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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel, President of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I call on the first speaker, I should like, on behalf of the General Assembly, to convey to the Government and people of Colombia, through that country's delegation to this session of the General Assembly, our most heartfelt condolences upon the demise of Mr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel, who was the President of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations and temporarily presided over the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which was held in London.

2. Apart from these very close links with the work of our Organization, Mr. Zuleta Angel was a most distinguished writer, humanist and politician.

3. On behalf of the Assembly, I pay a tribute to the memory of this very distinguished Colombian, who held important posts in the early years of the United Nations.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

4. Mr. SAKKAF (Saudi Arabia):¹ In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate.

5. It is indeed a pleasure and privilege to express to you, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Saudi Arabia, my whole-hearted congratulations on your election to the presidency of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. As you hail from Latin America, I cannot but

refer with pride to the kinship between the Arabs and the people of Latin America on account of the common culture that flourished in Andalusia prior to the discovery of the new world.

6. It is fitting that I should recall the efficiency and dignity with which your predecessor, Mr. Trepczyński, presided over the last session of the General Assembly.

7. It also behoves me to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, not only for his dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter, but also for his unremitting efforts to establish direct contacts with many leaders of the States Members of this Organization.

8. Notwithstanding the apparent détente which continues to prevail amongst the super-Powers, the established spheres of influence amongst them in many regions of the world still hamper serious endeavours to find just solutions for major problems besetting this Organization.

9. His Majesty King Faisal ibn Abdul Aziz has repeatedly declared since 1947, when the partition of Palestine was wantonly effected at Lake Success, that no peace without justice could be secured in the Middle East.

10. Year after year we have, with other Arab and Moslem leaders throughout the world, made abundantly clear our position that so long as the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are not restored and so long as the Holy Places in Jerusalem, sacred to Moslems and Christians alike, are usurped by the Zionists, turmoil in our region may inadvertently trigger a world conflict.

11. Zionism has insidiously permeated the socio-political systems of all the countries where it has been allowed to thrive. Furthermore, zionism has brought pressure to bear on certain Powers to open the gates of immigration for the ingathering of as many Jews as it has been able to indoctrinate by deluding them into believing that Palestine was their ancient homeland. All this is happening to the detriment of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people and renders this problem more insoluble than ever. It is a well-known fact that the Zionists control and manipulate the mass media of information in many countries of the world.

12. It seems that the establishment of Israel in the heart of the Arab world was for the purpose of serving the interests of the major Powers, regardless of the fact that those Powers, by establishing that State, flouted the principle of self-determination which is enshrined in the Charter. We would like to ask the major Powers which claim to have vital interests in our region whether they are so afraid of subversive Zionists in their respective countries that they do

¹ Mr. Sakka spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

not dare to influence the leaders of that artificial State they created to come to reason and recognize that they are playing with fire which may set the whole world aflame. Do not the major Powers which claim to have multifarious interests in the Middle East understand that the people of the whole Arab world are in political ferment, the cumulative effect of which may one day push them to the point of no return, where common interests might be swept away by the winds of regrettable hatred and a desire to revenge the tragedy that has been perpetrated on them at large? Or is it that the leaders of major and smaller States have learned hardly anything from the mistakes of the past, such as those that were committed at the Versailles Conference after the First World War?

13. It is high time that wisdom should prevail, lest dangerous situations in various parts of the world, and especially in the Middle East, further deteriorate, beyond repair. Therefore, we should not be carried away by what might be called the euphoria of détente among the major Powers so long as those Powers continue to play their antiquated game with the destiny of oppressed peoples, whether they are to be found in Asia, Africa or other parts of the world.

14. We decry racial discrimination no less than we do the colonial oppression of peoples.

15. Developing countries cannot thrive so long as the spectre of fear forces them to spend huge sums on armaments and thereby enrich the merchants of death who manufacture their lethal wares in the highly industrialized countries. Even the industrialized countries themselves are becoming insolvent by squandering a large portion of their revenues on the instruments of war. How paradoxical it is that these highly industrialized countries claim that they are the world leaders of civilization and the promoters of a better way of life while their leaders spend the substance of the taxpayer on lethal weapons that could, by miscalculation, bring an end to the human species on this planet.

16. Hence, it becomes understandable why rampant inflation has spread like an epidemic in most parts of the world. These major Powers, and those who ape them, are spending astronomical sums, well beyond their means, on diabolical weapons in the name of self-defence, which quite often is a camouflage for waging wars to serve spurious national interests.

17. We are indeed at the cross-ways of either opting for the establishment of justice as defined in our Charter or surrendering to despair which, inevitably, will push all of us into the chasm of destruction.

18. Last but not least, I would be remiss were I to keep silent about the policy of my Government regarding the question of energy, especially since much of what has been disseminated about this question in the international press and other mass media of information has quite often distorted the truth. In spite of the fact that the question of energy is within the scope of our domestic jurisdiction, nevertheless it would be appropriate to state that His Majesty King Faisal has defined the guidelines which shape the policy of Saudi Arabia concerning oil production. His Majesty's last declaration on this subject is self-evident and

constitutes our policy. I hardly need repeat what His Majesty made clear pertaining to the question of oil, as all he actually said has already been quoted by the various mass media of information.

19. Finally, I pray God to inspire all of us to do what is just so that true peace may prevail in this troubled world.

20. Mr. MALECELA (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, allow me first of all to take this opportunity to join my colleagues who have preceded me in expressing the deep gratification we all share in seeing you assume this highly respected and immensely responsible office of the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly. Your unanimous election to this office bespeaks the confidence you personally enjoy in this august assembly. Above all, it is an expression of the great respect and admiration we have towards your great country and your great people.

21. For my country and Africa, you represent not only your country, Ecuador, with which we enjoy warm relations, but also the sister continent of Latin America, with which Africa is linked in solidarity by common social, political and economic backgrounds and the growing co-operation in our common struggle to free our peoples from the vestiges of political and economic imperialism. There is, therefore, no need for me to state that you represent that solidarity and common cause. We remain convinced that under your able and enlightened guidance this session will be crowned with unqualified success.

22. May I also pay tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Trepczyński, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland, who during the last session of the General Assembly conducted his office with the highest degree of responsibility, dedication and wisdom.

23. Before continuing with my statement, allow me to address myself to a very important and perhaps one of the most historic events of our time in the continent of Africa. I refer to the declaration of independence by the gallant people of the State of Guinea-Bissau.

24. The State of Guinea-Bissau, after holding a democratic election last year, has now completed the process of exercising its right to self-determination and independence by declaring its State to be an independent State. This has been achieved after many years of hard struggle and much bloodshed by the people of that country under the correct and the dynamic leadership of the PAIGC.²

25. I am pleased to inform this Assembly that the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania yesterday accorded full recognition, diplomatic and otherwise to the new State of Guinea-Bissau.

26. On behalf of the Government and people of Tanzania I wish to congratulate the new State and the people of Guinea-Bissau on the bold step they have taken. Tanzania is fully aware—I repeat, Tanzania is fully aware—of the consequences of such a step.

27. As the proclamation rightly pointed out, the struggle of the people of the new State will continue to be waged

² Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

with greater vigour and determination, until those small parts of Guinea and Cape Verde which remain under the occupation of the Portuguese aggressors have been completely liberated. In that struggle for the consolidation of national independence and eradication of foreign occupation, Tanzania will provide its maximum support. It will also be our duty to do all we can to help this new State join the family of nations in this our United Nations, should they so desire. This is going to be one of the historic test cases to indicate whether the United Nations can stand firm on the side of self-determination, independence and freedom.

28. We strongly appeal to the whole membership of the group of non-aligned nations and to all States to extend recognition to this new State.

29. It also gives me special pleasure, on behalf of the Government and the people of Tanzania, to welcome the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Commonwealth of the Bahamas is a country with which we share a common background and aspirations. Its attainment of independence and subsequent admission to membership in the Organization is yet another victory of the ideals for which the United Nations stands, namely, the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence. We look forward to close collaboration and co-operation with its delegation.

30. The admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in this Organization is an important and historic event. The presence here of those two States is a manifestation of that spirit of détente which we welcome. It brings nearer the realization of the lofty goals of universality which is so fundamental for the effectiveness of our Organization.

31. In welcoming the German Democratic Republic we take cognizance of the significant role which the Government and the people of that country play in the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples and their support for justice and freedom in all its forms and manifestations.

32. In equally welcoming the Federal Republic of Germany, we would wish to express our earnest hope that that Government will assume its obligations and responsibilities in a concrete manner with regard to the problem of southern Africa. We have noted with interest the vigorous efforts which that Government, under the leadership of Chancellor Brandt, has deployed on the question of détente in Europe, and we sincerely hope that equal concern will be manifested in the problems which are so vital to the African people. After all, it is only through understanding clearly the problems of southern Africa that the Federal Republic of Germany can hope to have meaningful friendly relations with Africa.

33. Our warm welcome also goes to the Office of the Permanent Observer of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which has just opened its offices at the United Nations. While this is a modest step towards the final goal, our primary hope remains that the Korean people will be allowed to reunite peacefully and without external interference so that that great country may one day also join our Organization as one country.

34. The Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania learned with great shock and profound sorrow of the tragic and untimely death of President Salvador Allende of Chile. As we know, the constitutionally and democratically elected President Allende fell in the violent military take-over which recently befell the Chilean people. He died in combat, fighting to defend the ideals he had pursued throughout his life, the ideals of freedom, justice and human dignity.

35. President Allende was a staunch patriot, one who pursued the economic liberation to which the people of Chile look for the fulfilment of their aspirations. He devoted his entire efforts to the liberation of the Chilean people from the evils of ignorance, poverty and disease. He sought hard to transform Chilean society into a socialist society where prosperity would go hand in hand with equality and justice. Under his leadership the Chilean people had made great strides towards the fulfilment of those goals, but the forces of imperialism, reaction and injustice have relentlessly accelerated their pressures to undermine the efforts of the Chilean people. The tragic events in Chile are the culmination of the long and well-known machinations of reactionary forces. They demonstrate the ruthlessness of neo-colonialism and economic imperialism.

36. The death of President Allende is a great loss to all those who strive to build a prosperous world where justice and human dignity will prevail. It is, indeed, a singular blow to the third world. President Allende has died a martyr to those ideals, not only for his own people but for the entire masses of the world. His life has been terminated, but we in Tanzania believe that his spirit will continue to spur us on, in pursuit of the lofty ideals for which he sacrificed his life. The Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania extend their profound and heartfelt condolences to the family of President Allende and to the people of Chile.

37. The developing world must learn from the events in Chile that international monopolies will go to any lengths, including murder, to ensure their continued exploitation of our countries. We raise our hats to all those victims of the murders which are now going on in Chile in an attempt to silence those who stand for the complete liberation of their country.

38. As we gather here it is pertinent to note that the trend of events in the world has been towards the reduction of tension. The adoption of the policy of negotiation instead of confrontation among the major Powers of the world, as exemplified by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and other contacts elsewhere, have all been moves designed to increase the possibility of peace. Tanzania welcomes that trend. However, while we welcome such trends, notice must be taken of the fact that these improved chances of peace have not necessarily brought justice. There are still very many places in the world where justice is flagrantly flouted and injustice venerated. In Indo-China, despite recent developments towards peace there, the aggressors still support the puppet régimes in Cambodia and Viet-Nam against the forces of liberation. In the Middle East, forces of occupation continue to consolidate and enjoy the fruits of conquest, contrary to the

principles of our Charter. State terrorism is being adopted as an instrument of policy and the rights of Palestinians are being flouted. And in southern Africa, despite all manifestations of the people's will against oppression, relentless efforts are being made, sometimes with the connivance of some of those Members of our Organization primarily responsible for peace-keeping, to continue that oppression.

