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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Martínez Ordóñez (Honduras), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*concluded*)

1. Mr. ADAMA-TAMBOUX (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to congratulate the President whole-heartedly on his election to preside over the General Assembly. The confidence shown by all States Members of the United Nations is a credit to him, to his country and the whole of Latin America. His lengthy experience in international affairs and in the United Nations has well prepared him for this great task, and I express the sincerest wishes that his tenure will be crowned with success and personal satisfaction.

2. Our congratulations go also to Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, the retiring President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, who conducted our debates last year with such vigour, faith, competence and dash.

3. To Mr. Waldheim, our Secretary-General, we express our gratitude and our admiration for his untiring activities, for his understanding of world problems, for his availability at all times to Member countries and in particular the poor countries, and for his broad-mindedness and his outstanding qualities as a politician, a diplomat and a negotiator. He does not spare himself, and we thank him for his untiring efforts, his faith, his patience and the judicious use he makes of his many talents. We thank Austria for giving us this expert, this champion of détente at a time when the world is so much in need of one.

4. Finally, may I be permitted to hail the presence in our midst of three new Member States: the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the Federal Republic of Germany and the

German Democratic Republic. The advent of these countries enables our Organization to take a major step towards universality. We sincerely rejoice and express our gratitude to all those who have contributed to this progress, towards peace, independence and the universality of our Organization.

5. If one were to look at things from the general point of view, one could well say, without fear of error, that the world is going through an historic phase of the utmost importance, about which men rejoice everywhere on earth. The outer signs of the new turn that international affairs have taken are crystal clear: there was the arrival two years ago in our Organization of the People's Republic of China; there were the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland; there were the direct meetings between the Heads of State of the great Powers and the conclusion of the first co-operation agreements among them; there was the reconciliation between Japan and China; there was the armistice in Viet-Nam, then the International Conference on Viet-Nam and the peace agreements of Paris; and this year there is the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the arrival in the United Nations of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas; there is the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau that we hail joyfully and which my country, the Central African Republic, has recognized *de jure*. May all our wishes for success accompany it in its first steps. Other promising signs appear on the horizon; Japan is proposing a conference on peace and security in Asia; attempts are still being made to bring peace throughout Indo-China; in the Indian subcontinent we witness with pleasure the reconciliation of two great nations, India and Pakistan, two pillars of our Organization; and a concrete dialogue has been opened in Korea.

6. All of this is good and worthy of praise and applause, and we must do everything in our power to consolidate and intensify this ray of hope, this springtime in international relations. The cold war, which sowed hatred, divided peoples and brought about an unbridled arms race will soon be, we hope, no more than a bad memory. Mankind, entering its global era, endowed with a universal Organization marked by accommodation rather than the desire for domination of the great Powers, appears at last to have embarked upon the path of common sense and reason. The peoples of the world are not mistaken. They therefore applaud these developments, in the north and the south, in the east and the west, in the rich countries as well as in the poor countries, over and above ideologies and systems, over and above races and colours.

7. Our twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, like the two preceding sessions, forms part of this great

historical trend that has been called *détente*. It reflects that movement; it acts in favour of *détente* and carries its fruits far beyond it, towards a more noble and even more necessary objective: namely, *entente* and co-operation among all peoples.

8. What can we actually do in the course of this session of the General Assembly to show ourselves worthy of our peoples and to promote the building of peace, justice and progress that is so impatiently expected of us? May I be permitted, despite the very modest place that my country, the Central African Republic, holds in the concert of nations, to make a few suggestions.

9. First of all, our first duty in the present circumstances is to settle rapidly and definitively the conflicts and sources of friction that still poison international relations and which, by reason of their duration or by a sudden recrudescence, risk delaying progress towards *détente* and even destroying it. It is important that the question of the Middle East, a potential hotbed of serious explosions, with far-reaching ramifications, be settled once and for all.

10. It is important that peace return to the whole of Indo-China. It is important that the problem of Cyprus be erased from our books. It is important that the question of Korea, too, be settled once and for all. Efforts are under way in regard to all these problems and it is to be hoped that they will soon be successful in order that those regions can be purified in the atmosphere of the great movement of *détente* that we are witnessing.

11. We must deplore the fact that in that movement which is the result essentially of the initiatives of the great Powers one burning question, a question which affects a whole continent and which overflows into international relations, has not been given its rightful priority. I am speaking of the problems of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. It is imperative that the vast move for *détente* embrace Africa also and that a concerted effort be undertaken with the assistance of the entire international community, and particularly that of the great Powers, in order to settle the situation in that vast region—a situation that is so dangerous for world peace and security.

12. We live in an era in which priorities may vary from region to region and country to country. For the rich countries *détente* has become a matter of priority. For Africa—for Africa, I say—independence and racial equality, objectives already attained elsewhere in the world, constitute that priority. It is therefore for the international community to help us in achieving our legitimate aims which are in keeping with international morality. There cannot be two yardsticks in international ethics. The rich world in the United Nations continues to appeal to Africa for co-operation in the fields of environment, population, terrorism, the law of the sea and so on. But what does the rest of the world do to help Africa achieve its objectives, its priorities? Hence, the questions of southern Africa must be included as a priority item on the agenda of international *détente*. To continue along the present course is not only morally unworthy of the international community but also dangerous, because violence will only increase and, in our time, violence knows no frontiers. At the present time we are witnessing a vast European effort to settle problems under the auspices of the

Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Tanaka, for his part, has launched the idea of a conference on peace in Asia. Perhaps the time has come to think about a similar effort, at a conference on independence and peace in Africa, which would endeavour, with the assistance in particular of the great Powers, to achieve independence, racial equality and peace—all fundamental objectives of the Charter—in our torn continent.

13. In this connexion, I should like to quote the very pertinent words spoken by our Secretary-General last year at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] held at Rabat, Morocco, from 12 to 15 June 1972, that should dictate our approach and behaviour with respect to this crucial problem of contemporary history. He said:

“How great would be our joy and how relieved we would be if I were able to declare today that the whole of Africa was free and independent. The march of progress and independence has encountered many obstacles which today unduly delay, at the cost of much suffering, an ineluctable historical evolution. Sooner or later that process will be achieved by peaceful means or by force. There is no nation in our world which is so interdependent that it can resist forever the profound changes whose legitimacy the international community recognizes.”

14. Secondly, problems accumulate so quickly and human sufferings are still so great in so many countries of the world that we must, as rapidly as possible, go beyond the stage of *détente*, which is no more than a period of transition, and embark deliberately on a period of active human solidarity and international co-operation. The application of the United Nations Charter has frequently been delayed and hindered over these past 25 years by the cold war. The cold war having disappeared from view, we must return to the spirit of San Francisco and give an unprecedented impetus to our Organization which has, in the meantime, become fully representative of the whole world and of all human aspirations. The provisions of the Charter, be they political or economic, must be revived in the spirit of the *détente* and the co-operation that have become such an imperative need.

15. We feel that, in particular, meetings between heads of State must be increased, not only bilaterally but also within this Organization, which offers a universal framework at a time when so many universal problems and difficulties stand in the way of the happiness of mankind. It is here, from this rostrum, that the views of the various nations must be given by their authorized leaders. It is here, in these halls and corridors, that practical plans of fraternity and human co-operation must be conceived and adopted. It is here, at the clearing-house of the problems and aspirations of the whole world that we must build the peaceful, unarmed, just and prosperous world community, united in its cultural and human diversity.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador) took the Chair.

16. There remains so much to be done. Poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy that are still rampant in the world

should make us ashamed, especially when we think of the enormous resources wasted on dangerous and useless weapons. Here, too, we must draw all the logical consequences of détente. Might it not be a good thing for the Economic and Social Council to include an item on its agenda entitled "Détente and economic development" and review new actions that might derive from that détente for developing countries? To a large degree, assistance to poor countries in these past years stemmed from the cold war and the competition between the great Powers. What will happen to that aid? Could we not conceive of the possibility that competition would give way to co-operation and that joint aid programmes between the great Powers would be offered to the poor countries? The alliance of the scientific, technical and economic might of the rich countries could work miracles for the poor countries if they so wished. We sincerely hope that there will be a great alliance against poverty, an alliance in which all the advanced countries would participate regardless of their political or social system. Would it not be natural, moreover, with this trend of détente to envisage at least a doubling of multilateral resources and, in particular, those of the United Nations Development Programme? We sincerely believe that the Second Committee of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council should attempt to relaunch aid on a vaster scale both bilaterally and internationally in the light of that détente. In so doing, special attention should be paid to the poorer developing countries, and above all to the landlocked countries. A first effort has been made in that direction by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] in Santiago, Chile, and by the United Nations Development Programme, but we hope that a less strict definition will be adopted for that category of countries and that greater resources will be envisaged for them.

17. Yes, there is still so much to be done on our earth that an entirely new spirit, an unprecedented solidarity and co-operation, much greater generosity and understanding and much greater foresight must inspire us in the future.

18. We have barely scratched the surface of knowledge concerning our planet. Research on the potential of our seas and oceans, which cover three quarters of our globe, has intensified recently; and we must applaud the agreement on oceanographic research concluded this summer in Washington between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.¹

19. Only 30 per cent of our lands are inhabited and exploited. It took a terrible drought in the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region and a further encroachment of the Sahara to open our eyes and to show us how meagre were the resources devoted to a better knowledge of our deserts, to the struggle against their extension and, better still, to their conquest and exploitation.

20. Would it not be a good thing, at a time when so much is said of over-population and the population explosion, to consider a little further the possibilities of occupation and production that our earth offers us? Would it not be wise for the international community at this stage, after the warning given by the Sahara, to launch a vast programme of co-

operation between countries which have deserts in order better to know those areas and to find the means of limiting their expansion and perhaps of conquering them for the welfare of man? That again is a practical suggestion that my country wishes to put forward, having in mind our brothers in the Sudano-Sahelian region.

21. Our knowledge of the tropical and equatorial regions is not much more brilliant. The scientific and technological efforts of mankind have concentrated mainly on the natural conditions and the resources of the Nordic and rich countries. The exploration of the great biological potential of the tropical and equatorial regions has barely been sketched. One realizes to what extent efforts in these fields could be profitable when we think of the successes of the experimental stations of the Ford Foundation in Mexico and the Philippines which are at the root of the "green revolution" in wheat and rice. Now that the cold war is dying and an era of friendship is being initiated between the great scientific and industrial Powers, has not the time come to think of a new scientific and technical strategy, a true impetus to be given to our knowledge of the resources of our planet, and especially of the African continent, for the greater benefit of man?

22. Peace, justice and progress in the world are to a large extent the fruit of peace, of justice and of progress in our respective countries. Hence, it is a good thing that each year countries should come to this rostrum to tell the world what they have done to contribute to the peace and well-being of their peoples. So far as the Central African Republic is concerned, we believe that we have honestly fulfilled our obligations and duties.

