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President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Waldron-Ramsey (Barbados), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. GHALIB (Somalia): I should like first of all to extend to the President my sincere congratulations on his well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly. His election emphasized the democratic nature of this body which, in giving practical expression to the sovereign equality of Member States, chooses its leaders on the basis of individual merit, international stature and achievement. In assuring him of my delegation's unqualified support and co-operation, I wish him great success in his task of presiding over the deliberations of this session.

2. Permit me also to express my appreciation of the skilful and dynamic leadership provided by his predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, during the twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session, all of which gave rise to momentous and historic decisions. The great achievements and successes attained by our Organization during his tenure of office are not only a source of pride and admiration for the capacity of our Organization, but also a true reflection of the dedication, statesmanship and valuable contribution of that great son of Africa to the purposes of this world body.

3. A heavy burden of responsibility lies on the Secretary-General and his staff because of the increasing scope and complexity of the work of the United Na-

tions. My delegation joins whole-heartedly in the many expressions of appreciation for the complete dedication of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and the Secretariat as a whole, to the tasks connected with peace and progress.

4. I wish to express also, at this stage, my Government's satisfaction with the continuing expansion and efficacy of the co-operation which exists between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. This co-operation has proved to be of immense value in all areas of development and it gives heartening and practical support to the campaign against racial discrimination and colonialism.

5. The accession of new States to membership in the United Nations brings us closer to the goal of universality. I am particularly happy to see the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique take their places as States Members of the world body, after long years of struggle and sacrifice on the part of their valiant peoples. Their success is an inspiration to those still under colonial and racist domination and a warning to the minority régimes that they cannot long succeed in their efforts to suppress the forces of liberation.

6. On behalf of my Government, I take this opportunity to commend the Government of Portugal for having acted with determination, integrity and good faith in the fulfilment of its declared policy of promoting the speedy independence of those territories.

7. With regard to Angola, my Government shares the hope of the members of the OAU that the liberation movements which were able to fight with discipline and dedication against colonialism will use those qualities to settle their differences, call a halt to the fratricidal armed struggle and devote their energies to the attainment of the cherished goal of independence and the consolidation of national unity.

8. It is particularly important at this crucial stage in Angola's history that all outside efforts be directed towards the task of reconciliation and not towards purposes other than the achievement of independence, peace and security for the people of Angola.

9. In considering the problems of this troubled area it is well to remember that throughout history nations of all degrees of development have suffered the agonies of civil strife. The majority have emerged from such troubles with their nationhood strengthened and have gone forward with the task of national reconstruction and development.

10. It should have been possible for us to have welcomed, as full-fledged States Members of the United Nations, the representatives of the Republic of South Viet Nam and of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, had it not been for the opposition of

certain Powers in the membership of this Organization. My delegation must express its deep disappointment that the Vietnamese people, so long subjected to military aggression, are now the victims of diplomatic aggression. They have been unjustly denied membership in this world body—a privilege which they clearly earned by their courageous struggle to recover their national independence and by the spirit of friendship and co-operation which they have shown to all States, in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

11. In this connexion, it is also pertinent to pledge our unqualified support to the people of Korea in their desire to attain peaceful reunification of their fatherland. We strongly believe that it is high time that this Assembly gave practical expression to the joint communiqué of South and North Korea of 4 July 1972,¹ which, among other things, provided for the elimination of external forces and the attainment of the goal of national unity by the Korean people. It is within this spirit that we reaffirm the need to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, so that the heroic people of that divided country can take their rightful place in the family of nations.

12. It is with great satisfaction that my delegation notes the presence of the representatives of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. We have always recognized and supported that Government as the legitimate one and Prince Sihanouk as the Head of State of Cambodia. We extend our congratulations to the people of Cambodia for their brilliant achievements and extend to them best wishes for future success in the task of nation-building and social reconstruction. It will be our delegation's pleasure to listen to the address this afternoon of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, whose respected voice, though not heard in the United Nations lately, has nevertheless been raised on numerous occasions in the chambers of the third world and other international forums.

13. In recent years we have talked a great deal in the United Nations about interdependence and the need for global action but, at the same time, we have withdrawn more and more into the opposing camps of rich and poor, old and new; industrialized and developing nations—with an increasing loss of mutual confidence and trust. Such divergence of our political attitudes is a glaring fact of our contemporary world which has of late overshadowed most of the major issues facing mankind and of direct concern to this world body. It has been evident in the effort to establish a new world economic order; it affects the Middle East question; it is a feature of the campaigns against *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonialism, and its latest manifestation is the widely divergent and sometimes conflicting opinions about the nature and machinery of the world Organization itself.

14. My delegation sincerely hopes that the willingness shown by developed countries at the seventh special session to listen with respect to third-world voices, and the sympathy shown therefor, will crystallize into positive action not only to achieve the declared goals and objectives of a new world economic order but also to bring about just solutions to political and human rights problems involving peoples of the third world.

15. The effects of *apartheid* suffered by millions of Africans in South Africa and Namibia and the

attempt to impose an *apartheid*-type of society on the people of Zimbabwe are, of course, of serious concern to independent African countries in particular, and to mankind as a whole. We had hoped that the virulent form of racial discrimination which flourishes in southern Africa had been unquestionably established as a crime against the conscience of the world and a crime against humanity. But attempts to use all the resources of the United Nations system in the campaign to eliminate the blot on our world civilization are labelled in some quarters as the irresponsible or unenforceable decisions of a mechanical majority, while the expressions of our indignation at the systematic dehumanization of our brothers is often dismissed as rhetoric.

16. In the face of our detractors' massive financial, economic, military and diplomatic involvement with South Africa we are asked to believe that it is only our methods that are questioned, not the substance of our protest.

17. Our scepticism on this point is reinforced when we note the immediate outcry about and the diplomatic reprisals taken in regard to the recent execution of five convicted European terrorists in Spain. We cannot help but compare this reaction with the negative response to third-world efforts over the past decade to induce Member States to cut off diplomatic relations with the perpetrators of Sharpeville and the enforcers of an official terrorism which has taken the lives of countless Africans—people whose only crime was to protest against intolerable and dehumanizing oppression. The deliberate misrepresentation of third-world actions is another negative approach calculated to sow seeds of mistrust and suspicion among Member States. A case in point is the misrepresentation of the General Assembly's use of its prerogative, at the twenty-ninth session, to reject the credentials of the South African delegation. That was an action taken only after repeated and solemn demands for an end to *apartheid* and to the illegal occupation of Namibia and, indeed, after 29 years of United Nations concern over and condemnation of South Africa's racist policies. In short, we see more indignation directed in some quarters against the campaign to end *apartheid* than against *apartheid* itself—and that would seem to be an attitude that deserves our serious thought and attention.

18. The grave and tragic developments of the situation in southern Africa continue to increase in intensity and dimension. South Africa is still in illegal occupation of Namibia; its people are still subjected to *apartheid* and police-state terrorism; and the authorities are still attempting to foster elements long rejected by the Namibian people and to suppress the voices of their legitimate leaders.

19. It should now be apparent to all that Ian Smith has no intention of entering into negotiations leading to majority rule in Zimbabwe. Even pressure from the Vorster régime has not succeeded in moving him in the direction of a generally acceptable settlement. On their part the political leaders of the people of Zimbabwe need to close their ranks and continue their liberation struggle on a united front. Their present division and conflict can only weaken them and give their enemy the chance to exploit their differences in an effort to maintain the *status quo*. This strategy

of the Smith racist régime and his supporters shall never be allowed to succeed.

20. In South Africa the staggering truth is that the majority of the people—over 17 million of them—are being made aliens in their own homeland by a racist minority of 4 million. They are being dispossessed of their own national heritage and forced into migrant labour encampments in a process ironically described as national self-determination. A few cosmetic changes and a few surface reactions to economic pressures cannot hide this grim reality.

21. Superficial peaceful overtones in the guise of détente cannot change the situation. Such a move is nothing but a tactical manoeuvre and a direct outcome of the political realities in southern Africa following the overwhelming victories scored by the liberation movements in the former Portuguese Territories and the subsequent emergence of the independent State of Mozambique and the forthcoming attainment of independence by Angola. The racist régimes are also confronted by international pressure and expressions of abhorrence against *apartheid* which have the cumulative effect of demonstrating the bankruptcy of racist rule in southern Africa.

22. It is clear to my delegation that only rigorous, consistent and uncompromising opposition to the minority régimes, only the full use of all the measures of coercion available under the Charter, and wide and generous support for the liberation movements can ensure progress towards the stated goals of the United Nations in southern Africa, namely, the elimination of *apartheid* and the liberation of the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

23. My delegation calls on all those States which have given little or no support in the past to the principles of the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa,² the Mogadiscio Declaration³ and the recent Declaration of Dar es Salaam⁴ to show a new spirit of understanding and co-operation towards the task of the liberation of southern Africa. We appeal particularly to the United States, now celebrating the bicentennial of the first successful war against colonial domination, to view the struggles of oppressed peoples today as a reflection of their own revolutionary struggle for freedom and independence. It is the duty of the United States Government to view the problem of Zimbabwe not in the light of economic interest, such as the supply of chrome and other raw material, but first and foremost in the context of the more serious and fundamental questions of human rights and universally accepted democratic principles of majority rule.

24. It is a matter of satisfaction to my delegation that in many territories across this planet the process of self-determination has taken place peacefully and in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. We congratulate the people of Papua New Guinea, who have already celebrated their independence, and look forward to welcoming them to membership in the United Nations. We also congratulate the Comoros on the achievement of independence. However, we must firmly state our concern that the people of that Territory be left to shape their future freely without any foreign pressure or interference which would tend to jeopardize their sovereignty and independence.

25. With respect to the political future of Seychelles, we are happy to note that a target date has been set for its independence and that the people of that Territory can now look forward to the attainment of their complete freedom in 1976.

26. The serious situation prevailing in French Somaliland is of particular concern to my Government. For far too long the people of that Territory have been denied the opportunity to exercise fully and freely their right to self-determination and independence.

27. The Somali Democratic Republic has always stated in no uncertain terms its firm adherence to the principle that the wishes, the true wishes, of the people of the Territory must constitute the paramount and fundamental basis of any arrangements for political change.

28. The Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia, in his address to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU held at Kampala this year, made a similar statement of principle. This was further echoed by the Ethiopian Minister for Foreign Affairs in his statement to this Assembly [2374th meeting]. The Somali Democratic Republic welcomes this forward-looking and positive approach by the Ethiopian Government. This is a significant move on the part of the Ethiopian Government and a step in the right direction. We trust that this declaration of intent will be given practical expression by the Ethiopian Government. In view of this development, the French authorities can no longer maintain that rival external claims could create a dangerous or unstable situation on the accession of the territory to independence.

29. My delegation took careful note of the statement of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs on 26 September 1975, when he said: "France wishes to respect the decision of all Africans freely to determine their own destiny and to assume responsibility for their future under conditions of their own choosing." [2364th meeting, para. 43.]

30. The problem in the past with regard to French Somaliland has been that the procedure for the exercise of the right to self-determination was not chosen by the majority of the people. Such a procedure, which was laid down by the French Government, was, according to international opinion as reflected in the press reports on the last referendum, most undemocratic and colonially oriented, to say the least. The wishes of the people in French Somaliland have never been expressed in a free and democratic climate. If France is indeed true to a progressive policy of respect for the right of self-determination, as the Foreign Minister has stated in the General Assembly, it should itself insist that the wishes of the people of French Somaliland be respected and that unconditional independence be granted to the territory.

31. Referring to the French Government's attitude towards African territories still under its colonial rule, the President of the Republic of Uganda and current Chairman of the OAU, Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada, in his recent address to this Assembly stated the following:

"In spite of France's negative attitude, the international community and OAU, in particular, have

been more than patient with France on matters relating to the decolonization of its African Territories. It is time for France to reciprocate . . .” [2370th meeting, para. 99.]

My delegation fully agrees with President Amin in his aforesaid comment.

32. Both the OAU summit meeting at Kampala and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima have reaffirmed their support for the struggle of the people of French Somaliland for national independence. My delegation is confident that the General Assembly will also call once again on France to grant unconditional independence to the people of the Territory in accordance with the principles of resolution 1514 (XV). We earnestly hope that France, which has played so notable a part in the historic process of decolonization in Africa, will not delay the granting of independence to the last of its African colonies.

33. I turn now to the Middle East question, which has been confronting this world body almost since its inception. Any progress towards the settlement of this problem is to be welcomed. However, peace in the area will continue to be elusive until the rights of the Arab people of Palestine have been restored and until Israel withdraws from all Arab territory illegally seized in the war of June 1967. These prerequisites for peace have been reaffirmed repeatedly by international consensus and are provided for in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 and 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973. Twenty-seven years ago the General Assembly endorsed Count Folke Bernadotte's declaration with regard to the Palestinian people that the right of innocent people, uprooted from their homes by the present terror and ravages of war, to return to their homes should be reaffirmed and made effective.

34. Today it is still necessary to redress the historic wrong done to the Palestinian Arabs who were forced into exile by a deliberate campaign of terror, the sole aim of which was to ensure the establishment and maintenance of an exclusive Zionist State, whatever the cost in terms of human suffering. The problem created then will not fade away and disappear. The Palestinian people have not, and never will, allow themselves to be swept off the stage of history in order that the supposed wrongs of a people lost in the mists of antiquity should be redressed. The Palestinians are not ghosts from the old past. They are physically with us today; we see their sufferings; we hear their anguished voices; we cannot, and should not, turn a deaf ear to their demands for justice.

35. The majority of States Members of the United Nations have reaffirmed, in resolution 3236 (XXIX), the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to national independence and sovereignty. This is a position based on reality, on the logic of history and on established principles of human rights and international law. There is also majority support for the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]—a decision which signifies recognition by the international community of the international status of the Palestinian people and which constitutes an essential step in the realization of their legitimate aspirations.

36. Israel's occupation of Arab territory since 1967 has provided another cause of conflict in the Middle East. This occupation contravenes the principle of international law, reaffirmed in resolution 242 (1967), that the acquisition of territory through aggression is illegal.

37. The extensive official programme of Jewish settlement in every area of occupied Arab territory, and in particular Jerusalem, amounts to annexation. These actions, together with the frequent violations of the human rights of the people of the occupied territories and the brutal acts of military aggression against neighbouring civilian populations, are in flagrant contravention of international covenants and agreements and of the norms of international behaviour.

38. Israel's long record of contempt for United Nations resolutions and the threat posed by its aggressive and expansionist actions to regional and international peace and security must be countered by firm international action. The United Nations cannot be true to its own principles and yet remain passive in this matter. A growing consensus of world opinion shares this view. The OAU summit meeting at Kampala, in a strong expression of Afro-Arab solidarity, and the Lima Conference of Non-Aligned States have both called on the Security Council to take all necessary measures, including those stipulated under Chapter VII of the Charter, to force Israel to desist from its obstinate course. My delegation trusts that all those who genuinely seek peace in the Middle East will join in the call on the Security Council to act in accordance with its responsibilities.

39. We believe, too, that in the case of Israel, as in the case of South Africa, the United Nations must consider its right, clearly set forth in the Charter, to suspend or remove from membership States whose grave and continued aggressions constitute a threat to international peace and security.

