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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MEDEIROS D'ESPINEY PATRICIO (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of Portugal to the United Nations has always had the delegation of Poland as its neighbour on the left. The two delegations have always maintained mutual relations of peaceful coexistence and even of good neighbourliness. In Europe, our countries are not neighbours. But the ancient history of both countries never separated Portugal and Poland in the veneration of our spiritual values, in the keen patriotism of our inhabitants and in their contribution to civilization. In like fashion nothing today separates the two nations in the aspiration, common to both, for a lasting peace and co-operation among all the peoples of our continent.

2. My delegation and I rejoice at seeing you elevated to the highest office of this General Assembly, and we most sincerely wish you, Sir, the greatest of personal success.

3. The task of the President of the General Assembly is not an easy one. The problems that arise are many and complex. They must be solved harmoniously, in strict observance of the Charter and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. Thus, the President is called upon to display understanding tempered by prudence, flexibility matching firmness, and a spirit of conciliation that will not strain justice. Ample proof of these qualities was given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Mr. Adam Malik, the President of the last session of the General Assembly. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to convey to Mr. Malik, on behalf of my delegation and personally, our warmest greetings. I would also express the hope that this session of the Assembly, under your guidance, Sir, will contribute to greater harmony among States and peoples, a harmony which can flow only from a spirit of justice, respect for truth, understanding and tolerance.

4. At this moment when the General Assembly is starting its work there is much to concern us. In the international political arena there is a clash of ideologies, ambitions, interests and anxieties. Up to a point this is normal, for life itself signifies movement and dynamism. But crises and conflicts multiply in the world, bringing disorder, insecurity and death. We regret these facts, but it seems that not all are agreed that there can be no peace or security without order, and that there can be no order without international norms which all must obey. No one, I believe, would attribute the existing world crises and conflicts to a lack of normative regulations of harmonious intercourse among nations, just as no one would attribute the state of affairs in this Organization to any deficiency in the principles enshrined in the Charter.

5. The United Nations was established with one specific and fundamental objective in view: to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security by preventing and repelling aggression through collective action. The provisions enunciating the purposes and fundamental principles on which this Organization rests reflect the keenest aspirations of mankind and the juridical norms without which those ideals cannot be achieved: the maintenance of international peace and security; the peaceful settlement of all conflicts; the sovereign equality of all Member States; the renunciation of the threat or use of force; non-interference in the internal affairs of States; non-recourse to war, aggression and violence. The most authoritative voices in the world have proclaimed this.

6. Today, 27 years after the last world conflagration, mankind is able to look with a measure of relief on important initiatives seeking to lessen the causes of tension among the great Powers. But everything that has been achieved in this vital field, where the very survival of the human species is at stake, has taken place outside the United Nations, without the latter having in any fashion influenced the march of events.

7. We enthusiastically applaud the partial successes already achieved in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the Soviet-American and Chinese-American contacts, the German-Soviet treaty,¹ the German-Polish treaty² and the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin,³ as well as the progress achieved in the preparations for a conference on security

¹ Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

² Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

³ Signed at Berlin on 3 September 1971.

and co-operation in Europe. But we would wish to see the spirit of conciliation and dialogue that made that important progress possible prevail in this Organization also and make it possible to solve the crises and conflicts that still exist in the world today.

8. The realities of the balance of power politics have thrust the spectre of a world war farther into the distance. But they have not prevented the continued eruption of localized conflicts or the more generalized use of violence in the most varied and novel forms.

9. Recent spectacular events have brought the matter of the use of violence to the general debate of this Assembly. Everything that has been said about violence focuses attention on three themes, which are at the centre of all debates and controversies: violence and its legitimate causes; the primacy of the rule of law; and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

10. The condemnation by the Charter of the United Nations of war and aggression is an absolute and all-embracing principle. It implies the primacy of peace over war, of negotiation over conflict, of dialogue over confrontation. The definition on which, in a specific case, the qualification of a given party who has violated the principle and the rule of law etc. depends may be discussed indefinitely, but no one possessed of any common sense and of sound mind would be able to discuss in the abstract the primacy of peace over war. Except in cases of self-defence, individual or collective, all wars are unlawful; all wars are to be condemned; all wars are unjust. The new international order established at San Francisco sought to do away once and for all with practices and ideas which were supposed to have been definitely rendered obsolete.

11. War as a means or an instrument for the achievement of national and international objectives—whether these be territorial aggrandizement, economic expansion, the acquisition of living space, greater security for a State or group of States, the elimination of injustices in third States, the liberation of supposedly oppressed minorities or majorities, the supremacy of a race or religion, the advancement of an ideology or social system considered superior—was condemned once and for all.

12. But that did not eliminate the causes, conditions, elements, objectives, doctrines and ideologies which in the past had provoked aggressions and armed conflicts, and which, moreover, had always been invoked by aggressors and warmongers to justify their actions. In the present-day world there persist almost everywhere, perhaps with even greater intensity, different ideologies, opposing systems, conflicts of interest, territorial claims, unjust situations, gross inequities in the level of development, discrimination and oppression, persecutions, violations of the rights of individuals and of groups. Which State in this Organization has not already been the object of an accusation, or been in opposition or in conflict with another State or group of States in any one of those areas? Which will be exempt from them in the future?

13. But no divergence of systems, no opposition of ideologies, no conflict of interest, no wish for justice or reform, no desire—whether sincere or fictitious—for libera-

tion can legitimize the use of force by one State or group of States against another State or group of States. Today, the world conscience does not accept this; nor does the Charter of our Organization permit it.

14. Nevertheless, the final and unconditional condemnation of war and aggression does not signify general passivity or the maintenance of the *status quo* in all areas. It may be said, however, that this condemnation marks a turning-point in history, which has given mankind a new confidence in itself and renewed faith in the possibility of achieving justice and progress through peaceful means. Contemporary man draws from the most profound meaning of the great currents of history lessons of a new philosophy of peace and non-violence which must inspire and impregnate the international order of today.

15. The great conquests of man were not the fruit of a victory at arms. Greek philosophy came to dominate the Roman conqueror. The law born in Rome came to be accepted by the invading barbarians. The Napoleonic Code and the principles of 1789 survived even after Waterloo. If such was the case in the past, today, in this second half of the twentieth century—with the advance of science and technology ensuring as never before the circulation of ideas, communication between men and the opening up of all societies to mutual influences—can we entertain any doubts about the triumphant power of thought, the overwhelming contagion of freedom, the virtues of economic development and the expansion of culture in modifying the behaviour of men and correcting social injustice?

16. But unorganized violence has succeeded the violence exercised by States, even though it is often fostered and directed by them. Under the guise of wars of liberation, of struggle against oppression, of fighting against imperialism and against capitalism, once again attempts are made to give a semblance of legitimacy to violence and aggression. It is significant that in a debate on the question of terrorism the voices raised in an attempt to legitimize the use of violence as an instrument of the alleged justice of the causes invoked resurrected obsolete doctrines of a “just war”.

17. In an intervention of the purest mediaeval flavour, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics spoke of terrorists who subsequently become heroes. He thereby wished to conclude that the international order must accept and support terrorism in certain cases—that is to say, only in those cases which serve the interests and designs of the Soviet Union. Has the representative of the Soviet Union also thought of the heroes of Prague and Budapest, and the statues which one day will commemorate in those capitals a just and legitimate struggle against a foreign oppressor? Will not the same reasoning lead him to find in the historical evocation of the heroic warriors of Holy Russia arguments to impart legitimacy to the use of force in the service of the objectives of modern Soviet imperialism?

18. The condemnation, prevention and repression of violence and terrorism must be general and unconditional if they are to become rules of law. They cannot become enmeshed in the doctrinal and ideological disputes that divide States. If the international community really intends

to free humanity from the scourge of terrorism and violence, it cannot accept these loose distinctions between just and unjust terrorism, legal and illegal terrorism, between terrorism that has been recognized by the Organization of African Unity and terrorism that has received no recognition.

19. Which shall be the good terrorists and which the bad? Those whom a precarious and temporary majority in this General Assembly regard as such at a given moment? And if at the following session, or a few years later, the alignment of combinations of interest and votes in this Assembly were to change, would not then the bad terrorists be hailed as heroes and the good ones regarded as criminals? What guarantees can the adoption of such a doctrine offer the international community? What judge in any country of Europe, Asia, the Middle East or America could condemn a terrorist with a clear conscience if the qualification of an act of terrorism is to depend on the opinion of the majority of this Assembly at a given moment?

Mr. Reyes (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

20. The weeding out of violence and terrorism must be based on the supremacy of the rule of law. But this law, in order to be valid, must be general. The principle of the universality of law is a fundamental achievement of civilization, and a basic legacy of the culture of the peoples of the world. It is a principle that is essential to social life, both national and international. But it is a cold principle. It is not compatible with emotional appeals to crusades and holy wars, with confraternities of continent-wide or race-wide armed blocs, or with resolutions approved in Rabat, Addis Ababa or Dar-es-Salaam.

