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*Address by Mr. Luis Echeverría Alvarez,
President of the United Mexican States*

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome His Excellency, Mr. Luis Echeverría Alvarez, President of the United Mexican States, and invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. ECHEVERRIA ALVAREZ (President of the United Mexican States) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of the people and Government of Mexico, I wish to convey to you our warmest congratulations on your well-deserved election, which ensures the impartiality and efficiency necessary to dispose properly of the items to be considered at this session.

3. Mexico's faith in our Organization remains unshaken, despite the setbacks to our Organization, since it continues to contribute in an even greater measure than is usually acknowledged to the development of the international community and because it fosters permanent dialogue among the nations of the world on a footing of legal equality despite ideological or economic differences.

4. Mexico is the product of an extensive racial and cultural mixture. As a result we share in a variety of civilizations. Our independent life began 150 years ago during a period characterized by a world realignment of spheres of domination. For more than a century thereafter we lived through constant threats to our territory, foreign invasions, the loss of a large portion of our land and the systematic depletion of our resources. To a great extent, the history of our Republic is a reflection of the Mexican people's unflagging struggle to do away with the legacy of colonialism and to prevent outside interference in national affairs. Because of our origins and the difficult conditions in which we have developed, we are a country jealous of our own freedom and the freedom of all the peoples of the earth.

5. That is why the principles that invariably guide our foreign policy are the proscription of the use of force, the

peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention, the juridical equality of States and the self-determination of peoples.

6. Our enthusiastic participation in the work of the United Nations from its inception, and our strict compliance with the commitments entered into within a spirit of loyal adherence to the ideals on which the Organization's existence rests, are not a mere coincidence.

7. I have come to this Assembly to reaffirm Mexico's adherence to the principles of the United Nations and to express its faith in the rapid advent of true international democracy, both political and economic.

8. The items on the agenda of this twenty-sixth session are particularly significant for the present and the future.

9. Mexico's recollection of its own war of independence produces in our people a deep concern for the fate of the millions of human beings in different parts of the world who have not yet won their freedom.

10. Since 1945 we have favoured universality for our Organization; therefore, our feeling of satisfaction at the constant growth of its membership from 51 to 130 nations—the most recently admitted States being Bhutan, Qatar and Bahrain—is easy to understand.

11. A noteworthy advance towards this principle of universality would be to welcome during this session the representatives of a nation inhabited by a fourth of the world's population—the People's Republic of China—and to give it its rightful place in the Security Council. At the same time, it will be necessary to recognize that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Chinese nation are juridically indivisible.

12. Disarmament, the absolute need to disarm—beginning with nuclear weapons—springs from peace as paramount among the values of human coexistence. Mexico has decisively contributed to work to promote disarmament in all the forums in which it has participated, and most particularly in the General Assembly and the Committee that specializes in this subject.

13. Furthermore, in the belief that one must practise what one preaches, we put forth our most determined efforts to complete successfully the task of banning atomic weapons in Latin America. The Tlatelolco Treaty¹ was the culmination of this work. Thanks to this Latin American instrument, there is today an area of military denuclearization of

¹ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634 (1968), No. 9068).

7 million square kilometres, comprising a population of approximately 120 million inhabitants. Our gratitude goes to U Thant, who, in his introduction to this year's report on the work of the Organization, appealed once again to all atomic Powers to provide guarantees against nuclear violation of the area covered by the Treaty of Tlatelolco by signing and ratifying Additional Protocol II of that instrument [A/8401/Add.1, para. 196]—a justified appeal which my country also has been making and which I now reiterate most firmly.

14. The arms struggle that broke out in the Middle East in the spring of 1967 has given rise to a serious situation, the prompt settlement of which is incumbent not only on the parties directly affected by it, but also on all other members of the international community, since there is sound reason to believe that this conflict constitutes one of the most alarming threats of potential confrontation among the so-called super-Powers. We continue to believe that resolution 242 (1967), adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 22 November 1967, is the right instrument to end this explosive conflict.

15. With respect to the serious situation posed by the presence of several million Pakistani refugees in India, Mexico requests the international community to make every effort to find a solution as quickly as possible that will allow these displaced persons to return to their homes.

16. The oceans that separate us geographically should unite us juridically. We should, therefore, strive to formulate a systematic, uniform and equitable code in this field.

17. Perhaps the two most outstanding matters to be settled at the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea are the establishment of a régime governing the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the determination of the width of territorial waters. The approach to the first of these should be on the basis of the 15 principles approved by the General Assembly last year [resolution 2,49 (XXV)], and particularly on the one which establishes that the sea-bed and the ocean floor are the common heritage of mankind.

18. We recognize the validity of the concern of several sister Latin American countries which claim maritime limits beyond 12 miles, on the grounds of their need to make use for their people of the resources that are becoming increasingly necessary for their subsistence, and in order to prevent their seizure by fishermen from distant lands. The time has come properly to define the special interest of coastal States in maintaining the productivity of the resources of the seas adjacent to their coasts and in the logical corollary of their sovereign right to establish exclusive and preferential fishing zones.

19. Environmental and development problems cannot be solved by the isolated action of any country, nor even by the joint action of a group of countries. A general mobilization is called for since, in the final analysis, what is being sought is the protection of the true protagonist of the drama we are witnessing—man himself.

20. Therefore, the importance of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held next year in Stockholm is unquestionable. Not only will the

possibility of co-ordinating efforts come under study, but the point of departure will have to be the inescapable reality that most of the earth's surface and air-space are beyond the jurisdiction of nations, and for that reason their conservation demands international agreements.

21. Problems vary from region to region and even from city to city; solutions, therefore, must always be adapted to specific needs. Industrialization often produces pollution, yet it is evident that no attempts should be made to hold back the development process. Any measure that hinders industrial progress in the weaker countries would be even less acceptable.

22. There has been a radical change in the political structure of the world in the last quarter of a century. The liberation of many nations that were under the yoke of colonialism has been accelerated, even though under the shadow of an armed peace in a time of uncertainty and fear.

23. It is my fond hope that this era of political "decolonialization" that we have been living in will be followed by another of economic "decolonialization" marked by shared progress among nations and by solidarity and effective action on their part in solving the problems that beset them.

24. The historical process which brought the benefits of modern civilization earlier to one group of nations caused an unbalanced stratification of the world community. The struggle for power among the industrialized countries went hand in hand with the advantages that accrued to them from their positions of dominance and the establishment of systems of exploitation that have survived into our times.

25. In the search for a new balance, we are now running the risk that short-sighted partisan interests will prevail over a more far-sighted willingness to co-operate. The only possible way of avoiding this danger is through reason, and this is its forum, the forum of truth.

26. United, the poor nations must establish the bases upon which they can share in the world community with dignity, and the limits beyond which they are not prepared to go; for them, international relations are not a matter of dominance but of independence and development. They repudiate all anachronistic power theories, and they hold that the independence of nations must lead them to the abandonment of oligarchic systems and the establishment of an international democratic society.

27. There will be no peace in the world until there has been a basic reorganization of economic relations among nations. Today, the threat of atomic war is as serious as that of the growing inequality between the rich countries and the poor.

28. Concepts of time and distance have been changed by means of communication, and peoples of all races and regions are at last learning the language of universal civilization. Thereby contrasts are sharpened, poverty is rendered more intolerable, the injustices of wars of aggression and the offences committed against international co-operation become more evident.

29. We must ponder the negative effects of allowing prejudices to continue in the form of disdain for peoples and cultures different from those of the powerful nations, and we must stop to reflect on the degree to which a lack of solidarity when it defies the patient work of the United Nations may be considered a different expression of the same motives that lead to war.

30. One of the great virtues of the United Nations is that it has looked upon many peoples not as they were up to some years ago, but as what they can become in the future.

31. We must fight for the advent of an era of economic, social, and political equality and we must break the bonds of serfdom, so that all peoples may fulfil their creative potentials at once. We must guide along peaceful paths just aspirations to freedom, health, food, housing, education and full employment.

32. The demands of the majority of the world must not go unheeded. Our peoples are seeking answers and solutions to problems that have burdened them for many centuries, and they want to find them soon. The nature and the trend of the changes taking place over the face of vast continents depend in large measure on the attitude of the powerful nations towards those demands and on the efficacy of the machinery of co-operation.

33. Post-war hostilities are dissolving. At the same time, frustration and reaction against unfair treatment must be prevented from provoking a new and radical schism in the world between the affluent nations and those struggling to surmount under-development.

34. However, no country or group of countries, however powerful they may be, may take upon themselves the exclusive guidance of world affairs, still less the guardianship of other nations.

35. We are now suffering from the negative consequences of systems that were not designed to satisfy, in the long run, the true needs of the international community.

36. A profound crisis is now manifest in the economic situation of the world—a crisis produced by defects in the regulatory machinery established at the end of the Second World War to reconcile the interests of the strongest countries and set up a financial system that was notoriously favourable to a dominant economy.

37. Widespread concern regarding under-development was far from occupying a position of priority in the organizations responsible for ensuring peace. The chief concern was to rebuild the economies of the most highly developed countries, re-establishing international trends, and defining spheres of political influence.

38. The majority had no say in the decisions designed to create a world to suit the most powerful, and the turmoil we are now experiencing was brought on by substantial alterations in the relative economic levels of the rich countries.

39. Fortunately, solidarity among the developing nations now represents a political force in the formulation of new

strategies. We know that the millions who make up the bulk of mankind are behind the principles set forth in the Latin American Consensus of Viña del Mar, the Charter of Tequendama, the Charter of Algiers, and General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV).

40. The liberalization of world trade took years of arduous negotiation. We were relatively optimistic about the future after the adoption of the generalized system of preferences, despite the fact that the exemptions affected only tariff barriers and not the quantitative restrictions produced by import quotas.

41. The principle under which the industrialized nations grant tariff advantages to poorer ones to enable them to sell their manufactures competitively represents a step forward towards offsetting the existing imbalance among countries at varying stages of development. This is evident particularly if it is considered that the developing countries in fact grant tariff advantages on imports of products of the industrialized nations because they are unable to do without the capital goods, machinery and equipment necessary for their progress.

42. Recently, we have been subjected to forces that obstruct the modest but positive results made to date.

43. It is a source of satisfaction to us that this General Assembly, when convening the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] should have expressed deep concern at the movement in certain countries towards the intensification of protectionism which damages the vital interests of the developing countries and stands in the way of the goals of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

44. I consider it my duty to point out that the levying of an additional 10 per cent *ad valorem* tax on United States imports hurts my country's interests and those of all developing nations. A protectionist race must not come on the heels of an armaments race. We have already suffered from the effects of the transfer of the inflationary trends of the great Powers, and now we are feeling the consequences of balance-of-payments deficits and internal unemployment.

45. The industrialized countries should bear in mind that temporary or permanent tariff barriers levied against poor countries are not only unjustified and unnecessary, but also self-defeating. Most of the developing countries already have a deficit in their balance of payments, which will now become more acute; their manufactures are just beginning to enter the markets of the industrialized nations and such measures will only force us to reduce our imports.

46. Furthermore, the developing world has been co-operating with the industrialized nations for many years by allowing them to invest in their countries and to obtain high profits, by becoming big customers for the industrialized nations' exports and suppliers of raw materials which they, in turn, process, enabling them thereby to trade anew with other economic Powers.

