For that reason my country, small as it is, wishes to preach by example. Costa Rica practises an international policy consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and it has never been remiss in shouldering responsibilities flowing from the activities of the organs of the international community.

59. Mr. USHER (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I be permitted to express to you the sincere congratulations of the Government of the Republic of the Ivory Coast on your brilliant election to the prestigious post of President of the General Assembly. We are certain that you will carry out the burdensome task entrusted to you with total success and that you will place your rich and great experience at the service of the world in general and of Africa in particular—our Africa, which is so much in need of genuine and lasting peace.

60. We would request the delegation of Honduras to transmit to its Government the sincere condo-

lences of the Government of the Ivory Coast on the catastrophe which that country has recently suffered.

61. International relations are characterized today by economic insecurity. The "Yom Kippur war" has revealed a process which goes largely beyond the framework of the conflict and has had serious repercussions upon the internal and external policies of our countries, repercussions which have to be brought under control.

62. The cause of galloping inflation lies not only in the rise of energy prices but in numerous factors of the world economy. The development and the extraordinary growth of the industrialized countries of Europe, America and Asia rested upon the progress of science and technology, but also upon a false illusion which is now beginning to be dispelled: the very low price of raw materials and the weakness and the poverty of the countries producing those materials. It is against this state of affairs that our countries are now fighting. And the petroleum-producing countries have demonstrated that this undertaking had meaning. Of course, it is indeed because the prevailing international situation left them with no other option that the well-off countries were obliged to accept what they claimed to be unacceptable, namely, a substantial increase in the price of the raw material which they could not do without—petroleum.

63. And we consider that the success achieved by the petroleum-producing countries is also our success; but we must be careful that it is properly co-ordinated with our fragile economies so that we can avoid being led to assume false positions. This success is a positive factor in the struggle for greater economic justice throughout the world.

64. Indeed, under our eyes an extraordinarily important fact is being brought about. From now on, in the case of this product there is at least a reversal of trend: it is the end of the buyer's market and the beginning of the seller's market; it is the latter now who sets the price for his merchandise and no longer the buyer, as is still the case in the present structure of international trade. It is for this new state of affairs that we have been struggling for more than a decade with respect to all commodities. The action undertaken by the petroleum-producing countries must assist in the thorough transformation of the present world economic system, which provides for industrialized countries a prosperity that is largely founded upon the deterioration of the terms of trade, which in turn leaves a very small margin for manoeuvre with respect to our own development.

65. The institutions which typify the current economic order pass over an unbearable situation, because they make it possible for some to live upon the negation of others. Their transformation and the establishment of new economic relations will be difficult to anticipate as long as the countries of the third world have not admitted the essential need for union and solidarity.

66. But in the meantime, and since the balance of power is unfavourable to us, it is necessary for us to install within the present system a certain number of escape valves. The best and the most efficient,

in our opinion, is the one which involves the establishment of associations of producers on a product-by-product basis, with the participation and unqualified support of all of the victims of the existing economic system, even if some of them are able now to fix the price for their raw materials. That is the only way that would make it possible for us to stake a claim in the economic field and emerge from this role of marginal and rival micro-groups, and together find a common and effective response to the essential question of commodities.

67. Of course, we do not intend to radicalize our positions. However, the continual impoverishment of our countries is becoming unbearable. It would truly be a catastrophe if the petroleum producers were to accept the position that their action should be dissociated from that of the remainder of the developing countries that produce raw materials and commodities. It is therefore important that following upon petroleum, which is an energy product of primary strategic importance, identical action be conducted with respect to other raw materials so that it might be possible to develop a policy that would be the reflection of a permanent and strengthened solidarity among the proletarian countries.

68. That solidarity must take concrete form. For that it is necessary for the developing countries to unite, but it is also and above all necessary for the richer among them to remain very close to the poorer and least fortunate among them so as not to neglect the fundamental influence of the political factors of solidarity.

69. In this respect we believe that an equitable and realistic solution for rearranging the world economic order that has been so strongly disturbed now would be the implementation of the close co-operation advocated in the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*].

70. We, the Members of the United Nations, must recognize that the slogans in our resolutions which frequently conceal our shortcomings must give way to pragmatic methods of approach to problems, because all, large and small, are living through the most disturbing economic adventure of our times. Together we can master the world economy, galloping inflation and the consequences of the energy crisis. Over and above all this there remains, in the case of each of us, a margin which may be opened to reciprocal concessions; otherwise, more than one of our leaders will have his sleep haunted by the nightmares brought on by the cries of the hungry.

71. The political future also remains gloomy. Indeed, since the Second World War our planet has never really known genuine peace. None of the conflicts shaking the world has been resolved. Those who are so skilful at producing these conflicts proceed to circumscribe them, to regionalize them and to localize them far from their own frontiers. In Viet Nam, in Cyprus and in the Middle East, we have been able to do nothing other than to accept an impasse in which we enclose ourselves more and more.

72. In Viet Nam men continue to die by the thousands and life remains unbearable for all as a result of the virulence and intolerance of irreconcilable

ideologies which have confronted each other for more than a quarter of a century.

73. In southern Africa life continues to take the form of an injustice and a monstrous moral indignity, and the frailty of peace in that part of the world is quite obvious for all.

74. In the Middle East, the hope born of the Geneva Peace Conference is evaporating. The earlier situation of "no peace, no war" has reinstated itself. The ubiquity of the cannon merchants is again to be observed in the region. And the great ones are responsible for the infernal escalation of the arms race. It is even claimed that it is possible thereby to curb the inflation that is at present rampant throughout the world.

75. The Middle East constitutes one of the numerous impasses into which we have been led by the confrontation of the great Powers for more than a quarter of a century. Yet they all agreed to propose and vote in favour of resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 which imposed the partition of Palestine.

76. But there is more. Twenty-one years later one of those great ones, a friend of the Arabs, declared again, on 18 November 1968, in Budapest:

"We consider that any acceptable solution in the Middle East must include recognition of the right of Israel to lead an independent national existence. This opinion is also shared by the Arabs."

77. One year later, in chorus, on 20 September 1969, in a collective declaration made at United Nations Headquarters, those great Powers reaffirmed "the right of the States of the region, all the States of the region, to exist". At the same time they proclaimed with equal conviction "the recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people". And the whole of this imbroglio stems from Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which, in order to avoid the eternal right of veto, was drafted in terms sufficiently equivocal to allow of as many contradictory interpretations as the oracle of Delphi.

78. Truth to tell, no enigma exists. These declarations are made deliberately and at the cost of the grossest contradictions. We, in the Ivory Coast, are convinced that any peace strategy which may be devised will be doomed to failure if, setting aside fanatical formulas, it is not based on certain facts which flow from the analysis we have just made and which cannot be ignored.