21. Discrimination in the application of law, domestic or international, is an odious and revolting practice. It destroys all the moral and juridical foundation of the law, deprives it of all validity, and incites its violation, giving legitimacy to such violation.

22. Portugal has been one of the victims of such discrimination. Principles deemed valid in certain cases are denied in Portugal's case. Rules applied to other countries are cast aside with contempt where Portugal is concerned. But the violation of this principle is infinitely dangerous for all. No one knows who will be tomorrow's victim. Man's memory is short, but that of history is inflexible and inexorable.

23. When, 11 years ago, a merchant ship was the victim of an act of piracy in the mid-Atlantic, an act that took the lives of peaceful members of its crew, there was no reaction on the part of the international community, and many viewed that crime with sympathy, simply because the victims were Portuguese.

24. Thus was the door opened to aerial piracy. Those who today are inclined to consider anti-Portuguese terrorism as legitimate may perhaps tomorrow have to employ from this rostrum the same dramatic eloquence with which, at the current session, acts of aerial piracy were denounced in order to defend rules designed to protect the lives of nationals of their own countries attacked by the liberation movements which the majority of United Nations Members then considered legitimate.

25. But no rule has been the object of such flagrant discrimination in its application as the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States Members of the United Nations.

26. The principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States is enshrined in the political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic and has guided our policies in the most diverse situations. It would not be too much to ask other States which upon joining this Organization solemnly undertook to comply with the provisions of the Charter to apply to our country this same principle, the spirit of which is enshrined in the Preamble of the Charter, which speaks of practising tolerance and living together in peace with one another as good neighbours. We sincerely and deeply regret that in Zambia President Kaunda should maintain a fierce tribal discrimination, perhaps the worst kind of ethnic discrimination.

27. We are very much concerned with the fate of the Bembas and the Lumpas. We also hope that the economic policies of President Kaunda will not prevent the Zambians from acceding rapidly to the fruits of economic advancement. We firmly hope too that the majority of Zambians will come to enjoy in the future the self-determination to which they have an indisputable right and of which they have been unjustly deprived.

28. However, despite these feelings, we have not arrogated unto ourselves the right of intervening in the internal affairs of that country. Neither have we sheltered, instigated or supported terrorists acting against it, nor have we proclaimed the inevitability of war against that African country. We scrupulously respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all our neighbours. But we consider that this attitude must be reciprocal.

29. For the last 11 years Portugal has been the victim of armed attacks unleashed by groups organized, commanded, armed and based on foreign territory. The action of these groups, which indiscriminately attack the civilian populations and the authorities of our African Territories constitutes illegal terrorist activity. The support given to them from abroad, without which their actions would be impossible and would have ceased long ago, represents a flagrant violation of international law and of the principles and rules of the United Nations Charter.

30. Notwithstanding this situation Portugal has displayed extreme moderation and a spirit of conciliation, by refraining from any retaliatory action, and renouncing the exercise of the right of self-defence, which would afford it the possibility of destroying the bases from which these armed attacks are launched. Portugal has acted in this manner because of its scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the neighbouring countries, and because it has not yet lost the hope that those countries will recognize the illegitimacy of their conduct and will come to accept the fundamental rules of peaceful coexistence. How many Member States in identical circumstances, and for such a long time, would have acted in this fashion? I wonder.

31. It is true that several times we have been accused of violating the borders of neighbouring States, of attacking

their territory, of threatening their security. But if those accusations were true, why should an impartial investigation of the facts always have been rejected, as has been the case in every specific instance?

32. If the authors of those accusations were not themselves convinced, as they are, of the complete lack of foundation of these charges why should they reject the setting up of border control commissions, which we have proposed, and which we again propose from this rostrum? If the African States, our neighbours, were not certain, as they are, that we do not represent any threat to their sovereignty and territorial integrity, why should they reject all the guarantees they have been offered and that we are ready to give them? Why should they refuse any and all conversations, negotiations or dialogues with us in this respect, while we have many times declared, and repeat today, that we are ready to talk with them without any prior conditions? From those facts only one conclusion can be drawn: in all this business of the relations between Portugal and the African States bordering on our territories, and of peace and security in Africa, good faith and the Charter of the United Nations are solely and exclusively on the side of Portugal.

33. Attempts have been made to justify and legitimize support for the terrorist movements operating in the Portuguese Territories on the strength of the argument that they represent the majority of the respective populations and are struggling against colonial oppression and against an authority in illegal occupation of their territory. But the fact that small minorities practise revolutionary armed action and terrorism all over the world today is forgotten. Armed action is not enough to give legitimacy to a movement as representing a population, even if a majority of States hostile to the country which is the victim of the attacks so claims. A subversive movement cannot be representative of a population when it operates solely in frontier areas and under cover of safe support from foreign countries. Their total and growing dependence on foreign support takes away all representative character from the anti-Portuguese terrorist movements, which, moreover, are opposed by the overwhelming majority of the population of their respective territories.

34. We are now being accused of making use of our African nationals in the defence of their lands. We accept this accusation. It is true. Over 50 per cent of all the forces defending the Portuguese Territories are African troops. And these numbers will constantly grow. What a strange accusation! Is it a crime for the inhabitants of a territory to take up arms in order to defend themselves against attacks launched against them from foreign soil? Is it a crime for a Government to furnish them with the means of protecting themselves from being massacred? And tomorrow, when in Portuguese Guinea all those defending the Portuguese cause turn out to be Africans and the Communist brigades attacking them are all made up of Cubans and other international bandits, will it still be said that this is a liberation movement and that the former is an army of occupation?

35. In order to try to justify the illegal support given to the subversive anti-Portuguese movements, it was necessary to invent the myth of the "liberated areas". The so-called

liberation movements supposedly have under their control extensive zones in the Portuguese territories which supposedly constitute "liberated areas" and which they are supposedly administering. But if these movements, as we sometimes hear in this Organization, control two thirds of Portuguese Guinea, one third of Angola and one fifth of Mozambique, how can the Portuguese armed forces constitute a threat to peace and to the territorial integrity of the neighbouring States? And why do these subversive movements find it necessary to maintain their bases and headquarters on foreign territory? Why do they fear frontier control and the respect of borders as dangerous to their activities? But here is a subject where arguments of logic are less valid than facts. An authority's control over a territory is proved by the fact of its control. And this is verified by direct observation. As the Portuguese Government knows that there is no "liberated area" in its overseas provinces, that there is no part of any of these territories where its authority is not legitimately constituted and exercised, or where its representatives are prevented from going wherever they want, it has addressed a formal invitation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to send a mission to verify, on the spot and whenever it wishes, the effective exercise of Portuguese sovereignty.

36. Since this was an important matter of fact, one which some Members of this Organization viewed as controversial, it would have been normal for that invitation to be accepted. But no, it was declined. The United Nations is not interested in verifying the existence of the alleged liberated areas. Indeed, fictitious liberated areas and imaginary sovereignties can only be verified by invisible missions!

37. Time does not permit me to dwell at length on this subject. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal has published and distributed in this Organization a detailed brochure which clarifies this important matter. And if I use this rostrum to publicize this publication, it is because in this field also we are the victims of total and unjust discrimination. The United Nations Office of Public Information, in violation of the principle of equal rights for all Member States and of equity itself, is being used as an instrument of extensive and fierce anti-Portuguese propaganda. This is how this Organization's funds are spent!

38. Portugal, with its whole national territory as defined in the Portuguese political Constitution, was admitted to the United Nations as a Member State in 1955. Having admitted Portugal to membership, the United Nations recognized the territorial composition of the Portuguese State, as well as the constitutional statute of all its integral parts. And under Article 2 of the Charter, all Member States have the obligation to respect this composition. The fact that some countries do not consider our overseas territories as integral parts of Portugal and that they claim that they fall under Article 73 of the Charter does not give them the right either to seek to overturn by violent means the prevailing situation in Africa, or to become the instruments for the performance of acts contrary to international law and to the Charter itself.

39. Notwithstanding these indisputable legal facts, an astonishing event took place in the United Nations a few days ago. At a meeting of one of the Committees of this

Assembly, it was resolved to admit—one does not know with what status, in what conditions and with what objective—the presence of individuals who acknowledge themselves to be leaders of terrorist movements operating against Portuguese African Territories. A prior proposal by some delegations to request a legal opinion from the Secretariat was rejected by the majority. In this fashion, it was admitted and acknowledged that the United Nations is an Organization without law and without regulations, that law no longer counts.