40. As my delegation has maintained on other occasions, universality is our cherished goal, but not at any price.

41. Before concluding my remarks on the Middle East I want to touch on a most dangerous development in that already explosive situation. I refer to the indiscriminate supply of arms and money to Israel, the aggressor in the Middle East, by the very State which purports to be working tirelessly for peace at the diplomatic level. More particularly, the Somali Democratic Republic and, I am sure, the overwhelming majority of Member States, find it inconceivable that the introduction of nuclear missiles could be contemplated by any State with a genuine wish for peace in that area. We trust that such action will not be taken, and that serious attention will be given to redressing the arms balance in the Middle East as an important step towards the ending of the arms race and the establishment of stability and security in the area.

42. The situation in Cyprus is another cause for international concern and poses another threat to international security. Last year, in his address to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council,

Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre, referring to the Cyprus problem, said:

"In this connexion, we feel that all the parties concerned should meet under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to seeking ways and means towards an appropriate settlement. To restore peace and stability in the island, we should ensure that the Cypriot people should be left to determine their own political future."⁵

43. It is a matter of great satisfaction to my delegation that the problem has been entrusted to the Secretary-General, whose role and efforts hitherto have been most commendable. We are confident that the two communities in Cyprus will reach a negotiated settlement through the good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

44. The United Nations has shown an exceptional capacity to respond to the needs of the world's peoples on a planetary basis. It has shown an overall concern for the development needs of the poor nations and established enterprises which deal with problems such as that of the world's population and its threatened environment. It continues to work towards the improvement of the health, living conditions and food supply of peoples. It has shown deep concern for the welfare of children, the hope of future generations, and wisely supported the fundamental social revolution aimed at raising the status of women and involving them in the processes of development.

45. It is a chilling thought that all those global activities and the individual efforts of the world's peoples to establish just, secure and productive societies are constantly endangered by the threat of a nuclear holocaust, and could be instantly obliterated by a single mistake or miscalculation in the deployment of the nuclear weapons of the super-Powers. I need not dwell on the shameful and unnecessary waste of resources which, instead of being applied to the maintenance of the balance of terror, could be better utilized to fulfil the urgent human needs of the world's peoples.

46. The smaller States and non-nuclear nations are engaged in a movement to create nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in order to protect their peoples, as far as possible, from the dangers of nuclear warfare. The movement has already had practical effect in Latin America. Its extension to Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, as proposed by many of the States of those areas, would provide a valuable contribution to international peace and stability. In addition, many non-nuclear States have already committed themselves to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], of which my country was one of the first signatory parties, in a sincere effort to make a contribution to world peace.

47. The nuclear Powers are now gravely concerned over the growing capability of smaller States to convert industrial atomic energy to military purposes, but those States have been given no incentive to preserve their non-nuclear status since there has been no significant progress in the much more fundamental and pressing problem of reducing the nuclear capabilities of the super-Powers. In this connexion we add our voice to those of the representatives of the third world in hoping that positive steps will be taken by all States,

big and small, for the attainment of complete and total nuclear disarmament in the interest of world peace and progress, to which we are all committed.

48. The Somali Democratic Republic, an Indian Ocean State, has always supported and continues to support the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. We deplore the joint decision of Great Britain and the United States to establish on the island of Diego Garcia an American naval base which will be a centre for the exercise and display of American military power in the area. That development can only escalate big-Power rivalry in the Indian Ocean, increase international tensions and undermine the purposes of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

49. My Government fully endorses the proposal for a conference of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean. Such a conference would give added weight and practical support to the principles of the Declaration on that important area, which constitutes one of the great maritime crossroads of the world.

50. The importance of economic issues in international affairs has been fittingly highlighted by two special sessions devoted to development and related questions. However modest the achievements of the seventh special session may have been, the atmosphere in which it was held provided a welcome sign that the relationship between the developing and developed countries can be based on dialogue and co-operation rather than on conflict and confrontation.

51. While my delegation is disappointed that the concept of a new world economic order is still viewed with reservations, and indeed with scepticism by some States, we welcome the fact that the seventh special session unanimously adopted a resolution [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] which incorporated the major principles of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and of the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States. It remains to be seen to what extent these principles and the measures proposed by both the developed and the developing countries can be translated into specific terms.

52. Important first steps have been taken in the form of specific proposals for the stabilization of export earnings, the liberalization of certain trade barriers and capital flow to developing countries for development investment. However, we hope to see progress on more fundamental questions, such as an integrated commodity scheme, the removal of non-tariff barriers and effective means for the transfer of real resources.

53. My delegation considers the measures proposed with regard to the world food situation to be of particular importance, and we are happy that high priority has been given to that question.

54. We also view with satisfaction the emphasis that has been placed on the special needs of the least developed of the developing countries, many of which, like Somalia, are prone to natural disasters that compound their development problems. My country has been affected for the last two years by a severe drought which destroyed a substantial part of the country's main source of export earnings, its livestock population. We have had to maintain more than a quarter of a million people in relief camps, apart from over half a

million others who are being cared for outside the camps, and we have now embarked on a programme for the resettlement and rehabilitation of the drought-affected nomadic population. I should like to express in this forum the appreciation and gratitude of my Government to many countries for the generous assistance we have received, and also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who was instrumental in arranging the invaluable assistance we received through the United Nations system, especially through the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator.

55. My Government is faced with difficult tasks, but we have always taken pains to emphasize the need for national self-reliance, and the Somali people are involved at all levels with the work of resettlement and rehabilitation. We are confident that the national effort, together with continued international support, will enable us to meet successfully the challenges which face us.

56. One of the recurring items in the agenda of the General Assembly is the strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard, *inter alia*, to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security. It will be difficult to determine the role of the United Nations unless there is a clear consensus—and there does not seem to be one at the present time—about the very nature of the world body.

57. Some would have us believe, for example, that the United Nations, which once took such authoritarian actions as the partition of Palestine and Korea, was never meant to be an organization which could intervene decisively to influence the course of events, and that it is merely a sounding board for international opinion.

58. The procedures established by the Charter for the conduct of the General Assembly are certainly those of a parliamentary democracy. But some States now maintain that decisions arrived at by majority vote are without value and that consensus is the only valid basis for United Nations action. It is difficult to know what we are to make now of controversial decisions of the past, such as the recognition of the State of Israel, which were forced through the General Assembly by narrow majorities. But of course it is not narrow majorities which cause so much concern today but large majorities, which is an unusual twist of the democratic ideal. There is a movement also to make the General Assembly reflect the élitist structure of the Security Council, as though the preponderance of power of that body were not already sufficient.

59. Since the differences of opinion about the nature of the United Nations and the competence of its organs affect the way in which important issues are dealt with, it is important that there should be wide and open discussion and full and clear understanding of basic positions.

60. Proposals for constitutional change are already being considered by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations. It is of course essential that all serious proposals for changing the principles and procedures that guide the work of the United Nations should be directed through the proper channels. If it is proposed, for example, that majority vote should be completely replaced by consensus or that

the General Assembly should no longer be master of its own procedures, then such fundamental aspects of the General Assembly's constitutional life can be re-examined. But these views cannot be stated as though they represent an existing reality or arrangements that can be simply brought about.

61. With regard to the review of the Charter, my Government believes that the Charter, in spite of its flexibility, is inevitably limited by the perspectives and the conditions that existed 30 years ago. It needs to be revised to reflect changing realities of the contemporary world. The Security Council, for example, no longer truly reflects the world's power structure. The centres of power have shifted since 1945 from some areas to other areas, from some nations to other nations.

62. And we must ask what the power structure in the Security Council should represent today. Surely not the Second World War victory of the Allies over the Axis. Does the Security Council not have a duty, today, to be responsive to the will of the other 136 Member States which represent the vast masses of the world's peoples? Are these 136 States merely spectators while the big five alone are the actors which dominate the world stage? Are the 136 States Members to be forever subject to the whims of a group brought together and established in power by one of the accidents of history? These questions are pertinent in view of recent abuses of the power of the Security Council. The triple veto exercised over South Africa and Namibia and the one veto over Vietnamese membership raise the question of whether there should not be some mechanism to limit the use of the veto and establish a measure of accountability in the Security Council. It also raises the question of whether the Council should not be enlarged to reflect the new interests and attitudes of a major segment of our world civilization.

63. I should like to emphasize that the United Nations is a living organism and like all living organisms must change if it is to preserve its vitality. The nations of the world have given the United Nations tremendous responsibilities for global organization. We must also give it the capacity to deal fairly and comprehensively with the new realities of our time. I am confident that we will take positive and practical measures in this regard.

64. In conclusion, I consider it most fitting and pertinent to quote a significant extract from the address of my President, Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre, then current Chairman of the OAU, at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, which reads as follows:

“We still live in a world divided between rich and poor; a world where imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism”—and zionism—“still exist in many of its parts; a world which is still under the threat of nuclear war; a world that is governed by economic systems which are unjust. I am sure that none of us has any illusions about the magnitude of these problems.”⁶

65. While we take note of the progress made towards peace and the relaxation of international tension and conflict in various areas of the globe, we are still confronted with most of the serious problems indicated

by our President's address. I am confident that we have both the will and capacity to deal with these problems which constitute a major threat to international peace and security. Wishful though it may sound to some of us, let us hope, however, that by the time the thirty-first session of the General Assembly is convened we will have witnessed the total eradication of the evils of colonialism and imperialism, we shall have shattered the day-dreams of the perpetrators of racism and *apartheid*, and we shall have eliminated the perils of Zionism, thus realizing some of the fundamental aims and purposes of our noble Organization.

66. Mr. LIÉVANO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are genuinely pleased to applaud the wisdom shown by the General Assembly in the election of its President. In addition to his outstanding human and intellectual qualities, Mr. Thorn has valuable experience in the management of the particular problems of an economic community within which developed States and new States are associated, a personal experience rare in our times, despite the fact that peace and normal conditions in the world largely depend on finding formulas and devising compromises which will remove the tensions that today disturb relations between the advanced countries and the developing peoples.

67. We rejoice, therefore, at the presence of Mr. Thorn as President of the Assembly. We also wish to welcome to the world Organization, as independent and sovereign States, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe.

68. These two circumstances are not necessarily isolated; they reflect certain predominant trends of our times, the significance of which is not yet appreciated in its true dimensions. And this explains why, as the annual sessions of the General Assembly succeed one another, we note the progress of the idea that the general debate is an anachronistic institution within which it is thought evidence is given of the alleged absence of political maturity and precision of ideas usually attributed to the representatives of tropical countries, in contrast with the seriousness and economy of words of which the spokesmen of the developed countries and the Nordic cultures boast. Possibly at times there is some basis for this idea but it would be a dangerous mistake to seek the solution to a procedural question without previously considering the substantive problem which today affects the United Nations, that of finding a new political and economic balance in the world in which there is room for the new realities which arose tumultuously after the Organization came into being. The multitude of postponed problems, of problems which have deliberately been left unsolved, is the reason which confers on the general debate this aspect of growing confrontation and pugnacity which alarms many and which could hardly be done away with by depriving this Assembly on its status as the appropriate forum for avoiding tensions created by unresolved disputes or those which are difficult to solve within power situations created in an authoritarian manner at the end of the Second World War.

69. Finding this new balance is all the more necessary since it is well known today that at each session of the

Assembly pessimism regarding the world Organization becomes more noticeable among the Powers which so decisively contributed to its creation and whose behaviour at times gives the impression that they consider it a hindrance to the satisfactory development of their foreign policy.

70. We do not rule out the possibility that the nations which emerged to autonomous life in the midst of the great commotions which transformed the political map of the world after the Second World War, do in fact lack the experience and wisdom which in the past the great Powers ascribed exclusively to themselves—virtues which were the result of holding, throughout centuries, a leading position in international affairs. But it is surprising how quickly the optimism of yesterday has become the pessimism of today. The aspirations of the new States, which are today maligned as being exorbitant, were not difficult to foresee when, in August 1941, aboard a British battleship, two great Anglo-Saxon statesmen signed the Atlantic Charter, wherein they stated:

“Being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

“First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

“Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the clearly expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

“Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

“Fourth, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

“Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic adjustment, and social security. . .”

71. The statesmen on board the British ship HMS *Prince of Wales* called in those terms for the support of all peoples and societies which for centuries had been subjected to a colonial or dependent régime. They had in mind the decisive contribution of that support to triumph over an enemy whose political philosophy expressed the brutal refusal by the powerful to recognize the rights of peoples of other races and of underdeveloped countries. As a foreseeable consequence of these declarations and the realities they recognized, new States gradually joined the United Nations, and the outcome has meant that the world Organization, which was founded with 51 Member States, is now made up of 141 sovereign nations which as a whole represent the broad spectrum of problems that arise at different levels of economic and political development.

72. Today these problems seem new because they arise within the arena of world politics, but they are not so very different from those faced in their internal life by the great Powers whose spokesmen signed the Atlantic Charter, when the democratic spirit of their national constitutions compelled the rulers to grant guarantees and better remuneration to the social classes which traditionally had been the victims of inequalities imposed by their governing minorities. It was also stated then—and history bears witness to this—that the proletarian classes lacked training and responsibility to be able to become involved, through their vote, in the great affairs of State, and periods of pessimism were felt by these classes at each step of their way up on the political and social power scale.

73. Possibly at the initial stages—as occurs today internationally—there were reasons to distrust the responsibility of social sectors which for the first time participated in the political decision-making process. But the passage of time saw to it that what was unknown became clear and the various types of philosophy which were used to consecrate the established order became unrealistic; the ruling classes, which were so opposed to their participation, ended by discovering that there was no harm in improving the consumption capacity and level of income of the major sectors of their population, and sought agreements which would give society greater stability and make it possible to submit the crucial problems of the nation to the periodical vote of their citizens.

74. It therefore does not seem justified that some Western Powers and some Eastern Powers should express surprise when, within the world Organization, there arise discrepancies that are typical of all processes aimed at destroying century-old inequalities and increasing the decision-making power of peoples which, in an international order that was distorted by the traditional imbalances of power, have been deprived of autonomy and of the opportunity to acquire the necessary virtues and responsibility to exercise that power with prudence and objectivity. It can hardly be regarded as a solution to the difficulties confronting the United Nations today to contribute to the decline of its prestige simply because in that body differing currents of opinion are reflected, or because in it forces are emerging which had no say in the interpretation given by the Powers victorious in a world war with regard to the purposes and scope of the Organization. Nor can it be a solution to threaten to suspend payment of the quotas through which contributions are made for its maintenance, or to take the course, as is occurring, of resolving international conflicts outside the framework of the world Organization, without consulting it, and seeking a stage on which it is possible to deal with international problems as simple questions of national interest or of balance of military power.