23. Not only have we lived in peace with our neighbours, but the head of our State, His Excellency General Jean-Bedel Bokassa, a pilgrim of peace, continues to do everything in his power to contribute to the maintenance of international peace.

24. Our Government, moreover, thanks to the policy in force since January 1966, the "Bokassa Operation", has established an original strategy for development and has worked for the well-being of its citizens.

25. We have co-operated with our African brothers in the political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific fields within the framework of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

26. We have co-operated with all the countries in the world in political, economic and social organs of the United Nations as well as in all large international conferences and in the specialized agencies.

27. May we be forgiven for not always having the necessary highly skilled personnel to participate successfully in all these endeavours. The poor countries also have a paucity of diplomatic and technical personnel and the effort demanded by the complexity of international affairs, very often in highly scientific and technical fields, often exceeds the means of a country such as my own. But we try to do our best to add our block to the common building.

28. The world has fortunately survived, without a new world war, one of its most dangerous periods, the most

¹ Agreement on Co-operation in the Studies of the World Ocean, signed at Washington on 19 June 1973.

awesomely armed, and the most all-encompassing that has ever existed. We are on the threshold of a new era, without precedent in history, full of challenge and promise, but weighed down by problems, complexities, impatience and claims. We, men of all nations, without distinction as to colour, creed or culture, have a noble role to play, that of tackling together almost super-human tasks, for the well-being of the humble, the suffering, the disinherited, in their quest for peace, justice and progress for the whole of mankind.

29. Mr. THOMPSON (Jamaica): Mr. President, let me begin by expressing on behalf of my delegation our great pleasure at the honour that you have done us and Latin America by accepting the appointment to the most responsible post of President of this Assembly. As a distinguished diplomat, your acceptance of this appointment brings us particular pleasure. We take additional pride in the fact that an eminent Latin American has been chosen for this honourable position.

30. Permit me to express the gratitude of my delegation to the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński of Poland, for the able and efficient manner in which he guided the deliberations of that session.

31. I should like to add the voice of Jamaica to those who have drawn attention to the cause of universality which has been significantly advanced by the admission of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, to membership in the United Nations. Mr. President, you will understand the reasons why for me and for my delegation and for the Government and people of Jamaica the entry of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to the United Nations is a matter of particular pride and pleasure. Our two countries are not only neighbours, but a developing relationship over the years has brought us into a very close association. The Bahamas with its hundreds of islands, its exquisitely beautiful seas and beaches and its wonderful people, almost immediately on the emergence of the present political leadership, has joined us as an independent nation. I know that the Bahamian people and their Prime Minister, Mr. Lynden Pindling, along with their delegation to this Assembly, bring to this great Organization their independence of spirit and their determination to contribute to the good of mankind. In this endeavour, they will once more, as they have in so many other ways, join forces with those independent English-speaking countries of the Caribbean, which against the background of a common history and parallel influences have established a tradition of co-operation in many fields, and an undying faith in parliamentary democracy and a particularly strong interest in furthering the cause of developing countries through the United Nations system.

32. It is because my country so strongly feels the importance of this occasion and because of our particular associations including, for me, strong personal ties with the Bahamas, I have been moved to reinforce the earlier statements of congratulations with further expressions of pleasure.

33. For my delegation, the degree of our pleasure is qualified to some extent on this occasion by the sad events which

have overtaken two distinguished international figures who but a short time ago addressed the nations gathered here. We recall with pride and with sorrow Amílcar Cabral and Salvador Allende, two men who in their own very distinctive ways have sought to advance the interests of the people of their countries. It is not for us here to make judgement on the internal affairs of other countries. We accept the principle, in matters related to development and the fate of the third world, that "any man's death diminishes me", and so we feel that something has been lost in the death of those two men because they loved their people and their countries. We feel that in each case their death marks but a momentary pause in the irresistible movement of the forces for freedom in which they believed. The fight for freedom will continue as long as there continues to beat within the hearts of men the love of freedom and concern for their fellows.

34. Much criticism has been aimed at this Organization but not for lack of appreciation of what it has achieved for millions in the fields of education, health improvement and labour conditions. Such criticism as we repeatedly hear arises more from the patent necessity for change that is so obvious in an instrument created 28 years ago in very different circumstances from those of the world of today. The changes in political and international affairs as well as in the domestic affairs of most of the nations have at times been spectacular and even dramatic. New ideas, new demands, new pressures and new expressions of national sovereignty, independence and international relations have emerged.

35. The world is slowly developing a system of values based on the principles of the rights and duties of States. This new phenomenon has brought about the evolution of a complex of institutions and a system of consultations to meet the present realities. Some of this is not entirely new but over recent years we have seen a great deal of progress in those directions centred mainly around détente—détente which unfortunately takes place entirely outside of the ambit of the United Nations.

36. The very fact that in this Organization we have heard from this podium repeated plaudits on the achievement of détente which itself was contrived outside this Organization, leads us to ask ourselves two questions, Do those who sing those praises lack faith in this Organization as the proper instrument for achieving détente? Can anyone claim that in bypassing the Organization, lustre has been added to its cause, or is it that the benefits of détente are not expected to extend far beyond their immediate concern? I must confess that in a small country which looks upon this Organization as the greatest repository of hope for the peoples of the world, serious doubts exist as to the achievement of this détente, both its method and its effect. There is an African proverb very well known by my friends the people of the United Republic of Tanzania and others, which says that when two great elephants fight it is the grass that suffers. The present period of détente makes us add the second phrase: even when the great elephants make love it is also the grass that suffers.

37. We must acknowledge that this great Organization was conceived and created in different times. As was pointed out by President Mobutu of Zaire in that address [2140th meeting] which spoke for all Africa and beyond, the

same five permanent members of the Security Council exercise the same control today as they did at the time when they assumed their position as the reward for victory. Since then the Organization has been enriched by the valuable contribution of some of the best brains in regions outside of Europe, Asia and America. You yourself, Mr. President, and many others who have occupied that distinguished Chair derive from countries outside of the favoured five. In these modern days of science when all horizons are challenged, it would pay us well were we to examine some of the political systems, social characteristics and humanitarian developments that emanate outside of this small original group. It has been suggested that Japan be considered a candidate most fit for and worthy of joining the Big Five for a permanent seat on the Security Council. Without questioning for one moment either the suitability of Japan or the suggestion itself, let us look at this matter for a moment. The fact is that the continent of Africa, with its 360 million people and 41 independent sovereign States, and Latin America, with a population of over 250 million and 25 independent States, would seem to have a stronger case for consideration. Certainly we need to bring this element as well as other aspects of the Organization into line with present-day realities. Clearly, the establishment of rational criteria for change is superior to an *ad hoc* approach to the revision of the Charter.

38. Today we see the quality of life on this planet in a fragile balance. We see the need, as recent events have shown, for international co-operation and collaboration in the fields of trade, monetary reform and population growth, in correcting environmental deterioration and in relation to the question of the earth's resources whether land-based or sea-based. In this new relationship which must be forged, the technologically advanced countries must be prepared to accept and abide by a new code of ethics and international morality—a new code which will ensure a greater share and a more equitable and rational distribution of the fruits of progress in the interests of the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

39. The 1970s will be remembered as the decade in which the world came to recognize much more fully some of the realities of life as far as development is concerned.

40. We have watched with disappointment approaching dismay the ever-widening gap between the developed and developing countries; the gloomy outcome of the First United Nations Development Decade and the hopeless prospects of the Second; the eroding effect of the resurgent inflationary pressures and the uncertainties centring on the international monetary system; and the increasing burden of debt borne by developing countries.

41. We have seen the struggles of many developing countries in their attempts to wrestle with domestic, economic and social problems and needs and the forces within resisting change and the external forces adversely affecting them.

42. We have seen how easily countries striving to improve their condition can be thwarted by natural disaster—by drought, flood, earthquake or hurricane.

43. We have seen how the preoccupation of developed countries with their own problems diverts attention from the fate of the vast majority of the world's peoples.

44. We have observed the way in which the global food supply is quickly affected by internal social and political forces in a few large countries and by changes in bilateral relationships and trade between them.

45. We cannot avoid certain conclusions which emerge from all this: the heavy bias in favour of the better endowed, the wealthier, the more technologically advanced countries; the limited contribution of the conventional approaches to development in the making of any significant impact on the basic problems of poverty and towards the narrowing of the development gap; and the inevitable growth of economic power and influence as evidenced by the emergence and rise to virtually unchallengeable influence of the multinational corporations, representing, in institutional terms, a new political dimension in the economic affairs of the world and operating, so far, outside of the sphere of real control of Governments and international institutions.

46. All of that points to the need for real and fundamental change in international economic relations between developing and developed countries and for the establishment of a much greater range of economic interplay between developing countries.

47. The Secretary-General has proposed that at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly we examine seriously the relationship between the real issues facing the world and the institutional framework of the United Nations and the capability of that Organization to play a significant part in resolving those issues. As he stated in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, many of the present world-wide economic and social problems were scarcely foreseen at all when the United Nations system was created, and these, as he said, include the interrelated problems of development, trade, population, natural resources and environment. We agree with him that "institutions created in 1945 often no longer correspond to current needs" [*A/9001/Add.1, p. 3*] and that the United Nations in respect of this and other issues "will not develop through ritual public statements of approval and support which are not backed by inner conviction, realism and whole-hearted participation" [*ibid.*].

48. It is in that spirit and in the full realization that we continue to be in danger of falling far short of our real responsibilities that my delegation would like to address this session of the General Assembly.

49. Under the auspices of the First Development Decade, the developed countries undertook to contribute 1 per cent of their gross national product toward the resources of the developing countries. That undertaking has not been fulfilled, but we must acknowledge that some countries have lived up to their promises.

50. But we now know that even if the aid-target was fully achieved, and if the 6 per cent per annum growth rate of developing countries was accomplished, the development gap would continue to widen. The fact is that the *per capita* income of the developing countries of Africa and Asia is about \$100 to \$120. This is just about equal to the yearly increase in the *per capita* income of the developed countries.

51. From that it can easily be seen that the masses of the third world cannot hope for even the beginning of the

fulfilment of their aspirations in the Second United Nations Development Decade. It is thus clearly and mathematically illustrated that there is falsity behind the thinking that conventional aid can in any way bridge the problem of the dangerous imbalance between the poor nations and the rich.

52. The other approach to aid suggested by the Soviet Union is that 10 per cent of the cutback on armaments expenditure should be used to assist the developing countries [A/L.701/Rev.1]. But while this matter is being debated and examined, perhaps we should look at other possible approaches. For example, we suggest that if even the interest on foreign debts of developing countries was wiped out by the creditor nations, it would greatly reduce the very heavy pressure of this indebtedness.