40. The existence and the credibility of the United Nations itself is at issue in such proceedings. The fundamental reasons for its existence, its most basic principles and its most essential purposes are at stake. I do not want to indulge in rhetoric or assume an excessively dramatic tone but I will say that to destroy the Portuguese nation it would be necessary to begin by destroying international law and the very structure of international society. The Portuguese nation, thanks to the courageous resistance put up by its people, has not been destroyed. But the same does not happen to be the case with the rules of international law, which are constantly being eroded as a consequence of the arbitrary process followed in this Organization in dealing with the Portuguese case.

41. Portugal refuses to accept that foreign countries or an international organization at the service of an inadmissible ideological imperialism should intervene in its internal affairs or presume to determine its future.

42. But, contrary to what has been widely said, Portugal does not reject the principle of self-determination. To reject the principle of self-determination would be tantamount to denying the essential dignity of man. As long ago as 1963, in conversations with representatives of African States, under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, we tried to explain how we interpreted self-determination. And the Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council on these talks, said that Portugal did not deny the principle of self-determination.

43. The conclusion to be drawn from the manner in which the anti-Portuguese campaign has been conducted in the United Nations is that it is sought not to secure self-determination for the populations of the Portuguese overseas provinces of Africa, but to impose on Portugal, under the pretext of self-determination, a policy which is the equivalent of having the matter determined by foreigners. It would not be a question of our populations freely exercising their choice. Rather, it would be a question of forcing our populations to accept a choice imposed by outsiders—or at least of creating conditions which would leave those populations no alternative but that. The doctrine is similar to the one formulated by the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, who, on 6 September 1955, told the Upper House of the Indian Parliament that the Portuguese must leave Goa, even if the Goans wish them to remain. This, too, is self-determination in the view of some Members of the United Nations.

44. As far as Portugal is concerned, the right to self-determination is the prerogative of all men and of all societies. But it is a right that must be exercised without any outside

interference—even of the United Nations—and through the means best suited to each case.

45. Portugal is proud of the creation of the great Brazilian nation and participated in a privileged and fraternal position in the ceremonies marking the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its independence.

46. But Portugal has never brought into existence, nor will it ever bring into existence, white independence or black independence. The unity of the Portuguese nation is the mainstay and the guarantee of the multiracial society which we have built up in Africa. Unless it is integrated in the Portuguese nation, that multiracial society would obviously disappear. And could it be that this very result is the objective of the opponents of Portuguese policies?

47. Contrary to what is so often said, Portugal is not opposed to decolonization. We view with sympathy the efforts of the Governments of young independent African States to consolidate their nations—a task that encompasses the struggle against under-development, against foreign economic domination and against the outbreak of tribal rivalries, while at the same time ensuring the genuine political and economic integration of the great mass of their populations in accordance with the objectives and living standard desired by the élites which at present are governing these States. The Portuguese are engaged in similar tasks. We devote to these tasks our experience, our vast geographical horizons and our ethnically and culturally richly varied human elements. In the face of the decolonization movement, Portugal can well consider itself rich in possibilities and prospects.

48. The objectives and the realities of Portuguese policies in Africa compel us to reject as unfounded the criticism levelled against us in this Organization. The overseas provinces of Portugal are not and have never been dependencies of the European part of Portugal. The system of legal, political, social and ethnic values is the same throughout the Portuguese territory. That is why we find it difficult to understand that this system should be labelled as colonial, since the colonial system is essentially a system of dependency, subordination and economic exploitation of one territory for the benefit of another, under the same sovereignty. There is nothing like that in the Portuguese system. Therefore, it is not surprising that we reject the label of colonialists, because our system is, and has always been, different.

49. As I said, we have our system of values. We are ready to explain it and to discuss it. There will certainly be some points which will be accepted by our critics. For example, contrary to what was happening 10 years ago—obviously through lack of information—today nobody questions the sincerity of our multiracialism or, rather, the racial equality which we practise.

50. In view of the interest of certain delegations which follow the matter closely, I should like to say a few words about the most recent developments concerning our overseas provinces. I am not unaware of the fact that the events which stir the greatest interest are those of a political nature.

51. Portuguese policies have not remained static, as is sometimes erroneously believed, perhaps because they move along the lines of the orientation of the Portuguese system, which, I repeat, is based on national unity. Within this system, the Portuguese Constitution was revised last year. Many changes were brought about, the most important ones relating to our overseas provinces. The purpose of the constitutional revision was essentially to give effect to the Portuguese Government's orientation towards progressive autonomy for the overseas provinces.

52. The principles enunciated in the Constitution concerning the policy and administration of the overseas territories, in keeping with a policy of decentralization, are the following:

(a) The existence of special statutes for the provinces as autonomous regions;

(b) The designation of "State", when the advancement of the social milieu and the complexity of its administration justifies such a classification (this designation has already been granted to Angola and Mozambique while the Portuguese State of India always had it);

(c) Their own political and administrative organization adapted to their geographical situation and state of development.

53. The autonomy of each overseas province is set out in the following manner: the existence of elective governing bodies; the right to legislate; the right to ensure, through its own governing bodies, the implementation of laws and the carrying out of internal administration; financial autonomy consisting of the right to approve the provincial budget; the right to have a specific economic system appropriate to the needs of development and the well-being of the population.

54. As far as the bodies exercising provincial powers are concerned, while the Governor is appointed by the central Government, the others, that is the legislative assemblies, must necessarily be elected locally. It is the central Government's duty to watch over the general interests of the overseas Territories, to ensure their international representation and their defence and to legislate on matters of common interest. The central Government also supervises their fiscal administration and management and protects the population against threats or attempts against their individual or collective rights. This last constitutional provision is of the utmost importance and reflects a basic idea expressed by our Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano:

"If any segregationist tendencies should manifest themselves locally, they will be inexorably combated by the intervention of the central Government, should this prove necessary. We shall not give up our intention to persevere in the building of multiracial societies and we shall not compromise as regards the maintenance of a single statute for all Portuguese, whatever their race or colour."

55. Thus the Constitution permits an ample, effective autonomy in the provinces. The intention of the Portuguese Government is progressively to promote the enlargement of this autonomy while ensuring at the same time the participation of the entire population of each of the

provinces in self-government. In keeping with this orientation a new organic law for the overseas Territories, common to all the provinces, was promulgated this year, and the approval of new statutes for each province will soon be undertaken. The provincial legislative assemblies will be made up of elected members. Their composition and the mode of election of their members will guarantee adequate representation for all citizens. The powers of the legislative assemblies, at the provincial level, will to a certain extent parallel the powers of the central Parliament at the national level.

56. The organic law opens up new opportunities for the local *élites*, enhances the importance of the provincial legislative organs and creates institutional cadres which go far to meet the deep aspirations of the people in keeping with the realities of the progress and political maturity of these populations. We shall pursue without faltering our policies of economic development and social progress, so that all the inhabitants of the overseas provinces may acquire the moral and technical qualifications needed for the discharge of political functions. It has been stated in these halls—I do not know on what basis—that each school we build is "a crime against humanity". If that is so, I confess that we have committed thousands of "crimes" of that kind, and we shall continue relentlessly to commit many more, for we assign the greatest importance to the spread of education at all levels, seeking to take it to the most remote populations. Since 1960 we have more than doubled school attendance in all the overseas provinces.

57. Anyone visiting our overseas provinces will be able to observe new works in progress in the field of infrastructures, communications, electric power, industry and agriculture. I shall mention here only the colossal enterprises of Cunene and Cabora Bassa, which, according to some, are two other "crimes against humanity" which we are committing. I remember in this connexion that a few years ago we were being accused of not promoting the economic development of our overseas provinces. Today this development generally surpasses the levels achieved in other parts of the African continent. But since our efforts cannot be denied, anti-Portuguese propaganda has had to change its tune, which shows that no matter what we do we shall always be the object of some criticism. It is important to emphasize that our efforts at economic and social development are being made without any external assistance, a fact that renders even more significant our levels of development and their comparison with those other Territories. In truth Portugal can legitimately consider itself to be the only country in the world with Territories in the process of development which is receiving "negative aid" from the international community.

58. I should like nothing more than to dwell at length on the fascinating subject of the economic and social development taking place in our overseas provinces, but time presses and I must end.

59. In order to justify the support of violence and terrorism in our African territories it is alleged that Portugal refuses to enter into a dialogue and that it practises repression in its overseas Territories.

60. Our defence activities will cease the moment aggression from abroad ceases. Not long ago the Portuguese

Government made a solemn appeal, followed by broad and concrete measures of clemency, to all Portuguese Africans who had allowed themselves to be enticed by subversive movements to return to peaceful life and to collaborate in the progress and the development of their Territories.

61. Even though we have already done so in the past, I hereby renew our invitations to African countries to send their representatives to visit our overseas provinces where they will get all the information they want about living conditions in those Territories. We are ready to start a dialogue with them concerning our concepts, our realities and our plans.