39. These situations, which are fraught with injustice, could still reverse the very significant steps which have been made towards peace. Peace can only last if it is based on a firm foundation of justice, for without justice the world can have only the façade of peace. In this context, note must be taken of the fact that so long as there still remains one spot in the world where injustice exists, that spot could jeopardize all efforts which are being made for the attainment of world peace. Lack of security in one continent affects the security of the other continents. That is why peace must be based on justice everywhere. It is an illusion, for example, to build the foundations of peace in Europe and neglect the explosive situation in southern Africa. Inevitably, the events in that region will affect the security of the European continent. Let me repeat—justice must be universal and indivisible or peace will not last.

40. The Middle East remains an area of high tension. Injustice and aggression continue to be perpetrated and consolidated. Israel not only has continued to cling to the territories that it illegally occupies but has also adopted measures geared towards the permanent occupation of some of those lands. That has remained so despite all the efforts which have been exerted in search of a solution. The Government of Israel has become so arrogant, so contemptuous, that it not only has refused to respond favourably to numerous warnings and calls by this Organization but has also embarked on deliberate and calculated acts of aggression. It has adopted terrorism as State policy. It was in pursuance of that policy that that Government, in contempt of all norms of international practice and in breach of international law, violated the air space of Lebanon to intercept a civilian aircraft on a scheduled flight and thereby endangered civilian life. That Government has sent its troops into Lebanon, sometimes even in the presence of television cameras, to commit murder. And how can we forget the despicable and senseless act of shooting down a civilian Libyan aircraft, with the tragic loss of so many lives?

41. By any standards, this is an incredible record of violation of the principles of the United Nations. There is no doubt that these acts have made the situation more explosive and peace all the more elusive.

42. In the face of this serious threat to international peace and security, the United Nations must fully assume its responsibility if we are to avert another military confrontation in that area. The United Nations must act, and act decisively, to eliminate the consequences of aggression and in favour of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Considering the obduracy and intransigence of Israel in this connexion, the United Nations can no longer be content with the passage of mere moralistic resolutions. Enforcement of the decisions of the Organization is indeed long overdue.

43. Let me now turn to the question of the Palestinian people. It is absurd for our Organization and indeed cruel, to say the least, that thousands of Palestinians should be made to live in tents for ever. Yet every time this Assembly meets we seem to sweep under the carpet the Palestinian problem which actually is the root-cause of the Middle East question.

44. It would be illusory to imagine that the Middle East question could be solved without finding a solution to the Palestinian people's plight. To ignore this is, to say the least, to postpone the inevitable. It is, therefore, the hope of my delegation that this Assembly will sincerely look into this matter and start to find a just solution which the Palestinians have for so long awaited from this Organization.

45. At the beginning of this year an agreement was signed in Paris with a view to bringing peace to Viet-Nam.³ It was an agreement that sent a welcome wave of deep relief throughout the world. For the immediate effect of that agreement was to bring an end to the traumatic savagery that had so vividly characterized United States imperialism in that unhappy land for more than a decade. The world could not but feel relieved at that important development, which signified a great victory for the Viet-Nameese people and the forces of peace throughout the world. Like the rest of mankind, therefore, the Government and people of Tanzania welcomed the Paris Agreement.

46. The Paris Agreement testified to the resilience of the Viet-Nameese people and demonstrated the invincibility of a people struggling for its rights against formidable odds. It was clearly shown that brutality and the might of even the most powerful of nations could not and cannot subdue the will of a people determined to be free. That is the lesson of Viet-Nam and that is the inspiration which all those who are struggling for freedom and justice draw from the indomitable spirit and heroic struggle of the Viet-Nameese people.

47. It is regrettable that the lessons of Viet-Nam have not been fully comprehended in relation to Cambodia. There the United States continues to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Cambodian people by propping up the puppet régime of Lon Nol. While bowing to the legitimate demands of the American people and the international community to put an end to the barbarous bombing, the United States continues to bolster the economic and military capacity of that besieged régime, desperately trying to give reality to its pretences. It is our hope that, instead of proceeding on this misguided course, the objective realities of Cambodia will be realized and the international community as a whole will accord recognition to the only legitimate and rightful Government of Cambodia, under the leadership of the Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

48. The people of Indo-China have known war and suffering for too long. They are as much entitled to enjoy peace as those who are responsible for their misery. But the only way to achieve this noble objective is to leave the people of that region to determine their own destiny.

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

49. The people of Korea have for many years been divided, largely because of foreign interference—again by the United States. The situation in Korea is both ironical and anachronistic. Ironical, because the name of the United Nations and its flag continue to be used as a cover for foreign troops which serve the interests of imperialism through war-mongering and other forms of instigation and promotion of conflict. Anachronistic, because we are made to understand that the era of the cold war is ended. Yet the victims of the cold war continue to be divided from kith and kin. The longer we allow this situation to continue the more cynicism we invite from those who look to the United Nations for salvation.

50. The Korean people have rejected foreign interference in Korea's internal affairs and pledged to unite through peaceful means. Failure by the United Nations to respond to these favourable indications of the possibility of a peaceful reunification of Korea cannot but display hypocrisy on our part, and heavy would be our responsibility for any worsening of the Korean situation. I find it very strange that, while we all talk about the role of the United Nations as being primarily to promote peace in the world, the flag of this Organization is being used by one—I repeat, one—super-Power for aggressive purposes in Korea. Yet when the matter is raised we all seem either not to care or to imagine that to say no to such a super-Power would break up our Organization. We ought to tell this super-Power that we can no longer tolerate the use of the United Nations flag to further the international aggrandizement of a super-Power.

51. It is therefore, the hope of my delegation that, in connexion with the new item on the creation of favourable conditions for an independent, peaceful reunification of Korea [item 41 (b)], the draft resolution sponsored by more than 20 Powers and calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the termination of the so-called United Nations Command in Korea [A/C.1/L.644], will this year be adopted and implemented immediately.

52. In Africa, the injustice of colonialism and racism sustained by the continued intransigence of the colonial, racist minority régimes remains.

53. In the Portuguese colonies, the situation has taken an even more sad turn. As the tide for liberation grows, and as the people, led by their national liberation movements, gain more victories, the Portuguese authorities become more desperate. They have resorted to barbarous acts of violence and genocide. The callous murder of the gallant fighter and leader of the people of Guinea-Bissau, Amílcar Cabral, is an eloquent testimony of this desperation and their bankruptcy in policy. In Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau that régime has committed atrocities and mass murders of extraordinary proportion. The recent murders at Wiriyamu in Mozambique is only one of the many similar massacres—I repeat, it is one of the similar massacres—that that régime has been committing in Africa. Mass murder is being used as an instrument of policy to perpetuate a colonial situation. It was indeed naive and ridiculous for the Portuguese to attempt to vindicate their innocence by sending a hastily hand-picked group of journalists to

investigate murders, when all we know is that they went on a guided tour arranged by the very Portuguese who selected them. If the Portuguese were really interested in justice, in finding out whether the murders in Wiriyamu took place or not, then they would institute an impartial inquiry.

54. The rejection by the Portuguese authorities of a call by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for an impartial investigation of those who were involved in the massacre [see A/9023/Rev.1, chap. IX, para. 27 (3)] clearly confirms the perpetration of these brutalities. The international community must remain convinced of the authenticity of these murders. After all, the disclosure was made by honest, God-fearing Catholic priests who in our view had nothing to gain from fabricating such cold-blooded murders of defenceless women and children.

55. These massacres are sufficient reason for taking all the measures against Portugal which were taken against the Nazis, who continue to be hunted for their crimes up to the present day. In this context, therefore, those who collaborate with Portugal in trade, in the supplying of arms and a training programme for soldiers, or in giving any form of support and assistance must reflect on the result of their actions. Any form of collaboration with Portugal not only gives it the desperately needed political support and a sense of respectability, but indeed enables it to perpetuate the colonial situation, and to commit more mass murders for which those who provide such support cannot remain blameless.

56. The illegal minority régime of Rhodesia not only has increased oppression in that country, but has shown the boldness of desperation by sending troops to fight in Mozambique, and threatening neighbouring Zambia. Internally, it has adopted measures of repression to suppress the people of Zimbabwe. It has recently committed several cold-blooded murders of freedom fighters. Collective punishment has been introduced and carried out. The leaders of the nationalist and liberation movements have either been detained or restricted in their activities. Measures to introduce *apartheid* have been accelerated. Yet, the people have consistently and with determination continued to reject domination. They have conclusively rejected the sell-out proposals as reflected in the Pearce report. The forces for freedom in Zimbabwe continue to agitate for meaningful change, and the liberation movements have consolidated their activities in Zimbabwe. The requirements of the situation dictate that this Organization and its Members give support to these efforts and intensify our action against that régime.

57. Sanctions not only should be comprehensive and total, but must, in particular, be extended to all mail and air transport. They should also be extended to the Portuguese colonies in southern Africa as well as to South Africa, which have been the greatest "sanction-busters". It is pertinent, in this connexion, to emphasize the importance of implementing the United Nations resolutions and the denial of all co-operation with the illegal régime in Rhodesia. It was in recognition of this cardinal principle that my Government was dismayed by the violation of sanctions by the United States in its importation of chrome

from Rhodesia. We hope, therefore, that the United States Government will now take the necessary measures to ensure the scrupulous observance of the Security Council decisions on sanctions, especially when the United States is one of the permanent members of the Security Council. In this connexion my Government expresses its appreciation to all those well-meaning American legislators who are exerting their efforts to secure the repeal of the Byrd amendment to the Military Procurement Act of 1972, which would lead to the reinforcement of the Security Council sanctions. We call equally upon all those States which, in one form or another, violate these mandatory sanctions to take appropriate measures to put an end to such violations.

58. The problem of Namibia remains unresolved. When the idea of initiating contacts between the South African racists and the Secretary-General was first put up, my Government viewed it with scepticism. We very much hoped that our scepticism would have been proved wrong. However, the results of these talks have confirmed our original fears. Not only have the South African racist authorities refused to answer positively the questions put to them, but they have also shown a great lack of good faith by going ahead with the implementation of *apartheid* measures in Namibia.

59. This bad faith has been demonstrated through the creation of the so-called homelands in Kavangoland and elsewhere, and the establishment of the so-called advisory council against the expressed wishes of the people of Namibia. They have, further, arrested people who have been opposed to the continued illegal presence of that régime in Namibia. The racists have used these talks to entrench themselves in Namibia, while attempting to confuse the international community and world opinion as to their true intentions. Yet, the people of Namibia have continued to express their opposition to such entrenchment with firmness and determination.

60. The failure of the recent so-called elections for the establishment of homelands in Namibia is eloquent evidence of this. We find no encouragement, therefore, in the continuation of the contacts which were initiated in 1972 between the Secretary-General and the South African racist authorities pursuant to Security Council resolution 309 (1972) and the other subsequent resolutions.

61. We would all the same wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring effort in this regard, which is a reflection of his genuine concern over the problem of Namibia. What is now urgently needed is the intensification of support and the provision of material assistance to the people of Namibia, through their liberation movement, in their just struggle. Of no less importance is the need for all States to abide by all the appropriate measures of the United Nations and all its organs geared towards the liquidation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African racist régime.