79. First, Arabs and Jews lived side by side in Palestine for centuries. Even if the latter were less numerous, one thing is evident: Christians, Jews and Muslims lived together in perfect harmony and underwent foreign occupation.

80. Secondly, there was a historic vote—but a vote with stories about it too—the General Assembly vote of 29 November 1947³ by which the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Palestinian question,⁴ embodying the report of its Sub-Committee 1, was adopted. That Sub-Committee included, among others, the United States and the Soviet Union. The result was a national home, a single one, for the Jews: Israel. Why? The chain of events, the complexity of the diplomacy of the time, the dexterity

of the actors of the time, lead the Ivory Coast to stop here and not exhaust itself by looking for the responsibilities involved.

81. Thirdly, since then we have all been confronted directly by the rigorous and passionate violence of the men who created this conflict and by the violence which the conflict in turn brought about. Intermittent wars, short, but cruel and useless, in 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973, were sorry incidents of these events. The destruction of the State of Israel appears to be a mythical hypothesis since the four great Powers are unanimously in favour of guaranteeing the existence of that State.

82. Fourthly, the other inhabitants—Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims and Christians—no longer have a fatherland, however. Yet our era has adapted itself rather well to the existence of divided countries: the two Germanys, the two Koreas, to mention only those. Thus it is no longer astonishing that the radicalization of Palestinian nationalism, which needs no further definition, is becoming frenetic and hortatory and that this struggle has become the governing element of the Middle East.

83. Fifthly, the return of the territories occupied by Israel since the six-day war will not resolve the problem of peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian problem antedated the six-day war.

84. Sixthly, the already complex problem will be further complicated if we continue to leave it at the level of the solidarity of all the Arabs against the solidarity of all the Jews, including those of the Diaspora throughout the world. Moreover, the problem is more a problem of the major Powers responsible for partition than an Israeli-Arab problem.

85. It is on the basis of the desire to know what must be known that we have recapitulated these facts. But, since everything is linked together, everything is interconnected, everything is there, the Ivory Coast asks your indulgence, your tolerance and your understanding, that of all of you in general and that of the great Powers in particular, in letting me present the position of my country on this crucial problem. In order to do this, the Ivory Coast will abide by certain constant features of its diplomacy. It seeks neither to please nor to offend, but to contribute with all its efforts to the pursuit of a just, equitable and durable peace in this part of the world which is so dear to the whole of mankind.

86. There is a saying current in my country: "A man cannot hide the sun with his hand". Thus, if the Jews of Palestine have a national home, Israel—and few today would seriously challenge this—the other Palestinians, the Christians and the Muslims remain without a fatherland. Therefore we must recognize that they are no longer simple refugees: they constitute an organized community. And there will be no peace in the Middle East as long as that community has not found its fatherland.

87. What can I tell you, the great ones of this world, if not that you must have the honesty to recognize your errors and to correct them, instead of continuing in them, as you are doing now, to the misfortune of the whole world?

88. In this region you only want to avoid a fierce confrontation among yourselves. Your concern is to

...this principle and your interests at each stage of the development of the situation. Your interventions are based more on the appropriateness of any possible control of the Mediterranean than on the search for genuine peace. Indeed, constantly to reaffirm the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people without recognizing their legitimate rights is deliberately to turn your back on peace. Gentlemen, see to it that the Palestinians recover their part of Palestine, which you partitioned, and you will save world peace. Then you will also be bringing about the conditions necessary for a fruitful dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians and our hopes for fruitful co-operation between the enemy cousins will be realized. Meanwhile, if we do not do this, we shall be setting out on a course of no return which, because of the ebb and flow of the situation, will slip out of our control.

89. The same drama, born of the mania for partition imposed by the political psychology of power, is also being played out in the same area in the case of Cyprus. The crisis through which the Republic of Cyprus is at present passing derives its origin from a fear felt in common by both the Greek and Turkish communities: the fear that the island will be attached to Greece, that it will be partitioned, that there will be intervention at any moment on the part of one or another of the guarantor Powers in the internal affairs of the country. Perhaps in place of these so-called treaties of guarantee, which are inadmissible for a sovereign State and which add to the confusion, it might be possible to write into the constitution of Cyprus the principle of the inalienability of any part of the territory of the Republic, a clause that appears in all of our constitutions.

90. Be that as it may, the right of intervention which Great Britain, Turkey and Greece have arrogated to themselves is unacceptable, not only for Cyprus, a sovereign State, but also for the United Nations. It infringes on the fundamental principle of the Charter. Used as it has been used, it will result in a guerrilla-type resistance internally and, externally, will bring about reactions with unforeseeable and incalculable consequences for the island and for the entire world as well. Thus, we must not become accomplices in this sense of global power that is felt by each of these States, this desire to impose on another State Member of this Organization its way of life. We must rid Cyprus of its tunic of Nessus, that truly lethal garment represented by those treaties.

91. For 10 years Cyprus remained stable. Archbishop Makarios, with his keen sense of national and international political realities, succeeded in remaining the guarantee for the genuine independence of the island. In Cyprus, the praiseworthy goal he pursued was the establishment of a system of integration of the two communities within a unitary State, one in which authentic democratic procedures would guarantee, without discrimination, the total safeguarding of individual rights. But the Republic of Cyprus is a victim of the redistribution of realities in this complex game of chess that is being played in the Mediterranean. Must we admit the necessity for violence in the taking of power? We do not think so. And that is exactly why we reproach the advocates of the theory of "necessary

revolutionary violence". Such a climate is dangerous and offers no guarantee for anyone.

92. All those—instigators, actors or accomplices—for whom the *coup d'état* has become an institution that is an end in itself, bear a grave responsibility in this deadly and immoral provocation. They have on their consciences thousands of innocent dead and the despair of tens of thousands of refugees.

93. We proclaim once again that force must not prevail and must not count as a paying proposition. In this tragic Cyprus affair that causes us so much concern, we believe that we must entrust the requisite powers to the Secretary-General for the purpose of achieving the evacuation of foreign troops. After that, we must attempt to reconcile two necessities: that of compromise between the parties, and that of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, in the absence of which we shall be consolidating a state of permanent insurrection that would result in a turmoil that would postpone for ever any peace in the region and pose a terrible danger to peace throughout the world.

94. In sustaining this position, we shall be loyal to our ideal which rejects discrimination in all its forms. Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Christians, Muslims, Jews, blacks, whites or yellows—we shall never accept any classification of human beings on this abominable basis. We must help to bring about the birth of a national pan-Cypriot feeling.