75. It is true that it would be unfair to assert that the power and prosperity that are today enjoyed by the great Powers are something gratuitous, something not connected with the tenacious and intelligent efforts exerted by their peoples through the generations and the sacrifices they endured in the past in order to reach the levels of pre-eminence and prosperity that they today enjoy. It would be equally foolish to ignore the mistaken decisions or the grave omissions

made by societies which, through the centuries, have kept themselves in a state of stagnation and, without taking advantage of them, have allowed opportunities for progress to pass by, opportunities which history has frequently offered them to achieve the well-being which they have only begun to desire and exerted themselves to acquire when they have seen it displayed in the showcases of the affluent societies. Those backward societies constitute a heterogeneous whole, with interests that are not always in agreement because of their varying degrees of development and dependency, and it is therefore inevitable that their discrepancies are accentuated when they try to find joint solutions to specific problems. Hence, it is somewhat arbitrary to attribute complete homogeneity to what is called the underdeveloped world.

76. But, recognizing, as we must, that the nations now suffering the consequences of economic backwardness are not without blame, any explanation of how the profound gaps which today separate them from the developed countries would be incomplete if we were to omit the decisive role that force and the abuse of force played in the distribution of political and economic power, of poverty and well-being, in the world inherited by our generation.

77. The enormous accumulation of wealth concentrated today in a few regions of the earth, wealth which the institutional mechanisms existing in those areas make it possible to distribute with a measure of equity among the inhabitants thereof, is not the exclusive product of the virtues, the ingenuity or the economic ethics of which they so often boast; it is also the result of the consolidation, on an international scale, of an order of relationships among the peoples of the planet, between the areas south and north of the Equator, between the temperate zones and the tropical zones. In that order, the equivalent values for their products were determined, to a great degree, by coercive and often predatory procedures. The mechanisms of the world market which, according to hallowed economic doctrines, were supposed to be automatic and impartial, were at a very early date distorted by the interferences of power, and thus a world took shape that was riddled with inequalities, a world that could be perpetuated, as was indeed done, on the basis of philosophies that prided themselves on the virtues of strength or the superiority of certain races which benevolently shouldered what a renowned poet once called "the white man's burden".

78. A situation thus came into being in which a limited number of nations made up a privileged world establishment, while at the same time vast areas of the earth found themselves despoiled of an increasing share of the economic value of their labour and deprived of the ability, thanks to the meagre income permitted to them, to improve, through distributional mechanisms, the deplorable living conditions of their peoples.

79. We are therefore witnessing an acceleration of the processes of change required to correct situations which in the contemporary world are manifestly obsolete. These corrections require that the essential concessions be made in large measure by the Powers in which the wealth has been accumulated, not by the nations which, by being ill-paid for centuries for their resources, have made possible the concentration of prosperity and well-being in a few regions of

the planet. The desirable fairness and prudence in the course of those processes of change cannot be demanded in equal measure alike from those who must take these decisions from a position of power and affluence, and those countries that entered the United Nations under the dead weight of all their former dependencies and with the negative inheritance left to them by a history of subjugation and scanty remuneration for the fruits of the labour of their peoples.

80. If it is sought to find a new and a sounder political and economic balance in the world, and to create "consensuses" that will facilitate the functioning of the United Nations, it cannot be presumed that such "consensuses" must mean the resigned acceptance of the established order by representatives of the underdeveloped and tropical parts of the world, or the renunciation in advance of the pressure which, by their votes in this Assembly, they can exert for the solution of grave problems for which, all too frequently, the remedy offered has consisted of routine resolutions that mean only an indefinite postponement of the matter. Responsibility cannot be the task exclusively of the small countries; it is rather the natural function of the great countries. The atmosphere of confrontation in the United Nations that concerns us today is due, in no small measure, to the persistent reluctance of the great Powers to accept the necessary compromises in a world which, politically and culturally, cannot allow a continuance of the unjust inequalities which in past times seemed natural and even proper for those who notoriously benefited from them.

81. One cannot think otherwise when the way the world economy functions is constantly reflected by the colossal indebtedness of the third world, and the great creditor Powers resist a serious study of the possibility of renegotiating the debts, just at a time when the results of the United Nations Development Decades present so discouraging a balance and offer additional evidence of the lack of willingness on the part of the developed nations to contribute appropriately to a more balanced distribution of wealth and economic progress throughout the world. This is in sharp contrast to the excessive sensitivity which those nations show when typical market conditions or the combined efforts of producers of raw materials or fuels succeed in winning a substantial improvement in their international remuneration. It is not compatible with the aspiration to create more stable conditions in the world that the efforts of good will made by the developing countries to reach agreements between producers and consumers of the main raw materials meet with a response of indifference or frank hostility from the major consumer countries, and that the latter feel they are victims and proclaim that the world economy is in danger when the producers of raw materials unite to defend the international level of their prices.

82. The major problem of establishing more equitable terms of trade between the prices of industrial products and of raw materials and fuels, like that of preventing the export of inflation from the affluent societies from seriously affecting countries which do not have the same operating and marketing facilities for re-exporting that inflation and improving the value of their exports, cannot be eluded indefinitely, and

if procedures such as indexing, for example, are not satisfactory or acceptable, the proper conduct for the developed countries is not to evade the problem with declarations devoid of practical effectiveness but rather to take the initiative in suggesting alternatives which will result in effective progress in correcting the inequalities which today profoundly distort the international economy. The resignation of nations which accepted ridiculous prices for the labour of their peoples has altered substantively and every day it seems more difficult to maintain a situation in which the well-being and waste of highly developed nations depend to a large extent on the meagre income which the world market, affected by monopolistic mechanisms, allows the developing countries to keep for their growth and well-being.

83. Equal concern might arise because of the resistance encountered in respect of the general system of preferences which, if genuinely and loyally applied, would lead to a new international division of labour throughout the world. Countries which have already succeeded in developing a highly sophisticated technology, which gives them a monopoly in vast segments of the most complex and advanced industries of our time, persist in reviving an obsolete protectionism to prevent access to their markets of the industrial products of countries whose development is going through the initial phases of industrialization. As an argument for reviewing this regressive protectionism, claims and resistance by trade unions of some backward industries of the great Powers are alleged, with the additional demand that the developing countries avoid any confrontation in the United Nations. It is hardly an edifying spectacle when some trade unions of the great Powers lobby their Governments to prevent their making essential reforms. The fact that the racist reactions and the most anachronistic motivations of former colonialism have been transferred to and seek to perpetuate themselves in the conduct of trade unions of the nations which, because of their might, have the greatest responsibility for the preservation of peace, is not an encouraging symptom with respect to the possibility that the problems of the modern world will be managed with the equity and wisdom they require.

84. To all of this must be added the behaviour of the press in certain affluent societies. That press started by giving itself the right to decide what news is important and what is not and has finally deceived itself into believing that only what is published in its pages is important. Only the negative aspects of the developing countries are of interest to them, and they consider themselves authorized not to mention events which imply positive advances in the progress of our societies. Contraband, illegal traffic in drugs, crimes, riots, frequent and irregular changes of Government, statistics on malnutrition, mortality and other consequences of backwardness—these constitute the only news which they consider to be worthy of editorial mention or to be brought to the attention of their readers.

85. Of course, it would be unfair to make the Governments of those affluent societies responsible for the conduct of their press, which fortunately enjoys the constitutional prerogative of freedom. My country considers that freedom of the press is essential, and

we associate it with the progress achieved by mankind in establishing machinery to defend citizens and reflect public aspirations, which frequently have no spokesman within the rigid framework created in society by vested interests. But we cannot underrate the harmful effects of what the press of the affluent societies does or fails to do at times when those responsible for foreign policy in those societies are determined to carry out sound reforms of the international order.

86. Owing to the distorted image which this press presents of the underdeveloped world, further aggravated by the presumptuous superiority with which it criticizes anything reprehensible that happens in the developing countries, one would be tempted to wonder whether perhaps that press was edited on some unknown planet rather than in the same affluent societies in which successful attempts are made on the lives of high officers of the Government; crime has grown to unprecedented levels; racial and political violence has acquired hitherto unknown characteristics; and drug abuse is so rampant as to warrant the setting up of powerful illegal organizations of their nationals with abundant funds to finance the traffic in drugs and exercise an unwholesome influence abroad, resulting in the export of corruption to other societies.

87. The realities which are today apparent in the civil life of certain affluent societies are hardly edifying and hardly entitle their press to judge the conduct of the developing countries with such a notorious lack of moderation, equity and prudence.

88. Responsibility in international behaviour, so insistently demanded of the new countries which have recently entered the world Organization, must first be demonstrated by the great Powers conducting their foreign policies independently of the private interests and the pressure groups of their own societies. World peace and the decisive task of creating a new international order cannot depend on parochialisms which, in the guise of national interest, are frequently expressed in the conduct of the public authorities of those countries. The trade unions' appeasement of their backward industries goes in tandem with their ambiguous position towards the multinational corporations, as is shown by the debates that have been held in various United Nations forums.

89. These transnational corporations are the new and formidable institutions of modern economy; and their power, which goes beyond all national frontiers, must be subject to controls and be institutionalized in some manner. The desirability of so doing is not in the interests of the underdeveloped countries alone; the Governments of the great nations have a similar interest in not allowing a world economic power to expand unchecked to gigantic proportions without institutional limitations, since this might imply similar threats for the autonomy of the decisions of their own Governments. It is therefore surprising that there should be a lack of interest on the part of the highly developed countries in the timid efforts made in various forums of the world Organization to regulate the conduct and activities of the transnational corporations.

90. We are of course aware that it is no easy matter to solve the problems that I have listed here, and that each of them is influenced by powerful vested interests which hamper, and will continue to hamper, the

actions of States in their attempts to formulate a foreign policy in which the needs of mankind and the need to preserve peace throughout the world will predominate. Similarly, we must recognize that some countries whose action is decisive are gradually modifying the traditional premises of their foreign policy, and that some of their eminent men, who bear the heaviest responsibilities, are wisely and imaginatively alert to the repercussions of contemporary conflicts, and are even trying to anticipate the unknown difficulties that will confront mankind in relation to the possession and control of resources, the existence of which, until recent times, has been largely unknown. I am referring to the vast riches of the sea and of its various geologic strata, which, all of a sudden, seem to be the solution to many problems. At the same time, the matter of this wealth and the areas where it is to be found is becoming a fertile ground for conflicts among nations, according to the intelligent and timely observation of United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who emphasized the far-reaching implications which the decisions or the indecision of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea have and will have [2355th meeting, para. 134].

91. The same can be said of another scarce natural resource having exceptional and unique characteristics: the earth-synchronized stationary orbit of satellites.

92. We can no longer postpone a legal definition of outer space and of earth-space communications, because past experience and foreseeable developments in the next few years highlight the notorious lacunas in existing conventions on the peaceful exploration and use of outer space. Those conventions did not take into account, for example, its exploitation for gain, or the legal and physically immutable existence of segments of that earth orbit permanently placed within the territorial skies of various equatorial countries which are States Members of the United Nations, as is the case with Colombia, which is situated between approximately 70 and 75 degrees west of Greenwich.

93. Since the time is drawing near when in due course we shall see the "use or occupation" of such positions by commercial enterprises wishing to place such "fixed radio communications stations" within the territory of sovereign countries, the Government of Colombia considers it urgent to regulate the assignment of sites for fixed satellites, because it might very well happen that individuals or legal entities would claim a *sui generis* kind of "private sovereignty" within sovereign countries, which is unacceptable to the latter.

94. Colombia does not object to free orbital transit or to communications requiring the devices envisaged and authorized by the International Telecommunications Convention, as long as those devices ply the territorial sky in a gravitational flight, from any practical height to infinity. But a clear exception is to be made in the case of devices which are to be fixed on a segment of their stationary orbit, because we consider that segment as one of our "natural resources"—a resource which has always been part of our full sovereignty.

95. This session of the Assembly we are attending today is not, therefore, of a routine nature; it is taking

place at a time when the world situation is such that there are grounds for faith in the wisdom of those who govern, but there are also many reasons for pessimism and fear. As the representative of Colombia, I can only express in this forum, whose prestige has been enhanced by the words of eminent personalities, the hope of my fellow citizens that in the Western and Eastern Powers the forces of self-interest will not prevail which wish to prevent removal of the obstacles which are dangerously thwarting the search for a new and more satisfactory balance between the affluent and the impoverished worlds, between the rich peoples and the vast pauperized masses of the planet, on whose discontent one cannot build a lasting international order. Let us hope that no one will yield to the temptation of thinking that power and force constitute effective instruments for the perpetuation of old policies of privilege. In the nuclear age there will be no time for a new Atlantic Charter intended to win the support of peoples whose endorsement was not won in time, in order to incorporate them into an international community less exposed to the tensions, inequalities and conflicts which today make the world tread a tightrope.

Mr. Thorn (Luxembourg) took the Chair.

Address by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Kampuchea (Cambodia), Chairman of the United National Front of Kampuchea

96. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour of welcoming to the United Nations His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Kampuchea (Cambodia), Chairman of the United National Front of Kampuchea. I invite him to address the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

97. Prince Norodom SIHANOUK (Cambodia) (*interpretation from French*): It is with some emotion that I find myself today once again in this venerable Hall where in the 1950s and 1960s I had so often the honour of being the spokesman of my country, Kampuchea (Cambodia), and of participating in the work, deliberations and decisions of our Organization.

98. In 1970—and this went on until 1974—United States imperialism succeeded in having its own creature, the so-called “Khmer Republic”, an anti-national, anti-popular, extremely corrupt régime which was the very denial of our national independence and dignity, improperly occupy the seat of independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

99. Of course, the State of Kampuchea (Cambodia), of which I am the head and which has been a State Member of the United Nations since 1955, cannot recognize the validity of the speeches, statements, votes, commitments and other actions of the so-called “Khmer Republic” which illegally occupied the seat of Kampuchea (Cambodia) in the United Nations and affiliated or related organizations between 18 March 1970 and 17 April 1975.

100. Permit me to convey, on behalf of the people and the Government of Kampuchea and on my own behalf, our deepest gratitude to those Members of our Organization which throughout the five years of an atrocious war imposed by United States imperialism on Kam-

puchea so nobly became the fervent champions of our just cause within this great Assembly.

101. We should also like to express our warmest gratitude to other countries and peoples which are not yet Members of our Organization but which none the less gave our national liberation struggle unreserved support and extremely valuable militant solidarity.

102. We should also like to extend our sincere thanks to those personalities, students and other citizens, male and female, of the United States, lovers of justice and peace, who, at the most tragic period of our history did everything they could to put an end to the folly of United States imperialism in Kampuchea.

103. It is only right to proclaim that all these countries, peoples and individuals gave us valuable assistance in overcoming adversity, thus bringing about the triumph of the cause of justice, freedom and peace, and did everything they could to curtail the unspeakable sufferings of our martyred nation. Kampuchea is duty bound to pay them the warmest tribute.

104. As you are well aware, the Cambodian people has always been devoted to peace and national neutrality, an attitude naturally very unlikely to give us any aggressive ideas with regard to other nations.

105. But our people possess an old tradition of patriotic struggle, a struggle which they have always waged with indomitable heroism against those who have committed aggression against or who have wished to colonize their native land.

106. After having fought against colonialism for 90 years and recovered its national independence 22 years ago, the people of Kampuchea quickly saw that that independence was threatened by United States imperialism, which was even so arrogant as to deny the countries of South-East Asia the right to be neutralist, because, according to that imperialist view, those who did not agree to join the “free world” were *ipso facto* against it!

107. Thus, between 1955 and 1969, our country had to face growing difficulties of all kinds caused by American imperialism.