47. Mexico reaffirms the principles set forth in the Manifesto of Latin America, which represents the unani-

mous consensus of the member nations of the Special Latin American Co-ordinating Committee, adopted at its meeting held at Buenos Aires from 3 to 6 September this year, vis-à-vis the situation brought about unilaterally by the United States on 15 August last.

48. It also reiterates its support of the theses which make up the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] containing most of the principles supported by the countries of the Group of 77, whose number has now grown considerably.

49. Special heed should be given to the opinions and needs of the developing countries in the reorganization of the international monetary system. The agreement of all is necessary to ensure its effectiveness; hence, there will be no problem in abiding by its rules. It should not be considered an instrument at the service of the most powerful economies, but rather as a factor for the expansion of economic activity to assure increasing flows of capital, on optimum terms and interest conditions, towards countries that need it.

50. Our country places special stress on the importance of the exchange of scientific and technological knowledge. For that reason it is closely watching the work of the Intergovernmental Group on Transfer of Technology. We feel sure the content of its report will contribute to the formulation of national and international policies to surmount the obstacles to public and multilateral action.

51. Although advances in the field of economic co-operation have not been spectacular and the serious obstacles I have referred to have indeed existed, there is no doubt that they have wrought a change in the principles upon which international trade theory was based. We trust that the next session of UNCTAD, to be held in Chile in 1972, will at last crystallize the main points upon which the hopes of the developing world rest.

52. While multilateral co-operation can be a factor for progress, the continuing growth of each country will be the outcome, primarily, of its own efforts and responsibility. Like all the countries of Latin America, Mexico is fighting against time to provide higher standards of living for its people. Its goals concern mainly productivity and modernization of the agricultural economy, reorientation of industrial policy, redistribution of income, training of human resources, reorganization of public finances, and educational opportunities for all.

53. Economic integration is a collective instrument for accelerating the progress of Latin America. Its attainment should be one of the objectives of the national policy of all the countries of the area. Integration is an irreversible process, since our peoples already know that they cannot be left aside by trends towards the formation of larger economic areas. It is for this reason that Mexico is especially interested in having closer and more dynamic economic relations with all its neighbouring sister nations.

54. If this is to be achieved, it will be necessary to pay closer attention, among other mechanisms, to supplementary industrial agreements by the members of the Latin

American Free Trade Association, to increase existing margins of preferences, to create truly Latin American multinational companies, to seek to replace our shortages of agricultural products with others of the region, and to improve regional financing machinery in order to facilitate the exporting of manufactures and semi-manufactures to third parties.

55. Mexico reasserts, on this occasion, its support for the Latin American integration process and expresses its eagerness to see this become a reality on a large scale.

56. There is nothing at the present time to justify great optimism with respect to the immediate future. At the same time, we find hope and encouragement in the knowledge that there are men of all races and ideologies who are giving the best of themselves to establish a just order. One of the most illustrious of these men is our Secretary-General, U Thant, who has devoted to the cause of peace his intelligence and determination together with his unlimited capacity to persuade and conciliate. As he has already announced, this will be the last session of the Assembly at which he will act in his distinguished post. Once again, on behalf of Mexico, at this time I wish to pay tribute to U Thant for the invaluable services he has rendered to the United Nations over the past decade.

57. With the succinctness the occasion demands, I have reviewed the items I believe to be of greatest importance among the many on our agenda. I offer these thoughts for the consideration of members of this Assembly. There can be no better repository for them than this forum, exponent *par excellence* of world opinion and the aspirations of the human race.

58. In taking my leave of you and expressing my appreciation for your kind willingness to hear me, I should like to conclude by reaffirming my faith and that of my people in the future of the United Nations. Our Organization is humanity's guide and mirror, and, therefore, our faith in the future runs parallel to our faith in man and his destiny.

59. The course of history is marked by advances and retreats, victories and defeats but, in the final analysis, there is always an irreversible gain. What has been attained domestically through the establishment of government by law must be achieved in the sphere of the international community we have all pledged to build. Its ideal structure is outlined in our Charter, each of its principles and aims represents a daily challenge that we must meet in a fitting manner.

60. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the United Mexican States for the important address he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

61. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic):² Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, on behalf

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

of the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic and in my own name, our congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your election to the high office of President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your election reflects the distinguished position of your country, Indonesia, to which my country is linked with the strongest ties of friendship. It also reflects the great appreciation for your person and for the principles which you uphold. We are confident that, guided by you, the present session will deal with international problems in a spirit of adherence to the basic rules of right and justice enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

62. Profound appreciation is also due for the efforts of Mr. Hamdō, the President of the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, whose unfailing efforts, tact and knowledge contributed to the success of that jubilee-marking session.

63. I must also express my great respect and deep sense of appreciation to Secretary-General U Thant, who has guided the world Organization through wind and storm, courageously, and with dedication to the service of all mankind as well as with a firm belief in the need to uphold the ideals on which the world Organization was founded and to establish firmly principles of justice and peace. We should wish to see the Secretary-General accede to the overwhelming desire of United Nations Members to renew his tenure of office in order to continue to serve the international community and the cause of world security and peace.

64. It is a source of pleasure for me to congratulate the new States of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar on their recent admission, and Oman on its forthcoming admission, to membership in the United Nations. This stresses the inevitability of the victory of the struggle of peoples, big and small, to achieve liberation from colonial rule. My country, which is linked to Bahrain, Qatar and Oman by belonging to the Arab people, who are fighting to achieve peace and liberation, wishes the three new States full progress and prosperity.

65. The United Nations, which was born more than 25 years ago in the aftermath of the catastrophe of the Second World War, has been able to face grave crises, to withstand challenges and to confirm, year after year, the inevitability of the victory of the struggle of peoples.

66. The United Nations has acted to restrain aggression; has exerted efforts to put an end to colonialism, to promote economic development, to ease international tension and to foster peace; it has achieved an agreement to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons;³ and it has started useful talks on the subject of general and complete disarmament.

67. But do these achievements meet the pressing needs of humanity? Do they rise to the level of the aspirations of peoples? Peoples of the world who are fighting to exist and to survive find their existence and their survival seriously threatened; peoples who are seeking peace and justice are

plagued with aggression and occupation; and peoples who are struggling to ensure mere subsistence find their riches usurped and their resources exploited through old and new forms of imperialist domination.

68. Fear of the woes of war, fear of the loss of liberty through subjection to domination and occupation, and the fear of people who have to suffer the cruelties of homelessness and hunger—these are the dangers that threaten humanity and its future. These are the dangers that stress the need for the struggle to ensure due respect for provisions of the United Nations Charter and the basic rights of man.

69. The Syrian Arab Republic, which is struggling alongside other peoples to achieve liberation and to ensure a better future for its citizens, participated in the establishment of the United Nations and in the drawing up of its Charter. Like other participants, it entertained the hope that, through this Charter, a better world—a world free of colonialism, domination, exploitation and under-development—would be created. Syria, moreover, has sacrificed much to contribute to the attainment of this goal, as witnessed by its record inside the United Nations and outside it.

70. Syria's firm adherence to United Nations principles has made it the object of various forms of pressure and threats, ranging from economic blockade to direct aggression and occupation.

71. The Syrian Arab Republic believes that the battle for liberation is one and indivisible and can be won only through a united struggle by the peoples of the world. We also believe that the struggle for peace can attain its goal only through a relentless fight to put a final end to all forms of colonialism and that the struggle against under-development will be effective and fruitful only through co-operation and the co-ordinated efforts of peoples.

72. Syria, therefore, reaffirms its support for the heroic struggle of the peoples of Viet-Nam, who are fighting to achieve unity, liberation, self-determination and the evacuation of all foreign troops from their homeland. We believe that the seven-point plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam constitutes the only way to resolve the Viet-Nameese question. We condemn the United States interference in Cambodia against the lawful Government of President Sihanouk. We support the struggle of the people of Indo-China against United States imperialist aggression, which constitutes a threat to the peace and security of South-East Asia. The people of Korea should be allowed to achieve unity and exercise their indisputable right to self-determination. We call for the evacuation of all foreign troops from South Korea and for the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the very existence of which constitutes serious interference in the internal affairs of Korea.

73. The Syrian Arab Republic is very eager to see that the unity of Pakistan is preserved and that peace in East Pakistan is maintained so as to secure the return of the refugees to their homeland and to ensure peace and security in that region, particularly as the President of Pakistan,

³ Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (resolution 2373 (XXII), annex).

Mr. Yahya Khan, has called upon all the refugees to return to their homes.

74. The Syrian Arab Republic has always supported the struggle of the peoples of Africa against racial discrimination in all parts of the African continent. We condemn the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa, as well as its illegal occupation of Namibia. We support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the racist rule of the usurper minority. We support the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and all the other parts of Africa subject to colonial rule and their struggle against foreign colonialist forces which threaten the security of Africa. We declare that support for this struggle is a sacred duty required by the common destiny of peoples and the dignity of humanity.

75. The Arab people of Syria, who have fought against imperialist occupation, the crimes of colonialism and the brutality of the Nazi-type Zionist aggression in the Middle East, reaffirm their stand alongside the peoples of Africa in their destiny-deciding struggle against racial discrimination and imperialist intervention in Africa. The solidarity of the struggle of the Arab people with the struggle of the peoples of Africa will, we believe, ensure the defeat of the common enemy and its racial-Zionist ideology, which is based on hatred, malice and genocide.

76. The Syrian Arab Republic supports the principle of universality of representation at the United Nations and believes that respect for this principle strengthens the world Organization. Indeed, world peace cannot be safeguarded if political prejudice is permitted to replace the principles of the United Nations Charter.

77. The Syrian Arab Republic was one of the nations that first advocated the restoration to the People's Republic of China, in its capacity as the only true representative of the Chinese people, of its legal right to occupy China's seat at the United Nations. It is indeed gratifying to note that in the world at large the year 1971 has witnessed a growing recognition of the justice of this stand.

78. Believing in the principle of universality of representation, and desirous of strengthening the world Organization, we support the admission to membership in the United Nations of States which have shown due respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter, such as the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The admission of those States would strengthen the forces that stand for liberty and peace. We believe that the United Nations will continue to lack due effectiveness and the requisite international character if the peoples of those States, representing, as they do, a tremendous human, cultural and economic potential, continue to be denied admission to membership in the United Nations.

79. The victory of the struggle of peoples to achieve liberty, equality and the enforcement of the principles of the United Nations Charter will remain a far-off target unless the heavy legacy of long centuries of colonial rule is overcome and liquidated. Economic and social underdevelopment, which developing countries have inherited from the period of colonization, constitutes a permanent

threat to the peoples of those countries. Real independence for them should include freedom from poverty and ignorance, and a bridging of the tremendous gap that separates developed from developing countries. That terrible gap constitutes a grave and continuing threat to world peace. Those are some of the basic considerations which have led us to support, as we still do, the adoption of all necessary measures for the strengthening of international peace and security.

80. Working to achieve those targets has not proved easy and has always met with opposition from world imperialism, the bitterest enemy of the freedom and development of peoples. Notwithstanding the various forms of pressure to which it has been subjected, including that of direct aggression, the Syrian Arab Republic has succeeded in freeing its economy and effectively utilizing its resources through co-operation with friendly countries which believe that international relations should be based on mutual respect for a country's dignity and its national sovereignty. We believe that the battle for economic liberation, which is no less important than that for political freedom, requires the full co-operation and complete solidarity of all forces of liberation throughout the world.