62. We have also expressed our readiness to conclude with the African countries non-aggression pacts and agreements for the peaceful solution of any existing bilateral problems. I again renew that offer.

63. Similarly, I renew our offer to our neighbouring countries to set up, by mutual agreement, joint border control commissions.

64. I also renew the invitation addressed to the Secretariat of the United Nations, in the terms and conditions already communicated to them, to send qualified observers to Portuguese Guinea so that in the light of day and in comfort and safety they may verify in all parts of the Territory they might wish to visit who it is that exercises effectively the powers of administration. At this time I extend the same invitation for visits to the States of Angola and Mozambique.

65. The preparatory work for a European conference on security and co-operation will begin shortly. If such a conference is considered possible and desirable in Europe, where there are different political, economic and social systems, why could not the same principles as are at the basis of that conference apply to Africa? Could there be any interest in fostering conflicts in Africa so that the continent might fall prey more easily to economic and ideological neo-colonialism?

66. We offer to all African countries our entire co-operation and collaboration in the great tasks whose implementation in Africa and in other continents should be of interest to the United Nations in this decade of the 1970s: peace, economic development, social advancement, the elimination of all forms of discrimination and unjust inequalities among men. All the resources of our Territories will be available for collaborating towards these ends.

67. Mr. HUNDLÉDÉ (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): May I be permitted first of all to express to the outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik, our deep appreciation of the tact, the courtesy and the skill with which he conducted the work of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. May we also assure him that he has our fullest admiration and best wishes.

68. I should like now to address to our President the warmest congratulations of the Togolese delegation upon his brilliant election to the presidency of this session. No one doubts that his intellectual qualities, his vast experience in international affairs and his profound attachment to the

cause of our Organization carried much weight with this Assembly when it made its choice.

69. I could not fail to mention the eminent role played by our former Secretary-General, U Thant, who has left the powerful imprint of his personality on the life of our community. With respect to his successor, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, his designation by the twenty-sixth session was an inspiration which we applaud.

70. Since our new Secretary-General took over his functions we have had only reason to congratulate ourselves on the considerable qualities of which he has given proof. His spirit of initiative, his courage and his devotion to the cause of peace are a guarantee of renewed faith in our Organization, which at present is suffering from a crisis of confidence and whose difficulties escape no one.

71. We have the feeling that these real and disquieting difficulties cannot be solved unless all the nations represented here work as a united family. In this connexion, the restoration of China's rights in our community during the last session constituted an outstanding event and a realistic approach to the solutions we seek. The cause of peace cannot be defended effectively without realism, nor rendered a lasting service without justice. Therefore it is desirable to adopt the same mental attitude towards the other problems—unfortunately, very numerous—because any other approach, such as the one that prevailed until then, could only lead to a stalemate.

72. For many years in fact our Organization has been confronted with the same difficulties, the majority of which have not been satisfactorily solved, on account of the lack of the necessary spirit of sincere co-operation and political will. Must we henceforward infer that each year the sessions of the General Assembly will be no more than constant failures and oratory of the highest moral standing with no greater significance than the words of Cassandra? The consideration of questions which for many years have been on the agenda of our sessions provides some foundation for these apprehensions.

73. As regards the Middle East drama, the reciprocal attachment of Togo to both the Arab countries and Israel incites us to desire for that region a just and durable peace. To us the return to peace requires the honest implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We demand for each State in the area concerned the recognition and respect of its sovereignty and its territorial integrity. We believe that the will recently manifested by the Arab Republic of Egypt, which led to a certain military disengagement by that country, makes possible a compromise solution in the near future, and we sincerely hope that soon Arabs and Jews may coexist in peace in that part of the world.

74. We are especially appreciative of any attempt which seeks through dialogue to smooth over the difficulties between the countries. Agreement is the basis of the policy of His Excellency General Etienne Eyadema, President of the Togolese Republic, to which all the Togolese people in good faith pay a deserved tribute and which today enables them to enjoy in newly found peace the virtues of unity and spiritual reconciliation. That is why we wish here

publicly to congratulate Chancellor Willy Brandt on his resolute policy of détente in Europe and of rapprochement towards his brothers in Eastern Germany, a policy to which the whole world unanimously paid a tribute by conferring on him the Nobel Peace Prize.

75. We also rejoice at the attempt recently undertaken by the two Koreas to endeavour to solve their problems themselves. It is the duty of our Assembly to help to create favourable conditions for the reunification of that painfully divided country. In their effort to find an agreement the two Koreas may rest assured of the support and sympathy of Togo. We must keep in mind the idea that divided peoples will always seek at any price to restore the links that history has created between them and that fortuitous events have broken.

76. As regards the Far East, we must not overlook the fact that at this time whole peoples live in conditions comparable to those of the Second World War. We must make an effort to awaken from our torpor, from our guilty indifference in the face of the Viet-Nameese problem. Thousands of innocent people are subjected to a cruel, merciless war, to deadly and indiscriminate bombardments. Our Organization must no longer remain aloof from this problem; it must encourage and support every attempt at a settlement inasmuch as it is, unfortunately, powerless to impose a cessation of hostilities. We are convinced that pressure from this Organization and from world public opinion in the long run will be a factor of peace in the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

77. The position of my Government with regard to the problem of decolonization has not changed. Togo unreservedly supports the struggle of Territories still under foreign domination to shake off the colonial yoke. It is regrettable to note that, despite the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of 14 December 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)], Portugal continues to subject the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) to barbarous, racist and anachronistic occupation. With the complicity of certain Member States which claim to be friends of Africa, that under-developed country finds the means and has the audacity to attack and violate the territorial integrity of certain African States. We, the African countries, are resolved to provide the freedom fighters with the necessary moral and material aid to rid our continent of the scourge of Portuguese colonial domination. The last Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], held in Rabat from 12 to 15 June 1972, abundantly showed, if need be, our unremitting determination to do so.

78. The problem of racism in Rhodesia and South Africa still constitutes a serious preoccupation for our Organization. In this connexion we must applaud the happy initiative taken this year by our Secretary-General. While the results achieved are not yet those we desire, we are nevertheless in duty bound to recognize that that mission was not entirely negative. Nevertheless, we must not be excessively optimistic, because the country of *apartheid*, which has not renounced an iota of its racist philosophy, has never taken much notice of the resolutions of our Assembly and shows an arrogant and absurd contempt for

world public opinion. It is, however, to be hoped that common sense and realism will prevail in the end and that the racists of South Africa will understand that peace is not nurtured by continued expedients.

79. As regards Rhodesia, we are happy at the decision recently taken by the International Olympic Committee to refuse to allow that country to participate in the games in Munich, which we believe is in keeping both with the resolutions of our Organization and of the OAU. This irrefutably demonstrates that the loyal application by Member States of the sanctions promulgated against that country would represent an important step forward towards the solution of the Rhodesian problem.

80. My Government attaches great importance to the problem of disarmament. World peace and security cannot be safeguarded so long as controlled disarmament is not achieved. That is why we most strongly demand the convening, as soon as possible, of a world conference on this burning question, because the race in engines of death not only threatens world peace, but also uselessly deprives a large part of mankind of greater assistance for development.

81. At the beginning of the Second United Nations Development Decade, the major preoccupation of the developing world is still its economic development. Certain preliminary signs lead us to anticipate the possible failure of the main objectives embodied in the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade.

82. The first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held in Geneva in 1964, defined great possibilities for action which aroused great and genuine hopes in our countries.

83. True, some very minor progress in 1968 can be credited to the second session of UNCTAD. But we must also acknowledge that in the absence of an international policy likely in the long run to improve the export earnings of the developing countries, the latter have registered only negative results as regards the expansion of their exports. Further still, last year's monetary crisis very seriously disrupted our already precarious economies, compelling us thus to assume the consequences of a situation for which we were in no way responsible.

84. The prospects of the third session of UNCTAD awakened in the poorer countries the hopes of which we are all aware. In fact, those countries were convinced that in the course of that important meeting the developed countries at long last would become aware of their responsibilities and would help them find appropriate solutions to their multiple development problems.

85. Once again, we must express our bitter disappointment at the results of the third session. Neither at New Delhi in 1968 nor at Santiago in 1972 were the developed countries willing to give proof of that indispensable solidarity that should normally bind the members of our international community, as laid down in the Charter of our Organization. Once again they regarded our just claims as mere children's whims and refused to grant any concession likely to offer the beginning of a solution to our economic difficulties.