108. When I speak of “difficulties”, I am of course using a euphemism. But up to 18 March 1970, the day of the sinister pro-imperialist putsch of the Lon Nol group in Phnom-Penh, the Cambodian people were able by their vigilance to foil all the plots and wreck all the anti-Kampuchean designs of United States imperialism, its accomplices and lackeys.

109. Immediately after the Lon Nol putsch which overthrew the independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment of Kampuchea, the Cambodian people, all patriotic Cambodian men and women, both in and outside the country, rose as one, and on 23 March 1970 vowed to rally to a United National Front and to struggle by every means in their power, and particularly by armed force, against neo-colonialist imperialism, the patron of those who carried out the Phnom-Penh putsch, and to vanquish it in order to restore their lost freedom, sovereignty and national dignity.

110. Let us make this very clear: we were dealing with United States imperialism rather than with the gang of the traitor Lon Nol, which, without the massive intervention by every means of its master, would not have been able to survive more than a few weeks in

the face of the irresistible wave of the assaults of the patriots.

111. The struggle, therefore, was that of a small, poor and under-populated country facing a gigantic aggressor, a super-Power armed to the teeth, which did not hesitate to use the most sophisticated and murderous weapons, and one so opulent that it could spend every year almost \$2,000 million in order to crush the small nation of Kampuchea, a super-Power considered invincible.

112. In the noble judgement of many African, Arab and Asian statesmen who have spoken before me from this rostrum, the history of the struggle of the people of Kampuchea and their victory has now become a part of the heritage of the peoples of the third world.

113. In attacking the small, weak and poor country of Kampuchea, United States imperialism has several aims in view. It wished to add a new jewel to its imperial crown, to acquire in South-East Asia a new military base for aggression, and to issue a serious warning to other small countries in the world that might dare to repulse the dangerous advances of the imperialists and other neo-colonialists.

114. The outcome of the seemingly completely unequal struggle between the victim of aggression, Kampuchea, and the aggressor, imperialism, was to assume the greatest importance.

115. The question was whether the justice of its cause and its patriotic heroism were sufficient to enable a small "underdeveloped" people to overcome an invader of such incredible power.

116. It is to the honour of the people of Kampuchea that they succeeded in driving out United States imperialism after five years of the most terrible suffering, the heaviest sacrifices and a struggle waged with really sublime heroism.

117. In their struggle our people and its national liberation army relied above all on themselves, on their own resources, on their own sacrifices, and were invariably guided by this golden rule: In all circumstances to remain independent, master of what was to be done in the country and master of their own destiny.

118. Our people affectionately dedicate the success of our national resistance to all the people throughout the world who are fighting for freedom, justice and peace.

119. Immediately after the final liberation of our country, our people and our nation, as a single man, threw themselves with faith and enthusiasm into a new and no less important battle, the struggle for true democracy and against economic underdevelopment.

120. Today we can assert that a genuinely popular democracy and a new society have been born in Kampuchea—a society without the exploitation of man by man, without differences of fortune and without other social ills.

121. With regard to the reconstruction of our country, our whole people and our whole nation, with the People's Army of National Liberation in the vanguard, have set to work since peace returned, to rebuild from its ruins our country, which United States imperialism and its lackeys had striven, by bombing, by machine-gunning, by napalm and other chemical weapons, to reduce to the level of the Middle Ages.

Side by side with national reconstruction, our people have devoted themselves to economic development on the basis of agriculture, which is our primary resource.

122. Today—that is, after five months of very hard work—the main means of communications, the ports and airports, the railways, are in use once again.

123. On the subject of agriculture, to which we have devoted our greatest efforts, appreciable results have already been obtained. Those results are the consequence of an improvement in agricultural methods and sizable irrigation work—work already begun more than three or four years ago in the zones that were liberated at that time, and that has been systematically continued in the newly liberated zones. A large number of irrigation systems—dikes, dams, water reservoirs, canals, raising and extension of banks—have been put in place by our people and its army, under the banner of the United National Front. These irrigation systems have obviously changed the traditional landscape of the Cambodian countryside for the better. And our great satisfaction stems from the fact that we now have enough cereal crops to feed adequately the seven and one half million Cambodians who now make up the population of Kampuchea, and to do so without needing to ask for aid from outside. By the end of 1976 Kampuchea will no doubt once again be an exporter of cereals.

124. With regard to industry, our United Front and our Government have endeavoured above all to repair the factories damaged by the war and to put into operation once again industries having a close connexion with agriculture—textiles, rubber, and so forth—and those which should produce what our country and our people most urgently need: cement, paper, oil, consumer goods. Furthermore, our Government is drafting a plan for the development and modernization of the national industry, a plan that will be based on agriculture and will provide for equipment with modern machinery, to be bought with the earnings from our agricultural exports.

125. Indeed, in this struggle against underdevelopment, our people and our country are following and will continue to follow the same golden rule applied before in the armed struggle for national liberation, namely: Remain independent and rely on yourselves.

126. By following such a policy in respect of the economy and national construction, Kampuchea believes it is serving with honour, faithfulness and effectiveness not only its own national interests but also the ideals of the third world, which is struggling bravely and with determination for its economic independence and which is well aware that its economic "take-off" will be brought about not through foreign assistance but on the basis of self-reliance.

127. The foreign policy of independent Kampuchea has always been and will always be a policy of peace and friendship. Kampuchea reaffirms its unswerving devotion to the cause of universal peace and expresses its sincere desire to establish ties of friendship with all the peoples, all the countries, all the States, all the Governments that love peace, justice and freedom and that respect and will continue to respect Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, neutrality and non-alignment.

128. I have just spoken of our neutrality and our non-alignment. That means that Kampuchea does not belong and will not belong to any Power bloc, has not established and will not establish any military or other alliance with other countries, has not joined and will not join any organization or group of States or nations—with the exception, of course, of the United Nations and the non-aligned group. That also means that Kampuchea does not permit and will not permit any country to establish bases or posts, military or otherwise, on its territory or in its territorial waters.

129. Kampuchea declared itself officially neutral as long ago as 1954, during the Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, and in 1955 it played a part in the birth of the non-aligned movement.

130. Today Kampuchea, having escaped from the grip of imperialism, is more than ever devoted to non-alignment. Our choice of non-alignment is a constant of our national strategy and our foreign policy, and not a temporary option. For us, non-alignment is indeed a *sine qua non* guarantee of our independence and our peace, and also our best possible contribution to the stability of the international situation and to world peace.

131. Kampuchea consequently reaffirms its unswerving will to remain within the great family of non-aligned countries and to do everything in its power to contribute to the success of the noble undertakings of that great family, which throughout the years—and particularly this year—has not ceased to grow and become stronger.

132. Having suffered under the yoke of colonialism, particularly that of imperialism, and well aware of the difficulties involved in any national liberation struggle, Kampuchea is profoundly gratified at the final victory that, after a long, bitter and arduous struggle, the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and the Comoros have won against imperialism and colonialism. Kampuchea regards that great victory as its own and extends its warmest congratulations to those fraternal peoples. We welcome with joy the entry into the United Nations of Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe and extend our sincere compliments to their representatives.

133. Kampuchea most cordially congratulates also the Arab peoples, and particularly the heroic Palestinian people, on the success they have achieved in their just struggle against the expansionist Israelis.

134. Kampuchea also wholeheartedly congratulates the peoples of southern Africa—Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania—on the success of their just struggle against the racists and the latter's intolerable oppression or racial discrimination.

135. Kampuchea congratulates with equal warmth the other anti-imperialist peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America on the success of their struggle to safeguard their national independence, their sovereignty, their freedoms and the natural resources of their respective countries.

136. Kampuchea believes that world peace will remain precarious as long as crying injustice continues to be the lot of certain peoples and countries.

137. The Palestinian people and Palestine are in the forefront of these victim peoples and countries. The most recent resolutions of the United Nations on the Palestinian problem are good, but the Zionist Israelis and the United States imperialists are ceaselessly manoeuvring to prevent faithful and total application of these resolutions.

138. Today, even more than yesterday, United States imperialism is lavishing on Israel the most formidable weapons of war and granting the Israel Government new aid amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, thus openly encouraging it to block all possibilities of the indispensable solution of the Palestinian problem.

139. Kampuchea believes that the Palestinian people, a people possessed of admirable virtues but a people unfortunately victim of one of the greatest injustices of contemporary history, should have restored to it all its sacred and inalienable rights, including its territorial rights.

140. To permit such rights to be endlessly trampled underfoot is tantamount to saying to the other small peoples, particularly those of the third world, that there is no longer anything to protect them against the law that says that might is right and against the forces of injustice.

141. The Palestinian problem is thus of concern to all peoples of the world, and the peoples of the third world in particular. That is why Kampuchea believes that it is duty-bound to express its total and unswerving solidarity with the Palestinian people in their just struggle. We venture to express the hope that Israel not be considered as a State Member of the United Nations so long as it is unwilling to abide in every respect with United Nations resolutions concerning the rights of the Palestinian people and also the total, unconditional and immediate evacuation of the illegally occupied Arab territories.

142. Just as we will always stand beside the Palestinian people, so Kampuchea will always support wholeheartedly the just struggle of the other Arab countries and peoples, in particular the struggle for the liberation of the Arab territories still occupied by Israeli Zionist forces.

143. Kampuchea unreservedly supports the just struggle of the great Chinese people for the return of Taiwan to the motherland, the People's Republic of China.

144. Kampuchea unreservedly supports the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against oppression and other kinds of injustice practised by the racists in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia.

145. Kampuchea unreservedly supports the struggle and efforts of the peoples and Governments concerned with a view to accelerating the decolonization of the so-called Spanish western Sahara and of so-called French Somalia.

146. Kampuchea unreservedly supports the struggle of the Cuban people for the liberation of the Guantánamo base.

147. Kampuchea unreservedly supports the struggle of the Panamanian people and the Puerto Rican people for the dismantling of foreign military bases improperly

established in their countries so that they may enjoy complete national sovereignty.

148. Kampuchea unreservedly supports the Latin American States which have decided to establish the limits of their territorial waters at 200 nautical miles. We unreservedly support the struggle of the peoples of Latin America for the safeguarding of their lawful rights over their national resources.

149. Kampuchea unreservedly supports the struggle of the countries of the third world for equality and justice in economic relations with the developed and highly industrialized countries.

150. Permit me now to turn to the Korean problem, a problem of great importance.

151. For more than 20 years now, United States imperialism has continued to keep the southern part of Korea and its unfortunate population under the intolerable yoke of its neo-colonialism, its military occupation and the puppet régime of Chung Hee Park, an anti-popular, anti-national and, above all, extremely cruel and bloody régime.

152. The military occupation of South Korea is indeed twofold, because it is being carried out under the label of the United Nations and also under the cover of a treaty of military assistance or alliance between the Government in Washington and that in Seoul.

153. Along with the great majority of other States Members of our Organization, Kampuchea fervently hopes that the United Nations will without delay cease lending its honourable name to imperialism in its military and neo-colonialist occupation of South Korea.

154. As to the bilateral military assistance treaty or alliance between Washington and Seoul, Kampuchea believes that it is not worthy of respect because the two signatories to that treaty are not equal; the second does not represent an independent and sovereign State. Indeed, the régime of Mr. Chung Hee Park is not really an ally of the United States of America but merely a puppet of imperialism. That régime has no roots in the Korean people. Like the former régime of Lon Nol in Phnom-Penh and that of Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon, the régime of Chung Hee Park could only survive with the support and military protection of the United States.

155. Kampuchea believes that our Organization, if it is to remain faithful to the spirit of its Charter, is duty-bound to demand that all foreign troops evacuate South Korea totally and without delay so that the population of South Korea may recover its liberty, control of its own destiny and its right to maintain fraternal relations with North Korea, freely exploring with it ways and means of permitting the two parts of Korea to achieve, without confrontation, the indispensable national reunification, peaceful reunification, without any foreign involvement in the process thereof.

156. The situation in the Far East remains explosive, because of the military and even nuclear threat which continues to hang over that important part of the world because of United States imperialism, the principal bases of which are in South Korea and some other countries of the region.

157. In South Korea, intensive war preparations have been noted and United States units have been manoeuvring and deploying so-called "tactical" nuclear weapons.

158. In order the better to conceal its aggressive designs, imperialism is spreading throughout the world the rumour that the People's Democratic Republic of Korea is making intensive preparations for "a war of aggression and conquest" against South Korea.

159. Having a profound knowledge of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, which I visit several times a year and in which I have travelled widely, I can assert that that country is very far from harbouring any aggressive designs against anybody or anything.

160. Of course, its military organization is remarkable and powerful, but the essential character of that organization is obviously purely defensive.

161. If the People's Democratic Republic of Korea were belligerent, it would be difficult to explain why its people and its Government are so feverishly building every day so many schools, nurseries, civilian houses, public gardens, cultural centres, irrigation dams and new cities, the planning of which is exemplary.

162. Furthermore, is it a crime, is it belligerence, to wish fervently for the reunification of one's country?

163. Marshal Kim Il Sung, on behalf of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea of which he is Head of State, has proposed a plan known as the "Five-Point Orientation Plan", to prepare, reasonably and in the context of national harmony between "North" and "South", the ground for bringing about the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

164. Kampuchea believes that our Organization should warmly support this five-point plan of President Kim Il Sung and thus help the Korean people to do away with the anachronistic division of its unjustly dismembered country.

165. As for the new plan put forward by the United States of America, which proposes a conference of the parties concerned in Korea to explore ways and means of preserving the armistice after the dissolution of the United Nations Command,⁷ Kampuchea believes that that plan contradicts the principle of respect for the sovereignty of the Korean people, which must be able fully to exercise its right to self-determination without any foreign interference. Kampuchea cannot, therefore, support such a plan. Indeed, it wholeheartedly supports the reasonable and just proposal of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea to replace the armistice agreement with a peace treaty capable of reducing tension.

166. I should like, before concluding this speech, to say how much Kampuchea deplores the unjust and inadmissible blocking by the United States of America of the well-deserved admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam to full membership in the United Nations.

167. This General Assembly—with only 7 abstentions—warmly supported the application for admission of those two glorious Republics; and quite recently the Security Council supported that application with the unanimous vote of its members, except the United States of America.

168. Kampuchea believes that the United States' veto against the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations is a petty tactic unworthy of the tradition of equity and fair play of the great American people.

169. As for linking the question of the admission of the "Government" of Seoul to membership in the United Nations with that of the admission of Viet Nam, this is not only absurd but also, what is more, a grave abuse of and a dangerous departure from the concept of the right of the use of the veto by permanent members of the Security Council, an abuse and a departure which our General Assembly must oppose.

170. In that spirit, Kampuchea calls upon the General Assembly to continue to act vigorously to remove the only obstacle which so incongruously stands in the way of the admission of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

171. Having reached the conclusion of my speech I should like to convey to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General and to the delegates present the warm compliments and friendly greetings of the people of Kampuchea and its Government and to extend my sincere wishes for success in the performance of your noble tasks in the important work of this thirtieth session of our General Assembly.

172. I should like also to reaffirm that Kampuchea will always remain faithful to the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter and will spare no effort to assist our Organization in the attainment of its objectives, in keeping with its ideals of justice, peace, liberty and progress.