81. To serve a common cause and common interests, relations of friendly co-operation have been established by Syria with the forces of liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Strong ties have also been maintained with socialist countries that have supported the just causes of peoples and have given us assistance on the basis of sincere co-operation. The Syrian Arab Republic is prepared to enter into relations of mutual co-operation with all countries that believe in the right of peoples to liberation and sovereignty.

82. In pursuance of the struggle to achieve the unity of the Arab people, the Syrian Arab Republic, in co-operation with the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Libyan Arab Republic, has established a federation that fulfils the aspirations of the Arab masses to unity and liberation and enhances the economy of the States of the Federation.

83. The new Federation of Arab Republics represents an emerging political force capable of developing defensive power against aggression. The Federation is a new force that supports the struggle of peoples and all liberation movements throughout the world. The Federation represents a force that seeks peace and friendship with all peoples that believe in the dignity of men and in a peace based on justice and equity.

84. The General Assembly debates yearly the explosive Middle East crisis which threatens not only the security of the area but also world peace. At the heart of this crisis is the cause of the Arab people of Palestine, who have been deprived of all rights confirmed by international legislation, conventions and United Nations resolutions. It is the case of the Zionist imperialist aggression against the people of Palestine as well as against the whole Arab people, an aggression that has continued unabated for over half a century now.

85. This hall and this forum have witnessed repeated condemnations of Israel for acts of collective killing and

genocide. The majority of Members of the United Nations has endorsed these condemnations, as can be ascertained through reference to numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs and committees of the United Nations. No Member State has a darker United Nations record or one that is more tainted with crimes and violations than Israel.

86. Israel's existence as an entity in Palestine since 1948 represents a continuation and an expansion of the illegal colonial presence which had ruled the country through the device of the Mandate. From the early days of its existence, Israel has perpetrated the worst atrocities, which, before its rise, were committed by Zionist terrorist gangs. Since its inception as the successor to British colonial rule in Palestine, Israel has violated all international rules, human principles and moral codes. Its programme and logic included murder and assassination, which has extended even to United Nations personnel; collective killing of unarmed civilians in a Nazi-like manner and the uprooting of a whole people. Every crime committed by the Nazis of modern times and by barbaric invaders in past times has been committed by Israel, which has violated all the rules and conventions of international law.

87. In this very hall, on several occasions, the voice of the representatives of the Zionist authorities has been heard defying the authority of the United Nations and warning the world Organization that Israel would not heed any United Nations resolutions—even though they were adopted almost unanimously—if they did not serve Israeli designs and the Zionist logic of aggression.

88. The Arab people of Palestine have been uprooted from their homeland to make room for the establishment of a settler colonial State based on a racist ideology that upholds discrimination on grounds of race, colour, and religion, an ideology that embodies the madness of the Nazis and the criminal practices of the minority régimes of Rhodesia and South Africa.

89. The Zionist régime has been set up in Palestine, and it has adopted, in co-operation with world imperialism, a policy of aggression and of territorial expansion involving the displacement of 1.5 million Arab refugees from their homeland and of over three quarters of a million newly displaced persons from the occupied areas of three Member States: Syria, Egypt and Jordan. It is a policy aimed at keeping the peoples of the region under-developed and disunited. United Nations records and official reports confirm this dark image of Israel.

90. The world was brought to the verge of a global war when Israel played the role of the spearhead of the tripartite aggression which was launched against Egypt in 1956. Israel pushed the world again to the verge of another world war through the launching of an expansionist Zionist-imperialist surprise attack against three Arab States in 1967. Following the 1967 aggression, Israel was ordered to withdraw from all the occupied territories. Since then, Israel has been condemned for savage, inhuman attacks, aerial and otherwise, deep inside Arab territories, killing innocent school children, working men and women in their factories. Israel has also been condemned for crimes committed in every part of the occupied territories: crimes

against civilians; against children, women and old men; against sacred historical places; and against the sentiments and feelings of Christians and Moslems throughout the world.

91. To set the record clear, the number of resolutions and decisions on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine question adopted by the General Assembly, the principal organs of the United Nations, and specialized agencies—UNESCO and WHO—from the first cease-fire decision of 6 June 1967 until now, totals 54. Those resolutions and decisions have, on the one hand, affirmed every Arab right and confirmed, on the other, Israel's utter disregard of these rights and its deliberate ignoring of every principle of the Charter, a record which makes Israel a candidate for expulsion from the world Organization in accordance with Article 6 of the Charter. Specifically, of the 54 resolutions referred to, 14 “condemn” or “strongly condemn” or “specifically condemn Israel” for “flagrant violations” of the Charter, including attacks on the Arab countries, its refusal to apply the fourth Geneva Convention⁴ and its violations of human rights. Nineteen of those 54 resolutions either “deplore” or “deeply deplore” or “strongly deplore” or “note with dismay the refusal of Israel” to co-operate in implementing specific resolutions or “urgently call upon the Government of Israel” to implement the Charter.

92. There is no limit to Israeli arrogance and cynicism. Israel attempts continuously to derogate from the authority of the United Nations and its responsibility to maintain world peace and order. Such arrogance was displayed last week in the Security Council following the adoption on 25 September last of a resolution on Jerusalem which, *inter alia*, “urgently calls upon Israel to rescind all previous measures and actions” in annexing Arab Jerusalem. The Israeli representative arrogantly declared the refusal of his Government to accept that resolution. The following day the Israeli Cabinet issued a statement to that effect. Only Thursday of last week, the General Assembly hall witnessed a similar irresponsibility expressed by the Foreign Minister of the Tel Aviv authorities when, in his statement at the 1946th meeting, he requested the world Organization to give up its authority for the maintenance of international peace and security and to abandon, directly or indirectly, its responsibilities vis-à-vis Zionist aggression and expansion in the Middle East.

93. Europe witnessed such a disregard for international covenants and agreements on the eve of the Second World War through the declarations of the Nazi leaders who dragged their country and the whole world to the Second World War that brought untold sorrow to mankind. That is why the United Nations and the Members represented in it are asked to put an end to such cynicism and irresponsibility which now threaten the peace and security of the world.

94. The Foreign Minister of Israel, faithful to his sophistry and to the well-known Zionist pattern of distorting facts, referred to what he called the situation of the Jews in Syria. I need hardly refute his allegations because the members of the Jewish community in Syria are Syrian citizens. They

⁴ Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

live not only better than the Arabs in Israel, who are treated as third-class citizens, or the Arabs in the occupied territories, but certainly better than the oriental Jews in Israel. Indeed, who did not read recently about the revolt of these wretched oriental Jews who have been lured by Zionist propaganda to migrate to Israel? Those oriental Jews saw for themselves what it means to live under a racist-Zionist European society based on discrimination as to colour, race and creed. We do not believe that the Zionist authorities can hide from the eyes of the world the tragedy of the oriental Jews in Israel. The Black Panther movements there, their continuous strikes and demonstrations, are but the beginning of the erosion of that racial society.

95. Furthermore, Zionist-Israeli propaganda, in utter disregard of the will of the world concerning the maintenance of international peace and security, has been attempting continuously to picture Israeli aggression against the Arab States as a conflict between the United States and the USSR in the Middle East. Such an attempt aims at tying the United States and its interests totally to Israeli aggression and to the desire of the expansionist Israeli State to expand further in to Arab lands. It is an explosive situation, because it aims ultimately at pushing the whole world to the brink of a third world war in order to protect Israeli expansionism and aggression.

96. We therefore confirm once more that any settlement based on giving a reward to the aggressor is but a call for a further renewal of aggression. It is a dangerous game which threatens the security of the world community. Artificial creations based on racialism and aggression cannot subsist, regardless of the arsenal of offensive destructive arms which they have at their disposal.

97. History teaches us beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the early victories of aggressors always become the road leading to their defeat. The Zionist-Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples of the Middle East will not fare better than the Nazi aggression against Europe and the whole world.

98. This Zionist-imperialist aggression, which has been so extensively condemned on the international level, could not have continued had it not been for the support which the United States of America gave to Israel, first to commit the aggression and later to perpetuate it. The alliance between the United States and Israel, between imperialism and Zionism, which is directed against the uprooted and dispossessed people of Palestine, as well as against the whole of the Arab people who aspire to peace, constitutes a threat to all freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples of the world and is harmful to American interests, which are sacrificed to serve the aggressive aims of Zionism.

99. The so-called United States policy of "quiet diplomacy for a Middle East settlement" is in effect nothing but a manifestation of that country's desire to give the aggressor party the opportunity and the needed "quiet" to enjoy the fruits of aggression and to consolidate its control of the occupied territories by establishing new colonies and expelling the inhabitants of these territories.

100. It is indeed regrettable that the United States of America, the country which produced, in the past two

centuries, great heroes of freedom—Washington, Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln—should become today the chief supplier of the arms and weapons used to commit aggression against the peoples of the world who are seeking liberty and freedom. It is indeed regrettable that the United States of America, which produced the Declaration of Independence, the first declaration of human rights in modern history, should become today the oppressive force used to threaten the freedom of peoples and to support violations of the rights of man.

101. The large-scale expulsion from their homes and lands of the Arab inhabitants of the Golan heights, the west bank of the Jordan, Gaza, the Sinai peninsula and Jerusalem is a terrible crime that should move the conscience of humanity to intervene to save the threatened peace and security of the world.

102. The Israeli authorities have gone so far in their defiance of the international community as to declare openly their colonialist intentions regarding the occupied Arab territories. The Israeli Minister of Defence has recently demanded that these territories should be annexed to Israel and that Israel should therefore regard itself as the "permanent government" of these territories.

103. Zionist acts of aggression and expulsion have reduced the Arab people of Palestine to the status of refugees. The failure of the world community to render justice to these refugees and the indifference with which it has regarded their tragic plight has kindled the spirit of resistance in their torn tents and has converted the homeless and dispossessed people of Palestine into freedom fighters struggling to defend the rights which the United Nations Charter has recognized as belonging to all peoples.

104. The struggle of Palestinian resistance is a struggle for the right of self-determination. International law recognizes this right and consecrates the struggle to achieve it. For it is, indeed, the right for the achievement of which all the peoples of the world represented in this Organization, not excluding the United States of America, have fought to achieve. It is the right recognized by international law and charters, including the United States Declaration of Independence, and is, therefore, the inalienable right of the Palestinian people, which the United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly recognized and affirmed in resolutions adopted by various sessions of the Assembly, most notably by the twenty-fifth anniversary session.

105. The Syrian Arab Republic wishes to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the grave dangers to the peace in the Middle East and to the world attendant upon the present state of continued Israeli aggression. The international community should discharge its historic responsibilities relating to the preservation of world peace by promptly putting an end to that aggression.

106. The attitude of the Syrian Arab Republic to the Palestine question and to Israel's continued aggression is constant and firm and is based on the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter and the inalienable rights of man.

107. There are two prerequisites for the establishment of peace in the Middle East: first, recognition of the right of

the Palestinian people to their lands and homeland and of their right to the free exercise of self-determination; secondly, the complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories.

108. The continued occupation of these territories constitutes a grave danger to peace, a danger for which the Zionist aggressors and the forces of imperialism that support the aggression must be held responsible.