62. We meet in the wake of another Sharpeville-like massacre of innocent people by the South African racist authorities at Carletonville, South Africa. Those callous murders not only illustrate the decay of the South African system; they also portray the utter disregard for human life by the South African *apartheid* régime. The rationalization

of these murders and the commendation of the conduct of the murderers by the South African authorities is further evidence of their degeneration. South Africa's consistent role as a bastion of colonialism and racism in southern Africa and its willingness to accept the role of bolstering the already outlawed illegal régime in Rhodesia serve further to expose the brutal and lawless nature of the Pretoria régime. Yet to many of us in this Assembly South Africa's unrepentant and persistent aggression against our very humanity is a matter of common knowledge. Its recalcitrancy is already legendary. But the question that arises is how long we of this Organization can remain impotent in the face of this inhumanity. How much longer can we tolerate the myth that the régime of the racists in Pretoria can speak on behalf of the people of South Africa? I submit that each day that *apartheid* is allowed to reign supreme in South Africa constitutes 24 hours of scandal and disgrace for civilized humanity and our Organization.

63. We must all resolve to take definite and effective measures to end this anachronistic system before its effects engulf us all in a racial holocaust. In this connexion, I should like to inform this Assembly that Tanzania, in its fight against racism in southern Africa, devotes a lot of time on the radio to combating racism. I should like to take this opportunity to invite the Office of Public Information of the United Nations to take advantage of and to utilize our facilities. This will indeed be our humble contribution to the fight against racism. My Government would be prepared to take up this matter with the people concerned in the Secretariat.

64. This year the United Nations is to convene the preliminary session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which this Assembly decided should take place next year [resolution 3029 A (XXVII)]. At its last session in Geneva this summer the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction was to finalize its work to enable the Conference to proceed as scheduled. Although the Committee has failed to produce the agreed draft articles on some of the subjects and issues, it is worth while noting that, in trying to formulate the draft articles, a thorough, substantive and political debate was conducted. We believe that the Committee has done what was possible under the circumstances prevailing. No prolongation of the mandate of that Committee is likely to produce any better results. It is therefore the view of my delegation that the Conference can and should proceed as scheduled. I should like to state from this rostrum that if the Conference is held in Chile now, under the present junta, my Government will not attend.

65. Events in the arena of the oceans point to the urgent need for the international community to take appropriate action if a scramble, with all its consequential evils, is to be avoided in that area of the globe which not only constitutes the greater portion of our environment but also bears immense living and non-living resources. To allow such a scramble to happen will spell not only the revival of aggravation of political tensions and further deterioration of the ocean environment but also the passing into the hands of a few technologically advanced States of the inestimable wealth which lies in the ocean space.

66. The situation facing us indicates the urgency of holding the Conference on the Law of the Sea without any further delay. Let us not allow this opportunity to slip from us, lest it be too late and the impending situation, as it threatens to occur, becomes impossible to reverse. Let me repeat that we hope the organizers of the Conference will find it possible to select a venue other than Chile, the venue that has been envisaged.

67. We see today in the world economic situation much that could be improved. When the Second United Nations Development Decade was launched, we placed much hope in its success. Yet the results have been disappointing, judging by the performance of the year 1972. Only one third of the developing countries exceeded the over-all target of a 6 per cent annual growth rate. Half of these territories failed to achieve even a 5 per cent annual growth rate and in one fifth of these countries there was an actual decline in the *per capita* income. The low-growth group accounted for about 40 per cent of the population of the developing countries.

68. This situation has arisen largely because of the mood of uncertainty in trade patterns and monetary systems. The failure of the developed countries to meet their commitment to transfer resources to developing countries has not helped matters. While the price of manufactured goods has gone up, that of primary agricultural products has gone down. The measures taken by the developing countries, therefore, have been subjected to conditions beyond their control and hence they have not been able to reap the benefits of their increased efforts. Debt servicing by the poorer nations is becoming increasingly unbearable, if not intolerable. Thus, this unwelcome economic situation has resulted in several adverse effects on the economies of developing countries. Should things be left to follow this present trend, it will not be just a matter of the gap between the haves and have-nots widening, but, more importantly, we shall be doing further violence to the principles of this Organization to improve the economic and the social situation of the peoples of our world.

69. We in Tanzania have learned one hard fact, that there is no substitute for the theory of self-reliance; that in spite of the many conferences we may go to on the question of economic development, we must nevertheless understand that it is only through self-reliance that we can find meaningful progress for our country.

70. In my address I have attempted to discuss some of the burning problems of our era. Throughout, I have emphasized the need to extend the spirit of rapprochement and to gear the purposes of just solutions to the outstanding problems which continue to bedevil us. Throughout, I have emphasized that the prerequisite of durable peace is the eradication of all injustice. For, as the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned States, held in Algiers, pointed out:

“As long as colonial wars, *apartheid*, imperialist aggression, alien domination, foreign occupation and power politics, economic exploitation and plunder prevail, peace will prove limited in principle and scope. In a world where, besides a minority of rich countries there exists a majority of poor countries, it would be dangerous to

increase such division by restricting peace to the prosperous areas of the world while the rest of mankind remained condemned to insecurity and domination by the most powerful. Peace is indivisible: it could not be reduced to a mere shifting of confrontation from one area to another, nor should it condone the continued existence of tension in some areas while endeavouring to eliminate it elsewhere. Détente would remain precarious if it did not take into consideration the interests of the other countries.” [A/9330 and Corr.1, para. 16.]

71. The millions of Africans who still live under the humiliation and the degradation of slavery under colonialism in their own countries are waiting to hear from this Organization whether they, too, can one day expect freedom and justice from us.

72. Thousands of children who have been made orphans by the bombs and massacres of the enemy whose conduct debases our very humanity are asking us, asking the United Nations, whether they too will one day raise their children in conditions of peace which we in the United Nations have so much talked about.

73. Millions of women and children in Indo-China who have never known—I repeat, have never known—a home are looking to us to create a world where they, too, can one day sleep under a roof without the fear of war.

74. In the Middle East I can hear the voices of a million Palestinians asking the United Nations how long they can continue to live a life that has neither hope nor expectation.

75. In Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, even in some poorer areas of Europe, in the slums of the big cities of the world where millions have never known the luxury of two meals or the pleasure of bread and butter, I hear the same question, How long until our Organization and the multitude of our economic conferences will be meaningful to them to ensure their ability to have two meals a day?

76. How long? How long shall this Organization continue to feed such hopes with slogans and unimplemented resolutions. This Organization has a herculean task towards the fulfilment of these hopes.

77. Let us therefore rededicate ourselves to the cause of building peace on the firm foundation of justice. It is only by doing so, that we shall be able to achieve the objectives of the Charter—peace for everyone, everywhere, based on justice and respect for human dignity.

78. Mr. LOPEZ RODO (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is for me a very great honour to speak for the first time from this rostrum, and it is especially gratifying to do so under your presidency at this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I know, Mr. Benites, your intellectual qualifications, your tact and your warm friendliness, as well as your fame as a fighter for noble causes and your profound historical and legal knowledge that are always expressed with vigour and elegance. I see in you a distinguished representative of the brother nations of Spanish America, so dear to all Spaniards. To the recognition that your qualities as a

person and your lofty position merit must be added my sincere thanks for the very kind words you used regarding Spain's ties with Spanish America when you took up your task as President of this General Assembly [2117th meeting].

79. This twenty-eighth session of the Assembly has been enriched with the admission of the two States representing the great German nation as well as the Bahamas. To these new Member States Spain extends a very cordial welcome.

80. The words I wish to speak here are words of peace and justice. Words of peace, I say, because Spain's foreign policy is characterized by a constant and firm desire for peace among nations. This is not a rhetorical assertion. Facts bear this out. Neither the strategic value of our geographic position nor the strong pressures to which we were subjected during the two world wars were able ever to destroy our profound desire to maintain peace.

81. Within this tradition the Spanish delegation wishes now to analyse the present situation and the future prospects for peace in the world, a peace torn by conflicts and tensions which threaten the future of mankind.

82. To the bright face offered by ever increasing economic and social growth, by technological advances and the possibility of reaching ever higher levels of well-being and culture and breaking down the barriers separating the rich countries from the poor, there is the paradoxical reverse situation that we confront an ever increasing deterioration of the spiritual condition and the environment in which we live, together with the possible outbreak of social conflicts and wars with irreparable consequences for all.

83. Since 1945 the world has been seeking an optimum balance other than the balance of terror. To replace this apocalyptic equilibrium by an innate equilibrium of peace stemming from the harmonic union of those values and power that culture and technology today place at the service of man is the highest humanistic goal of our age.

84. Today, for the first time in history, social tensions are frequently world-wide in scope and, hence, conflicting national policies can no longer control events.

85. From this fact there are those who have drawn the conclusion that the order of sovereign States is incapable of solving the problems of the human community. And yet it is one thing to admit realistically that many of the great problems of our time require the concerted action of the international community and quite another to think that such problems can be solved only through the disappearance of States as sovereign and independent entities. It is precisely the effective recognition of that sovereignty and independence of States which makes possible the very existence of an international order and with it the possibility of effectively tackling the problems of peace and formulating the great objectives of the community of nations.

86. Undoubtedly, the great revolution in the communications media which has narrowed the gap between cultures and peoples, the supranational transmission of news to the public at large, the broadening of markets to world-wide

dimensions, the international confrontation of ideologies, the tendency of conflicts to become global in character and the universal incidence of tension between developed and under-developed nations have created a political arena which is truly universal.

87. But there is a great danger to world peace, namely, that such possibilities of coexistence, communication and exchange on a world scale will be abused by being employed for politically narrow, economically egotistical and even strictly subversive objectives.

88. In the face of those ideas, more or less tainted with imperialism, each country has the right to find its own reply to the challenge of our times. A plurality of options must be allowed to exist; otherwise, there might well arise large-scale intervention and conflict, whose outcome would be a general world confrontation, after which no one would remain to tell the tale.

89. Reciprocal recognition of the sovereignty of each State demands maximum respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all nations. This respect is the essential postulate governing, without any discrimination whatsoever, the relations of Spain with other nations.

90. Peace, the roots of which spring from justice, is guaranteed by security.

91. In today's world, security can no longer be built upon the counterpoise between opposing blocs. Spain believes that the rigid division of the world into hostile blocs must be replaced by the institutionalization of large geographical areas of security. The Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe reflects this idea.

92. However, political realism demands that we should not cling to strict geographical considerations. European security, for instance, cannot be divorced from Mediterranean security. It is for that reason that, together with other nations, Spain believes that if security of that sea is not guaranteed, European security will be not only Utopian but also highly dangerous and will reflect hegemonistic claims.

93. The structure of security that exists at present in the Mediterranean is based exclusively on the confrontation between great Powers, with the consequent loss of autonomy for the coastal States. Although the system is imperfect, we cannot today conceive of the possibility of demilitarizing or neutralizing the Mediterranean. It would, however, appear possible to combine the imperatives of a global strategy with an agreement between the Mediterranean countries which would enable them to participate in the shaping of their own security. In this connexion several non-European Mediterranean countries have expressed the wish to be heard at the Conference on European Security and Co-operation, and Spain has echoed that legitimate desire by advocating, in July in Helsinki and recently in Geneva, that those countries be heard.

94. Spain also has a vital interest in the drafts for a new definition of the principles that are to govern security and co-operation in the North Atlantic region. My country is a part of that zone for geographic, historical, strategic and economic reasons. Spain, as part of Europe and as a sincere

friend of the United States, is ready and determined to play its part in the Atlantic area in favour of peace and security.

95. Spain's European side is one of its most important historical aspects; hence our Government wishes sincerely to contribute to the construction of Europe by contributing its cultural and human values as well as material resources, which in the last decade have developed in an unprecedented manner.

96. Spain views with satisfaction the process of European integration, and understands that the political unity of Europe must be forged on the strength of the recognition of an enriching diversity and the contribution of original and autonomous solutions by the various nations constituting it.