173. I should like also to stress that my country respects, and will always scrupulously respect, the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political and social system of neighbouring countries and peoples, and of other countries and peoples in the world.

174. Kampuchea does not intervene and will never intervene in the internal affairs of other countries. But Kampuchea does reserve its right to defend itself by force of arms if it is the victim of attack or aggression.

175. Of course, we hope that such a situation will never arise, because our profound hope is to live in peace and friendship with all countries, near or far, and to co-operate with them in various fields—particularly in the economic field—on a footing of complete equality and on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and reciprocal advantage. In particular, Kampuchea attaches the greatest importance to the development of its friendship and multiform co-operation with neighbouring countries, with non-aligned countries and with the countries which, since 1970-1971, have given their firm and noble support to its just cause and its struggle for national liberation.

176. In conclusion, I would request Mr. Gaston Thorn to accept the warmest congratulations of Kampuchea on his election to the presidency of our General Assembly, and I would request all delegations of States Members of our Organization present here to be so kind as to convey my warmest wishes for happiness and prosperity to their respective peoples and also my cordial greetings to their illustrious heads of State and Government, and to accept themselves

my best wishes for good health and success, with my sincere thanks for their kind attention.

177. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly I should like to thank His Royal Highness, the head of State of Kampuchea, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

178. Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to express my warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. I join my colleagues in extending congratulations and appreciation to both you and your capable predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, as well as to the Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim. In this we are prompted by our regard and esteem for any effort exerted to promote the march of mankind towards a better future in which peace, security and prosperity will prevail.

179. In the mean time, may I express, in the name of the State of Qatar, its Emir, Government and people, a warm welcome and heartiest congratulations to the Member States which have recently joined the world Organization, thus assuming their rightful place in our midst. We welcome their contributions to the attainment of the lofty ideals and aspirations of the world community.

180. We come to this session filled with the ambition to achieve the fruitful results which are anxiously anticipated by the peoples of the world. It is hoped that the spirit of détente and conciliation will prevail as a means of solving world problems. However, if we take an objective view of whatever has happened and is happening in the world, we see an inconsistency, and we perceive a tremendous discrepancy between reality and hope. Whereas the Charter of the United Nations sets out for the international Organization the task of maintaining world peace and security and establishing a world in which peace and stability prevail, we see how far from reality these ideals and hopes are.

181. Proceeding from this point, we realize that important issues are involved in the establishment of world peace, and we perceive the dangers which pose a challenge to the Charter and to the determination of peoples to attain security, liberation and independence.

182. It is clear therefore that we cannot talk about détente and respect for the Charter of the United Nations and peoples' right to self-determination without touching on what is happening in the Arab region, which, as an inevitable result of being permanently subject to Zionist aggression, is threatened with an explosion—its own explosion and that of world peace. This aggression is, in its reality and quintessence, aggression against the Charter of the United Nations and in defiance of its resolutions, resulting in the dissipation of hopes pinned on the United Nations.

183. I need not go again into the details of the Middle East crisis, particularly the Palestinian issue, and notably the question of Jerusalem and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. In spite of all resolu-

tions adopted by the United Nations the Palestinian Arab people continue to live as strangers in their own homeland, deprived of all their rights.

184. I should like to commend the tremendous efforts of the Arab countries—efforts which have been consistently declared in all Arab conferences and statements and in those of friendly and well-meaning States—in their unified pursuit of a just and permanent peace in the region. All these efforts were based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

185. In this regard, it is important to assert a fact which will remain fundamental in spite of all attempts to obscure it: that the issue of Palestine, its people, land and destiny is the pivotal point and the essence of the Middle East crisis. All efforts to settle this crisis without a just and permanent solution to the Palestinian question are merely an attempt to defer the explosion rather than eliminate its origins and causes.

186. The basic role of the United Nations is to maintain world peace and security. In order that this role may remain valid the United Nations will have to take such necessary measures as will ensure that Israel will be obliged to respect and implement the United Nations resolutions which call for the withdrawal of its forces from all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. This people, whom you have recognized and admitted into this world Organization as represented by the PLO as an observer, is among us here, under the roof of the United Nations, and yet it is still a victim of extermination inside and outside the Arab land occupied by Israel.

187. It is only logical that Israel should be committed to respect the resolutions and principles of the United Nations, because these have been endorsed by the entire world. In the event of Israel's failure to respond, it is equally logical that the United Nations should assume its responsibilities, as set out in the Charter, by adopting economic and diplomatic sanctions against Israel for its intransigence and arrogance.

188. The escalating danger of a military confrontation in the Middle East requires that the situation be treated with decisiveness. This fact has prompted the State of Qatar to support the resolution adopted at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East [*resolution 3263 (XXIX)*], a resolution which Israel is still determined to ignore, overlook and defy.

189. From the very beginning Qatar has also supported the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, a Declaration no less important to us than our stated desire to preserve the security of the Gulf area.

190. Here I would like to emphasize my Government's profound interest in the question of the Gulf's security. In this, my Government is no exception to other neighbouring States in the Gulf area. This is due to the vital and direct impact of this issue on peace and development at present and in the future, not only on the regional level but also on the international level.

191. We hope that the proposals with respect to the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the Gulf regions will be viewed with complete understanding and respect on the part of all present: understanding and respect which we would like to be the prevailing spirit in dealing with the problems of raw materials and development, and the establishment of a new world economic and social order firmly based on respect for the principles of justice, the equal sovereignty of all States and the right of each State to complete and permanent sovereignty over its natural resources, in positive and close international co-operation.

192. Proceeding from its faith in the effectiveness and advantages of international co-operation in furthering human progress towards a better world, the State of Qatar endeavours, under the guidance of His Highness the Ruler, to build up its own potential as part of a development process carried out jointly with other sister Arab States. In the mean time, the State of Qatar participates in development activities in Asia and Africa, thus affirming its profound and sincere faith in the effectiveness of co-operation among all countries of the world in the interest of development and progress, and in helping developing countries, especially those whose economies suffer under difficult conditions.

193. The State of Qatar is also anxious to consolidate its relations with the third world countries, especially in Africa, to participate in their issues and problems and to support African peoples struggling for their freedom and independence, so that they may attain their aspirations to human dignity and freedom.

194. We view with optimism the concern of the United Nations with the development projects and plans of the underdeveloped nations, and this at the same time gives us a sense of international responsibility. Seeing with profound dismay that many peoples are victims of disease, hunger and illiteracy, the State of Qatar considers that all States, especially the developed ones, have a cultural and humanitarian obligation to them. The minimum commitments adopted by the industrialized countries have not yet been met by many of them and the State of Qatar hopes that this will no longer be delayed or neglected.

195. The State of Qatar further hopes that the major Powers and the developed industrialized countries will exert greater efforts to check the wave of inflation and the rise in the prices of industrial commodities and foodstuffs. Some people may hold the oil-producing countries responsible for inflation. However, we would ask them to answer an important question: Was inflation not in existence before the price of petroleum was raised?

196. My Government hopes that the dialogue between the petroleum-producing and petroleum-consuming nations and the developing ones will produce an understanding and agreement on such matters as raw materials, energy and development, so that the whole world will adopt a new economic order in which the interests of all will be upheld and future challenges faced objectively with the positiveness that would stem from international co-operation.

197. Several international conferences have been held, under the aegis of the United Nations, on development and food questions. They are of great signifi-

cance to us, and we attach special importance to the success of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which we hope will produce new international provisions and regulations that are more consistent with the spirit of the present era, in which developing countries comprise the majority of the world's population.

198. We all find ourselves at each session of the General Assembly the focus of the world's attention and the custodians of its expectations and hopes that our deliberations will lead to significant accomplishments. We should not only make decisions, but also translate those decisions into action for the sake of the freedom, the prosperity and the dignity of mankind.

Mr. Waldron-Ramsey (Barbados), Vice-President, took the Chair.

199. Mr. VALENCIA RODRÍGUEZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would ask you to convey, Sir, to the President of the Assembly, Mr. Gaston Thorn, the greetings of the Government of Ecuador, and at the same time my Government's sincere congratulations on his well-deserved election to the presidency of this new session of the General Assembly.

200. May I also pay a tribute to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Bouteflika, who, with exemplary impartiality and efficiency, presided over the twenty-ninth regular session and the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

201. My delegation's greetings go also to the countries just admitted as States Members of the United Nations: the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the People's Republic of Mozambique, to all of which I extend a most fraternal welcome. Similarly, I congratulate the people of Papua New Guinea upon its achievement of independence and its imminent entry into our Organization.

202. On this occasion Ecuador wishes to confirm once again its support for the principle of the universality of the United Nations, strict application of which will make it possible for the Organization to achieve its lofty aims.

203. The United Nations is about to celebrate the thirtieth year of its life. The Government of Ecuador believes that this is a fitting occasion for some serious soul-searching as to what our Organization should be. But this exercise will be incomplete if, at the same time, the States that compose it are not resolved to redress the errors of the past.

204. In its first 30 years the United Nations has changed from an association of 51 nations, closely bound together by the circumstances surrounding the Second World War, into what has this year become a 141-Member Organization. During this period, the scope and magnitude of the Organization's activities have evolved tremendously so as to reflect the changing circumstances of our times and the interests and concerns of its component Members. The enormous population growth and the emergence of a group of independent developing nations have created a new geopolitical structure. Thus the foundations of world

political and economic power have changed in a manner that could not have been foreseen in San Francisco.

205. After these 30 years of effort and changes, two great unknown factors with respect to the future remain unanswered. The Secretary-General has wisely formulated these two great concerns. Can the sovereign nations of our independent world, in the new circumstances in which we live, attain sufficient consensus and display the necessary collective will to put into practice in a genuine and lasting manner the original idea of the United Nations as an effective instrument for the maintenance of peace? Can they develop the necessary capacity to deal with the world problems that confront all nations and which obviously cannot be solved in isolation by either one nation or a group of nations? Undoubtedly, as pointed out by the Secretary-General, the future of the United Nations and of mankind itself depends on the answers to these two questions.

206. The United Nations as a world forum where all peoples can make themselves heard is of inestimable value. This in turn enhances the relevance of the Organization vis-à-vis the complex and acute problems of our time, among which, together with the aspects pertaining to international peace and security, world economic problems take pride of place. However, together with the elucidation of ideas, the Organization must play a more active role in the quest for peace. We are of course gratified that countries in conflict should negotiate, open dialogue and find a way towards the cessation of armed struggle and hostility, either through direct settlement among the parties or through mediation by other Powers. But the United Nations would become a stronger and more vigorous Organization if all the problems confronting peoples or to be confronted by peoples were channelled and solved through it. The United Nations must play a predominant role in the solution of all conflicts where not only the values of peace but also those delicate values born of interdependence are at stake. Strengthening the juridical régime of the United Nations in order that it may fulfil its functions for the maintenance of international peace and security has always been the desire and decision of the Ecuadorian Government. Thus, the hegemonic positions of certain Powers, based on their actual power or the number of adherents to their policy, can never be justified in this Organization.

207. There is a clamour that rises from the depths of the feelings of all nations: the clamour for peace. Sometimes we do not know quite what we want, but we do know what we do not want: we do not want war—any kind of war, preventive, local or nuclear. Mankind today, the spectator and protagonist of a technical civilization endowed with equal potential either for destruction or for man's salvation, must seek out the way of peace—a peace substantially based on right, law and justice—the necessary foundation for the liberation of communities from poverty, disease and ignorance.

208. This year the world has witnessed a series of important events in the area of international peace and security.

209. The end of the cruel Indo-Chinese war brought a sigh of relief and appears to have given way to a period of relative calm, although tensions and conflicts

still persist in other regions. Ecuador trusts that this period will serve to consider the possibility of revitalizing, in a manner in keeping with the realities of our time, the whole concept of collective security and responsibility for the maintenance of peace. There is no doubt that this can be achieved with the admission to the United Nations of the two Vietnamese States, thus achieving almost full universality in this General Assembly and fulfilling the almost unanimous wish of the Organization.

210. In connexion with the situation in the Middle East, my delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the recent agreement between Egypt and Israel, which represents an important milestone in the efforts made to solve those problems. Many years of confrontation, which on two occasions in the past have led to a state of war between countries in the region, brought the world to a situation of fear and alarm that in no way benefited the policy of détente and settlement through peaceful means.

211. In this case the Government of Ecuador believes it necessary for all the peoples in the region, with which my country maintains sincere relations of friendship, to arrive at a definitive agreement so that they may all live in peace.

212. Ecuador wishes duly to restate its position: we reject and condemn territorial conquests through force; we do not admit that the occupation of territory may be used to strike fear in the enemy, to demand negotiations or to refuse to return such territory until an agreement has been signed. We recognize the legitimate right of the people of Palestine to self-determination, national sovereignty and independence. But we consider likewise that the State of Israel, which was in fact created by the United Nations, has the right to existence. My country sincerely hopes that the parties involved in this lengthy conflict may find the way to a just and lasting peace within secure borders, duly recognized and guaranteed. Thus, all the peoples in the area can make a contribution of their great values to the whole world.

213. My Government is greatly concerned at the situation in Korea, a region that for many years has been beset by insecurity and instability. We believe that every effort must be bent to promote a rapprochement and frank and cordial negotiations between the parties concerned, without external interference, in order that they may find an agreement beneficial to the whole of the Korean people, both north and south. This can be achieved through an international climate of mutual understanding and confidence, a task in which the United Nations may play an important part, preventing the great Powers from seeking to impose unilateral solutions. This climate will be achieved through the mutual cession of inflexible positions, through conciliation and understanding, but never through confrontation. Let us not now repeat the errors of the cold war.

214. In Cyprus, there is an imperative need to move towards an agreed settlement. The United Nations peace-keeping force plays an essential part in watching over the tranquillity and humanitarian tasks in that area until a settlement is reached. We hope that the negotiations now under way between the two communities under the aegis of the Secretary-General will achieve progress leading to the objective of the

establishment of a basis for an eventual agreement enabling all the inhabitants in Cyprus to live together in peace. There can be no doubt as to the difficulty and complexity of the problem or as to the sincerity with which the leaders of both communities wish to solve those problems to ensure a future of peace and progress for the whole of the Cypriot people. In this connexion, Ecuador sincerely hopes that General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) will be strictly complied with.

215. In the course of these past few months there have been encouraging events in the process of the decolonization of Africa. With the exception of Angola, all of the former Portuguese colonial Territories in the continent have achieved independence through an orderly and peaceful transition of power, in conformity with the agreements arrived at between the liberation movements concerned and the Government of Portugal.

216. However, we note with anguish that the same has not happened in the case of Angola, whose transition to independence has not been peaceful, and is affected by international strife and bloodshed. The Alvor Agreements between the Government of Portugal and the three liberation movements have been frustrated by undue interference from outside, which must cease in order to allow the Angolans to find for themselves the road towards their own destiny.

217. The refusal of the illegal minority régime in Rhodesia to accept majority rule has so far made it impossible to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. This has frustrated the desires of my people, as well as the people of other United Nations Members, who wish that a peaceful and just solution to this situation will be arrived at as soon as possible for the benefit of the authentic inhabitants of the Territory. Efforts must be pursued to convene a constitutional conference which could lead to a negotiated and ordered transition towards majority rule.