109. The freedom-loving forces of the world and all peoples fighting for liberation bear the responsibility to check the aggressor. These forces, acting collectively, can deter aggression, can protect the cause of freedom and the sovereignty of peoples, and can ensure a world peace based on justice and equity.

110. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): This session of the General Assembly is meeting at a time when new dangers and threats to international peace and security have been added to those that already existed, at a time when the problems which concern the world are becoming still more complicated. The aggression of American imperialism has gone beyond the frontiers of Viet-Nam and has spread to the whole of Indo-China. Arab territories are still occupied and the prospects for peace in the Middle East seem to be more favourable than before. The Powers that practise the old and new methods of colonialism persist in their policy of oppression and ferocious plunder, of hateful racial discrimination and of the massacre of patriots and coloured populations. The two great Powers have increased the arsenals of war and are brandishing weapons in the four corners of the world. Never perhaps have the demagoguery and hypocrisy of the aggressors on the subject of "peace" and "security" been so unbridled and so cynical as they are today; never have they used such resources or expended so much energy to brutalize the human spirit and poison man's conscience.

111. But never have the imperialists and the aggressors encountered such strong and determined resistance on the part of the peoples, which have risen up and are struggling to defend their freedom, their independence, their rights and their sovereignty. An ever-growing number of sovereign and peace-loving countries are resisting the hegemonic policy of oppression and aggression and are repulsing it. The defeats suffered by the imperialists and the aggressors have shaken their positions from top to bottom. The international isolation of United States imperialism and its allies is becoming more and more obvious; the more stubbornly they persist in their policy of exploiting peoples and robbing them of their freedom, the more numerous are their failures and their difficulties.

112. The capitalist world is now shaken by a grave crisis in its monetary system, which is the biggest and the most disturbing of the period since the Second World War and whose epicentre is the crisis of the United States dollar. That crisis has given rise to a new state of tension and great perturbation in relations between capitalist countries, particularly between the countries of Western Europe and Japan on the one hand, and the United States of America on the other. It is the expression and the inevitable consequence of the general crisis of the capitalist system.

The United States dollar crisis has led to the appearance, in all their acuity, of deep-seated political, economic and social contradictions, and domestic and foreign antagonisms, which gnaw at the main imperialist countries, particularly the United States of America. Thus, what was to be expected has taken place—what, indeed, could not but have taken place.

113. Faced with a situation in which the law of the unequal development of the economy of the capitalist countries has its inevitable effect, confronted with aggravation of the contradictions and of the struggle for world markets, and as a result of its entire policy of aggressive expansionism on the international scene, the United States of America has gradually lost many of its privileged and dominant positions in the capitalist world. The policy of world dominion, aggression and war constantly practised by United States imperialism, the militarization of the economy and the frenzied arms race, the maintenance of military bases and of numerous armed forces throughout the world, the diversionary and subversive activities which it conducts on every continent and its efforts to extend its tentacles to the economies of the developed and the under-developed countries have obliged it to undertake enormous expenditures that the United States economy is unable to cover. The dollar crisis, in one aspect, is the economic expression of the political defeats suffered by United States imperialism.

114. To meet the colossal expenses required to follow its expansionist course of world dominion, the United States circulated large sums in dollars both at home and abroad; and through threats and blackmail on the political, economic and financial levels against other countries, it endeavoured, with difficulty, to maintain the old nominal value of its currency.

115. For some time the United States of America withstood the worsening domestic inflation and the drain on its gold reserves, and its partners resigned themselves to making their contribution to correcting the difficulties of the dollar. But when the privileged and dominant positions of the dollar as the basic currency in the international monetary system were endangered, the United States Government sounded the alarm and started new efforts to solve its crisis without too many painful convulsions. It unilaterally proclaimed the measures with which everyone is familiar, without asking the prior assent of its partners, and flouting the interests of those partners and its undertakings under international agreements.

116. Nixon's new protectionist policy, his pressures on other countries to revalue their currencies, and so forth, are a flagrant challenge to the partners of the United States and tribute that United States imperialism is trying to impose on the peoples of those countries. The gravest consequences of these measures, namely, growing unemployment, rising prices at a time of a wage-freeze, reduced expenditures on public services and increased taxes will weigh more heavily on the working masses than on anyone else, and their living standards will decline still further. The United States Government has taken these measures not only to prevent the devaluation of the dollar but also to save the whole course of its aggressive policy. These measures imply means and methods of finding new possibilities for carrying

through the wars already begun and for preparing new ones in order to exploit and plunder other peoples.

117. The panic which seized the finances and the economies of the European Common Market countries, Japan and the Latin American countries following the dollar crisis clearly shows the difficulties in which United States imperialism can put its partners when it comes to protecting its own hegemonic positions; it reveals how precarious is the basis on which relations among themselves are built. It would be naive to suppose that those countries will stand idly by and that they will quietly submit to United States economic *diktat*. No, they too will struggle; they will resist and defend their positions and interests. All that will inevitably aggravate the struggle between competitors on the world market, will change relations in international trade and will entail a resurgence of the struggle of monopolies to grab new markets. We already see the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and a number of other countries that are the most harmed by the United States measures manoeuvring to find a way out.

118. The United States of America, which is clinging to its dominant positions, will step up pressure and blackmail in order to prevent its partners from going too far in the measures they may adopt in their own defence, and it will multiply its efforts to intimidate them by invoking the danger of communism and revolution in order to force them to undertake the greatest possible share of the burden by acquiring as many commodities as possible on the United States market, particularly armaments, by increasing military expenditures and their contribution to the cost of maintaining United States bases and troops on their territory.

119. Taken as a whole, the present monetary crisis will exacerbate all the contradictions of the capitalist world. The dollar crisis will damage, in the first instance, the economically weak countries at whose expense the United States is seeking to make profits. The inequality in their trade will only be accentuated. The crisis will lead to a weakening of the economic potential of capitalist countries, to a decline in production, to the closing of factories, and so forth. There can be no doubt that those countries, each on its own account or within the framework of various groupings, will resist United States imperialism in the defence of their own interests and their national independence, that they will try to confront the situation and that in so doing they will step up the rivalries and the competition among themselves. The trade war, which has already begun, is governed by its own savage laws which are as pitiless as those of war proper. The history of past conflicts has taught us that the struggle for markets was the basis and the prelude of the greatest conflagrations.

120. Before this situation, it is becoming even clearer what dire consequences may ensue from close bonds with the United States of America and its economy, with its inevitable inherent conflicts and crises. This once again confirms how important and essential it is for any country which is concerned to develop freely and independently, and particularly for any developing country, to rely on its own strength and to concentrate its efforts on exploiting its own natural resources and domestic possibilities. We have every confidence that the situation created will raise the

political consciousness of the peoples and the working masses, who will not bow before this new attack on their vital interests but will use it to strike heavier blows at the positions of imperialism headed by the United States, in order to advance their struggle; for this will assuredly be so.

121. For more than 20 consecutive years the General Assembly has faced the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the representatives of the Chang Kai-shek clique from the Organization, a problem the just solution to which would be very advantageous to the cause of peoples and peace-loving States, to international peace and security and, to a very large extent, to the normal functioning of our Organization itself. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania has long drawn attention to the tremendous strength of the People's Republic of China and the unquestionable role that it plays in the present development of the world, and emphasized that without its participation no important problem of our time can be settled. We have emphatically pointed out that the world, and above all, the United Nations, has great need of the People's Republic of China and that it cannot do without that great socialist State, which represents a quarter of mankind and which has consistently followed a policy of peace and international co-operation.

122. Blinded by their deep hostility towards socialism and the great Chinese people, the United States of America and its allies have, since the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 to this very day, striven by every means to subjugate it; they have pursued against it a policy of war, have undertaken armed provocations and flagrant acts of aggression and have girded its frontiers with a vast network of bases and military pacts to enclose it in a circle of fire. They have organized against it an embargo and a ferocious political and economic blockade, and they have endeavoured to isolate it diplomatically. The Soviet-social-imperialists, too, have joined these anti-Chinese activities in recent years and have directed the iron lance of their expansionist policy against the People's Republic of China. They constantly inflate their frenzied propaganda, replete with calumny and fiction and hatch aggressive plans against it. They have committed armed provocation and acts of aggression, and today they are concentrating their armies close to the Soviet-Chinese frontier.

123. But the United States imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, as well as all their collaborators, have totally failed. Great China is going ahead with giant steps, and it has won tremendous victories in the socialist revolution and in the socialist construction of the country. It is now stronger than ever; it stands like an unshakable citadel of revolution and socialism in the world. It is a powerful supporter of the struggle of peoples for freedom and national independence and is making an immense positive contribution to the course of events in the international arena. Its prestige and authority are constantly growing. The eyes of the world's peoples and of peace- and freedom-loving sovereign States that seek friendship and sincere support in their struggle to build an independent life are turned towards great China.

124. Time has vindicated the judgement of our party and our Government in assessing the strength and the role of

great socialist China in the world. It has shown that our judgement was no mere propaganda, but the expression of a great reality—the expression of our correct Marxist-Leninist view of world developments.

125. The day has already come when in the face of this great reality, following the determined revolutionary policy of the People's Republic of China, many States of the world have had to change their attitude towards it. Finally convinced that they could no longer proceed by ignoring the Chinese colossus, that the policy dictated to them by United States imperialism was leading to an impasse, and also thinking of their own national interests, many countries have begun, one after another, to recognize the People's Republic of China and to establish diplomatic relations with it. These signs of realism in the attitude of these countries vis-à-vis the People's Republic of China clearly show that the hostile and short-sighted anti-Chinese policy of the United States of America has suffered a heavy defeat on one key point. It proves that the United States is unable to isolate the People's Republic of China or even to prevent the increase of its influence in the world and the extension of its international relations.

126. In the United Nations, too, there has been a striking turn-around of forces in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. Suffice it to note the well-known fact that here in this Assembly there has been a year-by-year increase in the number of States voting for the draft resolutions submitted by Albania and various co-sponsors—draft resolutions that we have constantly and firmly upheld. While in 1968 the result of the voting was 44 in favour and 58 against, in 1969 the score had risen to 48 in favour and 56 against; and, in 1970, to 51 in favour and 49 against, thus ensuring the number of votes required for a solution of the problem.

127. Faced with the new conditions thus created, fearing a total failure of the policy it had practised thus far in regard to the People's Republic of China and of its own ever-deepening isolation in this matter, the United States has changed its tactics and now pretends to have adopted a new attitude towards the People's Republic of China. But nothing has changed in the essence of its traditional anti-China policy, since the United States has not renounced the artificial obstacles it raises to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the immediate expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, and since the United States has not withdrawn its military forces from Taiwan—that indivisible part of Chinese territory—and the warships of its Seventh Fleet from Chinese coastal waters. These are the first essential steps that the United States must take.

128. Its proposal placed on the General Assembly agenda under the title "Representation of China in the United Nations" [see A/8442] is a new hostile manoeuvre, a new effort to accomplish the old United States plot of "two Chinas" and to legalize, through the United Nations, the separation of Taiwan from the motherland, and its military occupation of that Chinese province. By its proposal the United States is attempting to disorient the work of the Assembly and to postpone to as distant a date as possible the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Organization. Yesterday, at the 1950th

meeting, the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, while openly distorting realities, or resorting to unfounded, contradictory arguments, once again tried to sow confusion in this Assembly and to throw up a smoke-screen to conceal the hostile policy of the United States towards the great Chinese people.