95. It is because we are convinced of our anti-racist position that we reject the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and that of the illegal régime of Ian Smith, together with all other forms of racial discrimination in the world.

96. The physicist Jean Debieffe is right in affirming, with mathematical proof, that racism is all the more stupid in that we are all, absolutely all of us, of the same blood. One can laugh at this demonstration; some will because they are sceptics, others because they are believers and regard this as a truism, a truth already affirmed by the revealed religions. And yet it is these latter who are fighting in Cyprus, in Ireland, in the Middle East, and who, in the name of religion, practice *apartheid* in South Africa.

97. The economic future is gloomy. The political future is likewise gloomy. But there is a ray of hope that has appeared. The right to self-determination and independence has been recognized in the case of the Territories under Portuguese domination. This phenomenon is quite different from the cases, so frequent in politics, where happenstance finally becomes reality. At the 1253rd meeting of the Security Council, held on 8 November 1965, the Ivory Coast expressed its conviction that arms would never prevail against what that old man in Cabinda called "*novas ideias*" (new ideas).

98. We had to touch the sensitive heartstrings of Portugal and bring it to reason. What nation, however fierce it may be, cannot be brought over to political virtue and reasonable human feelings? The right of peoples to govern themselves is the foundation of all civilization, and the winds of nationalism blowing through Africa are a feature of that genuine civilization. Thus, progressively, thanks to the action of all, the idea of liberty has won Portugal over. Portugal

is to be credited with having found realistic truth, most fortunately, by coming closer to reality with us, and it is for that reason that we are most gratified at the important decisions that have recently been taken by the new Portuguese Government to grant independence to all its Territories. Africa is seeking neither revenge nor retribution, and the independence granted will make it possible for Portugal's presence in our continent to be fraternal, adopted, accepted and desired.

99. We celebrate the independence of Guinea-Bissau. This new nation, and those that will yet accede to independence, are and will be Members of this Organization. They represent its future and what it will become. Our financial and technical assistance will be essential to them for binding up the wounds they have incurred in their struggle and for establishing themselves as independent and viable countries. To that end, we propose the establishment of a fund, through voluntary contributions made by States Members of the Organization and by all countries that have recognized or that will recognize them. The precedent already exists and can be repeated in their favour.

100. I would not wish to conclude without addressing, on behalf of my country, our most heartfelt congratulations to the gallant people of Guinea-Bissau and its courageous freedom fighters, nor without respectfully and devotedly saluting the memory of the one who gave his life for the liberation of his people, Amílcar Cabral.

101. I would also wish to pay a special tribute to President Léopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, who made discreet use of dialogue—so much maligned—to complete the freedom fight, thus confirming the virtues of dialogue.

102. The new Portugal has realized that the time of colonialism is over. It has shown itself strong enough to make a fresh start. We believe it deserves our congratulations and encouragement.

103. The settlers in Mozambique sought to distract the decolonizing forces of Portugal. They mutinied. They machine-gunned the African quarters at random and left almost 100 dead behind them. That scenario is a well-known trap, filled with rancour and tragic reminiscence, which always turns against its authors. Those settlers do not understand that the phenomenon which they are experiencing results not from the abandonment by metropolitan countries of their empires but from the irrepressible force of nationalism. Nothing justified that Lourenço Marques crime, which brought them to absurdity. The nationalists have shown as much *sang-froid* as realism in the face of the obsessed hatred of the settlers.

104. The Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] advocated a harmonious and democratic multiracial nation. All it received by way of reply was a show of chauvinistic fanaticism from petty settlers who are part of the aberrant designs of world colonialism.

105. The continuing and unavoidable disaster of colonialism in all its forms is so eloquent that it would not have been necessary for us to dwell upon its last throes if it were not significant to note that the supercilious chauvinism of those settlers and their

frenetic colonialism, feeding on the fantasy of the past, might lead them to a dead end, an ill-conceived escalation, a bluff—as in the case of the Organisation de l'armée secrète [OAS] in Algeria—with the sorry consequences of an exodus without return. But we have every confidence in the great wisdom of FRELIMO, which will not allow itself to be drawn into devastating hatred.

106. We shall continue to applaud Portuguese decolonization. The arrival of General Spínola has brought about important changes in our relations with Portugal. We are ready to establish proper diplomatic relations with that henceforth friendly country.

107. Before Spínola, de Gaulle, too, experienced a similar situation during the process of the decolonization of Algeria—the OAS. Unfortunately, colonization abounds with such retrograde minds, just as imbued with a somewhat faded imperial elegance as those of the Mozambique settlers. De Gaulle settled his problems with the honour of the great soldier having the creed of the pledged word and a clear vision of the future. We note with satisfaction the statement of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs relating to the forthcoming accession to independence of the Comoro Archipelago [2238th meeting], a declaration which is part of the noble traditions of France.

108. The Lusaka agreements cannot and must not be called into question, and to prevent this all precautions must be taken so that those anarchists, those camouflage racists—and they are prolific in that region—shall not play the role of termites in the works of the institutions born of Lusaka.

109. General Spínola has already shown proper understanding of the goals of the Organization. We have made the necessary distinction between the former leaders and those who today have courageously and resolutely embarked upon the course of democracy and decolonization. We look with considerable sympathy on their efforts and we are ready to help them, if necessary, to break the dark forces which are still prevalent among them and in Africa seeking to block the accession to independence of Mozambique, Angola and the Cape Verde Islands.

110. The United Nations must, without locking itself into a complacent alibi—"internal affairs"—help Portugal in crushing the last depraved advocates of colonialism so that they will for all time lose their last illusions.

111. In spite of the very legitimate complaints against South Africa, it is nevertheless fair to recognize that its refusal to be mixed up in the affairs of Mozambique and Angola now makes impossible the establishment of a new Rhodesia in Southern Africa. Let us hope that, on the basis of the Portuguese example, South Africa will show an equal comprehension vis-à-vis the United Nations and grant independence to Namibia.

112. Mr. President, it is truly symbolic that it is under your presidency—the presidency of one of the gallant sons of Algeria—that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is thus being implemented.

113. We ask Bangladesh and Grenada to accept our warm congratulations. May we, after Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau, soon see Mozambique, Angola, the other Portuguese Territories and the Comoros assume their rightful place among us, while we await with impatience, as you know, the arrival of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

114. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I wish first of all, on behalf of the Albanian delegation, to congratulate you whole-heartedly upon your unanimous election to the post of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. It gives us especial satisfaction to see the work of this session presided over by the representative of Algeria, a country with which the People's Republic of Albania has such close and friendly relations.