53. Let us stop fooling ourselves and fooling each other that aid as we have known it can ever by itself solve this problem. The answer is clear: trade, not aid, must be the main approach to the achievement of an equitable international economic system. The developed nations must pay us more for our primary commodities and give us greater access to their markets for the manufactured goods we produce. The illustrious President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania has pointed to the fact that, whereas 8 or 10 bales of cotton could buy a tractor 20 years ago, today it would take some 25 bales of the same commodity to buy the engine of that tractor. This situation can also be illustrated in terms of sisal, bananas and so on. President Mobutu of Zaire has indicated that the price of rubber is less today than it was 20 years ago, and we are all aware of the increase in the price of tires over that period.

54. If we are seriously considering the problem of elevating the living standards of the poor of the world, if we are seriously contemplating the danger on the borders and in the shanty-towns of all our countries where the human time-bombs of poverty are ticking away in the settled hopeless expectation of a futureless existence, then we must sit down at this very Assembly and work out a system which will relate the price of bananas, cotton, rubber and so on to the price of machines and tractors and trucks and automobiles so as to link the two sets of commodities in such a way that they will move up together automatically as the prices move up in the industrial countries. What we need is a formula which will serve as the basis for this new relationship and the construction of appropriate indices to measure and guide movements of the basic elements.

55. Is such a task beyond the ingenuity of this international institution? It is in fact a vital and urgent one. But will you admit that it is at present outside the desire of this Organization and its Members? My country proposes that the United Nations should make a clear commitment at this session of the Assembly that the Economic and Social Council, in collaboration with UNCTAD, should apply its collective mind to this problem now. My delegation will submit a draft resolution in the appropriate Committee proposing that a task force should accordingly be set up to work out such a system and to consider all the monetary and other implications attendant on it.² It is surely not

beyond the ingenuity or the desire of this international Organization, founded on such high hopes, to relate the effort of the worker in the sugar-cane fields with that of the labourer in the factory of a more temperate climate. The fact is that there is now no meaningful or equitable relationship whatever between the artificial prices manipulated by the few and the misery of the millions who produce these commodities in both the developed and the developing countries.

56. A few days ago Secretary of State Kissinger called on the Latin American Governments to join with the United States in a "new dialogue". My country welcomes this invitation. We applauded his remark that "We do not believe that any institution or any treaty arrangement is beyond examination". Let me apply this new and hopeful approach in international policy to the existing state of affairs, for it is one of the most significant expressions of United States international policy in this decade. Placed within the framework of my own country's traditional and hallowed respect for the sanctity of contracts, it gives, in our view, expression to the need for, and understanding of, the principle that in the matter of treaties and agreements, review is an inevitable and natural and just process of history. It takes into account the reality of present and changing patterns of international relationships and the growing respect for the sovereignty of all nations.

57. The application of this principle relates equally to the structure and form of the complex of international institutions that have been established over the last 28 years. As an example, the urgent need for the reform of the international monetary system is no longer in doubt. What is really in doubt is whether such reform, when it comes, will ever be really practical or effective. It is clear that here, as elsewhere, the developed countries have not been prepared to submit sufficiently to the jurisdiction of a fully elective international body. Let me hope that Mr. Kissinger's remarks when he proposed to us, his Latin American neighbours "a friendship based on equality and a respect for mutual dignity" will bear fruit. The Secretary of State was right when he said "... such a relationship is needed for all of us, and I believe it is needed also for the rest of the world". By the same token, reform in the case of the monetary system must include the achievement of more effective participation in decision-making by the developing countries, in particular, by ensuring the adequate representation of such countries in the appropriate bodies.

58. Reform must also mean the more effective introduction of the concept of development into the international monetary system. The urgent requirement of the immediate post-war period was the establishment of a system of controls and a code of behaviour in the monetary field. Today we need to move on to a realistic pursuit of development in the widest sense of that term. Reform must include the association of the reserve assets, the special drawing rights, with a system allowing a greater flow of resources between developed and developing countries. We ask that further thought be given to proposals advanced by us and others at the recent joint annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Nairobi to evolve a new type of loan bearing a lower interest rate from that institution.

² Subsequently circulated as document A/C.2/L.1297.

59. Reference has been made by several speakers to the recent meetings at Algiers of the non-aligned nations.³ I was very proud of the contribution made by my own small country on that unique occasion. I was particularly pleased to see over 70 great nations, in many instances represented by their Heads of State, from Afghanistan to Zaire, concentrate so much energy and thought on economic and social matters. In these areas there seems to be no space for détente. This effect is not felt here, and it is precisely in these fields that the poor nations need most consideration and that the world needs a new understanding. The very reason that brought the non-aligned group into existence was that the world became aware of the total disaster that could overtake it unless sanity prevailed. It seems less ominous today than it was a decade or two ago, and a great deal of this is owing to the pioneers of the non-aligned movement; but the spread of terrorism, the grim hatreds behind the smiling and non-smiling faces in the ghettos of the world require a universal awareness of the need to fashion effective means of constructive action in the economic and social fields. Failure to do this will not merely mean for us a failure to grasp the opportunity of the moment, but will also cast all of us in the role of enjoying a frivolous flirtation with history.

60. The United Nations was conceived by idealists. We make no apology for following the road of idealism, but it is an idealism that is limited only by the will of each of us to carry out specific commitments within our powers—great or small.

61. As a small country, we make no apology for concentrating more on people than on property. We feel that nations, great or small, should pay no more importance to the balance of payments than they pay to the balance of human distress. Traditional mathematical representations such as gross national product are often meaningless in terms of either hunger or homelessness. We go further and say it is short-sighted to neglect social development, which is the essential purpose of economic development. This was made clear in a short passage of the Honourable Prime Minister of Jamaica's inaugural address to this Assembly a year ago:

"I am convinced that housing is going to have to become the great new area of world concern and effort. It seems to me that, in the absence of a home, much else that we seek to plan and to achieve is frustrated and overwhelmed by the sheer, brutal reality of shanty-town life. I believe that much of education is lost upon a child who returns from school to share one room with his brothers, sisters and parents. I believe that many of the hostilities and tensions which frustrate the economic process can be traced, at least in part, to this problem. Therefore I wish to suggest that the international community should address its mind to the development of a world-wide plan for housing. I was pleased to see that the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment has taken note of this problem and called for support for the housing fund that was proposed at that Conference. I suggest that formulas be explored for ensuring that funds

for housing become a planned and standard addition wherever investment capital moves."⁴

62. Here at the United Nations and elsewhere, Jamaica has played a particularly active role in the field of the human environment, for we believe that through the environment programme there is a possibility of approaching more closely the heart of the matter of development. We have stressed the need to view the human being as central to the theme of the environment. We urge, therefore, that the ideas and priorities agreed upon at the first meeting of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme in Geneva in June of this year should be pursued, particularly those concerning human settlement, health and habitation.

63. My country enters a plea for forgiveness in repeatedly returning to the idea that the central core of all our endeavour is the improvement in the quality of life of the individual human being. We have already seen how national statistics may have scant relevance to this central theme. We have also seen that in the determination of economic development it is no longer possible to neglect the social factor.

64. Following Jamaica's initiative during the twenty-seventh session, the Assembly adopted resolutions dealing with the institutional and financial arrangements for housing and human settlements. We are aware of the considerations that have taken place on these resolutions of the Assembly. We note with regret, however, the illusion of action on these resolutions and will raise these issues in the appropriate forum.

65. My Government continues to note with regret the low priority that has been accorded to this sector by the United Nations system. We are heartened that the World Bank has committed itself to allocating substantial funds for the housing and human settlements sector of its activities. It is our hope that the question of establishing new and realistic criteria for determining the rates of interest and the eligibility for soft loans in this sector will be given the urgency of treatment and attention that it deserves. It is our further hope that a new sense of international morality and financial commitment by the developed countries will emerge, and that action based on this recognition by the World Bank of the intimate relationship between economic development and such social problems as urbanization, unemployment, poverty and the condition of human settlements will not be frustrated. Let us remember that the greater the task, the greater the need that the effort be rooted in the deepest human convictions. It is time for us to introduce a new game-plan to reflect the high priority that was accorded to this sector in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] and that was again reinforced in the number 1 priority of the Governing Council for environmental programmes. The scale of activities so far undertaken is not at all commensurate with the magnitude of the problem. The Jamaican delegation will at the appropriate time work with like-minded delegations in an effort to accelerate and give further impetus to the activities in this sector, and to ensure full participation by the developing

³ Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2049th meeting, para. 56.*

countries in any new mechanism that is being set up within the United Nations system.

66. It is because my small country, Jamaica, has never faltered in its support for the United Nations as the greatest repository of hope for the peoples of the world that we cannot pass without noticing a very unfortunate phrase from a most distinguished source referring to "the increasingly assuming characteristic of a bloc of its own—the alignment of the non-aligned". If this is not a naïve misunderstanding of the history and nature of that great and growing movement for the preservation of peace, it could only be a deliberate and calculated misrepresentation of the role of this great movement. We are not a bloc. By definition we are against blocs. We never have been a bloc and we persist in a solemn resistance to being lured into joining any bloc.

67. As a small and poor nation, our strength lies less in the threat to exercise power against others than in the capacity to remain objective and frank both to our friends and to any who choose to describe themselves otherwise. It is in this tradition of frankness that my delegation refers with deep sadness to the unfortunate turn of events in the Middle East. We have always hoped, and still do hope, that in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in its entirety lies the hope for a true and lasting peace in this area. As a consequence Jamaica calls for an immediate cease-fire and the commencement of negotiations in accordance with that resolution, which, we repeat, is the only hope for peace in the Middle East.

68. We believe equally that unless we follow more the dictates of our collective conscience and less the escalation of rhetoric and hypocrisy, many more conflicts will erupt and continue, at the cost of countless innocent dead. A few days ago we witnessed in this very room the disgraceful exhibition of that small band who purport to represent the people of South Africa, shamelessly supported by a very slim minority of this Organization in a legalistic argument as to their right to freedom of speech. The enunciation of that right sounds thin and hollow in the mouths of a racist régime whose best-known characteristic is their own denial of that right to the millions forming the majority in their own country. The shameless gang will continue this massive exhibition of hypocrisy as long as they obtain encouragement from the few remaining supporters in this Organization, who, by such support, cast grave doubts upon the moral posture of the Organization itself.

69. It is in this setting, and at a time when bombs are raining death and blood is flowing like a red sea of its own, that I give this solemn warning. War is caused by breaches of faith, by desertion of principle and abandonment of a moral code.