129. We also note that the United States of America is constantly bringing pressure of all kinds to bear on a large number of States not to vote at this session for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and for the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, despite the fact that many of them wish to do so, since they take the realistic view that the world, the cause of peace, and the very progress of this Organization would have nothing to gain if a puppet which represents nothing, and is nothing other than an instrument in the hands of United States imperialism, were to remain here.

130. We are convinced that even those States that in determining their attitude on this question are still under United States influence, because of political, economic and military links with that country, will finally find the necessary strength to reject the United States *diktat* and to join the majority of peace-loving States. This is the propitious moment for them to act with courage, as their own national self-interest dictates.

131. The People's Republic of Albania and many other countries have long stressed that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, a founder Member of the Organization and permanent member of the Security Council, is a simple and clear question. There is only one China in the world, the People's Republic of China, and Taiwan is an integral part of its territory, and the Chinese people of 700 million is resolved to liberate that part. Only the Government of the People's Republic of China has all the necessary qualifications and powers to represent the Chinese people and the whole of China in international relations and in the United Nations. The Nixon Government's present proposal is nothing more than a brutal and unprecedented intervention in the domestic affairs of a sovereign State, a flagrant violation of our Organization's Charter. On 20 August this year the Government of the People's Republic of China condemned and resolutely rejected this United States manoeuvre and categorically declared:

"Should a situation of 'two Chinas', 'one China, one Taiwan' or 'the status of Taiwan remaining to be determined' or any other similar situation occur in the United Nations, the Government of the People's Republic of China will have absolutely nothing to do with the United Nations. This just stand of the Chinese Government is unshakable." [See A/8470.]

132. The United States and those that take their cue from its hostile anti-Chinese manoeuvres should seriously take account of this formal declaration. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of China is a consistent policy of principle. Great socialist China will never bargain away the principles of Marxism-Leninism which underlie its policy. The peoples of the world are profoundly convinced of this, and imperialism and social imperialism must clearly recognize as much. Let no one deceive himself. The strategy and

tactics of the glorious Chinese Communist Party, guided by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the Chinese Government, are based and built upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which they always apply with dedication and with which they act in rigorous and unchanging conformity in the interests of the great Chinese people, socialism and revolution.

133. My delegation believes that time presses and that the present session of the General Assembly faces an important test in seeking justly and definitively to resolve the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The only just solution of this question in full conformity with the will of the Chinese people and the provisions of the Charter is that proposed by the resolution submitted to this session by the People's Republic of Albania and 21 other co-sponsoring States [A/L.630 and Add.1]. We invite States Members to join their efforts so that the General Assembly not allow itself to be drawn into the United States game, and not sanction the Organization's complicity in the anti-Chinese activity of the United States; we also invite them to struggle energetically for a comprehensive and just solution of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, in the interest of defending the rights of peoples and sovereign countries, of peace and world security. This would undoubtedly be an important step forward, to the advantage of the Organization itself.

134. An objective and realistic appreciation of the development of events shows that the oppressive and aggressive policy practised by the United States and by the revisionist Soviet Union to establish their world dominion is now suffering more and more crushing defeats under the blows of the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. An important role in this sense is played by the just policy of the People's Republic of China, which supports and defends the rights of peoples, their freedom and independence. A great contribution in this direction is also made by many sovereign, peace-loving and freedom-loving States, irrespective of their size. My country considers it an honour to be in the front rank of the fighters against imperialism and social-imperialism and to uphold and assist, through its just and principled policy, the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence.

135. To remedy the grave situation in which they find themselves, the United States imperialists and the Soviet socialist imperialists are not only using demagogy and deceit but also having more and more recourse to brute force. They are interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries and committing armed aggression. To this end they are trying to activate aggressive alliances that they have set up and that they control and which they often use against their own partners.

136. But this too does nothing to reduce their difficulties. Within these aggressive alliances, particularly NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, there is no unity, and these alliances are going through a phase of disintegration and disarray impelled by centrifugal forces from within and by the general contradictions of imperialism and revisionism. Numerous member countries of these alliances no longer regard them as means of defending their interests but as an

instrument in the hands of the great Powers to attain the objectives of hegemonic policy. We are convinced that the more and more marked tendency to escape from United States and Soviet control to the extent possible will be intensified, and that the States members of these alliances will not sacrifice their interests to those of the United States and the Soviet Union.

137. Neither is there any unity in the United States-Soviet alliance, which in fact exists and is acting throughout the world and is a serious threat to the freedom of peoples, to international peace and security. It goes without saying that such an alliance, by its very imperialist nature, cannot exist or develop without disputes and inevitable contradictions which proliferate or are reduced with the changing political situation, with the weakening or strengthening of the positions of each of the great Powers, which is clearly reflected in their efforts to use them to one another's detriment, to undermine the partner's power and position.

138. In the conditions of the deep-seated crisis through which the United States and the Soviet Union are now passing, the clash of their interests is becoming more and more obvious and bitter. We note that, while United States imperialism is trying to find a solution to the problems which have it by the throat, the Soviet socialist imperialists, without departing from the path of close co-operation with it in pursuit of their own imperialist great-Power interests, have become more active and do not fail to exploit the contradictions which exist between the United States and its allies. There is meaning too in the visits abroad now being made simultaneously by the main Soviet leaders, Brezhnev, Podgorny and Kosygin, and in their continuous insistence on treaties, agreements and other means by which to bind various countries to their imperialist policy as closely as possible. The Soviet revisionists often speculate on anti-imperialist slogans which we hear repeated here by their representatives, but none of this means anything.

139. Despite ever growing contradictions which arise between them, the United States and the Soviet Union, as imperialist Powers, unite when it comes to carrying out their plans to establish their dominion in the world. They find themselves united when it comes to oppressing peoples and to opposing the influence of the revolutionary policy of the People's Republic of China in the world and in preparing war against it.

140. The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has said in this regard:

“What unites them now is more important for them than what divides them. In the first place, the two parties, in order to survive, to maintain their vast empires and conserve their super-Power status, are obliged to draw closer and to co-operate, to make the struggle against revolution, socialism and the popular liberation movements the basis of the defence of their system, the fundamental hope for the realization of their strategy of expansionism and enslavement.”

141. It is no longer a secret that these two Powers do not fail to make deals, to divide up spheres of influence and, in the international arena, to flaunt common attitudes which, through deceptive slogans, they attempt to impose on

peoples and or. peace-loving States. In the course of this year alone the United States and the Soviet Union have concluded, or are in the process of concluding, a series of dangerous agreements and hatching plans which are quite as dangerous to the interests of the peoples and of peace. But the peoples cannot allow the two great imperialist Powers to interfere with their destinies. They do not need the role of arbitrator that these two Powers wish to arrogate to themselves. They are quite capable of solving their own problems.

142. At present the Soviet leadership is trying particularly hard to implement the so-called European security plan. Here the two great imperialist Powers are in no way moved by any "concern" or "desire" to make a real contribution to strengthening peace and stability in Europe, but rather by the intention to serve the Soviet-American alliance and establish their domination over that continent, to divide it into zones of influence, to preserve their imperialist interests in Europe, to enslave the peoples of Europe and to create a relative peace in that area so that they may have their hands free in Asia and other parts of the world. The accomplishment of the plot concerning European security now enjoys the favour of the Federal Republic of Germany too, which, since the conclusion of the Moscow-Bonn Treaty,⁵ which gave it the opportunity of rising to the rank of first partner of the two super-Powers, is playing a more active role on its own account.

143. My country, as a peace-loving European socialist State, is fighting resolutely for a true and lasting security in Europe and it is opposed to the European security which the two great imperialist Powers wish to impose upon us. It is not the only country to take such an attitude. I shall not now enumerate all the States which, while stating their general support for this kind of security, in fact for various reasons do not overtly assert their true attitude but maintain many reservations on the question.

144. We understand the concern of all European countries that sincerely desire real security and peace on their continent, but irrespective of their wishes, considering things as they are, we come to the conclusion that in Europe the necessary conditions for such a thing are not yet created, since the United States and the Soviet Union have installed there a vast network of military bases and maintain their troops in many European countries, since the aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization exist and act, and since problems outstanding since the end of the Second World War have not yet found just and effective solutions.

145. The European peoples cannot feel secure as long as the United States imperialists and the Soviet socialist imperialists follow a policy of threat and interference in the domestic affairs of European countries, as long as they brandish weapons and often undertake offensive military manoeuvres in the framework of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. What is this demonstration of force for, and against whom is it directed, when the whole world knows that the United States and the Soviet Union co-operate closely between themselves? It goes without saying that they do all this to intimidate peoples and to safeguard and strengthen their positions of hegemony.

146. It is in the framework of such a situation that the Soviet social-imperialists continuously strengthen their military occupation of Czechoslovakia, despite their statements to the effect that the West German danger no longer exists, that they maintain several Eastern European peoples under their yoke, that they threaten other peoples. If allowed to do so, they might behave elsewhere as they have for the past three years in Czechoslovakia. But if, as they have a tendency to do, the social-imperialists should undertake similar action against Romania or Yugoslavia, the peoples of those countries will not take it lying down; they will mount a resolute struggle against the aggressor. In that struggle they will not be alone; they will enjoy the support of many other peoples. The Soviet revisionists would do well to take this seriously into account.

147. It is quite clear that, in the circumstances, the convening of a conference on European security not only would fail to serve the higher interests of the peoples of the peace-loving States of Europe, but would be a dangerous trap for them. Dominated by those two Powers, the conference would not even function as a forum where the true sentiments and aspirations of the European peoples and States could be voiced on a free and equal footing. The decisions and principles concerning peace, security and co-operation approved by any such conference would remain a dead-letter. The United States imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists were scarcely concerned with the well-known principles of international law or the provisions of the United Nations Charter, any more than with other international, bilateral or multilateral agreements, when they unleashed their armed aggression against Viet-Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Czechoslovakia and other countries.

148. This year's events have further strengthened our conviction of the justice of my Government's estimation of the Moscow-Bonn Treaty and of the true intentions of the contracting parties. Contrary to the sensational promises of its signatories, the Treaty has brought nothing of benefit to the peoples of Europe. It is the revanchist policy of the Federal Republic of Germany that has mainly profited by it. The Treaty has served to speed up deals on the question of West Berlin, in the process of which the Soviet revisionist leadership, in the interests of collaboration with the American imperialists and subsequent rapprochement with Bonn, has made important concessions culminating in the conclusion of a new imperialist agreement at the cost of the sovereign rights of the Democratic Republic of Germany and the strengthening of peace and the interests of the peoples of Europe, which contributed their blood to the victory over nazism and have long awaited a just and final solution to this question.

149. The agreement on West Berlin⁶ in reality does not put an end to the anomalous situation which has existed for 26 years in the heartland of Europe; on the contrary, it prolongs it. It creates conditions for the annexation of West Berlin by the Federal Republic of Germany, encourages the annexationist designs of Bonn on the German Democratic Republic, and has not deigned to take it into account as a sovereign State directly concerned in the question. It has given fresh impetus to co-operation between the Soviet

⁵ Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

⁶ Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, which emerged even more clearly in the recent visit of Willy Brandt to the Crimea, where he was treated by the Soviet revisionist leadership as the representative of the main political power in Western Europe, with which the Soviet revisionists wish to harmonize their actions in order to achieve their plans for expansion and domination on the continent.