115. It is the second time that the General Assembly has met this year. This session is being held at a time when throughout the world many new events have taken place and continue to take place, giving rise to a number of grave problems. The Albanian delegation, imbued as always with the desire to make its modest contribution to positive progress in the work of the General Assembly, would like to express the views of the People's Republic of Albania and its Government on a series of questions which, in our opinion, deserve special attention.

116. The events of this year have shown still more clearly the fact that the world is going through a process of swift and dynamic development. The fundamental contradictions of our times are continually worsening and the many contrasts which exist in the various parts of the globe are increasing also. Freedom, independence and the sovereignty of freedom-loving States and peoples, their development and progress are constantly threatened and endangered. The policy of aggression and expansion, of oppression and violence, of exploitation by imperialism and social imperialism has acquired even greater proportions. The unbridled arms race, the growth of military budgets and the preparations for war are continuing without interruption. Aggressive fleets and military bases fill the seas and oceans.

117. The aggravation of the economic and financial crisis which has shaken the capitalist world has increased the difficulties of the world economy and international economic relations. The efforts of industrialized countries to make the developing countries bear the brunt of this crisis have further worsened the present international situation. The confrontation between peoples—the exploited working masses of the countries that want to live in freedom and independence, on the one hand, and the imperialist forces, first and foremost the United States and the Soviet Union, on the other—continues to worsen.

118. The imperialist and colonialist Powers, particularly the two super-Powers, call on all people to open their doors to them, to allow their economic and political interference, because this allegedly will help to create harmony among nations and to further the progress of mankind. But they wish to keep privileged positions for themselves, and ask that independent States give up their right to equality

and sovereignty in international relations. The two super-Powers are, in fact, attacking national sovereignty by identifying it with a narrow nationalism. In short, they want others to admit that the world can find peace only if it is dominated by them.

119. The United States of America and the Soviet Union speculate a great deal about watchwords such as "peace", the "inevitable interdependence of States", "the need to avoid upheavals in the world balance", "peaceful coexistence" or "general". Nowadays they spread the idea that peace—of peoples and States, the developing countries, cannot—without them, without their aid, without their loans—without their cadres or their technology; that these countries are not able to develop their own natural resources fully or independently. They go so far as to threaten to cut off this "aid", these "loans", to stop supplying machinery. They threaten them with famine and poverty.

120. As the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Hoxha, has said: "The two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, who are engaged in the preparation of the hot war, try by their allegedly 'generous aid' to enslave others, to place them in their economic and political claws, to bring them into their sphere of influence and to colonize them."

121. The peoples are beginning to understand better and better the hegemonic designs of these super-Powers and they resolutely oppose their neo-colonialist practices. They are determined to strengthen and protect their sovereign rights; day by day they oppose more courageously the pressures and blackmail that are being brought to bear on them and continue their independent development.

122. The security and safeguarding of independence and full national sovereignty are indispensable factors in the progress of each nation and each State and the establishment of true peace and stability in the world. Events show that in present conditions everyone is affected to a greater or lesser degree by the aggressive hegemonic policies of the two super-Powers. There is no country or region in the world which is not affected by the threats, the blackmail, and the interference of the United States and the Soviet Union, their conflicts and the bargaining carried on between them. The existence of aggressive military alliances and closed economic blocs, participation in those alliances and those blocs, the establishment of military bases and foreign troops on territories of other countries, military manoeuvres near the borders of other States, agreements in which certain parties take the lion's share, and so on, greatly undermine the sovereignty of many States. Thus, the struggle for the defence and strengthening of national sovereignty acquires primordial importance. It has today become the common cause of all freedom-loving countries and peoples.

123. The successes which many countries have obtained in the achievement of their rights, in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemony show that each nation, even the smallest, when it is resolved to defend its national interests, can face the enemies of its freedom, however mighty or powerful they may be, and overcome them.

124. The people of Indo-China are still resolutely engaged in their just struggle against the American imperialist aggressors. The Arab peoples have shown on the battlefield that they can triumph over the Zionist imperialist aggression and that they have the forces and other means necessary to regain their rights. The struggle of the African peoples against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination has taken on renewed vigour. The developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have become an important force on the international scene and are playing an active role there. In Europe too and in other parts of the world, a number of countries have risen up with increased strength against the policy of diktat and intervention in their internal affairs.

125. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, on the problems of raw materials and development, the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Caracas, and the work of the World Population Conference held at Bucharest were a further expression of the determined efforts of a number of countries, particularly developing countries, to defend their sovereign rights, to affirm their legitimate rights over the seas and oceans, and to become the real masters of their natural resources in order to place them at the service of their own development and progress and to solve by themselves the problems involved in increasing the material and cultural well-being of their peoples.

126. We greatly appreciate the firm support which the People's Republic of China, that powerful socialist State, is giving to the struggle for liberation waged by the peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism; we appreciate, too, the support that country is giving to the efforts of various countries to defend and strengthen their national independence and its valuable contribution to the cause of the peace and stability of Asia and of the rest of the world. Pursuing a foreign policy based on principle, the great People's Republic of China has become an important positive factor in the present evolution of the world and a determined opponent of the policies of hegemony of the two super-Powers.

127. The events of this year show that there are many obstacles and difficulties in the way of the achievement of the rights and aspirations of the peoples. Not only do past conflicts and disagreements remain unresolved, but new hotbeds of tension and war have been created, as can be seen by the recent events in Cyprus.

128. The United States and the Soviet Union, by simultaneously competing and co-operating with each other, are trying to maintain the *status quo* in the areas which they have already divided into zones of influence; to establish a balance acceptable to them in the areas where they have not yet been able to do that; and to extend their political, economic, military and ideological sway.

129. Those two super-Powers base their policy of hegemony on the force of arms, on pressure, on interference in internal affairs, on intrigues and plots. They often talk about not resorting to force in international relations, and they have made that phrase the *leit-motiv* of many official agreements and acts; they speak of disarmament but in fact they

continue the arms race; they constantly engage in military manoeuvres and displays of force near the borders and coasts of other countries; they strengthen their aggressive blocs and try to take military bases and ports away from other States. Like monsters, their fleets plough the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and other seas and oceans, seriously threatening the freedom and independence of independent coastal countries.

130. The two super-Powers cynically try to arrogate to themselves the right to do what they please and to establish their presence everywhere in the world, to move about freely wherever and whenever they please. The United States ruling circles and the heads of the Pentagon openly state that the United States cannot accept any reductions in its defence budget because it must remain a first-rank military Power and its military potential must remain greater than that of all the others.