70. How can we absolve ourselves from blame—we who sit comfortably unconcerned while the brutal bandits of South Africa, who demand their freedom of speech here, refuse to reply to the demand of the International Court of Justice that they set Namibia free? It is this body which has by resolution after resolution, in accordance with the legal decision of that high Court, set up the instruments for the liberation and lawful government of the people of Namibia. Yet we lack the will to put them into effect. There are many

areas of the world in dispute that come before us in which there are, however weighted, two opinions to be decided. In the case of Namibia there is but a single clear, irrefutable example of injustice—that by South Africa. South Africa is illegally in charge of Namibia. There is no legal obstacle to United Nations action against it. It would have been indefensible if this were only a case of territorial aggression. It would be even more reprehensible if it were merely an extension of that wrong in that South Africa had annexed property and people in the manner of the classical colonialist. But it goes further: the conscience of the world is tortured by the dehumanizing practices that are forced upon the people of Namibia by this racist abomination which is supported here by those few friends who legalistically uphold the right to freedom of speech.

71. The conscience of the world cries out, in the name of those dying today on the battlefield of wrong, that this Assembly should call upon the Security Council to act now.

72. Our hope for peace demands that we ask the Security Council: first, to demand that South Africa surrender the administration of Namibia, or that force be exercised against it to enforce its obedience to the law; and secondly, to protect the United Nations Council for Namibia that has been established to administer Namibia and restore to its people God's gift of freedom.

73. In the name of my small country, Jamaica, I ask you, each of you, Have you the will to demand this, that the United Nations summon up its collective will to take up its own Mandate?

74. The precious young lives being sacrificed even as we speak in comfort here cry out this warning, If you do not maintain the force of law, your sons and daughters will die under the law of force.

75. The painfulness of the truth is already evident in other parts of Africa. Jamaica and the rest of the free world salute the freedom fighters of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. We welcome the brave liberators of Guinea-Bissau, our newest nation, which recalls the struggle for freedom in the United States of America, and elsewhere when men believe in "liberty or death". My country was the first in the new world to recognize Guinea-Bissau.

76. My delegation believes that the main purpose of the United Nations is to preserve peace, not to stop war. We believe that much has been done by this great international body for which the world must be grateful. But the preservation of peace demands that we be constantly alert to maintain our principles and enforce our resolutions. There are areas today in Latin America which are not yet in a state of war but which are far from enjoying the atmosphere of peace. I refer in particular to the tiny Territory of Belize. Belize has been promised independence by the United Kingdom. But fear of accepting that freedom, which its people deserve, arises from fear of invasion the moment independence is granted. Let me pray that we shall take strong and timely measures, clear for all to see, to prevent the use of force from spreading the seeds of war and oppression in that otherwise peaceful area.

77. My country, Jamaica, has never lost faith in the influence for good that exists here in the United Nations. The

hopes of mankind rest in our hands. Can we summon up the will to do that for which future generations will be grateful? Each moment of indecision, hesitancy or disobedience to the dictates of our conscience, every sacrifice of principle on the altar of expediency, each wasteful death in the ghetto or on the battlefield of wrong cries out to us. We can no longer afford the luxury of delay.

78. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (Egypt): Because we are determined not to neglect our international duties and responsibilities even while we are engaged in the most sacred of national duties—the fight for our territorial integrity and our liberty—we have decided to appear as scheduled in the general debate of this session of the General Assembly.

79. However, it should be understood that I am going to leave it to the Egyptian delegation to express in the various Committees the points of view of Egypt on all the items on our agenda.

80. First, Mr. President, I take it as a good omen indeed that this Assembly is presided over by you, a man whose record as representative of Ecuador is one of fighting valiantly for all the values for which the United Nations was established and for which Egypt is now fighting.

81. If the United Nations was established so that law might rule supreme over policies of violence and so that the Charter of the United Nations and the findings and resolutions of the United Nations rather than the dictation of power and violence would be the key to settlement, then the fight now being waged by Egypt and Syria is for the United Nations.

82. We still stand respectful of, and bound by, the Charter, by United Nations resolutions and by all its findings. We refuse, however, to be dictated to; we refuse, however, to be subjugated by long occupation; we refuse, however, to remain occupied. We are struggling, not because we guarantee success, but because we have no option but to struggle. That is our national duty. That is the only *Diktat* we are obeying and going to obey.

83. If this United Nations was established also to uphold human rights, then I think this is a good opportunity to inform the nations here united of the latest vile actions against human rights. This morning I received from my Government the information that as a result of attacks by the Israeli Air Force on Port Said and on other towns in the Nile delta, one of the most densely populated areas of the world, and on the suburbs of Cairo, 307 victims were killed or wounded. A few hours later—at 1415 hours precisely—the toll had risen to 500 persons murdered.

84. As a result, our morale is rising; our anger is rising; our determination to put an end to this policy of brigandry and lawlessness is increased.

85. That is Egypt's contribution to this year's general debate.

86. Mr. GANAO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Ten years ago, on 2 October 1963, I addressed the United Nations General Assembly for the first time from this same

rostrum.⁵ At that time I had the twofold historic mission of declaring to the world that the Congolese revolution was the expression of the unanimous will of the whole people determined to live free, alone the master of its destiny, and to set forth the views of my Government on the major international problems which divided us and most of which, unfortunately, continue to divide the Members of our Organization.

87. Today, returning here, I am happy and proud to say that the Congolese revolution has survived all the gloomy prophecies. It has indeed just witnessed a rousing celebration of its tenth anniversary. It has overcome the many obstacles which imperialism and internal reaction have placed in its path, and it is doing very well. Its leader, Commandant Marien Ngouabi, is exercising determined and clear-sighted leadership, equalled only by the fierce will of the Congolese people to live free, in peace with everyone.

88. Today I am happy to note that the gross injustice which had long been inflicted upon the People's Republic of China has been redressed and that the great Chinese people is now in a position to place its great wisdom and rich experience at the service of the world and peace, in frank and sincere co-operation, which is a gratification to us all.

89. Today I welcome with true satisfaction the simultaneous admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to our Organization. This historic event belies the false theses which had prevailed until last year. I warmly welcome the representatives of those two countries and those of the Bahamas who have just taken their places in this Assembly.

90. Today I note with great pleasure that the Laotian people, who have so long been in the nightmare of war and division, are finally making progress towards a normal existence even though the forces of evil are still striving vainly, to overturn the verdict of history.

91. Today I should like to welcome once again the brilliant victory of the heroic people of Viet-Nam which has been reflected in the signing of the cease-fire agreement at the beginning of this year in Paris.⁶ It is now for the United Nations to require that this Agreement, which has been constantly breached by the Saigon administration, always encouraged by United States imperialism, should be strictly respected. The Vietnamese people is entitled, like all the other peoples of the world, to a free existence, a normal life and institutions of its own choosing.

92. Unfortunately, hardly did the flames of war in Viet-Nam die down than United States imperialism lit another fire in Cambodia. But there again, under the enlightened leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the valiant Khmer people are every day giving proof that traitors to the motherland will only have meted out to them, when the time comes, the punishment they deserve. The representatives here in this Assembly know very well that the United National Front of Kampuchea controls nine-tenths of Cambodian territory.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eighteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1224th meeting.

⁶ Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973.

93. They also know that the fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which has just been held in Algiers, took an historic step when it demanded that the rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, should be restored in the United Nations and in the other international organizations and that that Government should be recognized as the legitimate government representing the people of Cambodia. The People's Republic of the Congo entirely approves this action, and the United Nations should see to it that it is actually brought about, because this alone will make it possible to restore peace in that part of Asia.

94. Still in Asia, the situation in Korea is slow in developing. We certainly do not want the fragments of this mosaic to prevent us from identifying the problem in its totality. Without any doubt the status of observer, after a laborious and arduous quest, has just been granted to North Korea; but the duty of the Organization is to help this country, which has suffered so cruelly from foreign interventions in its political life, to bring about its reunification by peaceful means, free from any external influence.

95. Today something that is even more tragic—Israel also is stubbornly rejecting the verdict of history. This stubbornness led in 1967 to the situation of which we are well aware, which itself has just given rise to serious developments in the Middle East less than a week ago. We do not want to address ourselves to a country which has systematically refused to comply with the unanimous will of the international community. We would rather say to those who support the Zionist and expansionist State of Israel that it is certainly high time for them to revise their calculations, because tomorrow it will no doubt be Israel itself that will reproach them for having imprisoned it in illusions which today are more than outmoded. We would also like to ask the fraternal Arab countries if it is not time to forget the things which may divide them and to combine their efforts against an enemy which is humiliating the whole Arab nation and which defies us all.

96. Many countries of the third world have already realized the danger represented by the expansionist and arrogant policy of Israel and are ending their relations with the Zionist State, thus heeding the appeal of our Arab brothers who consider, quite rightly, that this is the least they could do. We would like to hope that the neighbouring countries in the combat zone will understand that the time has come for them, too, to meet all their responsibilities and to provide Egypt and Syria, which have been the victims of aggression, with the concrete assistance which they need so much at the present time.

97. The People's Republic of the Congo, for its part faithful to the fundamental principles of its policy, has broken off all relations with Israel, without any pressure whatsoever from any source and without any kind of calculation. We are side by side with the valiant people of Palestine who are waging their struggle, and we fully support the fraternal countries of Egypt and Syria that are fighting so bravely for the restoration of their territorial integrity, because, for us, one of the most intolerable and inadmissible principles of our time will remain the acquisition of territory by force, which is after all nothing but a modern form of coloniza-

tion. And the question of colonization brings us quite naturally to Africa.

98. Colonization is, of course, an historical phenomenon, which is in no way justified and which nothing could ever justify. Consequently, it is a phenomenon which is reprehensible at any time and at all times. But colonization is also a fact of history. It is because we are faced with a fact of history that you will understand that in this particular area President Marien Ngouabi will of course be attaching much more importance to what is happening than to what has happened.

99. What is happening is that the former colonial Powers, in their anxiety to preserve their unjustly acquired advantages, are perpetuating in the most subtle ways their domination over the new independent States.

100. What also is happening is that the great Powers, influenced by their selfish narrow interests, want to make satellites of the small countries.

101. What we are faced with in each case is neo-colonialism, which is as inhumane, reprehensible and worthy of contempt as colonialism.

102. What is happening also is that in spite of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which will soon be 13 years old, colonies in Africa still survive—the list of them has often been enumerated here and this makes it unnecessary for us to repeat it. The country which is persisting in perpetuating this phenomenon is sufficiently well known to you to make it unnecessary for us to name it here.

103. We of the People's Republic of the Congo are not racists and we hope that we will never have to respond to abominable acts of racism with other acts of racism, equally detestable. But we are also aware that patience has its limits, and that is why it is urgent for the international community to call upon this small country, and particularly those who would support it, to rally to the side of history before seriously jeopardizing the chances of mankind of living in perfect harmony without distinction of race or religion.

104. The methods pursued by the last of the colonizers in Africa are well known to us all. The panoply of them has just been added to by individual attempts on individual persons, as for example, the cowardly assassinations of illustrious sons of Africa, such as Eduardo Mondlane and Amílcar Cabral. These assassinations have only served to strengthen the scorn and the hatred of the whole of Africa and have also strengthened the determination of freedom fighters in their struggle.