150. As representatives of a Mediterranean country, we cannot pass over in silence the situation created in the Mediterranean by the presence and intensified activity both of the United States Sixth Fleet and of units of the Soviet Navy, which behave there as arrogantly as if they were in their own territorial waters.

151. The Mediterranean peoples are fully aware that the United States warships, which for more than 20 years have been in the Mediterranean, thousands of miles from their own country, are a strike force in the service of United States plans for the establishment of its dominion in that part of the world, for bringing pressure to bear, for exercising blackmail and provocation, and for intervening, even by force of arms, in the domestic affairs of Mediterranean countries. The many aggressive activities and the very grave acts of war carried out by the American imperialist Sixth Fleet are still present in the memory of the Mediterranean peoples, particularly the brother Arab peoples who, in many instances, have been the direct victims.

152. It is because it pursues the same objectives that the socio-imperialist Soviet war fleet has likewise made its appearance in the Mediterranean; for the Soviet Union, like the United States, to serve its own neo-colonialist interests, is seeking to secure military bases and establish itself for good in the Mediterranean basin and the Adriatic. It has now gone so far as to find a "historical-judicial" argument for the presence of its fleet in Mediterranean waters; its official propaganda does not hesitate openly to identify the present "interests" and "rights" of the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean with the imperialist aims of Tsarist Russia in the past.

153. The presence and the movements in the Mediterranean of these two aggressive fleets in their rivalry and their collaboration alike are a threat to the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples and countries of that area, and are, furthermore, thoroughly illegal and unjustifiable, whatever pretexts and "arguments" the United States and the Soviet Union may use to justify them. The peace-loving peoples and countries of the Mediterranean area are rightly concerned at, and justifiably opposed to, the presence off their coasts or in their ports of the fleets of the two great imperialist Powers. The situation thus created requires that they be even more vigilant and that they act with greater firmness to oblige these fleets to quit the Mediterranean.

154. The events unfolding in Viet-Nam and throughout Indo-China remain the clearest example of the profoundly aggressive nature of United States imperialism and prove that the United States is powerless to subjugate peoples fighting with weapons in hand for a just cause. The heroic Viet-Nameese people in its armed struggle has inflicted on

the United States of America the heaviest defeat in its history. Neither the escalation of the war in Viet-Nam nor the extension of armed aggression into Cambodia and Laos have eased the difficult situation in which the United States aggressors find themselves; in fact it has pushed them deeper into the impasse in which they find themselves in Indo-China. Similarly, they have seen the collapse of the hopes they had placed in the tactic of "Viet-Namization" worked out in accordance with the Nixon Doctrine, a tactic that is in fact nothing but an escalation of the aggression throughout all of Indo-China, making use of the armies and puppet régimes of Saigon, Pnom Penh, Vientiane, and so on. The efforts of the United States to pit the Indo-Chinese against the Indo-Chinese have met with a deserved rebuff from the peoples of Indo-China, who have raised their fighting unity and their armed struggle to an even higher level.

155. Not having succeeded in bringing the Viet-Nameese people and the other peoples of Indo-China to their knees by force of arms, and confronted with the failure of their plot to "Viet-Namize" the war, the United States of America continues further to intensify its double tactic. On the one hand, it trumpets its desire for peace; on the other hand, it pursues its aggressive activities and barbarous crimes. However, the attempts by the leaders of United States imperialism to create the impression that they want "peace" and that they are preparing to leave Indo-China cannot bend the iron will of the Viet-Nameese people and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia to carry their armed struggle to total victory. The United States imperialists will not willingly leave Indo-China; it is rather through their heroic struggle that the peoples of Indo-China will expel them.

156. The Soviet revisionists also bear part of the responsibility for the continuation of the situation in Viet-Nam and Indo-China by reason of their double game which actually assists the United States imperialists in their aggression. Sometimes openly, sometimes through demagogic processes, they carry on activities that undermine and sabotage the armed struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples and undertake actions contrary to the aspirations of those peoples to national freedom and independence. They make tremendous efforts to discredit, through every kind of slander and fiction, the comprehensive internationalist assistance that has been and will continue to be given, until their complete liberation, to the peoples of Indo-China by the People's Republic of China, the sincerest ally and most powerful support of those peoples. Their attitude to the reactionary coup d'état in Cambodia and the United States aggression against that sovereign country has still further unmasked the Soviet revisionists and revealed them as false friends of the peoples of Indo-China. Their continued relations with the Lon Nol clique, a docile instrument of the United States of America, shows up all the falsity of their declarations claiming to support the struggle of the Indo-Chinese peoples.

157. The brave people of Viet-Nam, united in combat with the other peoples of Indo-China and enjoying the powerful support of the Chinese people and the solidarity of all the peoples of the world, will most certainly, in carrying through its armed struggle, win the final victory against the United States aggressors and their lackeys. There

will be no genuine peace in Viet-Nam until the day when the last United States soldier is withdrawn.

158. Although more than four years have passed since the unleashing of the armed Zionist-imperialist aggression against the Arab countries, the situation in the Middle East remains grave and fraught with dangers to the peace and security of that area. The Israeli Zionists are pursuing their policy of aggression and war. They are committing monstrous crimes against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples; they are seeking to impose their own terms from positions of strength; they continue to occupy large parts of the territory of Egypt, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan, and are employing the most barbarous means to strip them of their national identity. They now dare to proclaim openly their plans for annexing those territories, arrogantly declaring that they have no intention of "going back to the old frontiers". It is clear that they would not behave in this way if they were not supported by the ceaseless political, economic and military assistance of the United States of America, which incites and supports the grasping designs of Tel-Aviv and wishes to maintain Israel as an instrument in the service of its imperialist plans for the Middle East.

159. The United States and the revisionist Soviet Union have attempted from the outset, and are still attempting, to exploit to the maximum the situation created after the aggression of June 1967, with each of the two partners working for its own expansionist designs and the realization of its neo-colonialist aims in that region. Neither of these two great imperialist Powers wants to see a just and final solution to the problem of the Middle East. They are interested, rather, in maintaining a continuing state of tension, in encouraging the Israeli-Arab conflict, for this will make it easier for them to penetrate the countries of that area and extend their influence there.

160. It is clear that the Middle East region is today a sore spot where the hegemonic interests of the two great Powers clash. But given the firm resistance of the Arab peoples to foreign aggression and interference, the two Powers do not hesitate to act in collusion and make compromises to the detriment of the sovereign rights of the Arab peoples, thus giving satisfaction, if only partially, to the annexation claims of the Israeli aggressors. We now see United States and Soviet emissaries shuttling back and forth between their own countries and the countries of the Middle East, and we see how in Washington, as well as in Moscow and here in the corridors of the United Nations, "peace" proposals are formulated and plots are hatched for a "partial solution", for "settlement of the problem by stages", while at the same time plans are being worked out to station American and Soviet troops in the vicinity of the Suez Canal under cover of "international guarantees".

161. There is reason to regard as particularly dangerous the plot to liquidate the Palestinian question and to destroy the liberation movement of the valiant Palestinian people which, through its armed struggle, has become a serious obstacle to the Israeli aggressors and the execution of the imperialist plans in the Middle East. It is a shameful role in the pursuit of this plot that continues to be played by the reactionary régime of King Hussein of Jordan through the intensification of the campaign of terror and bloody

massacre against the Palestinian patriots, which is a grave challenge to the national conscience of all the Arab peoples.

162. But the enemies of the Arab peoples would do well not to build illusory dreams and not to nourish the hope that they can do whatever they see fit in the Middle East. The Arab peoples are strong enough to destroy their plans and they will surely succeed in doing so, no matter how great their temporary difficulties may be. They will not accept a solution which would be contrary to their higher national interests. They know how to distinguish their real friends who sincerely assist them in their struggle from the false friends who offer them assistance only in order to tie their hands.

163. Peace and stability in the Middle East cannot be secured through compromise and partial solutions engineered by the great imperialist Powers; it cannot be secured if the Israeli aggressors do not leave unconditionally all the Arab occupied territories. It can be secured only through the firm struggle of the Arab peoples. As sincere friends of those peoples, we have the unshakable confidence that they will carry their just struggle to its end, that they will redouble their vigilance, that they will clear the way of obstacles and elements put at the service of foreigners who, through their work of domestic sabotage are creating breaches in the unity of the Arab peoples and countries, that they will strengthen and consolidate that unity, in the struggle against imperialist and revisionist intrigues. This is the only way they can face their Zionist aggressors, liberate the occupied lands, and achieve all their sacred aspirations.

164. The People's Republic of Albania is a small country but one which consistently follows an independent foreign policy and works with perseverance side by side with other peace-loving States to make its modest contribution to the positive development of world events. We have had many enemies—and they are still numerous—but the Albanian people has always confronted and will always confront them with courage, always maintaining inviolable the freedom and independence of the homeland and guaranteeing the victorious construction of socialism. Thanks to this revolutionary policy and to the just attitudes it has maintained and maintains vis-à-vis the most important issues of our time, the People's Republic of Albania has secured a solid position in the international arena and represents a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans and in Europe. This has influenced world opinion in a manner favourable to the People's Republic of Albania as may also be seen in the fact that many States have recently established diplomatic relations with us. This testifies to the respect they have for our policy of principle.

165. Guided by the policy of peace and international co-operation, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania has constantly striven to extend and develop its relations with all countries, irrespective of their political and social systems, on the basis of the principles that govern relations among sovereign States, and in this context it has done everything possible to establish and improve relations with neighbouring countries, in conformity with the good-neighbour policy. It is in this spirit that we have improved our State relations with Yugoslavia and, irrespective of our irreducible ideological differences with the leadership of that country, we are in favour of constantly

extending and deepening them, for our people and the peoples of Yugoslavia have been and are friends and this is in the interests of our peoples. We have established diplomatic relations with Greece. This was a just and reasonable act, compatible with the interests and aspirations of the two peoples, an act made possible by the just and consistent policy of the Albanian Government and the goodwill it has constantly demonstrated, as well as of the realistic approach of the present Greek Government. The Albanian people has always had feelings of friendship towards the Greek people and we desire to develop our relations with Greece basing ourselves always on the well-known principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, unconditional respect for frontiers, non-interference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

166. The People's Republic of Albania will always stand side by side with freedom-loving peoples and will spare no effort powerfully to support their struggle to conquer and defend freedom and national independence, to put an end to colonial oppression and racial discrimination. We resolutely condemn the aggressive acts by the imperialist Powers against various independent, progressive countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the interference in their domestic affairs and the coups d'état organized against them, as well as the open support those Powers give to reactionary régimes in various continents and to the racist policy of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. We condemn the armed aggression against Guinea, unleashed by the Portuguese colonialists with the support of their NATO partners, which failed pitifully before the resolute rebuff that the freedom-loving people of that country gave it. The Albanian people hails the important measures recently taken by Chile, Peru and other Latin American countries to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and natural resources, thus courageously resisting the political and economic aggression of United States imperialism.

167. The Albanian people, under the guidance of the Albanian Worker's Party, headed by our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, is working in a spirit of self-sacrifice to develop and continuously strengthen our homeland; we have won great success in all fields and are advancing with assurance towards new victories on the joyful road to socialism.

168. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, guided as ever by the just policy of principle of its Government, will make every effort at this session too, side by side with other peace-loving States, to contribute to the defence of the great cause of the peoples and of peace.