131. On the other hand, the Soviet leaders and their marshals and admirals, with their slogans of "defence of the national interests of the Soviet Union" and "the Soviet Union's political role as a world Power", do not hide the fact that their country must increase its military power and use it as a diplomatic means of intimidation and dissuasion.

132. The two super-Powers have made a system out of secret diplomacy. The summit meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union and the secret agreements concluded between them, including those concluded in July this year, continue to cast a sinister shadow over the world. Side by side with the deep contradictions that divide them, their hegemonic collaboration has been further strengthened.

133. Despite the noise they are making in an attempt to create the impression that Europe is about to become a region of peace and tranquillity, the truth is that real tension and many contradictions exist in that continent and that a large number of its problems remain unsolved. And there the interests and aims of the two super-Powers intersect, for they wish at any cost to make Europe accept a complete division into spheres of influence.

134. Recently, the United States has been openly exerting pressure on its Western European allies to stop their attempts to take action without the guidance and control of the United States. The Washington Conference on energy problems, the meetings convened to approve the Ottawa Declaration, and so forth, are typical examples of the obstinacy and arrogance of the United States in its efforts to make its partners obey and accept United States hegemony. The Soviet Union, for its part, through the Warsaw Treaty and the Mutual Economic Aid Council, has doubled its efforts to achieve the complete economic, political and military integration of the countries within its sphere of influence. Its aim is to limit even more their independence and sovereignty and to turn them gradually, one after another, into kinds of federate republics.

135. For a long time now the Soviet Union and the United States have been boasting about the "benefits" that the carrying out of their plans for so-called European security would bring to the peoples of

Europe. But behind these plans are concealed the designs of the two super-Powers to legalize the *status quo* and strengthen their spheres of influence in Europe, which is contrary to the true interests of the European peoples and of peace on that continent. The People's Republic of Albania is firmly opposed to that kind of security because it would merely increase the insecurity of Europe.

136. In order to achieve the foregoing objectives the two super-Powers, with a great clamour and all kinds of promises, organized the Conference on so-called European security. But it is already clear that the manoeuvres and pressures to which the super-Powers have resorted have not achieved the expected results. The length of the sessions of that Conference and the constant interruptions of its work show that there are many contradictions. A large number of Governments have even felt great disappointment, and they are now much less interested in the Geneva negotiations.

137. In the Vienna negotiations on the so-called reduction of military forces and arms in Central Europe, the two super-Powers have tried to reach agreement on the number of troops and of armaments that they must maintain in Europe to support their policy of hegemony. The peoples of Europe are not at all interested in a symbolic reduction of American and Soviet forces; they want all those forces to be withdrawn from the countries where they are stationed. Experience has shown that such negotiations are a hoax. On the one hand there is talk about peace and stability in Europe and the reduction of forces and weapons, and on the other the Soviet Union and the United States are intensifying their arms race and building up their military arsenals in Europe, constantly brandishing their weapons and exerting pressure on certain European countries to let them use the territory and air space of those countries for their military forces; finally, under the cover of "friendly" visits they seek to establish their war fleets in the ports of those countries. While discussions go on in Geneva and in Vienna, the Soviet Union keeps sending division after division to eastern Europe and constantly engages in troop manoeuvres and movements, creates new military posts and so on.

138. Why is all this happening? Could it be because the European countries cannot live without American and Soviet protection? No, the peoples of Europe want to be free and sovereign. Thus it is important for them to be increasingly vigilant and to harbour no illusions as to the policies of the two super-Powers. The European people cannot expect their security from the two super-Powers. They will obtain it only through constant struggle against the enemies of peace and security in Europe.

139. This year the expansionist policy of the two super-Powers has created thorny situations in different parts of the region of the Balkans and the Mediterranean. This has brought a further increase in tension in that region and in Europe.

140. The painful events that have recently occurred close to the Balkans, on the island of Cyprus, as well as the dangerous and regrettable consequences and complications that accompanied them, show the evils that can come to the Balkan peoples from the hege-

monic policy of the United States and the Soviet Union, which engage in intrigue, intentionally create problems, and arouse hostility among peoples and States and fan its flames, in order to achieve their own designs. They give the best proof of the justice of the words of the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha:

"The Balkans have never by themselves constituted a powder keg. If they were so in the past, it was the fault of foreigners who held all the means of detonating the explosion. And it is they who want it to be so again. It is the duty of the peoples of the Balkans to take their swords and cut through all the fuses, so that peace and security may truly be established in the Balkans."

141. We believe that peace and stability in the Balkans can be served and national interests defended by developing friendly links among the peoples of the Balkans, by creating an atmosphere of good neighbourliness between the States in that region of the world, and by firmly opposing the attempts of the two super-Powers to penetrate as deeply as possible into that area both politically and economically and to establish military bases and free passage for their troops. The "friendship" which either one of the super-Powers offers to any country of the Balkans has many dangerous consequences for its freedom and independence and for peace in the Balkans.

142. The events in Cyprus today cannot be dissociated from the greed of the imperialist Powers and first of all of the United States and the Soviet Union. American imperialists have organized the bloody events in Cyprus. They have thrown those people into fratricidal war in order to turn that country into a North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] base. They have always sought to use the island of Cyprus as a spring-board for their policies of aggression and expansion in the Mediterranean, in the Middle East and in other areas.

143. Soviet social-imperialists, who have hegemonic designs in the Mediterranean and the near East, have hastened to take immediate advantage of the troubled situation in Cyprus and have warmed their hands at the fire that has been lit there. If we listen to the declarations of the Soviet Government, we might think that Government is the most ardent and sincere defender of the interests of the people of Cyprus and of peace and tranquillity on that island. But the Soviet social-imperialists cannot conceal their real designs and their hypocritical role in the events in Cyprus. The Soviet Union is encouraging quarrels and dissension. Its main concern is to take advantage of the situation to create bases for its warships, to penetrate further into the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and other regions of the world, and thus to fulfil an old dream of Tsarist Russia. This is the aim of its efforts to arrogate to itself the full powers of a State guarantor of the independence of Cyprus and to convene an international conference on Cyprus, efforts which are as dangerous for the just solution of the problem and for peace and stability in Cyprus as the various manoeuvres and offers made by the United States.

144. The Albanian people, who nourish sentiments of friendship for the peoples of Cyprus, Greece

and Turkey, and who are sincerely concerned to achieve true peace and security in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, is opposed to any foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Cypriot people, and to any action which would further complicate the situation in that country. The interests of the Cypriot people require first and foremost that an end be put to the interference of the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of that country, as well as to their attempts to take advantage of the situation created there to carry out their aggressive plans in the eastern Mediterranean.