97. For the elementary reason of human solidarity, Europe cannot entrench itself in its own economic well being, but rather must combine and redouble its efforts to help the developing countries. To the extent that this open and generous attitude gains ground, the judgement of history will determine the positive and constructive contribution that is being made to European co-operation.

98. But in this Europe that so ambitiously looks towards the future, there remains, incredible as it may seem, one last vestige of the colonial past—Gibraltar. The case of Gibraltar is a clear example of the fact that security, both in the global and regional sense, is shaken if one nation decides, against all reason, to base its own security on the insecurity of others.

99. The principle of security implies the duty of preventing risks from extending to third parties. Gibraltar, on more than one occasion, has exposed Spain to involvement under all kinds of dire pressures in the great wars of this century. It must therefore cease to constitute for my country such a catastrophic risk.

100. Gibraltar is an English colony maintained as a military base. It is a strategic point which places Spain's security in jeopardy vis-à-vis other Powers and prevents us from contributing more effectively to security in the Mediterranean, when in fact our desire is to convert a point of friction into an area of co-operation for the benefit of security in general.

101. The United Nations has been considering the question of Gibraltar for 10 years. As a European statesman recently said, it is a big problem on a small bit of land—less than five square kilometres of rock. The territory is out of all proportion to the United Kingdom's defiance of the United Nations and its affront to Spain by refusing to decolonize this small area of land.

102. Why will Great Britain not apply to Gibraltar the principle of decolonization which, after serious upheavals, violent repressions and countless victims, it has put into effect in more than 20 territories vital to its imperial strategy and economic hegemony? Great Britain has sequestered an integral part of Spanish soil of no economic or military value without Spain's co-operation, continually has recourse to intrusions into Spanish air and sea space to prolong an indefensible legal and physical situation, and

abuses the often expressed desires for peace of my Government.

103. Ever since the eleventh session of the General Assembly, we have repeated our just claims to Gibraltar. Ever since the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples approved on 16 October 1964 the consensus on Gibraltar⁴ up to resolution 2429 (XXIII) of 18 December 1968, the General Assembly set the date, long past, of 1 October 1969 for decolonization, while at the same time the United Nations has established a doctrine on Gibraltar, the basic points of which are the following: (a) the question of Gibraltar is of a colonial nature; (b) an end should be put to it through negotiations between Spain and Great Britain; (c) resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization applies in this case, specifically its paragraph 6, which regards as essential the principles of national unity and territorial integrity; (d) the interests of the inhabitants of Gibraltar must be protected on termination of the colonial status. That is the United Nations doctrine on Gibraltar.

104. On the basis of this doctrine, in May of 1966 the Spanish Government initiated negotiations which had to be broken off in March 1968 due to the evident lack of willingness to negotiate on the part of Great Britain as demonstrated, among others, by the following facts.

105. First, the United Kingdom declared on 12 July 1966 that the territory on which it had installed a military airport was also under British sovereignty. This area was between the wall arbitrarily put up by the English in 1909, despite Spanish protests, and the confines of the "city and castle of Gibraltar, together with its port, defences and fortresses", which is all that was ceded under the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713.

106. The second fact that shows the lack of desire on the part of the United Kingdom Government to negotiate is the following. On 5 January 1967 the British claimed the right to use Spanish air space in connexion with the operation of the military airport at Gibraltar.

107. Thirdly, although disapproved by the Special Committee, a referendum was held on 10 September 1967—10 days after the Committee's condemnation. The referendum was also repudiated three months later by the General Assembly in resolution 2353 (XXII) of 19 December 1967.

108. Despite these serious unilateral British actions, and as a manifestation of goodwill and in order to facilitate a solution of the problem, the Spanish Government has, since November 1969, been attempting by every means to create an appropriate climate for dialogue and understanding with Great Britain. That has resulted in 10 meetings between the Foreign Ministers of both countries, at all of which the problem of Gibraltar has been dealt with at length.

109. During the course of almost four years, therefore, Spain has attempted to open the way to negotiations with a view to achieving the decolonization of Gibraltar, at all

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes*, annex No. 8 (part I), chap. X, para. 209.

times bearing in mind the interests of the inhabitants of Gibraltar—some 20,000 people—while searching for an understanding with the United Kingdom likely to serve Spanish-British common interests of both nations which hold out such great prospects for friendly co-operation.

110. Unfortunately, the only results of all those talks has been the proof that Great Britain continues to be unwilling to negotiate, inasmuch as it has rejected outright the generous Spanish proposals, alleging that they imply a transfer of sovereignty, a concept that is inadmissible to the British Government in spite of the fact that, in the case of Gibraltar, decolonization, according to United Nations doctrine, consists of ceding sovereignty over that colony or military base and reincorporating it into Spanish territory.

111. To conceal its stubborn attitude, the United Kingdom Government has attempted to use the people of Gibraltar as a screen and to disregard the fact that the 1967 referendum was, as I have said, was rejected by the United Nations in its resolution 2353 (XXII).

112. This is a key point that must be kept very much in mind because that referendum was ludicrous. How can a military base seek self-determination? But the farce is even more obvious if we remember that, when the British occupied the Gibraltar fortress, the original Spanish population was forced to leave. That vacuum was filled over the course of the years by people of different origins, arriving at various times. The United Kingdom never allowed my people to return to Gibraltar. Even those Spaniards whom it used as an effective labour force for many years were compelled to return every night to their homes in towns outside the confines of the fortress-colony.

113. With regard to Gibraltar, Great Britain has always tried to protect itself behind third parties, using them as a cover. Thus, it occupied the fortress militarily in the name of Archduke Charles of Austria, a pretender to the Spanish throne during the War of the Spanish Succession. The Archduke lost the war, but the British remained in Gibraltar. On taking it they invoked the specious argument that they were defending the cause of the Archduke. Now that the time has come for decolonization they use the inhabitants of Gibraltar.

114. United Nations resolutions are addressed to the United Kingdom but it disregards them and in this forum claims and seeks to make us believe that if there is anyone that must abide by them it is the Gibraltarians and not the colonial Power. At other times it claims full competence in the matter. Thus, for example, we find the following in the British commentaries of 21 July 1966, in reply to the Spanish claim:

“The Spanish supposition that Her Majesty’s Government believes the people of Gibraltar can dispose of the territory of Gibraltar according to their wishes is in error. It has stated on many occasions, specifically in White Paper 2632, that sovereignty over Gibraltar lies with the British Crown.”

115. Again, the United Kingdom Government, through an Order-in-Council, inserted in the preamble to the so-called 1969 Constitution of Gibraltar certain clauses according to

which, in the final analysis, it could not return sovereignty to Spain without the consent of the inhabitants, thus ignoring both the Treaty of Utrecht and United Nations resolutions.

116. All of this shows that the British attitude could not be more contradictory. In its way of dealing—or rather, of not dealing—with the Gibraltar problem, it is acting like the Sun King: “I am Gibraltar”. However, when urged to decolonize the fortress, it washes its hands of the affair, as if Gibraltar came under a sovereignty other than its own.

117. This manipulation of interests alien to its own ends is shown in the supposed defence of the inhabitants, for whom Spain has offered, and is willing to grant, every kind of legal and economic safeguard.

118. The British Government stubbornly asserts that the Gibraltarians are unanimous in rejecting the Spanish point of view on Gibraltar. That is not true. On many occasions eminent Gibraltarians have spoken out—in fact, even recently, before the British Governor of the fortress himself—calling for a negotiated solution with Spain.

119. The British Government, as the only valid interlocutor, has received from the Spanish Government extremely generous offers for the inhabitants of Gibraltar. But Great Britain has rejected our offers without letting the inhabitants of Gibraltar know of them, and has made no counter-offers or proposals. By adopting that negative and closed attitude, Great Britain is materially strangling the life of the inhabitants and crippling their future development, which would be enormous once they returned to the nation whose language they speak and of which they are geographically and economically a part in view of the enormous rate of growth of the Spanish economy which, according to the reports of international economic organizations, will continue in the coming years.

120. We consider the people of Gibraltar as our brothers. Spain pledges itself solemnly before this General Assembly to guarantee, once the era of colonization ends in Gibraltar, the preservation of the present political, administrative and judicial organization in Gibraltar with only the substitution of the British by the corresponding Spanish authorities, a substitution that is inherent in decolonization and the consequent transfer of sovereignty over the territory.

121. Thus the people of Gibraltar will enjoy a special status of legislative, judicial, administrative and financial autonomy, which will respect their choice in matters of nationality, their present civic rights and freedoms, their local government and their status as a free port.

122. Similarly, Spain solemnly undertakes to ensure, as a minimum, the *per capita* income which the inhabitants may have achieved, and their annual growth rate, to maintain the level of income of its active population, social security benefits and other legitimate interests, all of which would be guaranteed by both Spain and the United Nations and not, as they are at present, subjected to a colonial status depending solely upon Great Britain.

123. Our delegation in the debates in the Fourth Committee will elaborate on that offer.

124. Spain reserves the right to take whatever steps are necessary to achieve the decolonization of Gibraltar and once again proclaims that it is sincerely ready to negotiate constructively if and when the British Government shows a true wish to negotiate. Our position cannot be clearer, firmer, nor more generous.

125. I have dwelt on this question of Gibraltar at some length because, however unbelievable it may seem, neither British nor Gibraltarian public opinion knows the true Spanish position. The silence of the British press was thunderous when I addressed the meetings of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on 4 July last on the question of Gibraltar. I cherish the hope that the words I have spoken before this General Assembly on the Gibraltar question, a matter that is so vital for relations between the two countries, will merit the attention of the British press, radio and television.

126. Spain's position on the Middle East is one of co-operating in the re-establishment of a just and stable peace in that area.

127. Prime determining factors of our policy are the sincere belief that the acquisition of territory by force is unlawful and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

128. The friendship of Spain with the Arab world is a factor of peace in the Mediterranean area and one of the constant factors in our history. Spain believes that United Nations resolutions on this subject should be applied inasmuch as they offer a useful basis for a just solution to that conflict.

129. Two factors are of special interest to the Spanish Government in connexion with the peaceful settlement of the Middle East question: the situation of the Palestinian people and the future of Jerusalem. Spain will take a realistic stand vis-à-vis any proposals, whatever their origin, designed to guarantee the legitimate rights of that people and to safeguard the universality of the Holy City. For we believe that there can be no definitive solution to the Middle East question without a solution to those two problems.

130. It has been a commonplace to say that the countries of Spanish America have a great future. I would add that that future has already begun, perhaps with the upheavals that sometimes accompany a new birth.

131. The reasons for which Spain feels so closely and fraternally tied to the destinies of the peoples of Spanish America are many. They are the noble ties of a common culture, common traditions and common ancestry. It is for that reason that we have never permitted, and shall never permit, differences of ideology or political systems to interfere with the normal relations between our countries. One does not impose conditions on one's brother to love him.

132. The problems of Spanish America are the problems of the developing countries. We defend the right of nations to find the most appropriate solutions to their problems, in keeping with the temperament, the social conditions, the

historic destiny of each people, without foreign interference and without the imposition of stereotyped solutions.

133. Spain places at the disposal of those sister nations its own modest but valid experience, experience it has acquired in its own fight for development and its own search for a better quality of life. A network of co-operative agreements involving the furnishing of experts and capital goods and the acceptance of technicians and scholars has been extended across the Atlantic, and links in that network are becoming stronger as time passes.

134. An example of this close and effective co-operation is the Conference of Ministers for Planning and Development, which met in Madrid last May and which now, after its institutionalization, has become a forum for the periodic exchange of views and the adoption of mutual agreements. Spain carries out with pleasure its duty to co-operate in the development of the peoples of Spanish America, and this for elementary reasons of solidarity and profound feelings of brotherhood.