218. Ecuador has always supported the aspirations of the people of the Comoros to self-determination and independence, and has affirmed the unity and integrity of the Territory. We endorse the Political Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held recently at Lima concerning the Comoros [*see A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, para. 41*], and trust that the results of the referendum held not long ago in some of the islands of the archipelago—a general vote in favour of independence—will be implemented.

219. My Government has noted with particular satisfaction the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the signing of the Final Act. We regard it as a decisive step towards the development of understanding and true co-operation among the signatory States, since one of the fundamental bases of the agreement is the restatement of the principle enshrined in the Charter concerning the condemnation of any recourse to force. With the signing of that Act a new era has opened in Europe: that of understanding and co-operation; there is greater détente, and the stages of mistrust and even of violence are being overcome.

220. Among the problems of direct concern at present to the American continent is that of the Panama Canal. My delegation sincerely hopes that the negotiations between the United States of America and Panama will soon lead to a just solution. Ecuador once again reiterates its clear and definite position on this question: we give our categorical support to the sister Republic of Panama in its legitimate aspirations to recover full sovereignty and full exercise of its jurisdiction over the so-called Panama Canal Zone and to obtain exclusive control over the Canal.

221. Disarmament and arms regulation is one of the fundamental objectives of the United Nations, since this is an imperative need for the organized survival of life on our planet. The immediate reasons for disarmament are even more pressing as the United Nations celebrates its 30 years of existence and in view of the pressure of the nuclear age. Despite the fact that a number of important agreements on the limitation and control of weapons have been concluded, it has thus far not been possible to achieve the means of arresting or limiting the arms race, both in nuclear weapons and in conventional weapons. The danger of nuclear proliferation not only continues, but has increased; nuclear testing continues; weapons are daily becoming more complex and lethal and the race in weapon technology constantly opens new and more terrible prospects.

222. The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held at Geneva in May of the current year, showed the difficulties in reconciling the policies of nuclear and non-nuclear weapon States. Ecuador is gratified at the fact that new States should have become parties to the Treaty, bringing the number of signatories to more than 90. My delegation takes this occasion to address an appeal to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament that, on a priority basis, it continue its negotiations, with a view to arriving, as early as possible, at an agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons, and the destruction of existing weapons. We also appeal for the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests for the benefit of the supreme interest of mankind, both as an important step towards control over the development and proliferation of nuclear weapons and to alleviate the profound concern of the world over the harmful consequences of radioactive fallout for the health of present and future generations. We address a special appeal to the Soviet Union that it accede to Additional Protocol II to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. We view with sympathy the fact that that Treaty, which went into force for the United Kingdom and the United States in 1969 and 1971, respectively, should have also gone into force last year for France and the People's Republic of China. Ecuador makes this request, convinced as it is that the co-operation of the nuclear-weapon States is indispensable for the greater efficacy of any treaty establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and that that co-operation must be translated into commitments included in a solemn international instrument that is fully legally binding.

223. My delegation believes that the United Nations should speak out frankly and openly wherever human rights are violated, wherever acts of genocide are

committed, wherever there is torture or the useless sacrifice of human life, wherever whole peoples are displaced, wherever a new curtain of silence and oppression is sought to be lowered. Human rights, like any act of justice, are indivisible. Any violation of human rights must be condemned. Through our Organization, Governments and peoples must unite their efforts to overcome this untenable situation. The Government of Ecuador, in fact, attaches equal importance and mandatory value to the duty of respecting and protecting human rights and to the other principles and institutions governing international relations.

224. Any form of racial discrimination is decidedly contrary to the most fundamental human and legal rights. It is anachronistic that, late in the twentieth century, while the world is seeking to raise peoples' standards of living, we should insist on drawing various distinctions between human beings. This is repugnant to the conscience of mankind. My Government shall always give the necessary support to any measures the General Assembly or the Security Council may adopt to put an end to this dangerous state of affairs, wherever such acts are committed or threaten to emerge. Guided by this principle, Ecuador was one of the first countries to ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex].

225. One of the most serious problems arising in southern Africa lies in the persistent application of *apartheid*, a policy in direct contradiction with the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the purposes of the United Nations. The world community, and the United Nations in particular, have the obligation to pursue unrelentingly their efforts to induce the Government of South Africa to abandon that shameful policy.

226. My Government considers that, as the thirtieth anniversary of the Charter is celebrated, it is desirable to introduce certain reforms which, properly analysed, may be regarded as necessary and useful. Any institution can be improved. The political situations which prevailed in 1945 no longer exist; thus the Charter, like any human undertaking, must also be modified in order to bring it into line with the world in which we live to make it more dynamic and to make it better reflect the aspirations of all peoples, particularly those which in 1945 had neither a voice nor a vote in the elaboration of that instrument. Of course, the changes that may be made must be aimed at the institutional and political strengthening of the Organization. They will be justified if they morally and truly strengthen the United Nations and offer greater guarantees of peace and tranquillity for the peoples of the world. My delegation will therefore support any concrete and realistic initiative within the context of respect for the principles and purposes that are at the root of our Organization.

227. Ecuador has been making an effective contribution to international efforts designed to bring about a just and realistic legal order in the oceans and seas of our planet. In that long and constant struggle, my country was one of the pioneers in the development of the new law of the sea, and we have always borne in mind the need to strengthen international peace, to protect our own security and to preserve and make

the best possible use of the natural resources of the seas for the permanent benefit of our population. For this reason, we note with great satisfaction that, thanks to that struggle and the efforts of the American States of the South Pacific and other neighbouring countries, we can no longer speak of the law of the sea without referring to the maximum breadth of 200 miles, which has acquired such great universal significance.

228. The new law of the sea must be constituted by an adequate balance between the irrenunciabile rights of the coastal States and the true interests of the international community. Sovereignty exercised by the coastal States over the sea up to a distance of 200 miles cannot be conceived of as arbitrary or unlimited; neither can general interests serve to conceal the hegemonic claims of a few Powers accustomed to make use of the sea as they choose. The balance that will make possible a true world understanding must be sought between sovereignty with responsibility and the peaceful interests of all nations.

229. International co-operation is more necessary than ever in a world in which interdependence becomes daily more evident. Measures for the conservation of renewable resources, the prevention and elimination of pollution and scientific research are sections of the law of the sea in which true solutions will have to allow a greater margin for international co-operation.

230. However, certain countries still adopt attitudes which are governed by the sole purpose of prolonging the existence of a system of exploitation which, sheltering under the principle of the so-called freedom of the seas, has favoured and still favours a few great maritime and fishing Powers only. Moreover, once those countries were faced with the majority reaction of the developing peoples, they were compelled to recognize the need to introduce specific changes in the law of the sea, although at the same time they still resort to manoeuvres whose fundamental purpose is to take all practical meaning from the acceptance of contemporary juridical trends. Thus the developing countries have stated, and rightly, that the recognition of jurisdiction by coastal States over 200 miles of the sea must not be devoid of concrete content but must, on the contrary, constitute an effective guarantee of the establishment of a system of conservation and use of the resources of the seas mainly for the benefit of their own peoples.

231. My country's experience in this field has led it to the conviction that the only effective guarantee of respect of its right as regards the sea is the proclamation of its own sovereignty and jurisdiction over a distance of up to 200 miles. In this territorial sea that Ecuador possesses, there has been for almost 25 years now peaceful coexistence and harmonious co-ordination between its national rights and respect for the interests of the community of nations.

232. Another fundamental aspect to be elucidated at the next stage in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is that connected with the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. There can be no valid régime for the sea-bed and the ocean floor, which have been declared the common heritage of mankind, unless administrative international machinery benefiting all nations is established. The moratorium declared by this General Assembly and ratified by the Con-

ference, the purpose of which is to prevent the few technologically and economically capable countries from arbitrarily beginning the exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor for their own egoistic and exclusive use and purposes, is still in force. Technology is not a basis for dominion, but an instrument for the common progress of all, and States possessing technology should share it generously if they are truly oriented towards the building of peace. Ecuador reiterates its views on the imperative need to maintain and apply that moratorium.

233. If the Conference on the law of the sea orients its work on the basis of good faith, realism and true deliberation, we are convinced that it will achieve full success. My country will continue to offer its most sincere and determined co-operation.

234. As regards economic development, it has been stated repeatedly that it not only must relate to the structure of public and social service which provides the human being with material well-being but, at the same time, must ensure an atmosphere wherein he can act as an individual member of society protected by fundamental freedoms. In the world of today, which is subject to the closest interrelation in all spheres of human endeavour and most essentially in the economic field, that so deeply desired goal can be achieved only through effective international co-operation.

235. The International Development Strategy takes account of these purposes, which were enshrined in the resolution on the Second Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. However, the examination and assessment of the results so far achieved by the application of the Strategy have caused the Government of Ecuador some concern. Those results confirm once again the slight progress, if not the stagnation, in the process of integral development of the countries of the third world, because even the initial goals provided for in the Strategy have not been achieved. If the developing countries have achieved partial development in terms of isolated economic indices, this has been due exclusively to their domestic effort and has not been the result of the action of the international community in favour of the poorer countries.

236. Ecuador, in keeping with the policy it has been maintaining, affirms the principle of total and absolute sovereignty of the State over its own natural resources. This is an irrenunciabile and inalienable right recognized by the international community, from which stems the right of the developing countries possessing such resources to carry out their exploration, exploitation, industrialization and marketing in accordance with their own interests.

237. On the other hand, Ecuador, like the other developing countries, in wishing to safeguard its heritage, believes that interdependence in this sphere must necessarily stem from the satisfaction of its own needs as well as marketing and industrialization terms compatible with the integral development needs of its people.

238. The participation of the developing countries in world trade has become smaller and smaller, deteriorating progressively, especially by reason of the barriers imposed by the developed countries. The developing countries are aware of their limitations as regards the lack of diversification of their export

products, which are basically primary commodities. This situation leads to our observing with great concern that not only are our products experiencing continued deterioration of prices in the light of the constantly rising cost of the intermediate products and capital of the industrialized countries but, furthermore, the exports of the developing countries are subject to discriminatory and coercive policies which cancel out or limit the third world's participation in international trade. Among these policies we find today the foreign trade laws of the United States, under which my country is the victim of discriminatory measures merely because it defends its own natural resources. That is why Ecuador has stated repeatedly that it cannot maintain a dialogue under the pressure of threats or measures of such a kind.

239. Ecuador considers that one effective way to eliminate the present disequilibrium in the balance of payments of some of the developing countries would be for the developed countries to be willing to adopt a just and balanced pricing policy for the goods that they export to the developing countries in terms of the prices of the primary commodities exported by the third world countries. There is an urgent need to ensure stable markets for products from the developing countries, to reduce tariff and non-tariff barriers and truly to eliminate restrictive trade practices.

240. The effective participation of the developing countries in the administration of world monetary affairs to date has been nominal. On the other hand, our countries—beset by financial difficulties because of our scarce resources—urgently require greater and more direct participation in the financial surpluses, as well as in the special drawing rights, administered by the International Monetary Fund; and this participation should be proportional not to our respective contributions, but to the requirements of the economic development and social progress of our peoples.

241. In a report of the World Bank issued recently, it is stated, *inter alia*, that behind the cold statistics there lies hidden the cruel reality of the rise of hunger and poverty throughout the world. This reveals the undeniable gravity of the underlying socio-economic problems, characterized by the very unequal distribution of income, excessive unemployment levels, high rates of infant mortality and illiteracy, and generally poor health. This picture is unfortunately almost a common denominator for the peoples of the third world, particularly for many in the American continent. Therefore, co-operation and mutual help at the international level so as to reduce the gravity of these symptoms are the tasks calling for action by the international community and, in particular, for a change of attitude on the part of the developed countries.

242. It is undeniable that we cannot, in this day and age, apply the same procedures as those that applied to past structures. The evolution of the world offers new prospects. It would be erroneous to hope that an increase in national savings and private capital by itself could give impetus to the process of industrialization that is essential for the achievement of an improvement in the balance of payments and progress in general. That would mean postponing the solution of social problems and maintaining alive a permanent threat of internal disruption. It is therefore desirable to adopt a new social philosophy to enable our com-

munities to cast off the burden of their backwardness. Ecuador believes it is essential, therefore, for the international community and the individual countries concerned to speed up the process of establishing the new economic order which will lead to development in keeping with the needs of the moment and those foreseeable in the future. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and the results of the seventh special session must be the basic machinery that is to give impulse to this process.

243. Mr. CARVAJAL (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Chile comes to this thirtieth session of the General Assembly inspired by the same spirit of co-operation which prompts all its acts in matters of international policy. Its greatest wish is to consolidate friendly relations with all States, subject only to the condition of non-interference in internal or external affairs and the maintenance of mutual respect and consideration. Its most heartfelt wish is to work for economic and social progress and for the establishment of conditions leading to international peace and security.

244. Chile, one of the founding Members of the United Nations, and one which collaborated most actively in the preparation of the document in San Francisco that gave life to the Organization, now reaffirms its strong adherence to the principles and purposes of our Organization and to each provision of its Charter. Chile still sees in the Charter the main safeguard for the maintenance of peace and security in a disoriented world where, despite extraordinary technological advances, poverty, hunger and backwardness have become even more obvious, and in a world where, despite the statements made by the great Powers of their desire for peace, weapons capable of destroying all mankind in a few minutes are still being accumulated. This stage of great contradictions, as described by a great American statesman, makes an unprecedented opportunity and dangers without parallel.

245. Under the mantle of an apparent *détente*, what has been called social imperialism continues to exploit the threat of nuclear war to obtain concessions from peace-loving Powers, and continues to give its support to subversive movements and terrorist violence, seeking to intimidate small or medium-sized nations.

246. We are not, of course, opposed to the purposes of the so-called international *détente*, but we are extremely concerned by the fact that, in the shape it is taking, it may be no more than a narcotic, an anaesthetic to conceal from the peoples the real situation in which we are living.

247. No one should be astonished, therefore, when countries such as Chile zealously seek to give greater effectiveness to regional bodies and to renew their treaties of mutual assistance, as was done a short time ago in San José, Costa Rica, by the American States.

248. We are also concerned by the growing politicization of the General Assembly, a body which was not created as a forum for ideological confrontations, but rather to serve as the highest instrument of international co-operation.

249. In all sincerity I express my concern at this dangerous trend, which might even jeopardize the

future of this Organization. Small but sovereign and proud countries, such as Chile, have placed all their trust and faith in the Organization. We must see to it that they are not disappointed. The responsibility lies with the Member States themselves, and I appeal to them to return to the world Organization the true role assigned to it by its principles and purposes and the machinery created to implement them.

250. I shall now refer to some of the specific items on the agenda for this session and shall state, in general terms, Chile's position on them.

251. My Government feels that the Middle East problem must be solved in accordance with the texts of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. These texts, and especially resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), adopted by the Security Council, contain the three elements essential to the solution so ardently sought. First of all, it is essential that Israel withdraw its troops from the territories of the Arab countries it now occupies. After that, a just solution must be found, within the framework of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, for the plight of the Palestinian people, a solution recognizing that people's right to self-determination and national sovereignty—in other words, its right to have a homeland once again. Finally, a solemn commitment must be undertaken to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of all the States in the region. Those elements influence each other and constitute a whole. If a just and lasting solution is to be reached, therefore, they must be taken as a whole. We admit that the timing of each element will not be easy to work out, but that is far from impossible.