86. Such an attitude is incompatible with the decision taken by those countries within the framework of the Second Development Decade. It is true that actually those countries, instead of subscribing to firm commitments, rather gave their marked preference to recommendations formulated in vague terms, without obligations or sanctions, as if to disengage themselves of any responsibility in a matter with which they no longer felt concerned. It is therefore not surprising that the poor or unfavourable treatment that the developed countries persist in imposing on our primary commodities on the world market contributes to a large degree to the continued deterioration in the terms of trade, thus depriving us of substantial export earnings indispensable for the balanced development of our economies. Our agricultural primary commodities encounter difficulties of every kind on the international market: marketing difficulties, instability of prices, competition from synthetics, and so on. Yet it is from these products that our countries draw their main resources.

87. It is high time for the international community seriously to tackle this problem, the solution of which is becoming urgent. For nine years the cocoa-producing countries have been awaiting the outcome of negotiations that should lead to the conclusion of an international cocoa agreement. In my country's economy this product holds a very important place, and the nefarious effects of its price fluctuations on our budgetary earnings can be readily understood. Now that it would appear that all the technical conditions for an agreement exist, we address a pressing appeal to the consumer countries to show sufficient political will in order to arrive, as soon as possible, at the conclusion of an arrangement that will take into account the vital interests of the producer countries by guaranteeing to them a just, remunerative and stable price.

88. The recent monetary crisis which created so much disruption throughout the world shows, if need be, the urgent necessity of reforming the international monetary system. We believe, as advocated by UNCTAD, that the new monetary system should, in the interest of the developing countries, help to create conditions in which the export trade of the developing countries could expand and diversify; could take into account a transfer of resources in an amount equivalent to that mentioned in the International Development Strategy, namely 1 per cent of the national gross product, and could include financial assistance abroad, the modalities of which could be established on the occasion of the restructuring of the system.

89. We reaffirm that it is through concerted international action, which would take into account the interests of all Member States and more especially those of the poorer countries in the international community, that an equitable and lasting solution could be found.

90. My country is gratified at the efforts of UNCTAD to help the least developed among the developing countries. The identification of these countries, we know, is no easy task. The Trade and Development Board has taken a decisive step by preparing a list of countries forming a nucleus. Continuing efforts must be made in order to define such criteria more clearly and to analyse them with greater objectivity and justice, while taking into account all the

significant factors of under-development. We believe it necessary no longer to overlook the dynamic character of the life of States and to proceed to periodic stock-taking within the framework of the International Development Strategy. Only flexibility will ensure equity in this area.

91. My delegation could not fail to mention the results of the important United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm last June. We must become fully aware of the gravity of the problems posed by industrial pollution and recognize that it is one of the greatest scourges of modern times. But we must recognize that there is no greater pollution than the poverty, malnutrition, disease, racism, and so on, threatening the environment and two-thirds of mankind.

92. To national and temporary solutions, which perforce are insufficient and inoperative, we must prefer solutions at the world level.

93. We have no doubt that the serious problems of the environment with which we are at present confronted are the inevitable consequences of economic growth. However, these dangers inherent in scientific and technological progress must not prevent or delay the industrial development of our countries.

Mr. Trepczyński (Poland) resumed the Chair.

94. The fundamental principles enunciated in the Declaration of the Conference and in the various resolutions adopted at that Conference⁴ are such as to serve as the basis for the preparation of adequate international measures, in conformity with the United Nations Charter and respect for human rights, with a view to helping the developing countries to take advantage of the industrialization possibilities they are offered while minimizing the risks of degradation of the environment.

95. My delegation approves the idea of the creation of an international institution and of a special Environment Fund. In our view this fund should be based on voluntary contributions and should be supported by taxes on the polluting industries. The wealthy countries must defray the cost of the protection of their environment and help the poor countries in their struggle against such problems while at the same time they should not reduce the assistance they provide.

96. The fundamental objectives provided for within the framework of the Second Development Decade will not be effectively achieved except through concerted action which, if effectively carried out, will undoubtedly contribute to the consolidation of international peace and the establishment of a new economic order.

97. This new economic order is but an element in the new order that all countries, each year in this Assembly, call for with all their strength. For this dream to become a reality, all that is needed is the will and the spirit of solidarity, whose virtues everyone is so prone to acknowledge, of States in our community, particularly those whose

⁴ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14).

wealth and power impose upon them special responsibilities for the maintenance of peace. But it is not necessary to succeed to persevere, according to a famous adage. But to persevere we must first begin. In other words, we must want change in order to achieve a more just and prosperous world for all.

98. Mr. ARIKPO (Nigeria): Mr. President, it is for me a pleasant duty to congratulate you on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Your long experience in the service of your country, as well as your sterling qualities as a statesman and a diplomat, eminently qualify you to discharge effectively the duties attendant upon your high office. The record of your service since the opening of this session has already justified the confidence reposed in you by the Members of our Organization.

99. I want also to place on record the Nigerian delegation's appreciation of the services rendered as President of the Assembly during the last year by Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, whose occupancy of the presidential chair not only did great credit to his own country but also enhanced Afro-Asian co-operation in tackling very explosive world crises and delicate situations in the General Assembly.

100. Permit me further to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on the energetic and efficient manner in which he has started to grapple with the heavy burden of his office.

101. Since the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly there have been some positive trends towards an improvement in the world situation. The era of détente, which was ushered in by increased contact between the super-Powers, is gradually lessening international tensions; the balance of terror which had formed the basis of the uneasy peace between these super-Powers and their allies is gradually giving place to a reconciliation of interests. The People's Republic of China, following the historic decision taken by the General Assembly last year [*resolution 2758 (XXVI)*], has assumed its legitimate place in the community of nations and its representative had the opportunity, only last month, of presiding over the most important organ of the United Nations, the Security Council. These developments, by reducing the dangers of global war, have made significant contributions to the maintenance of world peace and security, and the realization of the purposes and principles of the Organization.

102. However, we cannot pretend to be unaware of some of the problems which détente may create if we do not consciously guard against them. There will increasingly arise the tendency on the part of a few to see themselves as the sole arbiters of international peace and security and to seek solutions outside the United Nations to world problems which affect us all, great and small alike.

103. While the recent Moscow agreements, for instance, have been hailed as a positive step towards disarmament, there is no denying that their significance would have been even greater had they been worked out within the United Nations Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. We

realize, of course, that even within that Committee the necessity for "political realism", to quote a common phrase, is increasingly being invoked as a justification for special privileges for some members, thus restricting the role of others.

104. The small, the medium-sized and the developing countries as a whole must seek active participation in the development of a world order in which all countries will be secure, and the interests of all peoples safeguarded. For us in Africa, the improvement in the world situation will be more meaningful if and when it brings the wind of change to the colonial and racial situation in Southern Africa. As far back as 1960, this Organization, by its resolution 1514 (XV), committed itself to the total liberation of colonial Territories and the granting of self-determination to their peoples. Twelve years after this lofty commitment, and in spite of improvements in other areas of international concern, it is most regrettable that the situation in southern Africa has not changed.

105. The colonialist and minority régimes, firmly backed by some NATO powers and international capitalism, continue to suppress African freedom movements savagely, to ignore United Nations resolutions, and to promote subversion against countries which support the freedom movements.

106. The question of colonialism affects Africa more than any other part of the world, and the continued existence of colonialism in Africa is an infraction of our dignity as Africans and a threat to our national security and sovereignty. That is why we in Africa have had to take a lead in concerting international efforts against colonialism wherever it exists and in giving substantial material and moral assistance to freedom movements.

107. To us, therefore, it is a matter of great disappointment that the dedication to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) shown by the OAU has not been matched by whole-hearted support of it by some Members of the United Nations, because of their mistaken belief that their national interests would be adversely affected by the total implementation of that resolution. For example, only a few days ago, on Friday, 29 September 1972, we witnessed a deplorable use of the veto by the United Kingdom to thwart the rightful aspirations of the peoples of Zimbabwe to independence and self-determination and to promote the selfish interests of the racist minority régime in that country.

108. If we are all committed to the liberation of peoples everywhere from the indignity implicit in colonialism and racism, we ought to be prepared to back our verbal commitments with material assistance. In this respect I must express Nigeria's sincere appreciation of the commitment of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned States to increase their material assistance to the liberation movements.

109. I should also draw attention with great appreciation to the decision of the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries to provide material assistance to those liberation movements. These offers of assistance, which positively demonstrate the support for human dignity given by the

Nordic peoples, as well as the non-aligned States, strengthen the determination of the freedom fighters. A tribute must also be paid to the socialist countries for the assistance they have continuously given to the cause of liberation in Africa.

110. What is required is that assistance be given on such a massive scale as to remove without further delay the forces of oppression and racism from the Territories of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe and Namibia. For so long as the situation in those Territories remains as it is today—so long as the peoples of those Territories are denied the opportunity to exercise their rights to independence and self-determination—there will remain an indelible blot on the record of the United Nations.