105. The Assembly knows the daily tragedy afflicting the people of the territories under colonial domination. There are numerous documents relating to them which are available to each of our delegations. The massacres in Mozambique have been described in the smallest detail by Mr. Marcelino dos Santos and the Reverend Hastings. The forced systematic exploitation of the riches of Angola is well known to us all. I have quite deliberately brought these two aspects together to show with what cruelty and what cynicism colonialism is striving to destroy, in the countries

which it dominates, the two essential elements in the life of a nation: man and nature.

106. Hence, my Government feels that the best thought-out and the most sincere speeches will do nothing to change the situation. It is acts which are necessary. The opportunity is unique. It has just been offered to us by Guinea-Bissau. The country of Amílcar Cabral has just won a victory over the oppressor, a striking victory which we must not only welcome, but which we must do everything we can to strengthen. If the United Nations really wishes decolonization in accordance with its own Charter, Guinea-Bissau should be immediately admitted to membership and should take its place here without debate, because I do not think there is any Member country which has received any mandate from the people of Guinea-Bissau to represent them here. Such a decision, while it would be strictly in keeping with the principles of the Charter and would fall squarely within the framework of the objectives of the Organization, would be a great incentive to the fighters of Angola and Mozambique, and a serious warning to the racists of Rhodesia and South Africa.

107. With regard to the situation in Rhodesia and Namibia, with regard to the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa, nothing remains to be said, and it is possibly only the way of saying it which has changed. It is for this reason that, here too, my Government considers that the United Nations should take concrete action and request the Western Powers to choose between their selfish interests and those of the whole international community.

108. May I be permitted, from this rostrum, to assure once again the peoples of Palestine, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique and all those waging an armed struggle, of the total and unconditional support of the Congolese people. We support them because the causes for which they are fighting are just and because there is no peace without justice, even if there is *détente*.

109. We are in fact going through a very exalting stage where the acceleration of history makes it possible for us to note, every day, appreciable changes in the world panorama. A decade of ideological confrontations dominated by the snows of the cold war is now being succeeded, we are told with tranquil assurance, by a so-called phase of political realism and international *détente*. My country, like many other third-world countries, can only welcome the advent of this new era, this golden age which we are promised; because we need peace to build in our own countries a society of prosperity and dignity and to deal more effectively with the thorny problems of the well-being of our working masses. But in truth, can there really be peace without freedom? My delegation would like to invite everyone, without futile emotion or passion, without demagogy, but in all objectivity, to reflect on this concept of *détente* which, if it is historically justified, must nevertheless be given a more real content, if we want to increase its credibility among the disinherited of the earth even a little. The twenty-eighth session has been placed by many speakers within a general framework of *détente*. *Détente* appears to be the watchword which is to inspire all of our delegations throughout our work. I am among those who find it repugnant to use this rostrum for sterile polemics. But, as I have stressed earlier, good sense should be based on the

inspiration of actual facts which occur every day in order to shed the proper light on this notion of *détente* to which the peace-loving peoples of the world so legitimately aspire. This concept of *détente*, which has been widely canvassed and which, if we are to believe the acclamations accompanying its birth, has no enemy, is liable to remain a useless instrument of analysis if it is reduced to the role of being the privilege of a minority of the all-powerful and becomes deflected from its supreme objective, which is to strengthen the common wish of people to organize the live forces of our planet to serve understanding, friendship, justice, peace and the progress of humanity without any discrimination. In any case, imposed from the summit of the pyramid without taking the least account of other elements which nevertheless constitute the key to the explanation of the international situation, *détente* runs the serious risk of having a brief and tragic career because in our world today it is no longer possible to pretend to ignore in the international arena the long-exploited and scorned third world.

110. I am aware that my purpose may seem to be at variance with a certain uniformity which has been maintained by our culpable passivity, but we all know the evil consequences that may develop from a vacuum ascribable to a lack of perspicacity and the indecision of peaceful peoples. It is therefore more necessary than ever now for all nations to give their support to the policy of *détente* whose outlines and content should be clearly defined here so as to avoid reducing the United Nations to the humiliating role of a distant and scorned witness. We will gain nothing from closing our eyes to the brutal realities which constitute, unfortunately—and will for a long time to come—the backdrop of our world. For us, true political realism is that which has as its purpose fighting imperialism and its acolytes and which consists of unequivocally supporting the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government for the benefit of all countries, and in particular for the countries which are still groaning under the yoke of colonialism and racism; political realism that would be worthy of proper attention is that which would include in its programme in golden letters the right of peoples to dispose of their own resources, to decide on their own destiny, the inalienable right of peoples to have the régime of their choice and to determine in all freedom what their alliances will be.

111. The concept of *détente* makes it very natural for us to think of peace, and of war too. And as representatives know, in our day war is waged with ever-more murderous weapons, ever-more sophisticated weapons, which the under-equipped countries do not possess—fortunately, or unfortunately perhaps—and which they will probably never need if the great Powers were a little more sincere and had more good faith in their intentions. What we want is that people should be clearer when they speak of disarmament. In our view, the countries which have for so long been oppressed and exploited and are once again today exposed to all kinds of interference and aggression have the right to defend themselves.

112. If a franker dialogue could take place on the subject of *détente* and disarmament, perhaps we would then be able to take a big step towards the indispensable democratization of international relations. Indeed, it is becoming ever more intolerable that important problems, which may affect the very life of our Organization and the future of

mankind, should continue to be the subject, or a kind of preserve, of the club of the all-powerful.

113. The Organization's Charter should be revised and adapted to new conditions, because we believe most sincerely that the right of veto, for example, has become an anachronism and should disappear.

114. It is also urgent to have redefinition of relations among States to put an end to external intervention, which is ever-more open and arrogant, in the internal affairs of young nations. Every country has the right to be free, to conceive and to execute its own policy.

115. As was proclaimed by the Algiers Conference, the sovereignty of States over their natural resources should become an inalienable principle for everyone. This problem leads us to consider the situation—which we would have preferred not to mention—which was created in Chile by the reactionary coup d'état of 11 September 1973. We condemn most vigorously—and representatives no doubt have sensed this throughout our statement—any intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. And we would have said nothing about the events in Chile if—as was so well understood by the fourth non-aligned Conference in Algiers—what was under preparation in Santiago and which led to the cowardly assassination of President Salvador Allende was not considered by the third world as a vast plot against us all. President Allende, who was constitutionally elected, scrupulously respected the institutions and democratic practices to which his people were so profoundly attached. His crime, his only crime, was to have tried to restore to the Chileans that which the multinational companies had taken from them.

116. Today, while abominable genocide is being organized in Chile, while duly accredited diplomats to that country have seen their immunity grossly violated, and while the democracy so dear to the Chilean people is becoming every day more and more a shadow of its former self, the world of the United Nations is leaning back and reclining in its intellectual comfort. Here, again, the last word belongs to history.

117. It is quite deliberate that in our statement we shall not go into any details about economic problems. That would have made it necessary for you to listen to yet one more speech that would serve no purpose, particularly because it is now clearly established that in order to become equipped the developing countries must, above all, rely on themselves. I will simply say that the policy of charity must give way to freely agreed co-operation, which should be to the mutual benefit of the contracting parties. We—the small countries, in particular—should in the problems of development, work for the strengthening of the United Nations, especially of its specialized agencies, whose efforts, despite their limited resources, have just so felicitously added themselves to our own action.

118. Those were the thoughts which Commandant Marien Ngouabi, President of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party, President of the People's Republic of the Congo, asked me to submit to this august Assembly over which you, Sir, are presiding today.

119. We hope that the delegations here will benefit from your eminent qualities as a jurist and a humanist, your valuable and long experience in the service of the international community, so as to ensure that the work of this twenty-eighth session will be the great success that the whole world expects it to be.

120. We are convinced that, like your predecessor Minister Trepczyński—to whom we pay a cordial tribute here—and like our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose devotion to the cause of peace is beyond all praise, you will spare no effort to encourage the States Members of this Organization, which have wandered into paths to which they have been led by their selfish, sordid and outmoded interests, to reconcile themselves with history, a history which no reasonable nation has the right to oppose eternally.

121. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since a tradition appears to have been established that Algeria should be the last to speak in the general debate, I avail myself of this opportunity and privilege to add my voice to the congratulations addressed to you from this rostrum by all the speakers who have preceded me and with whom I am particularly happy to associate my delegation. We rejoice in the fact that at last, following the rule of accession to the presidency of the General Assembly, small countries like ours accede to an equality of rights among the members of the international community, an equality that has still to be extended to more fundamental areas of our activity.

122. We are convinced that the compliments addressed to you, Mr. President, are highly deserved because of the qualities you have shown in the course of your long career in this Organization, which are a guarantee that under your wise guidance the current session of the General Assembly will score a success in the history of our Organization.

123. Your election to the presidency is also a tribute paid to the Latin American continent and its increasingly remarkable role in world affairs and, more especially, in the united efforts deployed by the countries of the third world to solve their problems and assume their responsibilities at the international level.

124. It is also for me a pleasant duty to convey to Mr. Trepczyński our gratitude for the able manner in which he conducted the work of the twenty-seventh session and to assure him of our friendship and deep esteem.

125. As we come to the end of our general debate it would appear, as usual, that while some assess optimistically the evolution of the international situation, others express their apprehension as regards the future of our peoples. They have all referred to the present trend towards détente among the great Powers, a détente which appears to ring down the curtain on the cold war and mark the beginning of a new era characterized both by the substitution of co-operation for confrontation among the great Powers and by the emergence of new centres of decision on the international scene. No one would dream of denying the importance of such a phenomenon which is likely to change fundamentally the international environment. But its exact significance and the implications it entails are not assessed

in the same terms by all the members of the international community. If we truly find ourselves at a turning-point in our history, then it is more than ever necessary that we understand our mutual intentions, our preoccupations and our aspirations. The change that has begun in international relations may lead to the strengthening of peace and security if henceforward we devote ourselves to the task of defining our long-term objectives and orienting our efforts towards the solution of the real problems threatening mankind.

126. The present situation did not arise spontaneously and if the period of the cold war has come to an end it is certainly not by reason of a sudden manifestation of wisdom among the great Powers in the world. Throughout this period the balance of the power of destruction prevented the unleashing of a confrontation between the super-Powers. The impossibility of each of them achieving absolute supremacy over the other finally showed the futility of competition in the field of armaments and encouraged them to accept each other mutually as the first Powers of the world in the exercise of international responsibilities. The establishment of that new situation should naturally go hand in hand with the solution of the problems of the cold war, particularly in Europe and in Asia, and take account of the evolution that has led to the emergence of new Powers that are naturally associated in the management of international affairs.