135. It is in that same spirit that I wish to reaffirm the ties that bind Spain to Portugal, a country with which we share the Iberian peninsula in a spirit of brotherly respect that dates back many centuries.

136. The image of that peace which humanity clamours for today requires the renunciation of aggression, even the kind that on the surface does not use force; but it also calls for the creation of minimal co-operative relations, excluding panic and the mistrust under which the younger generation have grown up. Many of them are deserting communal tasks when faced by a world that they regard as badly structured.

137. The principles of mutual respect, equilibrium and security, the idea of peaceful coexistence in its strictest sense of positive co-operation, are necessary but insufficient in themselves to contemporary man because of the many vast problems that beset us. I am referring to the paucity of means to meet the most elementary needs of many peoples when so much is absorbed by the well-labelled "industry of death". I am referring also to the energy crisis, to the ever-growing danger of an ecology imbalanced, to the chronic instability of our monetary system—to mention but some of the most important. Because of their intensity, their acceleration and their extensive repercussions, those problems go far beyond mere national interests and require a global strategy if the human race is to survive.

138. Unless we react in time in the face of the hunger of many hundreds of millions of human beings and the slow erosion of the possibilities of life on our planet we expose ourselves to great conflicts, bringing in their wake irreparable damage.

139. The construction of an integrated peace demands today that we search far beyond mere formulas of self-security or peaceful coexistence. It demands the definition of a great policy of co-operation for the future good of the whole of mankind.

140. In short, only the firm and common will to overcome the multiple problems of peace at this universal cross-roads

of this our only earth will be the most effective proof of the true unity of the United Nations.

141. Mr. LUKE (Sierra Leone): Standing here today addressing this great Assembly for the first time I am deeply conscious of the honour my President, His Excellency Dr. Siaka Stevens, has conferred on me by conveying through me his personal warm greetings and salutations, as well as those of his Government and the entire people of Sierra Leone. We congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of this twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly. We doubt not that you will guide our deliberations here admirably.

142. We wish also to pay tribute to your predecessor, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Poland, Mr. Stanisław Trep-czyński, under whose active, energetic and wise leadership the twenty-seventh session tackled seriously so many important African issues.

143. We wish also to commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his heroic efforts in the Herculean task of being our Secretary-General. Under his aegis the influence of the United Nations has been brought to bear on the many areas of conflict, particularly in the Middle East, Asia and Africa. His efforts demand our admiration and, even more so, our support. His participation in the recent deliberations of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned States provides reassuring evidence of the co-operation between the United Nations and other organizations with similar objectives. Sierra Leone wishes him well and hopes that his efforts will be crowned with ever-increasing success.

144. It gives me, personally, particular pleasure to extend our warm welcome to the new Members of the United Nations: the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. The bonds between Sierra Leone and each of these countries are strong, but I can and do feel the joy of this great occasion more particularly for more personal reasons.

145. Sierra Leone is a small country but a nation totally committed to the ideals of this Organization. It is our belief that the strength and saving grace of this institution is that nations, irrespective of size, can, rightly motivated, contribute adequately and effectively to this world body. It is our view that in the United Nations lies the only reasonable hope for the peoples of this world. It is for that reason that I am happy and proud to pledge in all sincerity the fullest co-operation of my delegation towards the attainment of the ideals, purposes and principles of our Organization. It is our view that there is a duty incumbent on each and every Member State to work towards a truly harmonized community of nations. To do so we must fully appreciate that we belong to a community of nations. We must appreciate that irresponsible pursuit of what we misguidedly consider to be our nation's self-interest is short-sighted folly; that at best the result of such an endeavour is a balance of fear and at worst an unimaginable holocaust. It should not be difficult for thinking men to appreciate that, in a world as tiny as ours—and getting tinier every day—to ask, “Am I my brother's keeper?”, is to ask the obvious.

146. We believe the time has come for every Member State to eschew propagandist slogans and to work diligently towards the goals of our Organization, for an ordered world dedicated to the pursuit of the goals of peace—the mounting of an effective assault upon the diseases that still ravage mankind, and an improvement of the poor standard and quality of life at present available to 90-odd per cent of the world's population.

147. Is it not high time we stopped talking interminably about the gap between the haves and the have-nots? Is such talk an end in itself? Are we going to continue talking about it and doing nothing else? The reduction of the gap, I suggest, not only is worthy of the attention of the galaxy of talent available to this Organization but should be one of our association's priority action programmes. Therefore, Sierra Leone proposes that the following be included on the agenda of the twenty-eighth General Assembly session as an important and urgent item: Reduction of the increasing gap between the developed countries and the developing countries.⁵

148. It is for reasons such as those just mentioned that my Government welcomes the détente of recent years. This positive trend, we are confident, will manifest itself in a wider measure of agreement and co-operation, not only among the super-Powers, whose individual interest dictated this mutual accommodation, but also among all States, because the welfare and survival of humanity depend on continuing peace, continuing stability and continuing international understanding.

149. We cannot hope in the brief span of one statement to this Assembly even to review, let alone pretend to solve, all the world's problems. We can, however, highlight some of the more disturbing, and this I intend to do during the next few minutes.

150. The misery that has recently plagued 10 million people of the Sahelian region on the continent of Africa as a result of drought is still not a past event. While we must express our sincere appreciation and thanks to the various Governments and international institutions, not least the specialized agencies of our own Organization, for quickly rushing aid to the millions of starving victims, I would make an appeal to the Member States of this world body for this disaster to be given even greater publicity through the mass media so as to elicit greater short-term and long-term relief, as well as rehabilitation programmes, from the entire international community.

151. On the African continent the problem of decolonization continues to manifest itself in its most atrocious forms.

152. The Rhodesian problem has grown increasingly worse over the past eight years, and, in spite of the persistent efforts of OAU, this Organization and other progressive forces of liberation, the intransigence of Mr. Smith and his racist oligarchy are making it almost impossible to arrive at a peaceful solution of this explosive problem. By a systematic introduction of racist legislation and practices,

⁵ At its 2156th meeting, the General Assembly decided to include this item in the agenda of its twenty-eighth session as agenda item 108.

by oppressive rule accompanied by the bullets of madmen, by blatant disregard of the voice of the masses, this illegal régime continues to entrench itself, contrary to the wishes of the vast majority of the international community. Recently this intolerable situation has been exacerbated further by the closing of the borders with Zambia, an act which can justly be described as economic aggression. It is now all too evident that the British Government cannot or will not by itself resolve this issue. It is thus only by the determined action of all members of this community, both individually and collectively, that we can hope to achieve any meaningful results by means other than conflict and bloodshed. Unhappily, the sanctions on which this Organization has decided are being imposed either partially or half-heartedly by those whose compliance is likely to make the greatest impact on the Rhodesian economy. Unless there is a change of heart in this direction, the only other possibility—a solution by force of arms—with all its attendant horrors and inevitable high cost in terms of human life, will be the personal responsibility of each and every one of us who failed to support faithfully this Organization's call for sanctions. Let not the blood of the Zimbabweans be on our hands and on the heads of our children.

153. We recommend and continue to urge a widening of sanctions both in scope and in intensity, to include, in particular, travel, communications, sports and all other economic, political, social and cultural activities, because we are convinced that, in a world in which nations have become so increasingly interdependent, political, economic and cultural isolation are bound to make a corrective impression on even the most intransigent régimes.

154. In Namibia, history appears to have stood still or to be moving backwards. It is deeply regretted that in spite of the decision and the subsequent actions of this body to assume the administration of that Territory and free its inhabitants from the clutches of the South African Government, we are witnessing instead the dismemberment of Namibia into homelands in preparation for the wholesale importation of *apartheid*.

155. The Namibian issue is a test of the efficacy of the United Nations. No Member State therefore can treat it with indifference without betraying the principles that give this Organization its meaning. It is the sacred obligation of every Member of this Organization to co-operate fully in the search for a just solution of this problem. My delegation would therefore support whomever this Organization considers fit to appoint as its Commissioner for that hapless Territory.

156. In order to ensure that the measures decided upon at this session will meet with a greater measure of success, we once again call upon the South African Government, as a Member of this world Organization, to recognize its obligation to co-operate with the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia so that we may bury once and for all one of the last surviving skeletons from the League of Nations. Failure to heed such a call must be taken as disrespect for and lack of interest in our Organization.

157. In Angola and Mozambique, the Portuguese colonial war continues with unabated intensity, punctuated now

and then by episodes of wanton massacres of women and children and acts of blatant aggression against neighbouring African Territories.

158. The most recent example of this was the revelation of the massacre of 400 men, women and children in the village of Wiriyamu in the Tete Province of Mozambique. It will be recalled that the Special Committee stated that Portugal could not escape responsibility for its "barbarous acts" against the oppressed populations of the Territories under its domination and declared that the evidence gave further proof of the régime's total disregard for human life and basic human values [see A/9023/Rev.1, chap. IX, para. 27 (2) and (4)].

159. We would like to endorse fully the Committee's consensus that all individuals representing Portuguese military and civilian authorities involved in the reported atrocities must be placed at the disposal of United Nations representatives for systematic interrogation. [*Ibid.*, para. 27 (3).]

160. We have seized every possible opportunity to point out that, although the military initiative is Portugal's, yet without the economic and military support of its NATO allies the Portuguese colonial dream would long ago have been abandoned. Consequently, those who give comfort and assistance to the perpetrators of the bestialities of this colonial war must, of necessity, share the blame for its horrible consequences. On this occasion we salute the brave freedom fighters who, against overwhelming odds, are holding high the banner of liberty, and we shall continue to give them every encouragement and support in their just struggle.

161. Closely linked with these colonial problems is that of the policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African Government.

162. In condemning *apartheid* we need only to look back to the recent repetition of Sharpeville to establish the fact that time has not improved the position. Unarmed miners were brutally killed in cold blood because they simply asked for better conditions of work. They were not even asking for their lands of which they have been unjustly deprived. How then can we hope for a peaceful solution to *apartheid* when its perpetrators are also wanton killers.

163. With unrestrained ferocity the South African Government is systematically eradicating all enlightened opposition to its policy of racial segregation and racial oppression, completely insensitive to the feelings of the world community and the aspirations of the vast indigenous majority. It is common knowledge that we have repeatedly appealed to the South African Government, through the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Security Council, OAU and the non-aligned movement, to liberalize its policy of discrimination on the basis of colour. The Manifesto on Southern Africa⁶ in particular proposed, in unequivocal terms, an honourable basis for the solution of a most dishonourable problem. In spite of all these endeavours, however, we are again compelled, from this rostrum, painfully to review this unhappy story of man's extreme inhumanity to his fellow man.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

164. Given the history of the situation, it is obvious that we can no longer expect any positive voluntary response from the South Africans. Our only hope, therefore, is to appeal to the rest of humanity to redouble its effort to eradicate the stain of *apartheid* and racial discrimination from the face of the African continent. If we fail to do this, the ghosts of Sharpeville and the blood of the innocent miners will forever haunt the conscience of the world, and the South African situation itself will pose an increasing threat to the peace and security of southern Africa and the world at large. We appeal for a total boycott of South Africa, because again, as with Rhodesia, we feel that the effects of isolation—military, economic, diplomatic and cultural—can only be salutary. We also ask ourselves, however, despite the fact that we believe fervently that membership of our Organization must be as universal as practical, can South Africa, with its blatant disregard of the fundamental principles of our Organization, remain a Member?

165. On the Middle East situation we express the deepest possible concern that the Government of Israel has not to date recognized the wisdom of complying with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Sierra Leone cannot support the acquisition of any territory by any country through force.