169. Mr. VASQUEZ CARRIZOSA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your election by the General Assembly. It is a tribute not only to your personal merits and to those of your country, but also to the principle of universality which all of us in Latin America and in Colombia have defended.

170. This year the General Assembly is meeting under the best of auspices. The peoples of the world have for many years awaited the end of the cold war that now seems not too distant. Strictly speaking, since the end of the Second World War, mankind has not enjoyed complete peace

because of the grave effects of that catastrophic war—not only where the actual fighting took place, but also on other continents as well. In addition to the political turmoil, there was social and economic upheaval, the poverty of many regions and the displacement of countless persons. As if all that did not suffice, the victorious Powers found themselves at odds, which created more problems for the establishment of peace.

171. The birth of the United Nations was surrounded by grave doubts regarding its ability to survive and continue for a number of years. This Organization was conceived as a means of creating united action among the great Powers, and the Security Council was to be a forum for the important decisions of war and peace. Once that unity was shattered, the rules that had been meticulously drafted in the cool atmosphere of Dumbarton Oaks and even in San Francisco to create a comprehensive and perfect system of world-wide collective security were left in mid-air. International life became far more complex and difficult than the drafters of the Charter of the United Nations had anticipated. However, we all realize that the great inadequacies in the political functioning of the Organization were due to the hard times of the cold war that has marked the last 25 years.

172. We are therefore encouraged by the signs of a thaw in that cold war which we see today. There are evident signs of a European reconciliation: there is tangible proof that the differences separating the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Western States from other countries of Eastern Europe can at last be settled. There is also a new Berlin Agreement⁷ that gives rise to the hope that the wall dissecting the former capital of the German Empire may disappear. In a word, there is a trend in the international community to do away everywhere with cold-war methods.

173. To that trend must now be added the announcement of a forthcoming visit by the President of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon, to the capital of the People's Republic of China. The meeting of those two gigantic nations will have a salutary effect if, with that meeting, mankind is brought closer to a period of real coexistence among peoples. However great may be the ideological differences that separate Colombia from the Asian giant, we could neither ignore nor conceal the importance of a nation of almost 800 million inhabitants co-operating with the United Nations. Nor can we forget what that meeting might signify in terms of fending off a new world war which would this time be a ghastly atomic holocaust on the Asian continent.

174. The announcement of the Sino-United States rapprochement caused a sudden about-face in world politics and we are now witnessing the not-too-distant prospect of the entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. In the event of such an occurrence, Colombia wishes to take a realistic approach in analysing the facts. So we say that there is no perfect solution to a difficult problem. To admit Peking China by expelling Taiwan China is neither a praiseworthy nor an advisable solution, for it would be tantamount to applying a punitive measure to a

⁷ *Idem.*

Government that has lawfully occupied a seat in this Organization. Yet the "two Chinas" thesis cannot fail to raise questions of the legal interpretation of the United Nations Charter regarding the presence of two representative Governments of one nation.

175. Of the two choices confronting us, Colombia tends to favour the second, without admitting that such a "two Chinas" stand could in the future be invoked as a binding and valid precedent in similar cases. This would be an exceptional solution for an exceptional problem and small States possessing little military power must not be at the mercy of the decisions of the great Powers when they decide that another small State is to be punished by expulsion. Therefore we do not oppose the admission to the United Nations of a great Asian State of recognized power, but we do oppose the jurisprudence of expulsion on the orders of the Great Powers. That would be a return to the harsh practices of the Holy Alliance of 1815.

Mr. Taylor-Kamara (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.

176. The presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must not mean the expulsion of the Republic of China, of whose capacity to govern itself freely and to accept the obligations imposed by the Charter we have no doubt whatsoever. Allowing a new and great State to join the Organization would be in accord with the universality that Colombia has always advocated and would be in keeping with an undeniable reality of the contemporary world. But when the People's Republic of China joins us as a new Government represented here, it does not mean that the principles and systems of the United Nations should be changed, but instead that the new Government should join our system with all the rights and, at the same time, all the duties imposed by the Organization.

177. Colombia categorically affirms that the right to representation of States implies a status similar to the right of citizenship and cannot be arbitrarily withdrawn by the international community. Still less can it be withdrawn in the United Nations, which is based on the principles of universality and the juridical equality of States. The precedent now being established would create a chink in the jurisprudence of the United Nations Charter.

178. We are living in a period of negotiation and of contacts among nations with different ideologies in order to do away with the cold war and replace the use of force to settle situations that might lead peoples to wide conflicts. "If you desire peace, prepare for war", said the Romans, *si vis pacem, para bellum*, but today, with the sombre picture in mind of what the last world war was, and the thought of what a new armed clash among nations possessing the greatest atomic power in the world would mean, we have to coin the old aphorism differently and say rather "*Si vis pacem, para pacem*", "If you desire peace, prepare for peace".

179. We are heading towards a pluralist world—towards truce among the continents. Warring over ideologies has shown that none could alone unify the universe. We are therefore forced to recognize an ideological plurality and the diversity of political and social doctrines of nations if

we wish wisely to acknowledge a palpable feature of our day. Never before has it been more necessary to recognize the principles of self-determination of peoples and of non-intervention, which are the two cornerstones of our international world order. Without them, we would be back to the dismal and tragic period of interference by the great countries of the world in the domestic affairs of the small which for so many decades blotted the history of our American continent. We now aspire to full coexistence among the American nations without any of them seeking to interfere in the free life of the others.

180. Each country must have the right to channel its own institutions along the lines chosen by its citizens through the free play of popular vote and thus we shall be able to turn our attention to international co-operation on the basis of the principles that this General Assembly approved in 1970 in resolution 2625 (XXV), which might warrant repetition since they embody a supreme hope for legitimate peaceful coexistence among all States—regardless of their political and social doctrines or their national institutions.

181. By that resolution the General Assembly approved the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and presented them as follows: the principle that States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the principles of the United Nations; the principle that States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered; the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State in accordance with the Charter; the duty of States to co-operate with one another; the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples; the principle of the sovereign equality of States; and the principle that States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

182. If we are to act consistently with those principles, therefore, we must condemn the exporting of revolutions and we must accept the plurality of ideologies. Intervention is an aspect of the cold war that is being replaced as an obsolete policy. Nothing could be more absurd than the imposition of an ideology by the force of arms. A movement is gaining ground against such methods, and other techniques in the mutual relations of States are gaining ground—such as, for example, the visits of Heads of State of different beliefs and talks between Ministers of Foreign Affairs. Despite difficulties in the international field, the world is now guided by dialogue and a sense of human understanding and solidarity.

183. Without a doubt this was the trail blazed by Pope John XXIII, the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church, who must be called the precursor of the policies of understanding that become manifest in events in the Far East and in Europe. In his encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, that outstanding leader outlined what should be true peaceful coexistence in the world, based on true balance between rights and duties, respect for minorities, a legal order in

harmony with moral order and the common good based on the principles of economic justice. I shall quote his words:

“There is reason to hope, however, that by meeting and negotiating, men may come to discover better the bonds that unite them together, deriving from the human nature which they have in common; and that they may also come to discover that one of the most profound requirements of their common nature is this: that between them and their respective peoples it is not fear which should reign but love . . .”⁸

184. It would be premature to try and foretell the outcome of this new period of understanding among all States, over and above their national idiosyncracies. Perhaps this pluralistic world of which we speak may come closer to that ideal that was sought at the beginning of the nineteenth century: the democratic State with the coexistence of its citizenry. We are transferring to a world-wide scale what was fulfilled within the narrow confines of the “independent State”. The freedom of the State as a social group is today as necessary as freedom of thought to the citizen at the beginning of the democratic era. States therefore have the right to dissent. Among the great monoliths that are the atomic Powers small nations have a place. Ideological terror imposed by vast armies is today nonsensical.

185. Colombia reiterates its adherence to the principles of international law and to the doctrine that the fundamental rights of the State is an essential need of the present day. This is an inevitable requirement of our era of relaxation of tensions and closer bonds and the general assumption now is that different ideologies can coexist in the world without resorting to the occupation of free peoples or the desperate measures of war, bombing and the annihilation of defenceless populations.

186. But that view has one more implication. European reconciliation, the shrinking of the conflict areas, the trend towards an ending of the war in Viet-Nam are all factors that should contribute to the conclusion of the unfinished business of disarmament—as much as the entry of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations.

187. A conference of all the atomic Powers seems today both possible and necessary, with the contribution of that great State, to avoid the arms race which weighs so heavily on the developing nations and even on the countries which stockpile the weapons. In April of this year the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with his enlightened view of world needs, proclaimed the necessity for disarmament at the fourteenth session of the Economic Commission for Latin America and he quoted the alarming figure of \$200,000 million as the disproportionate sum invested yearly by the nations of the world in the purchase of arms.

188. Colombia has championed the elimination of all unnecessary military expenditures in Latin America. We believe that it is still not too late to extend to other highly sophisticated weapons the prohibition covering atomic arms

in our continent contained in the Treaty of Tlatelolco.⁹ There is no reason for the peoples that bear the burden of poverty and suffer the rigours of constant work in order to overcome the limitations of under-development to invest exorbitant amounts of money in armaments that are disproportionate with the true needs of their national defence. In Latin America we are running the risk of getting into an arms race, because we lack agreements prohibiting sophisticated and costly weapons.

189. We are neither Utopian nor are we visionaries, but we are anxious to meet the needs of national defence. We wish to contribute to the economic and social development of our countries with all our resources and to the fullest extent of our ability. The arms race in the under-developed continents cannot but be the denial of the basic needs of men.

190. And with disarmament, we face the harsh visage of poverty.

191. Every year, from this very rostrum, the developing nations rise to repeat complaints about the deficiencies in world trade which hamper the expansion of their economies and hinder an increase in their resources. Colombia does so this year also, and with more than usual concern, because of the unexpected turn in the world monetary market. The developing countries had seemed to be the only ones to suffer from monetary readjustment due to imbalances in their balance of payments; but, paradoxically, this phenomenon now seems to be affecting the richer countries. We feel we are in good company although we face greater limitations because the crisis in the world monetary market affects us so vitally.

192. This crisis is characterized by the unequal distribution of gold reserves and the impossibility of maintaining rigid exchange rates. We cannot nurture the illusion that it has been business as usual since the Second World War in the monetary and international trade institutions, inasmuch as the Bretton Woods pillars of monetary regulations are crumbling before us. But analysing the consequences of these events we are led to state that it would be unjust—completely inimical to the urgency of narrowing the gap between the wealthy and the poor countries—if the financial imbalances of the former were allowed adversely to affect the scarce monetary reserves of the latter which have been accumulated through savings and constant work. This new Development Decade cannot be permitted to become a period of greater frustration.

193. Consultative machinery in the international economic field that seems to be deteriorating to the great prejudice of the multilateral approach on which the 1944 Articles of Agreement on the International Monetary Fund rested must be re-established. We are in effect witnessing the existence of a double standard in monetary regulations: one that permits the great nations to act as they will and another that forces the poor countries to submit to the strict discipline of deprivation and poverty. We must return to the principle that no single country can by a unilateral decision alter the international exchange situation. Latin

⁸ *Encyclical letter of His Holiness John XXIII . . . on Establishing Universal Peace, in Truth, Justice, Charity and Liberty* (Vatican Polyglot Press, 1963), p. 30.