127. Thus, the threat of a general conflagration and of the unleashing of an atomic war that for so long weighed over mankind has been averted and the trend towards détente is encouraged by an increased sharing in international responsibilities by the more active participation of the People's Republic of China in the management of world affairs and by the efforts of the countries of Europe to achieve their own rapprochement and to establish co-operative links among themselves. It is on such elements that some base their optimistic vision of the future, a future in which relations of understanding must replace relations of force and where an unbridled and ruinous race in the field of armaments will be replaced by peaceful competition for technical and scientific progress and the organization of a better life for all peoples.

128. This euphoric appreciation is somewhat Utopian and unfortunately is not confirmed by the realities of our daily life.

129. The burning events of these past few days show how fragile are the bases of hasty optimism in the assessment of the evolution of the international situation. The resumption of the war in the Middle East, following a new Israeli aggression against Egypt and Syria, has come to remind us that peace in the world does not rest on peaceful coexistence among the great Powers alone. The persistence of Israel in its refusal to apply the resolutions of the Security Council and to abide by international law, the permanence of the injustice that struck the Palestinian people, are undoubtedly the more immediate causes of the tension that persists in that area of the world and which keeps alive the constant threat against international security. But it would be erroneous to stop at this cursory analysis and to refuse to include the problem of the Middle East in a broader context which would bring in the designs, ambitions and greed aroused

both by the strategic advantages and the economic potential of the region. The energy crisis which threatens the industrialized countries has put the Middle East crisis in a new light and perfectly explains the role that appears to be given to Israel and the unfailing support which it receives from the United States of America and certain Western countries.

130. A month ago a very grave crisis broke out in Chile, overthrowing the Government of President Allende. The *coup de force* of the military junta intervened on the morrow of the Algiers Conference of non-aligned countries and constituted an open challenge to all the countries of the third world, assuming thus its true significance. In their declaration the Heads of State meeting in Algiers said:

“The Conference hails the Government and people of Chile, who in their struggle to consolidate their independence and build a new society are facing the combined aggression of reaction and imperialism. It expresses its solidarity with Chile in its efforts to achieve the economic and social transformations already started, to avoid the civil war and preserve its national unity.” [See A/9330 and Corr.1, para. 56.]

131. The coup d'état which cost the life of President Allende is the result of that combined aggression of reaction and imperialism and shows once again that the trend towards détente emerging in the relations between the great Powers has not yet made itself manifest in the countries of the third world.

132. The Chilean people at present are undergoing a tragic trial which calls into question not only their own freedoms and threatens the results so painfully acquired by their social and economic revolution, but constitutes also a danger to the freedom and independence of all our peoples. In its present difficult moments we want to assure that country that it has our entire solidarity and the active sympathy of all those who, throughout the world, remain attached to the ideals for which President Allende died. May we avail ourselves of this opportunity to pay a resounding tribute to President Salvador Allende, who, at the sacrifice of his life, has given the greatest example of fidelity to his principles, devotion to his people and courage in the defence of the sovereignty of his country. Allende will not have died in vain. The movement that he had the merit to start, the social and economic transformations he undertook, the new awareness he aroused among the Chilean people, cannot be overthrown with the use of violence. The Chilean revolution will continue and the Chilean people—which will find no better guide than the memory of Allende, who showed them the only path that leads to freedom and dignity—will have the last word.

133. Those events would be enough in themselves to justify our scepticism as regards the effects for the countries of the third world of the new climate that characterizes the relations between the great Powers. The removal to a distance of the spectre of a general holocaust does not suffice to eliminate the crises that are developing in the third world or the threats that hang over the present and future of our peoples.

134. The Conference of non-aligned countries recently held in Algiers considered the present international situation in depth and assessed its positive aspects, its short-

comings and its future implications. In its final Declaration, the Conference emphasized that:

“... the present strengthening of détente between East and West and the progress towards the settlement in Europe of problems inherited from the Second World War represent important achievements by the forces of peace in the world. The fears created by the nuclear threat as well as the determination of peoples increasingly tend to give primacy to dialogue rather than confrontation.” [*Ibid.*, para. 10.]

135. That development of the international situation was for too long demanded by the non-aligned countries for it not to be hailed by them as a first step towards the establishment among all peoples in the world of relations based on understanding and co-operation, free of any mental reservations on the utilization of force or the advantages of might to attack the sovereignty of others. But they cannot press complaisance so far as to ignore the threats that still weigh over their own security. The Declaration of Algiers states in fact, that:

“As long as colonial wars, *apartheid*, imperialist aggression, alien domination and 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 other countries.” [*Ibid.*, para. 16.]

136. This assessment, which reflects the aspirations of the majority of peoples, must not be regarded as “a thunderclap under clear skies” or as the tedious repetition of claims that are never satisfied. At a time when the division of the world into East and West blocs appears to be coming to an end, we do not wish to see a new demarcation established between countries enjoying the benefits of peace and security and countries condemned to live at war or under the threat of war—a demarcation which, as if by chance, would embrace the contours of the dividing line between developed and developing countries. Those who, like us, wish to stop a discrimination so prejudicial to the establishment of a harmonious international order, must not content themselves with stressing its dangers and deploring its trends, but must work to prevent its aggravation by devoting to our preoccupations the attention they deserve.

137. We have never ceased speaking of those preoccupations, both in this Assembly and in other forums, and whenever we have addressed public opinion or other Governments. The sympathy they have met with in general has not been followed up in practice, and the problems they raised were left unsolved. Perhaps they were covered by the broader concern of a possible confrontation between the great Powers. Now that that possibility has been rejected by the establishment of peaceful coexistence, between the

super-powers and by the elimination of the last vestiges of the cold war, can we hope that there will be sufficient goodwill to make it possible to undertake the search for a satisfactory settlement of the crises affecting the third world, and envisage the translation into deeds of the decisions of principle adopted for the solution of those problems? It is in fact on that change in mentality and attitude and on the capacity of the international community to respond to the appeal and expectations of the third world that we shall judge the authenticity of the détente whose reality in the world of today is already being asserted by some.

“While considerable progress has been made towards East-West détente, the fact that peoples are in direct confrontation with colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, alien domination and foreign occupation, neo-colonialism, imperialism and zionism, remains an indisputable reality of our age.” [*Ibid.*, para. 14.]

Thus spoke the Heads of State of the non-aligned countries, summing up in this manner their preoccupations.

138. Despite the true progress accomplished in the field of decolonization, the African continent is still afflicted in its southern part by the perpetuation of Portuguese colonialism which, in its stubborn attempt to survive the attacks of the liberation movements and the efforts of international organizations, assumes the most ignoble and hateful forms, as revealed by the latest massacres in Mozambique. The support that Portugal has in this House and—even more condemnable still—in the pursuance of its policy of oppression, responds perhaps to considerations of regional solidarity, which in this case transforms friendship into complicity, a complicity that we denounce once again in the strongest terms.

139. However, the will of peoples in the long run will be stronger than the stubbornness of the Portuguese leaders who seek to maintain their anachronistic domination over the African Territories. The declaration of independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is undeniably a victory in the struggle for liberation, and an encouragement for the patriots who continue to fight in the other Territories under colonial domination.

140. For our part, we hail the birth of a new independent State in Africa, which only naturally finds its rightful place in the great African family, and in assuring it of our solidarity we wish to express our wishes for its success in its struggle against Portuguese aggression and for the building up of a prosperous nation proud of its freedom. We also express the hope that the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau will soon join the other members of the international community in this Organization.

141. The colonial situation that continues to exist in the part of the Sahara under Spanish domination could not be prolonged without serious risks for the balance of all that area, which encompasses Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania. For many years appeals have been addressed to the Spanish Government to facilitate and organize a referendum so that the Saharan people may exercise its right to self-determination. The sincerity of the Spanish authorities in their declared desire of respecting the will of the Saharans cannot be judged from their assertions—more or less

solemn—but from frank and open action which will enable the Saharan population to express its will freely and without delay.

142. The attitude of the international community as regards the *apartheid* practised by South Africa has again manifested itself unequivocally in this Assembly when the large majority of its members refused to hear the statement of the representative of Pretoria. Here too it is difficult for us to understand and accept the equivocal position of countries which, while condemning *apartheid*, continue to give their support to a régime such as this to which *apartheid* is an article of faith. The solidarity of race and the community of interests are not enough to explain that they condemn the crime while fraternizing with the criminals. *Apartheid* constitutes a denial of all human values and an infamous affront against the dignity of Africans. One cannot at the same time proclaim one's friendship for Africa and give the champions of *apartheid* a support that enables them to consolidate their régime.

143. But it is not only by its obstinacy in the practice of *apartheid* that South Africa challenges the whole of the international community. The perpetuation of its domination over Namibia and its refusal to submit to the decisions of the Security Council and the International Court of Justice are more than mere violations of international law; they represent an insolent defiance of the resolutions of our Organization and an arrogant contempt for international opinion. South Africa finds in Namibia not only favourable ground for the extension of its policy of *apartheid*, but also a source of enrichment through the exploitation of the resources of that Territory. The countries that are associated with these economic interests bear a good part of the responsibility for the intransigent attitude of South Africa, which is encouraged by their complicity. By entrusting to its Secretary-General the task of contacting the Government of Pretoria to inform himself of its intentions and to try to find a solution which would preserve the rights of the Namibian people, the United Nations has shown a spirit of conciliation which in no way served to shake the stubbornness of the South African leaders. We believe, like all African States, that the mission entrusted to the Secretary-General should not be renewed. The intentions of South Africa are now clearer than ever and leave no room for hope of a settlement in a spirit of mutual understanding.

144. Encouraged and supported by South Africa and Portugal, the minority régime of Salisbury maintains in Rhodesia a situation that represents both colonialism and *apartheid* in that other Territory of southern Africa. In this case, the direct responsibility of Great Britain is involved, especially after its refusal to respond to the appeal of the African countries to resort to every means, including force, to put an end to the rebellion of the white settlers. The refusal of the African population to accept the settlement negotiated between Ian Smith and Lord Home, clearly expressed in the Pearce report,⁷ leaves no doubt as to the will of the Africans to have their rights restored to them through the exercise of their responsibilities in their country. It is for the international community to support their

efforts, to give them the necessary help and to strengthen the economic measures with which they intend to break the resistance of the white minority in Rhodesia.

145. The African problems I have invoked do not only affect the rights of peoples to a life of dignity and independence; they represent in themselves a constant threat to peace and security in the whole of the African continent. The General Assembly and the Security Council are already seized of cases of aggression by Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia against African independent States. The maintenance of a colonial presence or of a régime of racial discrimination in a part of Africa constitutes a permanent danger felt by all the African countries which compromises all possibilities of extending to the African continent the détente we wish to ensure in international relations.

146. We turn now to the Asian continent, and we must first of all express our satisfaction at the progress achieved in the relations between the countries of the Indian subcontinent, while expressing the hope that those countries, all of which have our sympathy and friendship, will complete the settlement of the problems born of their conflict. The wounds resulting from a fratricidal war are often deep and difficult to heal, but patience and community of feeling and destiny in the long run triumph over hostility and hatred, and it is by looking towards the future that the adversaries of yesterday will find the path to confidence and reconciliation.