166. Earlier in the year we welcomed with great relief the news that armed conflict in Viet-Nam, with its tragic toll of lives and property, was finally being brought to an end through the Paris peace Agreement. Conflicting reports suggest, however, that the embers are still glowing, and we would like to take this opportunity to appeal to all the parties in that conflict to exercise responsibility and restraint if lasting peace is to be restored to the people of that troubled and divided country.

167. In Korea, the continued division of that once united country represents a most delicate situation. As we debate this question for the last time in the General Assembly, we wish to lay great emphasis on the need for the Korean people themselves to be allowed to work together for the reunification of their homeland.

168. In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent the news of reconciliation among the combatants provides refreshing evidence of responsible statesmanship. We trust this spirit of reconciliation will continue and that before long we shall witness the release and exchange of all remaining prisoners of war, as well as the admission of the new State of Bangladesh into this community of nations. Unhappily however, dark clouds continue to hover over Asia, as evidenced by the Cambodian conflict. With the Viet-Name experience so vivid in our minds, it seems hardly necessary to dwell on the unwisdom of pouring in arms and men in order to try to subdue the determined will of the Cambodian people.

169. While we welcome the progress made so far in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, we cannot be complacent about the whole disarmament situation. Nuclear arms continue to pose a very real threat to peace, and the continuation of nuclear tests, particularly in the atmosphere, 10 years after the signing of the partial test-ban

Treaty⁷ gives cause for great concern. It should by now be clear to all that nuclear confrontation cannot guarantee universal peace, because the balance of terror can only provide a sense of insecurity. Moreover, the increasing cost of the arms race is such a constant drain on the limited and diminishing resources available for development that its continuation can only perpetuate and widen the development gap and provide evidence of misguided motivation. We have noted with satisfaction the efforts being made by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to involve the developing countries in the use of benefits of space application.

170. The convening of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, scheduled for Chile in April and May 1974 is becoming more and more uncertain. My delegation supports the holding of this Conference not least because the existence of varying national stands particularly on the question of limits of territorial waters demands consultation and negotiation to harness and exploit man's common heritage for the benefit of all mankind.

171. It is my country's view that the resources of the sea must be exploited like all the other resources of this earth for the benefit of all mankind and that the industrially developed nations must not seek to seize the opportunity of their technological advancement to monopolize the exploitation and utilization of the mineral and living resources of the sea and the sea-bed. Any such attempt would be hazardous in the extreme, for in this day and age it would be stoutly resisted even by the smallest and the poorest of the developing nations.

172. In a rightly motivated world we would not need to be told that the strong must not trample the weak nor the rich exploit the poor. But, alas, this is what obtains today.

173. In 1970, Member States unanimously adopted an International Development Strategy [resolution 2626 (XXV)], which aimed at diminishing the gross inequalities in economic growth and material welfare among the nations of this world, and attacking poverty in ways that would improve the conditions of the poorest groups within the poor countries.

174. Three years have now elapsed and the gap which that Strategy sought to bridge seems on the contrary to be growing wider ever day. Indeed, it is ironical that with the growing *entente* among the industrial nations, there has developed an attitude of nonchalance towards the poverty-stricken areas of the world. The developed nations have been able to meet neither the goal of a net transfer of 1 per cent of their gross national product nor the 0.7 per cent target set for the United Nations Development Decade.

175. My country notes with satisfaction the recent discussions on a new international monetary order and the establishment of a Committee of 20 under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund⁸ whose aim is to enlarge the representation of the developing countries. We are

⁷ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

⁸ Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues.

convinced that such a step would be useful in remedying the present world monetary crisis and altering the direction of the flow of finance.

176. We are, however, much concerned about the growing protectionism practised by the developed countries against the primary products of the developing nations.

177. My country is quite satisfied with the outcome of the deliberations of the first session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme, held this year in Geneva. It still maintains the position that the application of technology should be adapted to the realities of the developing countries especially in the field of agriculture and the solution of other environmental problems. During the discussions it became more than evident that whereas the developed countries have been concerned with pollution caused by affluence, the developing countries are groaning under pollution engendered by poverty.

178. Moreover, whereas the developed nations have envisaged the problems of the human environment in terms of scientific and industrial progress, the poorer nations explain them in terms of economic and social inadequacies like unemployment, malnutrition, poor sanitation and shanty towns.

179. Let me end as I began, by reaffirming Sierra Leone's faith in the United Nations. The past contribution of the United Nations to the peace and security of the world has been inestimable. Unique is its future role in evolving a true community of nations, in harmonizing the interests of all, in utilizing the world's limited resources for the benefit of all, and in settling disputes by peaceful means. Sierra Leone pledges to do all in its power to assist the United Nations to achieve its full potential. To do this we are convinced that the situation where one nation can by the exercise—arbitrary or otherwise—of a veto frustrate the wishes and often the collective wisdom of the rest of the entire international community is totally unacceptable. It is also our position that now is an appropriate time for a review of the entire question of the permanent membership of the Security Council.

180. We shall, within and outside this forum, along with any and all other peace-loving nations dedicated to the betterment of the lot of all mankind—especially the underfed, the under-privileged and the oppressed—search for the solutions to our many problems, always conscious that we are our brother's keeper. Sierra Leone undertakes to heed the Secretary-General's reminder in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/9001/Add.1] that Governments tend to pursue their strict national aims in the United Nations with regard to the Organization as such and we shall seek to take corrective action.

181. The Secretary-General has also pointed out that this body will not develop through ritual public statements of approval and support not backed by inner conviction and he left us, in his closing words, to consider just what kind of world organization we need and are prepared in reality to accept. It is the view of the Sierra Leone Government that the kind of world organization we need is one growing rapidly and steadily from an ineffective world debating

forum to an embryonic world parliament with all necessary ancillary legal and physical powers. To this end we stand ready and willing to surrender as much or as little of our national sovereignty to such a world body as is necessary to give the latter reality and meaning.

182. Those are the views of my Government that I have been privileged to present. We state again that one of the fundamental tenets of Sierra Leone's foreign policy has always been support for this Organization. We will continue to follow that tenet, particularly in accordance with the above-mentioned principles.

183. Mr. LONG BORET (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Khmer Republic is doubly gratified by your election to the presidency of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of our Organization. Firstly, you are the representative of a friendly nation with which my country enjoys the most cordial diplomatic relations. Also, you combine in your person the distinguished qualities of a diplomat and valuable experience in United Nations affairs, experience acquired over the many years during which you have brilliantly represented your beautiful country. We have no doubt that under your leadership the discussions at this session will be conducted with the tranquillity and success which we all expect.

184. My delegation associates itself with previous speakers in conveying to you, Mr. President, our warmest congratulations.

185. It is also an agreeable duty for me to pay a tribute to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, President of the twenty-seventh session, who directed the proceedings last year with remarkable mastery.

186. I cannot let this occasion pass without repeating once again to Mr. Kurt Waldheim our warm admiration for his tireless efforts to see to it that justice and peace reign in this world, which unfortunately, is still troubled in spite of a clear-cut trend towards détente.

187. Subscribing unreservedly as we do to the principles of the universality of the United Nations, we should like to extend our sincere congratulations, best wishes and welcome to the representatives of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, with which the Khmer Republic enjoys the best relations.

188. For three years representatives of the Khmer Republic have had occasion to draw the attention of this Assembly from this rostrum to the crimes and the destruction being committed by foreign aggression. In their passion to destroy everything that is specifically Khmer, the North Viet-Nameese and the Viet-Cong are victimizing our civilian population and everything which may be regarded as a resource of our country, whether it be humanitarian, cultural or economic.

189. The temples of Angkor, which are one of the most important heritages of the civilization of the world, have been militarily occupied since June 1970, in spite of the efforts of our Government, with the support of our

Secretary-General and that of almost all the members of UNESCO, to place them under the special protection provided for by The Hague Convention of 1954.⁹ It is very sad to note that these monuments of inestimable artistic and cultural value have, in this way, become the objects of vandalism and have been exposed to the elements because of a lack of proper maintenance.

190. Indeed, since January 1972 these occupiers have prohibited access by the curators of Angkor, who work under the aegis of the French School of the Far East, an apolitical organization well known in the archaeological world.

191. For our part we are refraining from recovering these temples by force for fear of damaging them irremediably, even though the enemy might use them for military purposes.

192. Furthermore, our concern is the greater because art treasures which were stolen from Angkor have been placed on sale, according to press reports, in certain world tourist centres.

193. Elementary school, high school and university buildings of the Khmer Republic are also subject to the destructive fury of the aggressors. It is the secondary schools particularly which are the most affected because they are scattered throughout the countryside, in large measure in the actual battlefields. Just to mention the primary school buildings: 3,154 of them have been destroyed. Hence, of a student body numbering 1.1 million in 1969-1970, only 720,000 of our school children were able to go to school this year.

194. In the realm of the health infrastructure 12 hospitals, 24 health centres and 160 infirmaries have been either demolished or damaged. What is more, our doctors and nurses have been massacred, in defiance of all humanitarian rules.

195. Many religious buildings have had the same fate meted out to them, while several hundred Buddhist monks have been murdered or captured. Many of them have been forcibly defrocked and enrolled in the ranks of the aggressors, something which the Khmer people, who are more than 90 per cent Buddhist, consider as the worst kind of sacrilege.

196. The damage done to our roads, railways, dams, factories, airports, and so on, amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars. Unable to win a military victory, the enemy devotes himself to the destruction of our economic infrastructure and does not even respect the work sponsored by the United Nations. The Prek Thnot dam, under construction, was twice attacked—in September 1971 and August 1973—and yet this international project, which, according to the very words of the Resident Representative of the United Nations in Phnom Penh, “has really peaceful and humanitarian objectives”, is financed by the following countries: the Federal Republic of Germany, Australia,

Canada, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, India, Italy, Japan, Pakistan, the Philippines and the United Kingdom.

197. But the saddest spectacle of all in this aggression is the sight of people fleeing their villages or fields to take refuge in security zones. They have lost everything: their families, their houses, their harvests and their cattle. To date there are more than 2 million refugees in the capital and in the provinces—2 million human beings to feed and shelter for a country having a population of only 7 million. That tells you something of the tragedy of my country.

198. Instead of giving way to despair, our Government, with the scanty resources available to it, has taken measures to deal with the highest priorities. However, in spite of the humanitarian assistance of friendly countries and international charitable institutions, the problem is far from solved.

199. Parallel to our national resistance efforts, and in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Khmer people, a new Constitution was prepared and submitted to a national referendum. The First President of the Republic was elected by universal and direct suffrage on 4 June 1972. The legislative elections gave the country a Parliament, and this was followed by the establishment of other democratic institutions.

200. We should particularly like to stress here the social achievements of the Khmer people since the founding of the Republic. For the first time, a labour code has been promulgated.

201. As far as our outside obligations are concerned, we have not been neglecting the obligations incumbent upon us as a Member of the United Nations and other international organizations. Within the framework of our modest resources, we shall continue to take an active part in international co-operation.

202. Steeped as they are in Buddhist teachings, the Khmer people reject all forms of racial discrimination between human beings, whatever the colour of their skin, their ethnic group or their religion.

203. Since we, the Khmers, have known similar experiences in the past, we firmly support the authentic movements of fraternal peoples still under foreign domination. But with the same determination we resist expansionist aggression and intolerable interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

204. In this connexion we should like to pay a tribute to distinguished previous speakers for having recognized the right of the Khmer people to settle as it wishes its own internal affairs without interference from outside.

205. Since some representatives have been cynical enough to cast doubt on the legality of our Government from this very rostrum, I feel constrained to draw their attention to certain historical truths which may perhaps have escaped their notice.