252. We therefore welcome the agreements recently reached concerning the disengagement of forces in the Sinai peninsula as a first step towards a final solution—for all the States in the area—of a problem that has threatened peace and security.

253. My Government has been traditionally in favour of the universality of international organizations. In conformity with that attitude we vote in favour of the admission of all new States Members that fulfil the requirements expressly set forth in Article 4 of the Charter.

254. We extend a most cordial welcome to the three new States that have joined the Organization: Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and Principe. We sincerely wish them a peaceful political and economic development.

255. The admission of three new States is truly a landmark in the decolonization policy of the United Nations. As a member of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Chile is very pleased at the success of this policy, and we hereby renew our most enthusiastic support for it.

256. We are, however, fully aware that there still exist, especially in the African continent, colonial situations that require a just solution. In that connexion we wish to express our solidarity with the position adopted by OAU with regard to these problems.

257. In the spirit of brotherhood and peaceful co-existence that inspires its international policy, Chile invited, in early September this year, the countries of the Andean Group to conduct a joint study of the best way to achieve a limitation on military expenditure and to use the funds thus saved for the economic and social development of our peoples. The Santiago meeting, as a continuation of the one held in Lima, saw substantial progress in this field. The subjects to be studied in the immediate future were defined in greater detail and specific form was given to the ways and means of reaching general agreement on this important matter. There was a consensus that the other Latin American countries should be invited to participate in future meetings.

258. During the conference held in Chile, my Government submitted to the other five participants a draft treaty for the strengthening of peace which, if accepted, would be open to signature by all the countries members of the Organization of American States.

259. We took that initiative to consolidate in the Andean region an atmosphere of security and peace that would be conducive to an arms limitation agreement. The essentially new element of that draft treaty is that, on the basis of the various types of aggression described in the annex to resolution 3314 (XXIX), the obligation not to commit the acts listed in that resolution is given a solemn and contractual character.

260. I have the firm hope that Latin America can make rapid progress on the road to arms limitation and that it will be in a position to set an example for the world in this field.

261. On the same lines, my Government has given its full support to and has accepted resolution 3255 B (XXIX), adopted at the last session, concerning the prohibition of the use of incendiary weapons. It is, furthermore, a pleasure for me to announce that Chile will in due course ratify the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*].

262. Chile is a party to the Antarctic Treaty and to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. We are in favour of the establishment of other nuclear-weapon-free zones, and we welcome with special interest the initiative taken by Fiji and New Zealand in proposing the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific [*see A/10192, annex*]. We have a vital interest in that ocean, on which my country has an extended coastline, and we maintain and wish to strengthen all our relations with the other countries with coastlines on that great sea.

263. I am pleased to point out to this Assembly that in February last the Presidents of Bolivia and Chile decided, freely and spontaneously, to renew the diplomatic relations that had been interrupted 12 years ago. The exchange of ambassadors has made possible the establishment of a direct and active dialogue for the purpose of analysing the wishes of each country, including Bolivia's wish to obtain a sovereign outlet to the sea supplementing the free transit facilities it currently enjoys.

264. The problems are complex. They require thorough study, in an atmosphere of great tranquillity

that will allow for the consideration of solutions that will be mutually desirable and will facilitate the economic development of both countries. We are confident that the good will prevailing within the Governments of Chile and Bolivia will enable us to achieve realistic and final agreements.

265. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has entered a decisive stage with the drawing up of an informal single negotiating text⁸ to serve as the basis for negotiations which should lead to the adoption, in 1976, of a treaty providing standards for all the uses of seas and oceans.

266. The delegation of Chile—a maritime country *par excellence*—which has worked actively on this subject since its inception in the former sea-bed Committee, has untiringly striven to give fresh impetus to the international negotiations and, as a member of the bureau of the Conference, was in favour of the drafting of this basic document, which allows us the optimistic expectation of a happy outcome.

267. The single text gives shape to two main legal concepts that constitute the two axes of the international solution: the exclusive economic zone of 200 miles and the international régime for the sea-bed as an expression of the concept of the common heritage of mankind.

268. The support given by universal consensus to the concept of a jurisdictional zone of 200 miles with a primarily economic content is a matter of justified satisfaction for Chile, for we were the first country to proclaim, 28 years ago, this dimension for our oceanic jurisdiction.

269. The economic zone will permit less advanced countries to develop their coastal fisheries for the benefit of their peoples; this is a project we have been able to complete successfully with Ecuador and Peru, the two countries with which we signed the South Pacific Agreement.

270. The international régime for the sea-bed will permit economic exploitation of this new frontier of mankind for the benefit of all peoples, with special regard for the developing countries. It is evident that the basic document will need substantial improvements by means of negotiations which, I am certain, will be successful.

271. I now wish to refer to the repeated and slanderous accusation of violation of human rights hurled against Chile in a number of international forums and in this very Organization. A campaign, organized with no regard to cost and without parallel in the means at its disposal and the variety of systems it utilizes, has tried to centre the world's attention on a specific country because of the sole fact that this country has defeated an ideology that purported to be "progressive" and which had taken the country to the edge of an abyss.

272. Even though—as declared by Pope Paul VI last year—"No nation is today free of guilt where human rights are concerned", it is not my intention to dwell here on the cases and the information which day by day we read about concerning arrests, political trials, murders and the suppression of civil liberties in so many nations. But what I must say is that as long as international bodies lose sight of the universal char-

acter of human rights and seek to judge certain individual countries, while at the same time assuring others who commit the same offences of impunity, they cannot expect their agreements to have true value or to be truly respected. Even less so when those who sponsor or enter into such agreements are Governments which long have maintained repressive régimes of tyranny in which all human rights are systematically trampled underfoot.

273. Chile is still living under an emergency juridical régime that is not the result of our wishes or philosophy, but rather the sequel of the previous political régime, whose purpose was to impose a totalitarian doctrine on the country. It is the natural defence against terrorist action daily abetted and directed from abroad.

274. The truth is that even in the most solidly established democracies, terrorism and extremist movements have introduced a new phenomenon against which conventional penal measures are ineffectual. In a world where there is no hesitation in kidnapping or murdering innocent victims, where attempts have been made to assassinate a great President outstanding for his kindness and rectitude, we hear, paradoxically, a louder clamour of concern for the lives of the criminals than for those of the victims.

275. Society must defend itself from this cruel and bloody onslaught or perish. In the face of this dilemma, we see everywhere in the world, as the logical defence of society, the appearance of preventive and emergency legislation that to a certain extent restricts freedom and traditional legal guarantees.

276. The emergency juridical régime is not a creation of the present Chilean Government; it results from the application of constitutional norms that have been in existence for many years. They do not allow arbitrary acts. Quite to the contrary, they give guarantees to the persons to whom they are applied for reasons of public safety. Even though the exercise of some rights is suspended, there is no denial or violation of human rights, an accusation which has been unjustly levelled at us and which I categorically reject. Courts of justice are working in completely normal condition and independent of the Executive; and the emergency régime is being progressively and steadily relaxed. These limitations on certain freedoms have been accepted by the overwhelming majority of the population, who see in these provisional measures the unavoidable steps to overcome the chaos and the lack of security in which they had lived until September of 1973.

277. I must recall here that these kinds of restrictions are contemplated in international documents. Such is the case, for instance, of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*], ratified by Chile but not in force because many of the countries now slandering us have not given it their approval. Article 4, paragraph 1, of that text states:

"In time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States Parties to the present Covenant may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present Covenant to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under

international law and do not involve discrimination solely on the ground of race, colour, sex, language, religion or social origin.”

278. In applying those emergency measures in a situation that had endangered the very life of the nation, Chile strictly followed this indispensable safeguard clause, without which the Covenant would never have been agreed upon.

279. Fully aware that we had been able to avoid the abyss at the last moment, of having avoided in the nick of time a civil war that would have claimed hundreds of thousands of victims, of having adopted the most indispensable security measures to maintain peace in the country, the authorities opened their doors, without any restrictions whatsoever, to every international committee, journalist or politician who cared to visit us. I must confess that we were too naïve. Our experience was that many of the pseudo-“observers” came to us with preconceived ideas and that the only purpose of their visits was to confirm their negative prejudices. In Chile they said one thing to us, and once they had left they said something entirely different.

280. Nevertheless, in spite of that experience and because we are convinced that we have nothing to hide—to such an extent that our frontiers remain open, with no visa requirements, to any tourist who wishes to visit us—we accepted at the beginning of this year that an *Ad Hoc* Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights should come to Chile. Such a gesture has not been made by any of the Governments which vilify us, and is unprecedented in the history of the United Nations. The Chilean authorities, who from the beginning were ready to collaborate with the Group, were prepared to give it the necessary facilities for the discharge of its mission.

281. However, in the discharge of the primary obligation of every Government to protect domestic peace, the Chilean Government felt, much to its regret, that it was essential to cancel the authorization for the Working Group’s visit in the circumstances and in the manner that had been proposed. That decision, the decision of a sovereign State, was made for reasons given by my Government at the appropriate time, which I shall now try to summarize.

282. In the first place, a number of bodies in the United Nations system had prejudged the matter to be studied during the visit, without awaiting its outcome. In spite of the fact that the visit was imminent, the International Labour Conference and the World Conference of the International Women’s Year hastened to condemn Chile for alleged violations of human rights, totally ignoring the work of the Commission on Human Rights and disregarding in advance the work to be done by its Working Group. Those facts led to the logical conclusion that a political treatment would be given to the Commission’s report, based on the prejudgements that had inspired the condemnations I have referred to, with no regard to the report’s contents.

283. Secondly, on the eve of the arrival of the Working Group the authorities detected an intention in the country to receive it in an atmosphere of internal unrest. That movement, which was encouraged and directed by foreign broadcasting stations, was aimed

at filling the embassies with pseudo-political refugees and promoting sabotage and attacks on persons. It was thus an attempt to give the Working Group a false image, totally unrelated to the true situation prevailing in the country.

284. Thirdly, I must point out that the procedural terms of reference of the Working Group were not clearly established. There is nothing strange in that, for in the entire history of the United Nations, Chile was the first country which had accepted the idea of a visit by a Working Group to ascertain whether human rights were being respected in its territory. Other States accused of violations of those rights refused to receive similar missions.

285. My Government feels that its action in welcoming the Inter-American Committee on Human Rights and a permanent committee of the International Red Cross, which enjoyed the greatest possible freedom of action, should be duly appreciated.

286. These facts should lead us to ponder the need for the working groups of the Commission on Human Rights to be able to act in a manner different from that planned. On the one hand, a decision is necessary for the establishment of machinery of a universal character, permitting the study *in situ* of all allegations of violations of human rights throughout the world, without discrimination. On the other hand, the terms of reference of working groups sent to accused countries should be prepared and known in advance and for that purpose rules of procedure of general application should be prepared to direct their activities. Thus, when in future countries agree to such visits—as in the exceptional case of Chile—there will be guarantees and procedures established in advance for the due protection of their security and the adequate respect of their sovereignty.

287. In that connexion, the suggestions made during the general debate by a number of delegations, particularly those made by the representative of Belgium [2361st meeting], could be taken into account.

288. Furthermore, I cannot fail to mention our difficulty in understanding the attitude of some countries which, during the discussions that led to the International Covenants on Human Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex], refused to implement them and thus give them international effectiveness, or that of those countries which have not yet ratified them, and are now the very ones that accuse Chile of not fully implementing them.

289. If I have referred to the emergency régime that my Government was compelled to establish, that does not mean that that régime will be permanent—quite the contrary. It is being relaxed progressively and without interruption. What is more, the Government itself has sought this result through reforms of previous legislation and has granted to persons prosecuted by military tribunals a series of recourses that did not exist before September 1973, thus improving their legal situation, always protected by the rules of law. Today the same recourses granted by ordinary courts of justice can be requested and obtained. However, the Supreme Court still maintains its supervisory role over all the courts of justice in the land and exercises that right with full independence. Moreover, many prison sentences have been commuted into

internal exile, and many persons who were detained by virtue of the state of siege have now been freed, among them prominent leaders of the previous Government. That is a matter of public record, since many of those persons spend their time abroad vociferating against Chile.

290. Provided that peaceful conditions in the country are not affected, that terrorist and subversive activities are not encouraged by powerful broadcasting stations of Eastern Europe and the Caribbean and that the shipment of arms from abroad is stopped, we shall be able to bring the emergency régime to an end in accordance with the very best Chilean traditions.

291. That should not be interpreted as a return to a specific type of juridical structure which is now in crisis. It is obvious that even the most stable and traditional democracies are actively seeking new constitutional forms that will allow societies to adapt to the needs of modern times, to the process of technology and to the great moral, economic and social problems that man himself has created. New forms for society are now being sought in all countries because the political, social and economic structures are not consistent with today's realities, nor are they capable of tackling the problems of today's society.

292. We do not believe, for our part, that democracy, freedom and participation, which to us are fundamental concepts, are of necessity linked to a given juridical structure.

293. It is not the very foundations of democracy which have proved to be inoperative, but the machinery which expresses them. Democracy should not be, as some claim, a synonym for weakness or demagoguery. On the contrary, it needs a responsible authority capable of guiding the community to see to everyone's well-being and to ensure the fundamental spiritual unity of the people in keeping with human rights and with the essence of national tradition. Without that authority democracy loses its reason for existence.

294. The Government of Chile has noted with great concern the consequences of the present international economic situation. The world economy has now embarked on a phase of remarkable instability. The new prices of oil have undoubtedly served to highlight the weaknesses of the system of economic relations among nations of the world. The present crisis affects international trade and monetary relations and it renders more acute the problem of the distribution of the world economic product.

295. We share with satisfaction the consensus reflected in resolution 3362 (S-VII) which opens new paths and lays down standards for international economic development and co-operation in solving the above-mentioned problems, achieving greater world economic balance and improving the prospects for progress in developing countries.

Mr. Thorn (Luxembourg) resumed the Chair.

296. The above-mentioned agreement reflects the new spirit which inspired the States Members of the United Nations to reach those goals which have been discussed for far too long. In this context, we associate ourselves with what was said by the Minister for External Affairs of Brazil [2355th meeting] on the desirability of negotiating, between developed and

developing countries, a general agreement which will serve as a political and juridical pattern for concrete negotiations, correct distortions and fill the gaps left by existing agreements.

297. It is essential, as envisaged in the resolution, to arrive at binding agreements to protect the real prices of the exports of raw materials from developing countries.

298. Chile is one of the countries which have been most affected by the present crisis, owing both to the lack of fuel and to the extraordinary fall in the price of copper, which is its main export product. The effect both factors have had on us is the approximate equivalent of 50 per cent of the value of Chile's exports.

299. We are aware that the solutions of an international character to which I have referred cannot be implemented as rapidly as circumstances require. That is why the internal efforts made by countries are of vital importance. That is why Chile is now implementing an economic and social policy which requires sacrifices from all sectors of the nation. Remarkable efforts have been made to contain the hyper-inflation which was unleashed in 1973, in which prices rose by 1,000 per cent. We have now been able to reduce it by one fourth of that figure.