145. Cyprus must be free and independent. The territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus must be respected. The Greek and Turkish communities must solve their problems themselves, without foreign interference, on the basis of a guarantee of coexistence with equal rights, in perfect harmony and understanding, as is required by their common interests.

146. The events in Cyprus show even more clearly the grave danger of the presence of American and Soviet military bases and fleets in the Mediterranean for all the peoples and States of that region. Today more than ever it is urgently necessary for the peoples and countries of that area to act resolutely to compel the United States and the Soviet Union to withdraw their war fleets from the Mediterranean.

147. We hail the efforts and resolution of the Arab people to achieve their lofty national aspirations. In the October war against the Israeli Zionist aggressors, they have scored an important victory. During that war the heroic vitality of the Arab people, their strength and unity in combat stood out more clearly than ever before; proof was given us that the Arab people are able to vanquish the aggressor on the battlefield and that the key to the achievement of their legitimate claims is truly in their hands.

148. The United States and the Soviet Union strive to give the impression that great changes have taken place in that area and that, under their patronage, the problems of the Middle East will soon find a solution. But facts disprove these allegations. None of the causes of the explosive and tense situation in the Near East has been eliminated. The danger of new aggression on the part of Israel against the Arabs is still a reality. Israeli Zionists who live in occupied Arab territories once again state their aggressive claims for annexation; they threaten the Arab people and constantly renew their provocations. All the events that have taken place since the October war—the intensification of rivalry and of Soviet-American collaboration in that part of the world, and the new tactics and machinations on the part of the Washington and Moscow diplomats—show that the two super-Powers want at all costs to achieve their former objectives in the Middle East, to transform partial solutions into a permanent *status quo*, to divide the Arabs and to refuse the Palestinian people their national and legitimate rights.

149. Given this situation, it appears clearly that the problem of the Middle East has not been brought closer to a true solution. We cannot build peace in that part of the world by sacrificing the rights of the Arab people. One cannot resolve the problems of the Middle East by sacrificing an entire people, the

Palestinian people. We must restore to the Palestinian people, who have been fighting heroically for so many years, all the national rights that were snatched from them. The People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people continue most strongly to support the just struggle of their brothers the Arab peoples and of the Palestinian people against the imperialist-Zionist aggressor for the restoration of their sovereign rights.

150. The situation in Indo-China is still very disturbing. The Albanian people and its Government firmly denounce the continued aggressive policy of the American imperialists against the Viet Nameese people, and their military engagement in South Viet Nam as well as the systematic provocations committed by the Saigon clique against the liberated areas and the barbaric crimes perpetrated against the population of South Viet Nam. We support the struggles of the Viet Nameese people for the full realization of their lofty national aspirations and the just positions and demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam that the Agreement on the cessation of war and the restoration of peace in Viet Nam be strictly respected. The Provisional Revolutionary Government is the sole genuine representative of the will and interest of the people of South Viet Nam. It alone has the right to speak on their behalf. The discriminatory attitude vis-à-vis that Government which the United States has imposed upon certain international bodies must be rejected and come to an end. The United States must cease all interference in the internal affairs of the Viet Nameese people.

151. In Cambodia, the United States, with its economic and military assistance, tries to keep alive the Lon Nol clique, which has gone into hiding in Phnom Penh and in some other villages hemmed in by the hatred of the Cambodian people fighting for its freedom.

152. The Cambodian people, firmly resolved to continue its armed struggle to the end, has rejected the deceitful offers of the Phnom Penh clique for a cease-fire as well as the schemes for "peaceful negotiations" thought up by the United States, for whose realization the Soviet Union is striving too. In order for peace to be brought to Cambodia, the United States must immediately put an end to its criminal aggression and interference in the internal affairs of the Cambodian people, it must cease its assistance to the puppet clique of Phnom Penh and must leave the Cambodian people free to manage its own affairs.

153. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, with its Head of State, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, is the only lawful Government of that country. It has been affirmed as such in that country and on the international level. It is the only Government vested with the right and necessary power to represent that country in foreign affairs and in international organizations. Albania and 32 other countries last year submitted a draft resolution⁵ requesting that an end be put to the grave injustice being done to the Cambodian people, that the representatives of the Royal Government of National Union be invited to occupy their legitimate place in the United Nations and in the other United Nations bodies,

and that the Phnom Penh clique be excluded from them since it represents nothing. We hope that most Member States, acting in conformity with the law and with the facts of the case, will see to it that the General Assembly puts an end to this abnormal situation and that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia will have its legitimate rights restored in the United Nations.

154. The General Assembly must also, without delay, adopt a decision on the evacuation of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, thus putting an end to overt intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people. The further maintenance of American troops in South Korea has increased tensions on the Korean peninsula. The United States has arbitrarily dictated the division of Korea into two parts. It continues to support and encourage the puppet régime in Seoul in its oppression of the people of South Korea and in its constant provocation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Korean people has long asked that foreign troops leave its territory forthwith, and it is fighting to achieve a lofty national aspiration—the reunification of its homeland.

155. We support the constructive efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to find an independent solution to the Korean problem. The People's Republic of Albania rejects the continued presence of aggressive American troops in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. Those troops must be evacuated from South Korea, and the Korean people must be free to settle its own affairs without any foreign interference. We denounce the conspiracy designed to perpetuate the division of Korea into two parts.

156. The Albanian delegation believes that the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/9703/Add.3 at this session would put an end to the inadmissible attitude that the United Nations has held for many years now with regard to the Korean people. That would eliminate one of the main obstacles to the independent reunification of Korea, and would contribute to the reduction of tension on that peninsula.

157. The Albanian people and Government will continue their solidarity with the just struggles of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Azania, Namibia, Puerto Rico, Northern Ireland and so on, to achieve freedom, independence and national liberation from colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. We warmly greet the people of Guinea-Bissau, which has crowned with victory its lengthy struggle against the Portuguese colonizers, which lasted for so many years. We welcome the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, a young, independent State, into the United Nations, and we hope that the peoples of Angola and Mozambique in their struggle for freedom will very soon achieve their aims. The victories they have won in that struggle once again show that the eradication of the odious system of colonialism is an inevitable historical process. Albania will always strongly support the struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and hegemony, plundering and exploitation by foreign capitalist monopolies, in

order to win and to safeguard their rights so as to strengthen the sovereignty of their States.

158. The Albanian people will soon celebrate the glorious thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of their homeland and the triumph of our people's revolution. The liberation of Albania from the foreign, Nazi and Fascist yoke on 29 November 1944, which resulted from the heroic struggle of the Albanian people, is the greatest victory of our history.