206. We are well aware that every State is free to recognize any given Government, including a government in

⁹ Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, done at The Hague on 14 May 1954. See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 249, No. 3511, p. 215.

exile as is the case with the so-called Government of Norodom Sihanouk, who has chosen to reside in Peking. But to manoeuvre to impose such a government on the Khmer people constitutes inadmissible intervention in the internal affairs of that people, and we vigorously protest against such an act. As I asked here last year,

“In what treatise or manual of international law . . . can one find such criteria whereby a government-in-exile can be considered the legal government of a land?”¹⁰

207. Cambodia was a monarchy until 9 October 1970, the date on which the Republic was proclaimed. Prince Norodom Sihanouk was in power for 30 years—from 1941 to 1955 as King, from 1955 to 1960 as Prime Minister or head of the party and from 1960 to 1970 as constitutional Head of State. In 1955 he abdicated in favour of his father. In 1960, on the death of his father, he had the Constitution amended to enable him to become Head of State once again without being King. In 1960 then, the two Houses of Parliament met and appointed him Head of State pending the appointment of a King. But that temporary situation lasted 10 years.

208. On 18 March 1970—that is, 10 years later—the same two Houses of the Khmer Parliament met and, after a long historic debate, withdrew from him their confidence and by a unanimous vote divested him of his functions as Head of State. Our Members of Parliament unanimously accused Prince Sihanouk of having authorized North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong troops to occupy Khmer territory illegally during the second half of the 1960s and to install there veritable military bases in flagrant violation of Khmer neutrality enshrined in the Geneva Agreements of 1954.¹¹ That was also a blow against our independence, our sovereignty and our territorial integrity.

209. The vote in the Khmer Parliament was preceded by many popular demonstrations in the provinces and then in the capital against this foreign invasion.

210. Dissatisfied with this unanimous decision of the representatives of the Khmer people, Sihanouk asked for the aid of the North Viet-Nameese and the Viet-Cong so that he could be restored to power by force.

211. On 29 May 1970, the date on which these foreign troops began their first open and deliberate attacks against our defence forces and our civilian population, we identified the following North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong units, which were spread out here and there throughout our territory:

(a) First North Viet-Nameese Division, 101-D Regiment: 2,000 men stationed at Angkor Borey in Takéo;

(b) Fifth North Viet-Nameese Division, 174-05 and 275 Regiments: 5,000 men stationed at Snuol in Kratié;

(c) Seventh North Viet-Nameese Division, 141-165 and 209 Regiments: 6,200 men stationed at Mémot in Kompong Cham;

(d) Ninth North Viet-Nameese Division, 95-C, 271 and 272 Regiments: 6,000 men stationed at Chup in Kompong Cham;

(e) the B-3 Front, Regiments 24-28-66-95-0: 10,800 men stationed at Ratanakiri in Bokeo;

(f) moreover, there were the command posts and the headquarters: 12,000 men;

(g) and logistical services: 23,000 men. That makes a total of more than 65,000 men.

212. Many North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong prisoners whom we hold at present in Phnom Penh, and the many documents that we seized in those attacks, constitute proof which no one here or anywhere else can refute.

213. It was in these circumstances that Sihanouk founded his Government in exile in Peking, as he put it, “to liberate” the country. But do we really need to stress that at that time, and even now, there were no American troops or military bases on Khmer territory? The only foreign troops that were to be found and that are to be found today in my country are exclusively those of North Viet-Nam and the Viet-Cong.

214. At the time when Sihanouk was stripped of his powers Marshal Lon Nol was already Prime Minister and he continued to direct the same Government until 1972, before being elected President of the Republic. It is quite clear that our Republican régime and its institutions, founded upon democratic and popular bases, were legally established.

215. On 30 April 1972 the Khmer people by means of a referendum organized throughout the country, in which more than 80 per cent of the electors participated, voted overwhelmingly for the Republican Constitution.

216. On 4 June 1972, under the new Constitution, Marshal Lon Nol was elected by universal and direct suffrage the first President of the Khmer Republic for a term of five years.

217. On 3 and 17 September 1972, the first National Assembly and the first Senate of the Khmer Republic were also elected by universal suffrage. The other institutions of the Republic—the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the High Court of Justice, and so forth—were successively and subsequently established.

218. It is infinitely regrettable that by means of flagrant lies our adversaries have succeeded in misleading part of public opinion with regard to the territory and population controlled by them.

219. Indeed, to be honest we must make the following distinction: territory administered by us, about 20 provinces; the zones temporarily occupied by our adversaries, that is to say, the four Eastern provinces, whose density of population varies from three to five inhabitants per square kilometre, and the rest of the territory which constitutes combat zones.

220. In the circumstances, it is less than honest of them to claim to control 90 per cent of the territory.

221. With regard to the population, the lie is even more flagrant, because in Phnom Penh alone the population is

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2063rd meeting, para. 330.

¹¹ Agreements on the Cessation of Hostilities in Indo-China, signed at Geneva on 20 July 1954.

already more than 2 million, and to this figure should be added the 4 million inhabitants residing in the provinces of Kandal, Battambang, Kompong Cham, Kampot, Kirirom, Kompong Chhnang, Kompong Som, Kompong Speu, Kompong Thom, Oudong Meanchey, Oudor Meanchey, Pailin Phnom Del, Prey Veng, Pursat, Siem Reap, Svay Rieng, Takéo and Vihear Suor.

222. Members can see that in confirming that we control more than 6 million inhabitants of a population of 7 million we are not at all exaggerating.

223. We are not seeking to discomfit our adversaries, but it is our duty to provide the necessary clarification so that international public opinion is not misled, and particularly so that the judgement of the representatives present here can be based not upon falsehood but upon realities which are, incidentally, easily verifiable.

224. During his years of power Sihanouk made himself into the all-powerful master of the country and its inhabitants. From 1967 to 1968, in particular, he began his witch hunt, which took the lives of 1,500 Red Khmers, as he himself confessed at Kompong Thom on 19 August 1968 over the national broadcasting network. Is there any need to recall the few democratic principles so often affirmed and so often forgotten, namely, that in Cambodia, as in other countries, sovereign power belongs to the people and no foreign State can claim the right to usurp that sovereignty for the benefit of anyone else, still less when that beneficiary is outside national territory. The Khmer political solution can only be found within the Khmer community resident on Khmer territory.

225. The Khmer Republic last year held its first presidential and legislative elections. However, my Government does not exclude the possibility of new elections once peace is restored and foreign troops have been withdrawn entirely from our territory.

226. The so-called neutrality of Norodom Sihanouk was in fact nothing but acquiescence in the use of Khmer territory for the benefit of aggressors from a neighbouring country.

227. As members are all aware, when foreign armed forces occupy and use a country to attack another country, the population inevitably suffers and the territory of the accomplice State inevitably becomes the scene of warfare.

228. The Khmer Republic, whose third anniversary we shall soon be celebrating, ostracizes no one. All Khmer citizens, whoever they are, may participate in public affairs without any consideration other than that of their talents. The last presidential elections demonstrated this fact. Indeed, my country is perhaps the only one in the world where two candidates for the presidency of the Republic who campaigned against each other during the electoral campaign joined forces after the elections to set up a common executive. Furthermore, political detainees and even the supporters and relatives of the former Chief of State, Norodom Sihanouk, were all freed and if they wish, they may even leave Cambodia. It is rare for a country which has known a change of régime to adopt such a liberal attitude. Countries which have undergone revolutions normally deny political rights to the members of the ruling

family for a period which may last several decades or even longer. The Khmer Republic, which is only three years old, did not think that it needed to engage in such discrimination. All its citizens, without any distinction, have the same rights and duties with respect to the Republic.

229. If since 15 August—the date of the end of American air support—the Khmer Republic has remained on its feet, it is indeed because all Khmers preserve faith in the Republic. East is convinced that, whatever his origins and political allegiances, he will find in the Republic a social and political framework enabling him to realize his aspirations.

230. I have no doubt that outside the Khmer Republic some people are attempting to destroy the structure born of an effort at national reconciliation, to replace it by a régime based upon the will of a single man, a régime with which we Khmers were only too familiar up to 18 March 1970. There have been efforts to refuse the Khmer Republic any possibility of existence in international life. Governments which do not have deep knowledge of the realities of Cambodia have been misled and have directed overt hostility towards the Khmer Republic. In some cases these efforts have been successful, but in most cases they have failed. If genuinely socialist States continue to maintain normal relations with the Khmer Republic, it is certainly because they consider that the republican régime is the only one open to all and likely to bring about reconciliation. On the other hand, the former régime, which was based upon the will of a single man, cannot serve as a basis for national reconciliation. The strength of the Khmer Republic, even when it can rely only on itself, lies precisely in its capacity to rally the people around its flag and not around a single man, a prey to all kinds of excess and to all moods. Union based on law and freedom of the people cannot give way to the will of a single man.

231. Despite all their denials, the foreign forces of aggression continue to be stationed and to operate in our territory. In the 60 days which followed the signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet-Nam they introduced into our country fresh troops estimated at more than 10,000 fighting men, thus bringing their strength up to about 45,000. We have identified, among others, the First North Viet-Nameese Division, the Viet Cong C-40 Division, the frontline B-3 Division, the 207th Regiment of the Fifth North Viet-Nameese Division, the 277th Regiment of the Ninth North Viet-Nameese Division, the Engineer Regiment No. 377 and the North Viet-Nameese Heavy Division No. 69.

232. In order to mislead international public opinion our aggressors are attempting in the present phase of the war to camouflage their presence behind the formations of Red Khmers christened “liberation forces” for the occasion. However, with the conclusion of the Paris Agreement on Viet-Nam, our profound desire to live in peace and understanding with all countries, in particular with our neighbours, whatever their political or ideological allegiance, is stronger than ever today.

233. Indeed article 20 of that Agreement provides that all foreign troops operating in our territory should leave our country without delay. To demonstrate our goodwill, the President of the Khmer Republic has ordered the unilateral

suspension of all offensive operations so as to facilitate the withdrawal of foreign troops. We were even ready to begin negotiations with the North Viet-Nameese Government.

234. In spite of the absence of a positive response from our opposite numbers, my Government, on 6 July 1973, made another concrete peace proposal containing the following points: first, strict and immediate application, by all parties, of article 20 of the Paris Agreement of 27 January 1973; second, immediate withdrawal from Khmer territory of all foreign troops, their arms and munitions, to enable the Khmer people to settle its own problems without foreign interference and free from any outside pressure; third, reactivation of the International Commission for Supervision and Control set up under the Geneva agreements of 1954 to supervise the strict application of article 20 of the Paris Agreement; fourth, an immediate cease-fire between the troops of all parties; fifth, talks among Khmers with a view to bringing about a cessation of hostilities and national reconciliation.

235. We have notified the signatories of the Final Act of Paris¹² of this proposal and have appealed to all countries which love peace and justice and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to help make this proposal a reality and to obtain from all parties concerned the strict application of article 20 of the Paris Agreement of 27 January 1973.

236. We are encouraged to see that this proposal has met with a favourable response from all countries which have a real knowledge of the actual situation in the Khmer Republic.

237. It has, however, not been understood by those who hope to put an end to the war by a military solution and annexation.

238. Recent developments in military operations show that peace in Cambodia can be brought about only under circumstances of national reconciliation, which, in turn, cannot be achieved without the total withdrawal of foreign troops.

239. It is in order to spare our people further suffering and misery that my Government, four days ago, repeated its peace offer which it made on 6 July last.

240. Peace is something to which we aspire with all our hearts and we have done everything within our power to obtain it. We are very much encouraged by having heard speakers here support us in this aim by calling for détente and international co-operation.