⁹ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634 (1968), No. 9068).

America has just made a most vigorous protest against the recent United States decision to impose a 10 per cent surcharge on imports and it has taken a unified position on immediate and long-term solutions to the problem of revising the world monetary system which have been put forward by the Minister of Finance of Colombia, Dr. Rodrigo Llorente, on behalf of Latin America.

194. Although this problem is under lengthy discussion in other forums, it is appropriate to mention that it would have been fairer towards the developing countries had the United States not applied the surcharge to them, since basically the rivalry that exists is between the great exporting nations. By exempting them it would have virtually granted the trade preferences that are still an imperative measure if the trade balance is to be restored. We must realize that the situation in the developing countries—which in all continents represent the area with the largest population—has not improved sufficiently in the past few years and could deteriorate if these circumstances are not remedied.

195. Colombia believes that everything should tend towards the opening of new markets for our products. In the strategy for development of the countries with fewer resources, it would seem that what Mr. Raúl Prebisch called “the persistent and systematic effort to overcome foreign strangulation” has to be resorted to. Apart from the need for structural reforms and the accumulation of their own resources, and the development of greater technological capacity, that distinguished economist, in a study on Latin America published under the auspices of the Inter-American Bank,¹⁰ warned us that in the future our countries would depend on new exports.

196. The problem of world trade is daily becoming more acute and distressing for the developing countries, which depend on their exports to pursue their plans for progress. The dilemma facing these countries is either export or suffer from poverty, and that of the developed countries is to share their profits or to increase world disorder.

197. At past regular sessions of the General Assembly, Colombia advocated consideration of certain aspects of a concrete revision of the United Nations Charter. We are fully aware of the very serious political problems which would be involved in a general revision of the San Francisco Charter. We have taken a very specific approach to this and we have referred to the problem of universality and the acceptance of new Members in the United Nations.

198. We think that the institutions governed by the Charter can be perfected. First of all, we would like to have regional covenants of collective security used more broadly in the strengthening of peace. Experience has shown that the Security Council, in most cases, is paralysed because of political obstacles which have been created by the antagonistic stands of the major Powers, and that is why greater flexibility must be given to it in application of Article 53 of the Charter.

199. It was felt in San Francisco that regional arrangements were a dangerous exception to the general rules of collective security and an intense campaign was waged to render the Charter compatible with the rules of the Inter-American system. Today we note the contrary phenomenon taking place. No one would challenge the advantage of appealing to the countries directly concerned in a given conflict.

200. Regional collective security agreements are the best instruments for co-ordination among the countries directly interested in solving international problems before appealing to the Security Council.

201. Secondly, the International Court of Justice needs to play a more active role in the maintenance of peace. The Statute of the Court grants limited jurisdiction in whatever controversial matters the parties submit to it, and this has led to important decisions that have enriched international jurisprudence. But exclusively legal matters, and questions of the interpretation of treaties have constituted the main subjects for discussion by the Court, and these should not be the sole concern of that judicial body. If it were not possible to extend the competence of the International Court of Justice to matters of peace, as Colombia has already advocated and defended from this rostrum last year [*1846th meeting*], it might be advisable to consider granting it special competence to safeguard human rights throughout the world.

202. The International Court of Justice would then act as an organ to protect human rights and would play a decisive role in one of the areas of international law where valuable experience has already been gathered by the European Court of Human Rights, which a number of Western nations established. This competence could be open to acceptance by States, and, little by little, a new jurisprudence would build up on the principles of the international covenants on human rights of the United Nations which otherwise run the risk of becoming just a manual of pious good intentions without practical application.

203. The United Nations is studying a grave matter, the law of the sea. The 1973 Conference, convened by the General Assembly pursuant to resolution 2750 (XXV), is being actively prepared for, but a thorough study of the subjects allocated to that Conference is still required. In practical terms, that Conference will have to deal with all the problems of the law of the sea, going from the breadth of the territorial sea to the international régime for the sea-bed, without overlooking such related issues as the continental shelf, the contiguous zone, fishing and the exploration of marine resources.

204. At the last session, Colombia sponsored the convening of this Conference and we feel in duty bound to draw attention to the undeniable need to prepare a strict programme of work that will lead to mature and carefully pondered decisions at the future session. Perhaps the best way of ensuring positive results would be not to contend that all subjects should be discussed at the same time, but problems should instead perhaps be staggered in different stages or sessions of a Conference that might well stretch over for a number of months, or might even be held in two consecutive years. It would be far better to advance

¹⁰ Raúl Prebisch, *Change and Development—Latin America's Great Task: Report Submitted to the Inter-American Development Bank* (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1971).

thoughtfully step by step than to try to rush through the whole gamut in one single session.

205. The problems confronting us under the heading of "The Law of the Sea" are vast in their implications. On the one hand there is the question of the international régime for the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. The Declaration of Principles adopted by the General Assembly in 1970 in resolution 2749 (XXV) spells undoubted progress in shaping the new doctrine of the "common heritage of mankind" as applied to the sea-bed. As the Declaration states, that area "shall not be subject to appropriation . . . by any States" and "shall be open to use exclusively for peaceful purposes". All activities in the area shall be governed by the international régime to be established. Much progress has been made thanks to the preliminary study carried out in the enlarged Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction of the United Nations which has considered a number of draft resolutions, one of which, co-sponsored by Colombia and 11 other Latin American countries, provides for an international sea-bed authority possessing sufficient autonomy to undertake scientific research of the abyssal depths and their exploitation.

206. On the other hand, there are still the matters left pending after the first two United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea, which were held in 1958 and 1960. In reality, the four Conventions approved in 1958 constituted the most ambitious codification of the regulations of the sea that might have been imagined in the days of John Selden and Hugh Grotius, and they are the very basis of maritime international law today. However, there can be no doubt that the enormous strides of science and technology have brought out new problems not contemplated in 1958. The very matter of the joint exploitation of the sea-bed calls for far greater precision in the definition of concepts related to each of the four Conventions adopted that year on the territorial sea, the continental shelf, the high seas, the fishing zone and the conservation of the living resources of the sea.

207. Colombia believes that significant agreements must be arrived at if the Conference is to be a success, and to that end, we suggest:

(a) The principle that all States shall be free to utilize the marine and submarine zones contiguous to their shores and that they shall be considered an extension of their territory;

(b) The principle that there exist reasonable limits to the setting of the sovereign and primary interest of the State over the marine and sub-marine zones contiguous to their shores, and that there can be no hindering of the *Jus commune nationis* nor the common progress of mankind;

(c) The principle that the international community should offer the State guarantees and safeguard it against undue usurpation of its marine and submarine resources by devising, for international maritime law, a concept of *Uti possidetis maris* similar to that which exists in Latin America for national territory.

208. We also would point out the need to differentiate between the territorial and the patrimonial sea. In many

cases the differences that occurred in international maritime law have been due to the mistaken use of the territorial sea to meet the economic needs of our day, when these could better be served with the new notion of the "patrimonial sea". The former is the zone of exclusive sovereignty recognized for the coastal State, over the sea, the air space and the subsoil under the waters. It is an old part of international law whose origins go back to the Middle Ages and which was always understood as defined by Pradier Fodéré as "the defensive line of the territory".

209. This concept is deeply embedded in the legal customs of man, but with all due respect to the countries of Latin America which have adopted ample breadths for their territorial sea. Yet one still wonders whether it is appropriate for the State to enjoy the unlimited right of setting the breadth of the territorial sea to the point that it might close off the lines of communication of other States. The *jus commune nationis* of which Francisco de Vitoria wrote is still a vital need today, and if we leave in the hands of States the right to set any breadth whatsoever for the territorial sea, or to extend it to the coasts of another State across a gulf or a strait, the freedom of communications across the sea would be endangered.

210. At the last two United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea, a quasi-unanimous consensus was arrived at on the 12-mile maximum breadth for the territorial sea, which seems in itself sufficient under normal circumstances to permit vigilance to be maintained over the coasts. Of course, however, with modern weaponry and intercontinental missiles, medieval concepts have been made obsolete, and if the countries with lesser military potential insist on contending that the territorial sea can be extended arbitrarily, the great Powers could quite easily close off the seas altogether by the mere application of the principle stated by Bynkershoek, when he proclaimed that territorial sovereignty ends with the range of weapons (*Potestas terrae finiri ubi finitur armorum vis*).

211. A confusion has arisen in the present discussions between the territorial sea which should reach the 12-mile limit and the patrimonial sea which had begun to appear in international law as a zone where the coastal State enjoys special privileges for the exploration and exploitation of marine and submarine resources. Today, the patrimonial sea is what the territorial sea was to the Middle Ages: a consequence of biological and economic needs and also of the need to defend a nation's own resources as well as a way of compensating for the poverty of many areas, or, in other cases, for the lack of a continental shelf, and it includes the exclusive authority to explore and exploit the sea and all its resources.

212. The patrimonial sea could well be 200 miles wide while the territorial sea merely reaches the 12-mile limit. The special privileges recognized for it should be the subject of a separate convention unifying rights over the contiguous zone and the continental shelf. Thus we might come to a reasonable compromise between the old and the new—between the 12-mile limit and the 200-mile limit that some countries claim; between the States which contend that the territorial sea cannot be widened unrestrictedly by unilateral measures and those which advocate the present-day concept of the economic interests of State applied to the

legal régime of the sea. The common denominator would be to avoid closing off the high seas.

213. To the universality of the principles of the Law of the Sea is added the need to accept the regional nature of solutions for each of the seas themselves, considered separately. Surely the Pacific Ocean, where distances are immense, is not the same as the Caribbean or the Baltic Seas. Colombia considers that a regional agreement will have to be arrived at for the Caribbean which includes all States having islands or mainland coasts on it, whatever their national situation. It is only thus that we will be able to settle the specific questions that arise with regard to the narrow area of the Caribbean, where no country can claim its 200 miles without encroaching upon the waters of another State.

214. Regional marine agreements will facilitate the already complex work of the future universal conference of the law of the sea. A regional conference of the countries of the Caribbean region would, I believe, be very advisable, to establish special formulas for this island-studded sea, as a preparatory stage for the world conference.

215. If a special formula of 200 miles has been arrived at for the Pacific or the Atlantic, surely it would be possible to devise a more appropriate one for the Caribbean, or the Baltic or the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea.

216. Universality and regionalism have never been incompatible concepts as far as political and security aspects are

concerned, and we believe that the solution to the problems of the sea lies in these two concepts.

217. May I conclude my statement paying a tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant. For many years he has been the man who has been directly responsible for the fate of the United Nations. Information on the grave situations confronting mankind has been placed in his hands—and thanks in large measure to his serenity, ability and wisdom as a great statesman of Asia, none of these has led to a confrontation. His calm demeanour has been a model of international wisdom, yet it has never been devoid of energy. On the war in Viet-Nam and on conflicts that have afflicted other regions, U Thant has made categorical declarations and issued warnings to the major Powers.

218. In the forthcoming election of a new Secretary-General of the United Nations, Latin America claims the right and the honour to elect one of its own citizens of this continent. Europe and Asia have already exercised this right, and it is only natural that Latin America should obtain this honour and responsibility in the person of a son of its own continent.

219. Colombia expresses a most fervent wish that the United Nations shall truly be an Organization of peace, law and justice, for mankind, which still places its hopes and trust in the principles of the San Francisco Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