300. Our open-door policy as regards foreign trade, accompanied by an exceptional increase in non-traditional exports and an increase in the internal production of foods, has made it possible for us to handle the most difficult periods in the present crisis. In parallel, we attach great importance to the idea of establishing a collective security network to face the fluctuations in the balance of payments which result from diminished income from the sale of raw materials. This subject is now being studied by the central banks of the continent and their success can be ensured by the participation of the international economic community.

301. During this year we have continued our efforts to strengthen the progress of regional integration by ratifying the Protocol which creates the Council of Foreign Ministers of the member nations of the Latin American Free Trade Association. At the same time, we are actively participating in the streamlining of the machinery of the subregional Andean Pact for the purpose of making it conform to the new requirements of the international economic situation.

302. We have noted with attention the growing interest in arriving at international agreements on raw materials. Chile appreciates the great responsibility entailed by the possession of one of the greatest riches of the world—copper mines. This reserve accounts for 22 per cent of the world total and the new prospects could bring it up to 30 per cent in the near future.

303. The great importance which the export of Chilean copper has in world markets has prompted us to participate in agreements with other exporting countries, such as Peru, Zaire and Zambia, for the purpose of co-ordinating policies and seeking common solutions to the problems which beset us. We welcome with deep interest the ideas expressed by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, and by the President of France, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, aimed at seeking a harmonious settlement in connexion with this commodity, which is of fundamental importance

for the economic development of mankind. Therefore we state our wish to co-operate in the search for solutions which, while protecting the national heritage, will also be consistent with the general interest.

304. Concerned over the world food crisis, we have made great efforts to increase our domestic productivity. As a result we have achieved an average a growth of 20 per cent in our 14 major crops; this will make it possible for us to cut our food imports to half what they were in 1973.

305. The President of the Republic of Chile, after two years in office, has singled out the essential points of his five-year plan of social action. It is the fundamental goal of social development, he has stated, to make effective equal opportunities for all the people, the only differences being those which stem from lesser or greater personal aptitude.

306. My Government, in line with this concept and in full conformity with the preambular paragraphs of resolution 3362 (S-VII), has set in motion a vast programme of social reform, improving educational as well as health prospects, dwellings, provisional standards and labour legislation. The growing number of workers' enterprises, the provisional reform, the law on compulsory training, the social status of the enterprise, a very modern law on co-operatives and a vast programme for minimum employment are some of the outstanding elements in this dynamic and effective social programme.

307. In addition, an unparalleled effort in the supply of food has been made which makes it possible to distribute 1,400,000 breakfasts and luncheons daily to students. We have now set up an important social housing programme. We have set in motion an ambitious programme of supply and distribution which consists in establishing premises for the sale of products essential for the home in the poorer sectors of the population. We have also implemented a vast programme of education and care of young children, aimed at feeding and educating children from the most needy homes. I should refer in particular to the nutritional programme, the broadest carried out in Chile, which makes it possible to give milk to 95 per cent of Chilean children from low-income families. This programme has made it possible to reduce infant mortality to the lowest figure so far reached in my country.

308. Chile can point with pride to a policy which, on the basis of the efforts of all its people, has enabled it to overcome the most serious crises in the last few decades. This effort, which in many forms is also being carried out by other nations, particularly the small ones, should be appreciated in its true scope by the international community.

309. I should like to refer finally to a principle which since the San Francisco Conference has been considered as essential in our Organization—non-interference in the internal or external affairs of States. I wish to speak about it because it is my conviction not only that that principle is not being applied but that intervention and failure to respect it become more manifest day by day on the part of certain States. This is not consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This in no way promotes "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-

determination of peoples"—one of the objectives contained in Article 1 of the Charter. Article 2, paragraph 7, which prohibits the United Nations from interfering "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State", is completely disregarded.

310. What is forbidden to the Organization is with even more reason forbidden to Member States. This was recognized in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*], after a lengthy and detailed debate.

311. In the preamble of the Declaration it is stated that "the strict observance by States of the obligation not to intervene in the affairs of any other State is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and the letter of the Charter, but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security". In addition, the third principle defined direct or indirect acts of intervention in the internal or external affairs of States and qualified such acts as being "in violation of international law".

312. The same principle expressly states:

"No State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State in order to obtain from it the subordination of the exercise of its sovereign rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind. Also, no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State."

313. I should like to single out the following events, among many which have been taking place over the past two years and which are obvious acts of interference in the internal affairs of my country: insolent and arrogant declarations from governmental spokesmen who pronounce judgement on the internal problems of Chile and who instigate the overthrow of duly constituted authorities—declarations which have been repeated even in this general debate; direct and public assistance by foreign Governments to the financing of armed subversive and terrorist activities in Chile; daily broadcasts from powerful foreign broadcasting stations intended to promote, support and instruct subversive movements whose purpose is to change by violent means the Chilean régime; utilization of economic pressure in order to have Chile subject the exercise of its sovereign rights to certain political conditions—acts of interference which have taken place particularly during the renegotiation of my country's foreign debt; discrimination against Chile in trade and financial negotiations.

314. This is how some Member States are complying with the Declaration which they undertook to respect. We are not astonished by this attitude on the part of those States which systematically utilize intervention as a means of imposing their own political ideology. We are astonished, however, when it comes from States which proclaim the principles of the United Nations as the guidelines for their international policy

and which therefore should be the first to abide faithfully by them.

315. The Government of Chile wishes, through me, to express clearly and sincerely its views on some of the items on the agenda of this session, on the future of the Organization and on problems which directly concern the country which I am honoured to represent. This country, Chile, which has been serving the cause of peace and international collaboration in such an outstanding manner since its independence; this country, which participated actively from its creation in the former League of Nations and which contributed with enthusiasm and faith to the preparation of the Charter of the United Nations; this country which has been a sovereign State for 165 years is now the victim of attacks for the sole reason that it has recovered its traditions and its national characteristics.

316. These attacks, far from making us fearful, are received with the courage that characterizes the Chilean people, a courage and pride which we inherited from the heroic Spanish conqueror and the indomitable courage of our Araucanian aborigine. Those who attack us today, those who attempt to interfere in our internal affairs, should at least know of our history and know that the Chilean has never been subjugated to a foreign Power, has never accepted unfair and discriminatory international treatment.

317. In particular I should point out to the representatives of countries of the third world the grave danger to their full independence, often achieved after cruel struggles, represented by the reappearance in international relations of foreign interference in the internal affairs of States. I should also like to address myself to representatives of the developed Powers, large and medium-sized, to remind them that if they really wish to establish peace, security and international co-operation they should also follow closely, not in theory but in practice, the fundamental principles of international coexistence and, in particular, respect for the sovereignty of other States.

318. At the same time that we express our pleasure at our wise choice in having elected Mr. Gaston Thorn to preside over our debates during this session of the General Assembly, thus paying tribute to his brilliant diplomatic tradition and his personal merits, acknowledged by all, and to his admirable country, may I also, on behalf of Chile, express the fervent wish that in our debates the fundamental purposes of the Charter of the United Nations may always be present.

319. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

320. Mr. MITCHELL (United States of America): Mr. President, distinguished citizens of the world who have the honour to be here representing your countries: I know that you have had a long day. I know that many will consider that an extended speech would necessarily be an imposition. Therefore, I advise you in advance that what I have to say is not long. I would hope to stay within the limitation of 10 minutes, which is what I understand to be our rule. I want also to make it clear that what I say is not said so much in anger or out of rancour—because I think we have too much of that; what I am saying is with the hope that we can set the record straight so that the world, as it

looks at us, will have both sides of the problem which prompts my appearance here.

321. I am replying on behalf of my Government to the statements made this morning by the representative of Dahomey [2375th meeting]. I was especially interested, during that intervention, to find that, while Mr. Moynihan was criticized for things he was quoted as saying outside this chamber, there was not a word of reply to the report of the International Commission of Jurists of June 1974, concerning the deaths and disappearances of tens of thousands of Ugandans in the course of the Amin régime. This report and the findings of the report are the reality of the controversy. I might say, a man is just as dead if he is killed by a black person as he is if he is killed by a white person. In our country we believe the right of freedom of speech is sacred. We wish always to protect that right of our own citizens. We also want to protect it for our visitors, whether they be heads of mighty States, whether they be representatives of newly born nations, whether they be tourists or immigrants who come to our country. In that spirit we listen with respect, and we shall continue to give respectful attention, to the views of all who speak in this chamber, whether or not we agree with them. I have been here myself since early in the month of September. I have walked these aisles, I have shaken hands with the men and women who have spoken, not always because I have agreed with them but because I believe they had the right to be heard and I wanted to assure them by a handshake and a look into their faces that I was listening.

322. We accorded that kind of respect to the President of Uganda. On behalf of my country, I personally listened for the entire length of his presentation as Chairman of OAU. I also listened to what he said as President of Uganda. He said:

“... I should like now to discuss a few points in my capacity as President of Uganda” [2370th meeting, para. 114].

What he said from that point on contains much that constitutes an affront to millions of citizens of the United States. In our country—and many of you who are here represent countries that were with us—we fought a long and costly war against one kind of racism. That racism had been inflicted on the world by a dictator who exterminated millions of human beings because they were not members of what he called “the master race”. Perhaps if we had been less courteous with that dictator in the beginning, immense human suffering and loss would have been avoided.

323. Speaking as President of Uganda—and I emphasize, not as Chairman of OAU—President Amin said:

“The United States of America has been colonized by the Zionists, who hold all the tools of development and power. They own virtually all the banking institutions, the major manufacturing and processing industries and the major means of communication; and have so much infiltrated the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] that they are posing a great threat to the nations and peoples which may be opposed to the atrocious Zionist movement. They have turned CIA into a murder squad to eliminate any form of just resistance anywhere in the world.” [Ibid., para. 126.]

324. Further on he called for the extermination of the State of Israel and there is also a gratuitous suggestion to the blacks of the United States that the conditions from which they suffer are of their own doing and that if they would just straighten themselves out they would not have the kinds of trouble from which they now suffer.

325. It is interesting to note that, in his remarks this morning, the representative of Dahomey further compounded this insulting and ludicrous type of address with this question. He asked whether the leader of the delegation of the United States, Mr. Moynihan, was representing zionism or the United States and, if he was representing zionism, then he should go to Israel as soon as possible.

326. It is ironic that in his very next statement the representative of Dahomey appealed to Mr. Moynihan to act more responsibly. It is also ironic that the remarks of the representative of Dahomey are in sharp contrast with the fact that it was OAU itself which, at Kampala, took the decision to look at the Israeli question in a moderate, rather than an extremist, way.

327. Mr. Moynihan, in his San Francisco speech, gave full credit to OAU for this wise decision. And I say, with all the sincerity that I can command, I thank OAU for whatever it has done constructively to bring moderation into this troublesome question.

328. The fact is that President Amin's words are the kind that have been used through the centuries to persecute minorities, particularly the Jews. Usually such words are preceded by such utterances as "I like the Jews" or "some of my best friends are blacks". As we find in records of the 2370th meeting [*para. 128*], this is also the technique that he used. But we in our country are not deceived by fair-sounding language used to mask rhetoric that sows the seeds of hate.

329. We will raise our voices against an attack on any of our people. Any assault on any segment of us is an attack on all of us. We are one people in the United States. When we are assailed with cruel and degrading words, we feel and we are free to express our indignation. That is what has to be done. It is my personal view that this is an occasion for pride and not for apologies. Not only will we raise our voices in the defence of the Jews but we will raise our voices in defence of the Arabs who are distinguished citizens in our land. We will raise our voices in the defence of persons of Asian ancestry, and we will even raise our voices in the defence of those with whom we do not agree politically when they are attacked unfairly.

330. During the seventh special session [*2327th meeting*], the United States offered a plan for partnership. Through hard work and negotiation that session was a success, and we thought—I still believe, my country still believes—that we were and are on the road to building a partnership in this world. This continues to be our real work.

331. We now have a choice: we can continue our arguments about President Amin or others who may say similar things or we can turn to the real problem at hand—improving the quality of life for all the world's population, relieving children of the pangs of hunger, placing a roof over the heads of those who are in need of homes, assuring that talent is not wasted because

we give to those who have the ability an opportunity to learn and, above all, talking in a spirit of constructive reason so that we do not end up at each other's throats, but rather as men and women of good will talking about our differences. Surely we may not always agree, but if we are always rational, if we are always fair, if we are always willing to listen—and not as some may do, walk out in pique rather than even listen—if we do those things, I believe we have a great opportunity in this period of human history to begin building a world that we have always dreamed we could have, which would reflect, as this great chamber reflects, the hues of mankind, the political beliefs of mankind, and all the things that have made this world a place where we have an opportunity to build something which may not be close to paradise but which will be far better than anything we have known before.

332. Mr. KINENE (Uganda): In view of the fact that it is late I shall therefore not make my reply now; I just wish to reserve my right to reply later on.

333. Mr. PAQUI (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): Like my colleague who has just left the rostrum, I do not wish to tax the patience of the representatives present in the Hall. I merely wish to draw the President's attention to the statement we heard a moment ago and which, when all is said and done, merely confirms what the African Group, through its Chairman, the representative of Dahomey, denounced this morning.

334. The irony to which the representative of the United States referred is not to be found in the statement made this morning by the representative of Dahomey but, rather, in his quotation because, so far as we know, the investigations of CIA or others mentioned by the representative of the United States were not dictated by other countries but by the Americans themselves, and the result of the CIA investigations is not something that we have invented.

335. In any event, the African Group reserves the right to reply in due course to the statement of the representative of the United States.

AGENDA ITEM 22

Admission of new Members to the United Nations
(*continued*):

(a) Special report of the Security Council (A/10179, A/10238)

336. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should now like to refer briefly to item 22 of the General Assembly's agenda.

337. The Assembly may recall that on 19 September 1975 it adopted resolution 3366 (XXX), requesting the Security Council "to reconsider immediately and favourably" the requests for admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

338. The Security Council met for this purpose on 26, 29 and 30 September to examine the applications transmitted to it by the Assembly. The result of its deliberations is contained in the special report of the Security Council [*A/10273*]. In this context, I also wish to draw to the attention of delegations the letter dated

30 September 1975 [A/10274] from the Permanent Observers of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, which they have asked me to bring to the notice of the General Assembly meeting in plenary session because it conveys their latest stand.

339. During the past few days I have held consultations, mainly with the principal parties concerned. From those consultations, as well as from contacts with the chairmen of the regional groups, I have come to the conclusion that it is neither timely nor urgent, nor a matter of priority at this time, to resume consideration of this question, since the item still remains as item 22 of the agenda of the General Assembly's present session.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

² *Manifesto on Southern Africa. See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.*

³ *Adopted at the seventh Summit Conference of East and Central African States, held at Mogadiscio from 18 to 20 October 1971.*

⁴ *Adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its ninth extraordinary session held from 7 to 10 April 1975.*

⁵ *See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2262nd meeting, para. 97.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 115.

⁷ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1975, document S/11737.*

⁸ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, vol. IV (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.V.10), document A/CONF.62/WP.8.*