241. The world has welcomed with relief the conclusion of the cease-fire agreements in Viet-Nam and Laos. As an immediate neighbour, the Khmer Republic can only be gratified at such a development. However, we are firmly convinced that no true peace can be brought about in the region as a whole until a similar peace is established also in our country.

242. In conclusion, I should like on behalf of the Khmer people to make an appeal to all Members of the interna-

tional community to help us, in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter, to restore peace, the peace which we have lost because of foreign aggression to satisfy the megalomania of one man.

243. Mr. AL-SAID (Oman):¹³ Mr. President, permit me to express to you on behalf of the delegation of Oman our whole-hearted satisfaction at your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session. Your many years of experience here among us at the United Nations, in the capacity of Permanent Representative of your noble country, will, I am confident, be much appreciated by my fellow representatives in the course of the coming session, and I take this opportunity to assure you of the full and utmost support and co-operation of my delegation in the execution of your duties.

244. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey, on behalf of my delegation and my Government, our admiration of the exemplary and able manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Trepczyński of the Polish People's Republic, guided the proceedings of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

245. My Government and delegation welcomes the new Members of the United Nations and their delegations to these halls. Their presence here among us constitutes one further step towards the achievement of universality in this noble Organization, and my delegation looks forward to co-operating with the representatives of those new Members. We also take this occasion to wish all success and happiness to the Government and people of the newly independent Commonwealth of the Bahamas.

246. Last year in his address to the General Assembly¹⁴ my Minister of State for Foreign Affairs expressed the hope of the Omani Government and delegation that the divided countries of this world would soon, after their success in reaching détente and mutually beneficial agreements, join us here as full Members of the United Nations. The applications and consequent admissions of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the German Democratic Republic so soon after expressing our hopes on this matter is therefore all the more welcome to us.

247. Not all of the hopes and aspirations that my delegation and many other delegations expressed at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly have materialized as speedily and effectively as those in regard to those new Members—least of all in the Middle East. In fact the situation in that area, so critical to world peace and to the efficacy and credibility of this noble Organization, has only worsened in the course of the past year. Israeli intransigence has only further hardened this year, as it has every year since the 1967 Zionist aggression against three States Members of the United Nations. Israeli aggression and use of violence against Arab States in total defiance of our Charter, and of all international laws and standards of behaviour that are enjoined upon Members of this Organization, have in the course of the past year only exacerbated

¹² Adopted at the International Conference on Viet-Nam on 2 March 1973.

¹³ Mr. Al-Said spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2055th meeting.

the situation. The tactics of terror and intimidation that have been the mainstays of Zionist policy since the beginning of Zionist aggression against the territory and people of Palestine have in the course of the past year reached new and unprecedented levels of violence and bestiality.

248. We need only recall here the frequent incursions by the regular armed forces of Israel into the territory and air space of neighbouring Arab States, when they have threatened the lives of if not killed or maimed, innocent civilians and passengers of civil airlines. We need only recall the premeditated bestial assassinations of the leaders of the heroic Palestinian resistance movement, the downing of the Libyan civilian airliner killing and maiming over 100 innocent passengers, the piratical hijacking over Lebanese air space of a Lebanese civilian airliner jeopardizing the lives of over 80 passengers, and the recent aggression by the Zionist air force into the air space of the Syrian Arab Republic.

249. Those and many other acts of aggression and State terrorism committed by Israel in the course of the past year have been widely condemned and censured by public opinion around the world as well as by the Security Council and the International Civil Aviation Organization. Furthermore, in the course of the past year many countries from Africa and elsewhere have shown their displeasure and condemnation of Israel's aggressive policies by cutting off all diplomatic and other relations with Israel, and an overwhelming majority of the States Members of this Organization have seen the need for more effective measures by the international community to ensure that Israel not only respects the numerous resolutions adopted by this body but also yields to an international consensus that is determined to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, based upon the principles of our Charter and the tenets of international law. My Government and delegation strongly believe that the time has come for such effective measures, for as the Middle East situation worsens year after year, and as Zionist aggression and terrorism continue to increase year by year, the further and wider will the ramifications and implications of the situation spread, and the greater will be the threat to the peace and security of the whole world.

250. In that context my delegation welcomed the recent initiative of our Secretary-General to achieve a breakthrough in the present deadlock in the Middle East crisis, and we wish him every success in following up that noble and worthwhile endeavour.

251. I direct my appeal for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East especially to the super-Powers and the permanent members of the Security Council. Those Powers, because of their influence and their permanent seats in the Security Council, are particularly responsible for the peace and security of the world. They have a moral obligation in their policies to work for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, both within the United Nations and outside it. Too often in the past have those Powers been motivated in their policies towards that area by short-sighted considerations of strategic advantage; too often have the Powers been motivated in their policies towards that area by short-sighted considerations of their own domestic politics.

By so doing those Powers compromise the confidence that the peoples of smaller nations around the world place in the big Powers and shed doubts on the reliability, integrity and moral rectitude of the super-Powers.

252. For that reason we welcome any détente between the super-Powers, for it can be only through such détente and co-operation that the peace of the world can be ensured. The recent summit talks between the United States and the Soviet Union and other agreements achieved by those super-Powers are a source of genuine hope for peoples around the world, and we would all hope that as a result of this détente the super-Powers will be able to work co-operatively instead of competitively for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and in other troubled areas of the world.

253. The winding down of the war in Indo-China in the course of the past year has been a major achievement in our progress to peace. That achievement reflects the atmosphere of détente between the super-Powers, and it is the hope of my delegation that in the course of the coming year not only will all violence and hostilities in that troubled area cease but also the super-Powers will work within the United Nations and outside it to remove that part of the world from the arena of super-Power rivalry and to assist the peoples of Indo-China to embark once again on the course of progress and economic and social development.

254. My Government supports the just struggle of African peoples to achieve freedom and self-determination in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and elsewhere in Africa.

255. The policies of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and even deliberate massacres of indigenous peoples, as practised by the colonial régimes in Africa, constitute a flagrant violation of the spirit of our Charter and of numerous resolutions passed by the United Nations. The Government of Oman, which bans all commercial dealings with such régimes, believes that the continued existence of colonial racist régimes in this day and age poses a great threat to the international security that all countries, especially the developing countries of the world, need if they are to achieve social and economic progress.

256. This year my Government has continued to develop the domestic, regional and international framework for such security and stability, which is a vital prerequisite for all economic and social development not only in Oman but also in the entire region. My Government has also sought to work in co-operation with other countries in the region to establish the harmony, security and stability that we all need. In this context my Sovereign, His Majesty Sultan Qabus, has this year undertaken a series of highly successful State visits to various countries in the region to establish the framework for good neighbourly relations and regional co-operation.

257. In further pursuit of these international and regional policies my Government has this year become a member of the non-aligned group of nations. My country's adherence to that noble organization reflects not only my Government's commitment to its principles, ideals and objectives

but also our deep faith in the actual and potential contributions that the organization can make to the cause of peace and progress for mankind, founded as it is upon the principles of co-operation and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States. Those principles, especially that of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other sovereign States, ensure for the organization of non-aligned States the promise of great success in the future in meeting its noble objectives, for it has been shown that it is lack of understanding and interference in the domestic affairs of other sovereign States that have in the past been the causes of war and instability. My Government is strongly committed to the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States, and by the same token has resisted and will continue to resist all attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of our country by certain Powers and elements that seek to sow dissent and sedition in our country and thereby to retard our economic and social development.

258. In conclusion, I have spoken here today about my Government's position on various international issues and about the responsibilities and policies of the nations. In all this, the United Nations and its specialized agencies have a great and historic role to play, and I take this occasion once again to express the deep faith that the Sultanate of Oman has in the United Nations and in its capacity to work for peace in the world based upon its Charter and its principles, to which we in Oman remain deeply committed.

259. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I call upon the two representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply I should like to remind them that at the 2123rd plenary meeting it was decided that statements made in exercise of the right of reply must be limited to 10 minutes.

260. Sir Donald MAITLAND (United Kingdom): I wish to comment briefly on the references to Gibraltar in the speech of the Foreign Minister of Spain this afternoon.

261. First, may I say that my Government welcomes the improvement over the whole range of Anglo-Spanish relations in recent years and hopes that this will continue. This improvement, in our view, reflects the steady expansion of our common interests. We regret that we have not been able to make more rapid progress towards settling our differences over Gibraltar. In so far as our disagreement arises from differences of legal interpretation, I should like to make it clear that we have no doubt concerning our sovereignty over Gibraltar and the responsibility that places upon us.

262. In his speech the Foreign Minister of Spain made a number of assertions as regards the legal position which my Government could not accept. We made a firm offer to refer our legal differences to the International Court of Justice, but unfortunately the Spanish Government was not agreeable to this. We must face the fact that neither preoccupation with legal argument nor, indeed, partisan interpretation of rather old history has enabled our discussions over the years to make progress. The Gibraltar question is not a matter of a transfer of real estate. The Gibraltar question is about people, and if discussions

between the British and Spanish Governments are to make progress we believe this basic fact has to be recognized.

263. This afternoon the Foreign Minister made the reproach that, now that the hour for decolonization of Gibraltar has come, my Government is invoking the inhabitants. I make no apology. But the credit for this is not due to my Government alone; it is also due in part to Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter. It is true that my Government regards the interests of the people of Gibraltar as paramount. We have taken that view in our other dependent territories. The most recent of a long list of examples is fresh in the memory of this General Assembly. The conviction of my Government that the interests of the people of the Bahamas were paramount began a process which culminated in the admission to full membership of the independent Commonwealth of the Bahamas in the United Nations.

264. If the Spanish Government can persuade the people of Gibraltar that a change in their status will be to their advantage, then the British Government will not stand in the way. It cannot surely be the intention of the Spanish Government that the people of Gibraltar should come under Spanish sovereignty against their will. If the people of Gibraltar have not been impressed by what the Spanish Government has been willing to commit itself to offer, it may be because actions speak louder than words. The fact is that the measures adopted by the Spanish authorities against Gibraltar up to now make the idea of a change in their status a very unattractive proposition for the people of Gibraltar.

265. My Government hopes that the contacts which the Spanish Foreign Minister and Sir Alec Douglas-Home agreed upon yesterday should continue through the diplomatic channel will generate the necessary confidence and good will not only of the Governments but also of the peoples concerned. This confidence and this good will, in our view, are indispensable if real progress is to be made towards an understanding which will reflect the interests of all.

266. Mr. PATRÍCIO (Portugal): Mr. President, in due time the Foreign Minister of Portugal will address to you the congratulations of the Portuguese delegation on your election to the high office of the presidency of this Assembly. I shall restrict myself now to presenting to you my personal compliments.

267. More than one speaker today made reference to what was described as a proclamation of independence of Portuguese Guinea by the PAIGC. The Portuguese delegation deems it necessary to state the following in this connexion.

268. The so-called announcement of independence constitutes once again an act of propaganda similar to so many others by means of which the PAIGC tries to hide its total lack of success. It is a fictitious independence deprived of any legal or moral foundation and it does not correspond to the conditions prevailing in that Portuguese province. In fact the PAIGC, as has so often been reiterated by the Portuguese Government and confirmed by the testimony of numerous visitors, including representatives of the world press, does not control any part of the territory of the

province. We regret, in this connexion, that the Secretariat, the General Assembly and the Security Council did not accept the invitations addressed to them by my delegation last year to designate representatives to visit the Portuguese province of Guinea in order to verify for themselves the alleged existence of liberated areas. This refusal speaks for itself about the veracity of such allegations. Portuguese

administration is effectively exercised over the entirety of the territory of the province—I repeat, over the entirety of the territory of the province—which very recently was visited from one end to the other by the Minister of Overseas Provinces.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.