147. We all hailed the Paris agreements which put an end to the long and deadly war in Viet-Nam. More than any other, the people of Viet-Nam deserves at long last to live in peace in order to rebuild its devastated country out of its ruins. But the violations of the Paris agreements by the Saigon régime and the countries that support it are likely to destroy this peace that was bought so dearly. The Heads of State of the non-aligned countries, which give their full support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, condemn those violations and undertake to encourage every effort for the realization of a peaceful, independent, neutral and democratic Viet-Nam that would lead to its peaceful reunification.

148. Still in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, the struggle of the people of Cambodia has shown the world the illegitimacy of the Government of Phnom-Penh installed by the United States of America following its aggression in 1970. The progress achieved by the patriots of Cambodia enable the Government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk to present itself as the only authentic representative of Cambodia incarnating the national will of that people. The sovereign rights of that Government must be restored to it in the United Nations, where its seat is unlawfully occupied by the representatives of a régime which owes its survival only to foreign intervention, which merely underlines its usurping character.

149. The problem of Korea this year will be the subject of a debate in the General Assembly [item 41]. We are gratified at this decision, deferred for so long as a result of manoeuvres that we have denounced regularly in the past. The will of the people of Korea to seek to unify their homeland is obvious, and it is quite clear that everything must be done to encourage and facilitate that reunification

⁷ See *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, Cmnd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

through peaceful means. True, the discussions that began between the North and the South tend to lead to this end, but they cannot succeed unless they are free of all foreign interference. It is for that reason that first a decision must be taken to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, to suppress the United Nations Command in Korea and to evacuate all foreign troops. We could not envisage the admission to the United Nations of two separate Koreas, which would establish forever a division that we are precisely trying to eliminate. The admission of Korea to our Organization can be more than the last stage in efforts to reunify that country, which was divided almost 30 years ago.

150. At the beginning of my statement I mentioned the new developments in the Middle East situation. The war that has broken out again was ignited by a fire which had not been properly put out, which has been consuming that region for almost a quarter of a century. We must go back to the period of Israel's creation and to the conditions surrounding it to discover the very sources of the constant tension which characterizes the Middle East. The elements of the conflict, its prolongation and implications will become more complex and grave, but under the mass of problems that it creates, the roots of the evil remain the same: the Middle East crisis resides, above all, in the tragedy of the Palestinian people constrained by force of arms to leave their homeland to make way for a foreign population which bases the legitimacy of its installation in Palestine on the mere fact of belonging to the Jewish religion. It is because the perpetration of that monstrosity was accepted and encouraged or because people resigned themselves to the belief that the international community could not find a satisfactory solution to a conflict that today seriously threatens world peace. It is because this situation has been allowed to go on that on three occasions we have seen war break out in the region and lead to the territorial expansion of Israel and the illegal occupation of territories belonging to independent States in the area, while the problem was acquiring ever more disquieting dimensions. It is because of the international community's inability to compel Israel to evacuate the territories conquered following its aggression that conflict has broken out again, once more engulfing the whole region.

151. Again we see the Middle East bathed in blood, for the fourth time since 1947. Indeed, Israel has accustomed us to its incursions into the neighbouring countries, to its surprise attacks that take no account either of its international obligations or of the sovereignty of countries that have in no way provoked such acts of piracy. We shall not dwell on the long series of crimes committed by Israel in disregard of international legality, sowing death and terror, because it was assured of immunity by virtue of the element of surprise and its superiority in armaments, not to mention the impunity fostered by the protection of its allies, particularly through the United States veto in the Security Council. Today the struggle is harder, and Israel must face the resolute determination of the Egyptian and Syrian forces. Thus it resorts to ignoble attacks against defenceless populated centres, against civilian populations and targets, following the strict logic of its philosophy which subordinates the principles of morality to the desire for doubtful publicity. Perhaps this time world public opinion will be better

informed of the nature of the Zionist régime, to which it has imprudently remain complacent at times in the past.

152. Because sanctions against it were not adopted in time, Israeli aggression in the Middle East follows the same course as the imperialist war in Indo-China. By its refusal to withdraw forthwith and unconditionally from the territories it occupied following its aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and by its systematic practice of a policy of annexation, expansion, terror and constant violation of human rights, Israel has aggravated the threat that it has never ceased to hold over international peace and security.

153. Nor can one doubt that in this perspective the resistance of the Palestinian people acquires its full significance, since it falls within the context of the general struggle of peoples for the exercise of their right to freedom, dignity and national existence.

154. Barely a few months ago the Security Council was seized of this problem by the Arab Republic of Egypt, that recourse having been based on a decision taken at a meeting of Heads of State and Government of OAU. That decision emphasized the need and extreme urgency of finding new prospects for a peaceful solution following Israel's rejection of all such past attempts. But that action was thwarted by the improper use of the right of veto.

155. More recently still, and in a wider framework, the non-aligned countries have tackled the question of the Middle East as one of the primary themes of their common concerns. The decisions adopted to that end by the Fourth Conference in Algiers were, by reason of the resumption of hostilities in the Middle East, communicated immediately to the permanent members of the Security Council by President Boumediene. In his message he stated, *inter alia*:

“The events which are at present taking place in the Middle East and which are the logical consequence of Israeli aggression lead me to emphasize the exceptional character of their gravity. In my capacity as President in Office of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, I am in duty bound to draw your attention to the decisions taken by this Conference concerning the situation in the Middle East. Those decisions are based in particular on a recognition of the fact that Israel's persistence in its defiant attitude towards the international community and the United Nations will lead non-aligned countries between them and, within the framework of the United Nations, in conjunction with the Member States of that Organization, to take individual and collective political and economic measures against Israel, in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

“Similarly, recalling the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the need to restore the national rights of the Palestinian people, ‘the Conference [calls upon] all States, and in particular the United States of America, to abstain from providing Israel with . . . any political, economic or financial support which may enable it to continue its aggressive and expansionist policy’. It calls for ‘immediate and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied territories, and pledges itself to assist Egypt, Syria and Jordan in liberating their occupied territories, by every means.’”

156. That solemn appeal, launched in the name of an assembly that is so representative in terms of both the number and the quality of its participants, an appeal which in the present circumstances rings out so loudly, must be heeded; it must inspire our Organization to take concrete and urgent measures consonant with justice if it is truly to assume its full responsibility for the safeguarding of international peace and security.

157. The new Israeli aggression against Egypt and Syria, probably conceived to test the military potential and the resistance of those brother nations, and certainly to destroy them by way of prevention, has failed lamentably. Everything, however, seems to indicate that it was very carefully prepared, militarily and politically. Now that the freedom fighters have begun to have their say, it is to be hoped that it will not be necessary to use other arguments, which the Middle East in particular and the Arab nation in general have in good measure.

158. Like all free peoples, the peoples of Egypt and Syria are only opposing the aggressor; they are trying to push out the foreign occupier, defend the integrity of their national territory and recover their inalienable rights. In so doing, they incarnate today the meaning of dignity and honour. Their trials are our trials; their suffering, our suffering. And since we share with them a common destiny, we shall, side by side with them, assume our responsibilities to the end.

159. They do not stand alone: the non-aligned countries, the socialist States and other healthy forces in the world will give them constant support and unfailing solidarity.

160. But perhaps there is little use in emphasizing the responsibility of Israel, which, because of its Zionist and expansionist character, cannot become a part of the Middle East. We must have the courage and clear-mindedness to assess the responsibility of the United Nations and that of certain great Powers, particularly the United States of America, which have always given their support to Israel, providing it with the means for carrying on its aggressive and imperialist policy and assuring it of protection even against the rules of international law. That responsibility was engaged from the very day Israel was created, and it must be invoked when dealing with the present situation of the Palestinian people or with the occupation by Israel of Arab territories. It is therefore incumbent on the United Nations to resolve a problem which the United Nations itself helped to create.

161. The solution to be found must, of course, entail the complete recovery by the Arab countries in that region of the territories occupied by Israel, and the arrangements necessary for their security against the expansionism and aggressiveness of the Zionist régime. But to establish a lasting peace in that sensitive region, any solution must go to the very root of the problem; it must restore the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine and assure them of the means for freeing themselves from the injustice that has afflicted them for so many years, an injustice the lasting scars of which will be borne not only by the present generation but also by generations to come.

162. Mr. President, in applauding your accession to the presidency of our Assembly, I underlined the outstanding

part played by Latin America in the joint struggle of the third world. The ever greater participation of the countries of your continent in the non-aligned movement is the most striking and reassuring testimony to this fact.

163. The Conference of our Heads of State in Algiers assigned especial importance to your problems. In the final Declaration of our Conference appears the following:

“The Conference considers that the struggle for the liberation of Latin America is an important factor in the struggle of peoples against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism and is a contribution towards achieving and strengthening peace and international security.”
[A/9330 and Corr.1, para. 55.]

Moreover:

“It supports the struggle of the peoples of Latin America for the affirmation of their sovereignty, the restoration of their natural resources and implementation of the structural changes essential for their development, and condemns the imperialistic aggressions and pressures to which these countries are subjected.” [Ibid., para. 54.]

164. The tragic events in Chile have come all too soon, unfortunately, to confirm the fears expressed in that declaration, and to prove to what degree, in Latin America and everywhere else in the third world, our peoples must remain vigilant and rely on their active solidarity to face the dangers threatening them.

165. The movement that is developing on the Latin American continent for the consolidation of independence and the recovery of national resources must necessarily confront the forces of imperialism, the operations of which are evident in military interventions and the activities of multinational companies. We give our total support to the peoples of Latin America in the courageous struggle they are waging, and particularly to the people of Peru, which has embarked upon an undertaking to reconquer its wealth and transform its economic and social structures; also to the people of Panama, which seeks legitimately to restore its sovereignty over the Canal Zone. The people of Cuba, for its part, knows how great is the sympathy and solidarity with which we have always followed and admired the revolutionary task it has accomplished. And once again we wish to denounce the unjust and unjustified blockade imposed upon Cuba by the United States of America, and the hostile measures directed against it by the new military authorities in Chile.

166. Since I wish to lay before you here the concerns expressed by the non-aligned countries at the Algiers Conference, I must inform you of the profound disquiet aroused by the evolution of the economic and social situation in the developing countries. That evolution is characterized by an aggravation of the inequality already existing in the rate of economic growth as between the developed and the underdeveloped countries. The international economic order continues to function to the detriment of the poorer countries, and all attempts to reverse that disastrous trend have produced no satisfactory results. The principal difficulty resides in the selfishness of the most developed countries, which do not wish to give up their privileges and refuse to change a

system that promotes their prosperity to the disadvantage of the countries that provide their raw materials.