111. Just as disheartening as the lack of progress in decolonization is the continuation of the deplorable policy of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa. In spite of the innumerable resolutions of this Organization, the South African Government has not relented in its pursuit of its racist policy. On the contrary, it has extended that policy more harshly to every aspect of national life in that country. Only recently the Prime Minister of South Africa embarked upon a programme designed to cause confusion among black African countries and other mixed societies by advocating dialogue with independent black African countries and by increasing facilities for black artists, sportsmen and other personalities to visit South Africa from the United States and similar countries. Even that feeble and insincere concession to world opinion has received a severe set-back through the increasing opposition of the ultra-racist, Fascist wing of his party. The continued failure of the moderate and liberal-minded section of the South African community to secure influential positions in the public life of that country is an indication that no amount of dialogue or fraternization will deflect the obscurantist and inflexible advocates of *apartheid* from their course aimed at the total dehumanization of black people in that country and beyond. For we notice that the South African Government is now exporting *apartheid* to Zimbabwe, Namibia and the African Territories of Angola and Mozambique, which are still under Portuguese colonial domination.

112. Afraid that independent African countries north of the Zambezi river might become stable, developed and powerful, and thereby disprove the racist white-superiority concept which underpins the policy of *apartheid*, and concerned that such countries' total abhorrence of the policy of *apartheid* would increasingly contribute to the overturn of the *status quo* in South Africa, the South African Government has now mounted a programme of action designed to create and promote conspiracies, subversion and sabotage in several independent African countries.

113. During this session of the General Assembly the United Nations must look closely into areas in which new initiatives can be taken in the efforts to combat *apartheid*. It is no longer enough to condemn *apartheid* as being a crime against humanity. It is imperative that we organize more effectively and efficiently our resources to combat this curse to humanity. A start should be made in the more effective and efficient co-ordination of our multifarious activities against *apartheid*.

114. I wish to emphasize, as I have on other occasions, the point that Nigeria's policy towards the régimes in southern Africa is not based on racial considerations. It is motivated principally by our firm conviction that all men have the right to freedom and to economic and social justice. *Apartheid* is to us an abominable and repugnant State policy. If it were imposed on any other race in the world we should condemn it in equally strong terms. Above all our attitude is determined by our awareness that the entrenchment of racist minority Governments in southern Africa is not only morally wrong but, more importantly, a threat to the sovereignty and security of independent African States and a primary source of international conflict.

115. The hope for bridging the economic gap between the developed and the developing countries which inspired the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], has not been borne out. It will be recalled that one of the basic assumptions of the Strategy is the existence in the developed countries of the political will necessary for the implementation of the measures expected of them in the Strategy.

116. The third session of UNCTAD, held in Santiago, Chile, earlier this year, provided the first opportunity to put to the test the existence or otherwise of this political will on the part of the developed countries. No one who attended that session had any doubt that the bottom had been knocked out of the Strategy. The reluctance of the developed countries to meet even the minimum requirements of the developing countries, as set out in the Declaration adopted at the Second Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 developing countries at Lima on 7 November 1971,⁵ was clearly shown on almost every problem discussed at the session. In the face of this apathy on the part of the advanced countries towards taking the basic step in the implementation of a Strategy which was carefully and elaborately worked out, can we in the third world continue to entrust our economic fortunes to others? It is the view of Nigeria that this situation calls for closer co-operation and deeper consultations among the developing countries to determine what their economic and trade relations with the developed countries should be. To append ourselves to economic units created basically for the development of Europe, for instance, cannot serve the long-term interest of countries on other continents struggling to find their feet. This is why Nigeria is committed to the promotion of regional economic units in Africa which would provide the much-needed co-operation for the rapid development of the continent. The All-Africa Trade Fair held in Nairobi, Kenya, early this year demonstrated the vast potentialities of intra-African trade. But let me hasten to add that Nigeria hopes that the development of regional economic groups will promote, rather than restrict, a free flow of goods and services among all countries.

117. The issues relating to the law of the sea are bound to assume great proportions during this session of the General Assembly in view of our decision at the twenty-fifth session

⁵ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), annex VIII.F.

to convene a conference on the law of the sea in 1973 [*resolution 2750 C (XXV)*]. Naturally, as a coastal State and as a developing country, Nigeria has a special interest in the proposed conference for two reasons: first is the question of our security; second is the link between the exploitation of the resources of the sea and of the sea-bed and our economic development. Not having participated in the First and Second Conferences on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva in 1958 and 1960 respectively, Nigeria will want to take this opportunity to ensure that its vital interests are protected even while helping to facilitate international commerce and scientific research for the peaceful exploitation of the sea-bed. It is, therefore, my view that the time spent by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction in preparing an exhaustive list of subjects for discussion at the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea has not been wasted. It is a matter for discussion whether in fact sufficient preparatory work will have been done by the end of this year to enable us to convene the conference as scheduled, if we are to avoid the fiasco of the 1960 Conference. Patience and careful planning are indispensable to achieving our aim of elaborating generally acceptable régimes for the sea.

118. Just as the Charter of the United Nations is in principle based on the sovereign equality of all its Members, so also must membership in the Security Council and other committees of the United Nations be based on principles which recognize and accommodate ever-changing world attitudes. As the membership of the Organization has increased more than twofold since its inception, it is necessary, in the view of my Government, to readjust the composition of the principal organ concerned with peace and security; for there is no denying the fact that the effectiveness of the Security Council in fulfilling its role cannot be disassociated from its representative character. It is arguable whether or not it is wise in present-day circumstances to continue to maintain a privileged position for those countries which in accordance with Article 23, paragraph 1, of the Charter have permanent seats on the Council and exercise a veto power over its decisions. Basically, the conditions prevalent at the time of the designation of those permanent members no longer apply today, and democratization of our Organization should ideally apply to the Security Council as well. Bearing in mind, however, the present climate of opinion among those permanent members, whose concurrence is necessary for withdrawing their privileges, it may be more realistic to think in terms of the expansion of the system of permanent membership to include representatives from those regions in the world which are at present excluded from permanent membership: for instance, Asia, Africa and Latin America. In any case, Nigeria believes that the need exists for some modest increase in the over-all membership of the Security Council to provide fairer representation of the various geographical regions in our Organization.

119. The situation in the Middle East continues to be ominous and confused. Various attempts and encouraging movements towards a peaceful solution, or negotiations and contacts with a view to seeking areas of possible accommodation in the interest of peace, continue to be frustrated by the intransigence of some of the parties to the dispute, and their encouragement, for narrow selfish reasons, by some of

the big Powers supporting various interests and nations in the area. For us in Nigeria, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) still represents the best basis for movement towards settlement and a lasting and just peace in the area.

120. The initiative taken last year by the OAU, in which my Head of State participated, was to assist in the attainment of this objective. The OAU's inability to record complete success was due, in my opinion, to the legalistic interpretation by the parties of the wording of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). May we on this occasion appeal to the parties to take another conciliatory look at that resolution, for it takes full account of the interests of all the parties to this tragic dispute? It is essential that all parties in the area commit themselves to a peaceful settlement.

121. The issue of terrorism, which has loomed so large during the current session, should be seen in its proper perspective. The unfortunate impression has been created, particularly by the Western press, that Arab and African States are opposed to a discussion of the issue, which, we are told by the supporters of the item [*item 92*], has created panic in the minds of a section of the international community. Yet, it is now clear, after the preliminary exchange of views, both in the General Committee and in plenary meetings, that the hesitation expressed on the need for a clear definition of the term "terrorism" in the context in which it is to be discussed is wholly justified. For, if not put in its proper context, the discussion can easily degenerate into a total condemnation of the means of implementing principles which are enshrined in the Charter and have been reiterated in innumerable decisions and resolutions of this Organization.

122. No responsible Government or person would condone acts perpetrated by individuals against innocent persons for their own personal gain or for emotional satisfaction. However, we are painfully aware that, in pursuance of ideals enshrined in our Charter, it has become necessary for some persons and organizations to adopt violent methods where all avenues of peaceful settlement have been barred. The exercise of self-determination and independence has been recognized by the United Nations as the inalienable right of all peoples. Yet we see these rights being denied to millions of people in southern Africa by the reign of terror imposed on them by colonialist and racist régimes. If such peoples resort to armed force, Nigeria cannot be party to a discussion that will seek to equate their activities with those of common criminals who hijack planes and kidnap diplomats and other important people to extort financial benefits for themselves. Certainly, we in Africa, who have endured the most vicious forms of terrorism, have no inhibition in exposing to the world what some of our brothers still suffer. What we cannot condone is to give those who organize the worst forms of terror an opportunity to condemn as terrorists the victims of their inhumanity. It must be made clear that peoples struggling to liberate themselves from oppression and exploitation have the right to use all methods at their disposal, including force. This fact has been recognized by our Organization. We should therefore not leave the door wide open for reactionary régimes to erode the glorious struggles of these peoples. In this regard we hope that the Sixth Committee, to which the item has now been referred, will give a clear

definition that will be generally acceptable to Members of this Organization.