159. During these three decades, despite our great lack of progress, a legacy of our past, and the very difficult conditions created by different imperialist and revisionist enemies, our people, guided by our Labour Party and under the leadership of our beloved comrade Enver Hoxha, has been able to weather every storm and to overcome all kinds of obstacles and difficulties and has advanced resolutely and constantly along the path of socialism.

160. In the first place through its own strength, and thanks to its self-denying work, our people has achieved radical changes in all spheres of life and has completely changed the physiognomy of the country. Albania, which was a backward agricultural country, is rapidly becoming an industrial and agricultural nation. Global industrial production in Albania is today 86 times as great as it was in 1938, and 3.5 times greater than in 1960. In four days our industry now produces as much as it produced in a whole year in 1938. Our global agricultural production is approximately four times greater than it was in the days before liberation. Under popular leadership, the gross national product has increased elevenfold. Albania has achieved total electrification throughout the country. The old taxes of all kinds have been abolished, and health and medical services are now free of charge. Education, science and culture have made great advances on the past and one out of every three persons now goes to school.

161. The People's Republic of Albania has unceasingly and resolutely pursued a foreign policy based on high principles. The foreign policy of socialist Albania has been in the past and continues to be quite clear; it is a defence of liberty and national independence. It has always been and remains at the service of the cause of peoples struggling to defend their national sovereignty and independence, and in favour of self-determination and the establishment of international co-operation truly based on equality. Thanks to this just policy the international position of Albania has constantly grown stronger. We have today sincere friends and many sympathizers on all continents. The relations of steadfast militant friendship and close brotherly co-operation between the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of China grow stronger and more firmly consolidated day by day. The People's Republic of Albania has friendly relations with a large number of countries, and has normal diplomatic relations with 66 States and is ready to establish such relations with other peace- and freedom-loving countries on the basis of the well-known principles of mutual respect, sovereign equality and non-interference in anyone's internal affairs and of mutual benefit.

162. The People's Republic of Albania, in future also, will be a resolute fighter against imperialism and social imperialism and will remain an element

of peace and stability in the Balkans and in Europe, and it will make its contribution to the defence of the cause of the peoples, of peace and of general security.

163. Mr. NAFFAH (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I am particularly pleased to express to you my warmest congratulations upon your election to the eminent functions of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. May I be permitted to recall on this occasion the fraternal ties which bind Lebanon and Algeria and which have marked with their imprint our common struggle for the defence of our national causes as well as the concerted action we are conducting so that their international relations be founded upon the principles of equality, law and justice. The expression of unanimous confidence which has brought you to the office of President is a new tribute paid to your exceptional qualities, to your dynamism and to your efficacy.

164. I should likewise wish to express my fullest esteem to your predecessor, Mr. Benites, who presided with so much competence and so much skill over the last regular session of the General Assembly as well as the sixth special session. This is particularly pleasant for me as Mr. Benites belongs to a country and a region of the world with which Lebanon maintains ties of traditional close friendship.

165. I should like also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the steady efforts he has been making for the benefit of world peace and the strengthening of international co-operation.

166. If we pass in review the developments which have taken place since the last session, we shall find some grounds for optimism: the continuation of a dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, are likely to increase the chances of *détente* internationally. The separation of the forces between Israel on the one hand and Egypt and Syria on the other hand constitutes a first step towards the search for a just and global solution of the Middle East problem. The stability which is gradually settling upon South Asia is putting an end to a conflict which had exploded between countries to which the best possible relations bind us. The positive developments in Africa and the adoption by Portugal of a new liberal policy toward its colonies and the outside world herald the arrival of a new era which, we hope, will put an end to a long and dark period of colonialism and exploitation. The entry of the three new States into our Organization, namely, Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada, which we welcome most warmly, expands the basis of the United Nations and strengthens our hope that it will soon be able to reach universal representation.

167. And yet, certain problems remain in the agenda where they have been since 1946, without having led to a positive and concrete solution. By way of example we might mention first the questions relating to disarmament. How often have we not issued warnings against the unfavourable consequences of the arms race, the massive stockpiling of weapons and the perfecting of weapons of mass destruction. While

the United Nations has succeeded in elaborating a certain number of international conventions designed to prohibit tests, the proliferation and the stockpiling of weapons, we are bound to recognize, however, that the distance to be travelled in order to achieve the ultimate purpose is still long and difficult. The common efforts that have been combined in this respect need to be intensified, and they require the support of all Member States and especially that of the permanent members of the Security Council. Within the context of the international action that has been taken in this respect, we hope that an agreement will soon be concluded on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on the prohibition of all nuclear weapons, pending a time where the disarmament problem will be debated as a whole within the framework of the forthcoming world conference on this subject. We also hope that an agreement will be reached on the denuclearization of the Middle East region.

168. I do not intend to draw up a detailed inventory of the events which give us cause for disappointment and fear. I shall limit myself to mentioning a few examples from that list; first of all, the situation in southern Africa where the policy of *apartheid* still prevails, a policy which continues to violate the most elementary moral and human laws and which defies the universal conscience and the repeated condemnations of the United Nations.

169. The present situation in Cyprus, where tragic events have again occurred in spite of the efforts made by the United Nations through the Secretary-General and the international emergency force, gives ground for the most serious concern. We strongly hope that the efforts now undertaken will make it possible to restore peace and stability in Cyprus and to provide guarantees for its independence, unity and integrity.

170. The problem of the Middle East continues to be a source of anguish and concern, and constitutes a threat to international peace and security. The present session of the General Assembly is called upon today to get to the substance of the Palestine problem for the purpose of achieving a guarantee for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Any search for a just and lasting solution must be based upon certain fundamental truths which cannot be ignored and which are as follows.

171. First, Israel has expelled by force the Palestinian people from its fatherland and has obliged it to become dispersed in several countries.

172. Secondly, the cause of the four wars which have taken place in the region since 1948 was Palestine. The tension which persists in the Middle East derives from the disregard of the rights of the Palestinian people and the hesitancy of the international community expressly to recognize those rights and to permit the Palestinian people to exercise them effectively, in spite of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

173. Thirdly, any settlement of the conflict of the Middle East which does not respect the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and does not provide for the realization of its national aspira-

tions cannot, under any circumstances, lead to a lasting peace in the region.

174. Lebanon has expressed its position on this subject on numerous occasions, in particular following the adoption of resolution 338 (1973) by the Security Council. I reaffirm here once again that the problem of the Palestinian people is not only a humanitarian problem, but one that constitutes first and foremost a political problem. To hesitate to recognize this fact, to resort to a policy of procrastination or manoeuvring in order not to face up to this reality, is to precipitate unavoidable new developments which will in no circumstances serve the cause of peace.