167. We all know how disappointing were the results of the First United Nations Development Decade. The Second Development Decade is already well under way and appears to be no more promising than the first. The imbalances that result from this disparity in the distribution of wealth may have the most tragic effects on the international balance as a whole, and the crises that have already occurred in the field of energy show the depth of the ills that characterize the present world economic situation.

168. The monetary crisis through which we are living strikes a hard blow at the developing countries, while at the same time the responsibility therefor rests exclusively on the industrialized countries, which should be the only ones to bear the consequences.

169. Problems of food and the environment, together with those relating to the organization of world trade, must occupy the attention of all and can be solved only within the framework of broader international co-operation. It was for this reason that the Algiers Conference suggested the urgent convening of a joint conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and UNCTAD, at the ministerial level, and the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to be devoted exclusively to problems of development.

170. It is not necessary to point out that development problems can easily be tied in with the problem of disarmament, in so far as the resources released through disarmament could find no better use than to be placed at the service of development. We therefore welcome any suggestion along these lines stemming from a sincere effort to promote real, general and complete disarmament, and from a genuine will to reform the whole international economic system with a view to a more equitable distribution of wealth and income.

171. The non-aligned countries have always given proof of their profound attachment to the United Nations and the principles of the Charter. They remain convinced that the Organization can be an effective instrument for promoting international peace and security, for developing co-operation and for safeguarding fundamental rights and freedoms. Its call to universality is further strengthened this year by the simultaneous admission of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. We are indeed happy to welcome these three new Members which will, without doubt, help to strengthen our Organization and guarantee for it an ever greater sphere of action.

172. However, we take note of the pertinent observation of the Secretary-General when, in the introduction to his report, he stressed that

“The United Nations and its family of organizations were set up to deal with the problems of a world very different from the one we live in today.” [*A/9001/Add.1, p. 1.*]

The changes that have marked the life of mankind, together with those that have changed the political, military, eco-

nomical and social conditions of the world, have upset the order of priority of our concerns and introduced a new balance into the international situation. The Organization cannot play its part and fulfil its mission unless it reflects a faithful image of international society. The most important change stems from the emergence of a large number of countries into international life. The Organization can no longer be moved merely by the impulses given by the great Powers alone, whether conflicting or combined. The voice of the small and medium-sized countries must also be one of the components of that system of forces.

173. All of us have adhered to the Charter, and that was the primary condition for our admission to the United Nations. But we must also say that we then had no choice but to accept the terms of a treaty prepared without our participation and on the basis of considerations that did not necessarily take our preoccupations into account. It will be understood that we find it natural that certain provisions of the Charter which no doubt were justified when it was drawn up no longer appear to suit the present international situation and should be reconsidered in the light of the transformations to which we have referred.

174. That is true in particular of the right of veto enjoyed by the permanent members of the Security Council. We can accept the idea that that privilege is in keeping with the particular responsibility exercised by the great Powers in international affairs, but when that privilege is used so that a great Power may evade the obligations imposed on it by international law, when it serves to divert international law from its true objectives, when it seeks to oppose the opinion of the remainder of the community, we believe it introduces an imbalance dangerous to international harmony. If its immediate abolition does not appear possible, we must at least spell out its usage by giving a restrictive definition of the cases in which it can be used.

175. It is paradoxical to note that the world appears to be further removed from unity now that the cold-war period has ended and there are appearing on the horizon serious indications of a détente in international relations. No doubt that is because the threat of a general war united all peoples in the same fear of annihilation and in efforts to prevent that catastrophe. As that threat disappears, the concerns of our peoples change and we see a new cleavage in international society.

176. We belong to the world that does not yet enjoy the benefits of that détente, the world whose security is precarious, the world still confronted by the difficult problems of under-development. Most of the countries that find themselves in that situation now belong to the movement of the non-aligned, which was born of the identity of their concerns and the community of their hopes. The solidarity that unites them does not seek to make of them a new bloc which would appear on the horizon when existing blocs are relaxing their unity and dissolving in ever wider co-operation.

177. Non-alignment was born precisely at a time when those blocs confronted each other, and its purpose was to preserve the independence of the small countries while working to establish peaceful coexistence between different social and political systems. The progress achieved along

that road is perhaps to some extent due to the unremitting action of the non-aligned countries in favour of peace and international understanding.

178. The transformation of the international order undoubtedly modifies the content of the notion of non-alignment, which, while being attached to the idea of the defence of national independence, now has as its objective the promotion of peaceful coexistence between the great and small Powers. That coexistence, founded on respect and on the equality of rights of States, is based first of all on the concept of non-interference in the affairs of other States and renunciation of external pressure. It must lead to the building of a more equitable world where force will not replace law, which will give all peoples equal access to the benefits of civilization.

179. That is what more than 80 non-aligned countries meeting in Algiers have solemnly sought to reaffirm. The principles on which they have founded their action and their international behaviour are above all an act of faith in the future of mankind which reflects the great hopes of all our peoples. The participation in that conference of more than 60 Heads of State and Government confers on its declarations outstanding authenticity which the international community cannot disregard. The construction of the world of today and determination of the world of tomorrow is of concern to us all, and nothing would be more dangerous than to refuse to pay attention to the appeal of the representatives of two thirds of mankind. It is an appeal for justice for all peoples, an appeal for fraternity among all men. Why should it not be heeded?

180. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Portugal, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

181. Mr. PATRÍCIO (Portugal): My delegation has asked for the floor in order to say a few words in exercise of its right of reply. On 28 September we had occasion to issue from this rostrum a clarification of the situation surrounding the alleged declaration of an independent State by the PAIGC,⁸ which, as everyone knows, is installed in the capital of the Republic of Guinea, Conakry. On 3 October, in the course of his intervention in the general debate [2138th meeting], the Foreign Minister of Portugal also stated the facts of the matter. Despite this, however, some representatives have persisted in referring from this rostrum to that so-called declaration of independence as if it were a consummated fact having all the implications which such an act is deemed to have in recognized international law, and thus they have preferred to ignore the reality.

182. Yesterday the representative of Guinea-Conakry, whose Government has, after all, been chief patron of unrest in that region of the African continent against Portugal, instigating violence and murder against the once peaceful Portuguese province of Guinea and its population, dedicated the greater part of her statement to explaining the politics of the new paper republic proclaimed in that country, which in itself demonstrates the special interest of Guinea-Conakry in the matter.

183. My delegation would like to state here, for the information of all concerned, that my Government will not be deterred by any such manœuvres or threats from doing its duty and providing the harassed populations of Portuguese Guinea with all the assistance they need in order to discharge their legitimate right of self-defence and to protect their lives and properties against the aggressive actions directed against them from outside their borders.

184. Who are, after all, the chief protagonists of this so-called proclamation of an independent State, installed outside the borders of Portuguese Guinea? They are not even individuals who can claim to be natives of that Territory and they are in fact total outsiders to the people of Portuguese Guinea. How do these agents of aggression, acting on behalf of foreign interests and ideologies, propose to prove the existence of that phantom "independent State" which they claim to have set up, whose representatives have spoken in the course of the general debate? My delegation would like to address a few pertinent questions on this point to those who persist, out of a set policy, in taking such a claim for granted. First, where, specifically, is the territory of this phantom State whose independence has been proclaimed? Secondly, in what manner and from where is effective control over that territory exercised by the Government of that imaginary State? Thirdly, where is the capital city where this Government has installed its administrative machinery? Fourthly, where, may I ask, are going to be installed the diplomatic missions of the States that have hastily declared their "recognition" of that phantom State in defiance of all norms of recognized international conduct?

185. The representative of Guinea asserts that on 24 September this year, in the region of Boé, a People's National Assembly, made up of representatives elected by direct secret vote, proclaimed a new State of Guinea-Bissau. She forgot, however, to tell this Assembly that three fourths of the said region of Boé are situated in her own country, where for all practical purposes this Republic of Guinea-Conakry No. 2 now functions. As far as the Portuguese section of Boé is concerned, I can assure this Assembly that the sovereignty of Portugal is effectively exercised there by the presence of Portuguese authorities. On the other hand, since it is vehemently asserted that the PAIGC has created an administrative machinery with the requisite social and cultural organisms, we are unable to understand the reasons for rejecting the repeated invitation of my delegation to designate a representative who would visit Portuguese Guinea and verify *in loco*, and not through propaganda statements, whether there exist any areas liberated from Portuguese sovereignty.

186. For all useful purposes, I wish hereby to renew that invitation and request the President of the General Assembly to designate such a representative in consultation with my delegation. The Portuguese Government undertakes to give such a representative all the facilities and guarantees needed for the discharge of the mission. The nature of the reply to this invitation will serve to underline the good faith that animates certain Members of the General Assembly.

187. The representative of Guinea accuses Portugal of being responsible for the death of Amílcar Cabral in January this year in Conakry, where the PAIGC has its head-

⁸ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

quarters and its organizational cadres. On various occasions we have rejected this calumny, which cannot stand the most rudimentary analysis of the circumstances surrounding that event. Even a few days ago, Mr. Laurent Gabriel Cissé, a 37-year-old member of the secret services of the police of Guinea-Conakry, presented himself at one of the frontier posts in Portuguese Guinea, asking for political asylum, which was readily granted. In an interview given to the press, Mr. Cissé gave details of the plan set in motion, by order of Sekou Touré, for the assassination of Amílcar Cabral because the latter would not agree to his scheme for the incorporation of Portuguese Guinea, after its liberation, to form a federated State in Guinea-Conakry.

188. I am certain that no one will be surprised at this news, since all this is in consonance with the principles that guide the policies of the President of the Republic of Guinea-Conakry. Thus, in a telegram from Abidjan dated 21 September 1973, Agence France-Presse reported:

“In a broadcast speech on Friday President Sekou Touré of Guinea asked citizens of the Ivory Coast and Senegal to rise against Presidents Felix Houphouët-Boigny and Léopold Sédar Senghor. He asserted particularly the ‘right of the Ivory Coast army to overthrow Houphouët-Boigny in order to serve the cause of the people’. The two heads of State were described as ‘traitors’ and a ‘disgrace to Africa’. Mr. Sekou Touré added,

in an impassioned tone: ‘Houphouët and Senghor are already morally and politically dead’. It is now their physical death that we are waiting for.”⁹

189. Other accusations have been made from this rostrum against my country. I wish to repudiate them with all emphasis and to underline the fact that we have not heard a single word of sympathy uttered in this hall for the death of hundreds of African civilians killed in the Portuguese provinces of Africa, victimized by the most macabre forms of terrorism for the simple reason that they were not prepared to collaborate with movements led from abroad, with which the populations of those Territories have nothing in common.

190. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): As Chairman of the Group of African States, I most vehemently state I ignore with contempt the statement of Portugal.

191. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As there are no further speakers, we have now concluded the general debate.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

⁹ Quoted in French by the speaker.