123. I wish to conclude this statement by affirming our abiding faith in the ability of the United Nations to contribute to the consolidation of peace among all nations, to the enhancement of justice in all lands and to the promotion of the economic and social progress of all the peoples of the world. We, in Nigeria, shall continue to do all that we can to contribute to the improvement of the methods of the United Nations, in the hope that the Organization will decide to proceed with greater vigour to tackle its unfinished business: to assert the dignity of the human being and his right to self-determination and the enjoyment of freedom, to press forward the elimination of *apartheid*, to bring about the elimination of force as an instrument for settling disputes, and to concert international co-operation for the furtherance of the economic and social progress of peoples everywhere. This, we believe, will enhance the possibilities of the United Nations to flourish for the good of mankind.

124. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): First, may I, Mr. President, express to you the congratulations of the Albanian delegation on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly.

125. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, like most peace-loving Member States, would have wished to see during the period since the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations important steps taken towards the creation of a sound and stable international situation, towards the restoration and respect of the sovereign rights of peoples. But the real state of affairs does not allow us to conclude that this wish has been fulfilled.

126. In international relations we observe new tensions caused by the violation of democratic principles and norms which govern relations among States. The American aggression in Viet-Nam and the Israeli imperialist aggression in the Middle East go on. Many important problems of our time remain pending. The two great imperialist Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, have launched a new and general attack against the interests of sovereign peoples and States. The world continues to live in the fear of the threat and the danger coming from those two powers.

127. Today, everyone can easily understand that the United States and the Soviet Union have intensified and perfected their policy of interference and hegemony and have raised to a high level the co-ordination of their concrete activities against the freedom and independence of peoples. Those two Powers are in competition and rivalry for the division of the world into zones of influence and the domination of the world.

128. All Member States have witnessed the manoeuvres of the two super-Powers to oppose, by every means, the efforts of peace-loving peoples and countries striving to strengthen and defend their independence and national sovereignty. But no publicity, no pacifist demeanour, no so-called "great acts" for the so-called "safeguard of peace" and "progress of mankind" can mask their well-known imperialist policy and the true designs they pursue sepa-

rately or in common. We now see their open aggressiveness, their arrogance; everywhere we see their thirst for absolute power over the whole world.

129. Of course, as was said by the leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha:

"It would be inconceivable and unrealistic to see in the Soviet-American alliance only the rapprochement and co-operation of the two super-Powers, their common actions and interests. In view of their imperialist character, the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union are also torn asunder by conflicts, rivalries and deep contradictions, which prevent them from acting always in harmony and in complete unity. The existence and aggravation of these contradictions are inherent in the very foundation of that alliance, the capitalist-socialist system of the two countries, and their imperialist designs. Preparing for war, the two parties also plan to devour one another."

130. But it is also true that peoples, especially small peoples, would run grave risks if they nourished the hope that one of the two great imperialist Powers could take them under its protection. That "protection" thus offered is in fact nothing but the integration of these peoples into the zones of influence of these two super-Powers, their domination and their exploitation by the latter.

131. The representatives of the two super-Powers present here have tried to convince us that the talks held between them and the agreements concluded during this year rendered a great service to the world and to the whole of mankind, and they presented the situation as if Member States should now feel more reassured than in the past, and so forth. This is nothing but a fiction, and we firmly reject it.

132. During these talks decisions were taken which impinge upon the vital interests of the peoples of the world. Zones of influence have been confirmed and delimited. Important bargaining has taken place, and this to the prejudice of Viet-Nam, the Arab countries, the European countries and so on. Matters must be judged on the basis of facts, and the facts bear witness to the intensification of the aggressive global strategy of these two super-Powers, which is now carried out in the open, the preparation of new plans and dangerous conspiracies against the peoples and peace in the world.

133. At the present-time, both the United States and the Soviet Union are trying to impose the idea that the two super-Powers would be incontrovertible guarantors of peace in the world and arbiters without appeal in international relations, that peoples should sacrifice their national interests for the maintenance of the balance between the two great Powers, upon which the balance of our planet is in turn predicated. These two Powers claim that the destinies of the world, of peace and of international security entirely depend upon them and upon the development of their reciprocal relations and that the improvement or the deterioration of the climate of Soviet-American relations conditions the climate of the whole globe and so on. It has become the practice for the two super-Powers to discuss important international problems directly between them-

selves and to decide them in accordance with their hegemonic interests without consulting or informing anyone—not even their closest allies. Have not their Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and their negotiations on other delicate problems revealed this truth? Nobody claims to know all that is being hatched during these ultra-secret negotiations, but everybody knows full well that not only is a common armaments policy determined in these talks but also a common line and attitude towards others, in all fields and on all matters.

134. Through their policy of hegemony, the American and Soviet imperialists, not content with attempting to create in others a psychosis of fear and of submission to their potential strength, are also trying openly to deprive peace-loving countries of the possibility of taking part in the solution of problems of concern and interest to the whole world, and to induce these countries to allow the two great Powers to decide behind their backs, in particular behind the backs of the smallest, even questions of direct concern to them. In short, they claim that peoples should abandon their supreme, sovereign rights to the “two great Powers”. But the peace-loving peoples and countries reject these hegemonic and ultra-chauvinistic preachings and conceptions and firmly oppose the great-Power policy which the United States and the Soviet Union are attempting to impose upon them right here in the United Nations.

135. Now, both the two great imperialist Powers and some others claim that the situation in Europe has undergone an important positive development and that conditions have been created for achieving complete and general security on that continent. To convince us of that, we are being reminded, among other things, of the Bonn-Moscow and Bonn-Warsaw Treaties, the Agreement on Berlin and so on.

136. This whole picture does not reflect reality. In fact, nothing has changed in Europe. On the contrary, the aforementioned agreements have given rise to new tensions, and to the old contradictions, in the East as in the West, others have been added. The United States, the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany have redoubled their efforts to acquire dominating positions and new privileges to the detriment of other sovereign European countries.

137. We are of the view that it would be unrealistic to speak of the possibilities of achieving European security when in Europe the United States and the Soviet Union pursue a policy of hegemony and maintain the aggressive military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, when on the territories of European countries, they have built up a whole network of military bases, where they maintain a large number of troops and organize successive military manoeuvres; when Czechoslovakia is still occupied and when the theory of “limited sovereignty” is being applied in the countries of Eastern Europe; and when closed European economic groupings, in Eastern and Western Europe, practise discrimination in the field of trade and have become an obstacle to the development of equal co-operation among European countries.

138. We remain faithful also to the viewpoint according to which peace in the world is one and indivisible. There cannot be peace in one part of the world as long as a war of

aggression is being waged in another. True peace and security in Europe are inconceivable as long as quite near Europe—in the Middle East—open aggression and unprecedented imperialist intervention continue; as long as, in the south of the continent in the Mediterranean basin, aggression is increasing by dint of the presence of the aggressive fleets of the United States and the Soviet Union and their military naval bases.

139. In these circumstances, the Albanian delegation would raise the following questions. Why have these aggressive fleets come to the Mediterranean from a distance of thousands of miles without being invited by anyone? Why do they cruise from one end of this sea to the other, aiming their guns at the peaceful shores of the Mediterranean countries and bringing with them the threat of war?

140. The peoples of these countries do not need the defence or the mendacious friendship of American and Soviet imperialists. They know full well the meaning of the mission of these fleets and of the “gunboat diplomacy” of the imperialist Powers in this zone. The fact is that the Mediterranean peoples are showing an ever-increasing opposition to the stationing of American and Soviet warships and troops in this zone and to foreign military bases on their shores, and their struggle to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation is intensifying. They will unfailingly achieve their noble aspirations and bring to heel these new aspirants to the dominion of the seas.

141. The People's Republic of Albania, which expelled the Soviet social-imperialists from its waters when they tried to establish themselves on its shores and become the masters of the country, welcomes and supports the just positions of the peace-loving Mediterranean countries and their legitimate efforts to defend their independence and national sovereignty and free this basin from any policy of hegemony. As in the past, Albania will continue to contribute to efforts in this direction. It considers that the only effective way for the Mediterranean peoples to achieve their aspirations and their will is to take initiatives and undertake energetic and concrete actions. Let the Mediterranean countries on whose territories there are military bases declare that they will liquidate them; let the other Mediterranean countries proclaim that they will not tolerate the establishment of any new foreign military bases on their territories; let the Mediterranean countries which offer to American and Soviet war fleets any facilities and the temporary use of their ports for revictualling, repairs or as a resting place undertake not to assist these fleets in any way; let the Mediterranean countries which now receive visits from these fleets no longer accept them in the future.