175. Israel ignores these truths. It continues to violate and defy the condemnations and the resolutions coming from the international community. In recent months the Palestinian people have been the victim of a new form of a war of extermination. The Israeli forces attack Palestinian camps; they destroy their shelters, kill men, women and children in pursuit of their premeditated policy designed to sow terror and disperse the population. In the past Israel used as a pretext the acts of the *fedayeen*. Today it does not even trouble to invoke those fallacious pretexts. It undertakes so-called preventive action for the sole purpose of expanding the conflict and aggravating it. It is thus that the forces of Israel are constantly pursuing their aggressions against the territory of Lebanon and its air space, inflicting heavy human and material losses, particularly in the southern portion of the country, thereby violating the principles of the Charter and of international law, as well as the terms of armistice agreed upon between Lebanon and Israel in 1949, the implementation of which is supervised by the United Nations.

176. Thus it appears, to our great regret, that the resolutions adopted by the Security Council over the past few years and which contain, vis-à-vis Israel, repeated condemnations and censures, have not gone beyond a purely formal stage; in their effect, thus promoting the acceptance of the logic of force and the rule of the law of the jungle, where order and respect for law should have been established.

177. Faced with this deplorable situation, we wonder about the role of the United Nations and the usefulness of the guarantees provided by the Charter for Member States, and in particular for the small countries which view the Organization as something that should be both a shield and a bulwark behind which their independence and security should be protected.

178. The Charter expressly enumerates the means of having international authority respected and of giving effect to the recommendations and resolutions adopted by the Organization. Has the time not come to apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter? In compliance with the decisions adopted by the last conference of the Heads of Arab States as well as by the fifth Islamic congress, Lebanon considers that the Security Council should apply against Israel the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII so that an end might be put to its repeated aggressions against the people and territory of Lebanon. We are calling for this action out of our attachment to the United Nations and because we wish the Organization to be strong. We are unwilling to admit its

inefficacy. We wish it to remain and to be able to realize its essential goals and to fulfil its responsibilities.

179. Meanwhile Lebanon considers that no solution can be provided to the problem of the Middle East without the total withdrawal from the Arab territories of the Israeli forces that have been occupying them since June 1967 and without the recognition of the national and political rights of the Palestinian people.

180. Since the end of the Second World War, the international community has not gone through any economic crisis anywhere nearly as acute as the one through which we are now living and which can have devastating consequences for the whole of mankind. On the other hand, however, during the same period appeals for harmony and co-operation have never been as frequent and as urgent.

181. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, which was held last April thanks to the initiative and work of President Boumediène, placed particular emphasis upon the problems of development as well as upon international economic co-operation, which has been made necessary as a result of the profound transformations that have taken place in modern international relations.

182. The economic and monetary problems which arise today have not been brought about by the October war and they have not been brought about by the restrictions applied to petroleum production or by the increase in its price. These problems are chronic and long-standing; they antedate the October war; they have been arising in the world for a number of years. The petroleum prices have merely revealed the scope and gravity of these problems.

183. The Arab States are facing urgent problems in the field of economic and social development. They are attempting to solve them in the best possible way so as to provide a better life for their peoples and to reduce the gap which separates them from the developed peoples. In spite of these historic responsibilities, those countries nevertheless remain responsive to the appeals addressed to them and are examining in a spirit of co-operation and understanding the world economic situation as well as the interests of the developing countries. These preoccupations have been expressed in decisions and actions.

184. We are convinced that the present economic imbalance and the deterioration in currencies have been made possible by the international economic order which prevails at present and which, because it no longer meets the requirements of our time, should be revised in its very essence.

185. The sixth special session of the General Assembly adopted resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI), which are of considerable importance and clearly reflect current economic problems and preoccupations and define the bases upon which the new economic order should be founded.

186. It is true that the action necessary for the establishment of this order has hardly begun, but it is encouraging to observe that consultations and negotiations to achieve greater justice and equality

in international exchanges have been extremely active during the past year. By way of example I might mention the negotiations concerning the reform of the international monetary system, the efforts made with a view to reconsidering GATT and the new orientation which has taken place in the World Bank for the purpose of increasing the resources devoted to development and intensifying multilateral technical assistance.

187. I wish to emphasize also the importance of the Euro-Arab dialogue, and I should like to affirm, on behalf of my Government as well as on behalf of all the other Arab Governments, because of the fact that Lebanon is serving as President of the present session of the League of Arab States, our determination to make this dialogue constructive and useful for all the parties concerned and beneficial to all their mutual interests.

188. We also hope that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will lead to the preparation of a new international act regulating maritime relations between States and providing the most appropriate means for the exploitation of the resources of the sea in the interests of mankind as a whole. We hope, too, that the World Food Conference and the World Population Conference will make it possible to draw up a plan of action that will make a positive contribution to the work of the seventh special session of the General Assembly, for which provision was made at the previous session [*resolution 3172 (XXVIII)*].

189. In this connexion I should like to emphasize that the Lebanese Government is gratified that the working group responsible for the preparation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States put this draft into its final form at meetings held this year in Geneva and in Mexico. In expressing the hope that the General Assembly will adopt the draft at its present session, I should like to take this opportunity of paying a tribute to Mr. Echeverría, the President of Mexico, to whom belongs the credit for having taken this initiative during the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

190. The Economic Commission for Western Asia, the establishment of which was decided upon by the

Economic and Social Council at its 55th session [*resolution 1818 (LV)*] on the basis of a draft presented by the Lebanese delegation, held two sessions in Beirut in June and September of this year.

191. Through the establishment of this Commission the Middle East region has recovered the natural rights of which it had been deprived during the past two decades. These meetings gave an opportunity to the countries concerned to affirm their international role and express their desire to contribute to the activities of the United Nations in the fields of development and regional co-operation. The Lebanese Government, which has established the closest ties with the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut during the past 10 years, wishes to express its profound satisfaction at the establishment of this Commission. We are convinced that the activities undertaken by it will redound to the benefit of the countries of the region and contribute to the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations.

192. The United Nations was born of the suffering of previous generations and the aspirations of new generations for peace and justice. In spite of all the difficulties and the disappointment that may sometimes be felt when taking stock of the achievements of the United Nations, we continue to support this Organization, its objectives and its basic principles. Lebanon, for its part and to the best of its ability, will steadfastly continue to make its contribution to the efforts of the international community to achieve its aims and keep to its course.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 3, document A/8160, para. 3.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year*, 1781st meeting, para. 104.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. II, 128th meeting.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II, Annexes, annex 33.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/L.714.