142. We think that the implementation of these resolute measures would constitute an important contribution to easing tension and eliminating the existing danger in the Mediterranean, tend to strengthen the national sovereignty of the Mediterranean countries, and also be a positive factor for the consolidation of true peace and security in Europe.

143. That peace and security which the United States and the Soviet Union advocate for Europe is a peace and security which they need in order to consolidate their zones of influence, to preserve their pacts and their military bases and to guarantee the stationing of their troops on the

territories of European countries. The “tranquillity” they promise to create in Europe means security on their flanks so that they can direct the spearhead of their aggressive policy towards the East, especially towards the People’s Republic of China.

144. Before speaking of European security, we must clarify this question. Against whom must the peoples of Europe protect themselves, and what are the forces which represent an actual and possible danger? The true and actual danger for Europe at present and in the future comes from the two super-Powers and the German revenge-seekers, and it is against them that the peoples of Europe must be protected. There has never been, and cannot be, any abstract theoretical security. Security is always concrete. It tends to protect against a well-determined threat. To establish European security as proposed and formulated by Moscow and Washington would be tantamount to sanctioning the imperialist interests of the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe, leaving them full leeway to act militarily against peace-loving peoples and nations in other parts of the world. In these conditions, we consider that support for initiatives such as the convening of a conference on European security would facilitate the task of the two super-Powers in their efforts to establish their domination in Europe. A conference organized and manipulated by the American imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists would bring nothing but words and demagoguery and contribute nothing good to European peace and security. It would create and foster nefarious illusions harmful to the effective defence of the freedom and independence of the European peoples.

145. The convening of a conference on European security and preparations for its organization are a part of the Soviet-American collusion that was fully shaped during the most recent talks between the two super-Powers. These preparatory activities and any decisions that might emerge from the conference will bear the tint and seal of the attempts at hegemony of the two super-Powers.

146. We should like to stress that, in the atmosphere of delusion with which the two super-Powers have surrounded the preparations for the conference, some countries which will supposedly take part in it seem to nourish the hope that it will bring them political, economic and other advantages. But we believe that sooner or later these hopes will be dashed, for the two super-Powers will make no concession likely to affect their important mutual interests. All the strings of the conference are in their hands. That is the reason for the wariness and hesitation of various countries about the convening of that conference.

147. The People’s Republic of Albania is opposed to that kind of “European security”. True peace and security in Europe will be achieved only by the concerted efforts of all the peace-loving peoples and countries of Europe, which must themselves take over this cause, strengthen their national independence and their defensive capabilities, oppose unhesitatingly any policy of hegemony and any aggressive activity of the military blocs on their continent and in the neighbouring areas, fight to the end for the liquidation of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from their territories, while closely linking the fight

for their own security to that of all the peoples of the world.

148. We have been witnessing of late a further intensification of the common activity of the United States and the Soviet Union in the so-called field of disarmament, and a great effort on their part to give the impression that they have seriously undertaken this task. All the hullabaloo on the disarmament question is nothing but a smoke-screen to conceal their true designs and to cover up their unbridled arms race. The latest Soviet-American agreements on the so-called limitation of strategic arms, which is being presented to us as a great historical event and a remarkable contribution to peace, far from being a step towards true disarmament and infringing in any way the nuclear monopoly of the two super-Powers, on the contrary encourages them to strengthen their predominant position and their technical and scientific superiority in the field of armaments as well as to maintain the gap they strive to keep between themselves and others. These agreements are a new stage in the continuing arms race through the further perfecting of the strategic nuclear arsenal of the super-Powers. And in practice we realize that, while speaking of disarmament, the super-Powers multiply their efforts to arm themselves and increase their military budgets and their armed forces throughout the world, outside their national borders, and that, while they talk about the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons, they increase and perfect their destructive power and increase their expenditures in the field of scientific and technological research in order to invent new weapons of mass destruction.

149. The Albanian delegation considers that it is not the small States and specific areas that should be asked to disarm, because it is not the small States or those areas—for example, it is not the Balkans or other areas, no matter where they may be located—which today threaten international peace and security. True disarmament must begin, in the first place, with the two super-Powers, because it is they who, through their aggressive policy, have become a permanent source of tension and a threat to the freedom and independence of sovereign States. To approach and consider the question of disarmament as advocated by the United States and the Soviet Union would be tantamount to raising the question in a false light and to making the struggle for disarmament a meaningless activity.

150. If the two super-Powers seriously wish to translate their disarmament declarations into deeds, let them do so by concrete and effective action; let them put an end to their policy of war and aggression; let them undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; let them undertake to prohibit the production and use of those weapons and to destroy them completely in accordance with the relevant well-known proposals of the Government of the People’s Republic of China; let them embark on the road towards the destruction of weapons of mass destruction; let them reduce their armed forces to the levels required by their national defence interests; let them withdraw within their national borders all the troops and fleets they maintain abroad; let them put an end to their practice of extending military bases on the territory of other countries; let them liquidate existing military bases abroad; let them break up their aggressive military blocs and put an end to the arms race under any guise whatever.

151. We have no illusions as to the concrete and actual steps which the two Powers would be ready to take in the field of disarmament. The aggressive nature of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism remains unchanged and armaments are one of the conditions of the existence of their system. That is why the convening of the world disarmament conference proposed by the Soviet Union is but a propaganda manoeuvre designed to pass the time by listening to empty speeches, to delude the world, and to give that country an opportunity to act against the peoples of the world and against peace.

152. We consider that peace-loving countries that hold dear the interests of their peoples, of peace and of international security must not let themselves be drawn into the dangerous whirlwind which has been intentionally created by the imperialists, but must redouble their vigilance and fight against the false illusions spread by the two imperialist Powers on disarmament and on the advantages which would supposedly accrue therefrom to the different countries as a result of the resources released by disarmament. They must increase their defensive military potential and multiply their self-defence efforts in order to be in a position to face possible attack as well as the permanent threat to their independence and freedom stemming from the aggressive policy of the United States and the Soviet Union. The peoples do not expect true disarmament from the two great imperialist Powers. They will achieve it through a resolute struggle against them and their imperialist conspiracy.

153. At the very centre of world public opinion we find, as in the past, Viet-Nam and Indo-China, where the United States of America for many years has been continuing its infamous aggression. World public opinion has severely condemned the barbarous and inhuman acts of the American army, insistently demanding that an end be put forthwith to United States armed intervention, that American soldiers immediately leave South Viet-Nam and the Indo-Chinese peninsula and that the Viet-Nameese people be left free to settle its own national problems, without any foreign interference and in accordance with its own wishes. But, in defiance of the will of all peoples and of all international principles and rules, the United States Government continues its aggression with unheard-of obstinacy and cynicism. Now the United States is in an impasse and, stunned by successive defeats, it goes from one crime to another, from one mistake to another. The serious situation in which it finds itself in Viet-Nam has not been lightened by the new measures of intensification and Viet-Namization of the war or by the successive escalations of criminal aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The mining and blockading of ports and the destruction of dikes accompanied by demagogic promises about the so-called withdrawal of American troops from Viet-Nam and the disengagement of the United States from Indo-China—promises to which President Nixon is now resorting for the purposes of his electoral campaign—have not yielded and will not yield any result. The words of the United States President that he wants to achieve the withdrawal of his troops from Viet-Nam and Indo-China are nothing but a delusion which can deceive only the naive. It is quite clear now that the United States, through armed aggression and diplomatic manoeuvres, is striving to reach its well-known objective in that part of the world, to make

South Viet-Nam, like the other parts of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, a base of aggression against the peace-loving countries of South-East Asia as well as against the national liberation movements in the area.

154. In the pursuance of these objectives, the United States does not cease to benefit from the assistance of the Soviet leaders, who, in turn, make their own calculations and seek to draw advantages from this problem which concerns the whole world. While they say they are the great champions of Viet-Nam, the Soviet leaders have never ceased to exert pressure on the Viet-Nameese people, to sabotage and restrain their just struggle in order to save the United States from the shameful defeat awaiting it in Viet-Nam, as they do moreover in regard to the struggle for the liberation of the people of Cambodia, by maintaining their links with the Lon Nol clique and not recognizing the legitimate Chief of State, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the sole and true legitimate representative of the Cambodian people.

155. Recent events have brought clearly to light the whole of the collusion on Viet-Nam between the United States and the Soviet Union. There can be no other interpretation of the attitude of the Soviet leaders, who not only did not lift a little finger when President Nixon of the United States proclaimed the mining and blockade of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and launched air attacks of unprecedented magnitude against that country but have used these American actions as a pretext to stop the small supply of military assistance that they may have sent it. The war in Viet-Nam has in no way altered the American-Soviet idyll and the state of relations between the two super-Powers, which are agreed that the people of Viet-Nam should not achieve their freedom and independence and that the Americans should not be expelled from Viet-Nam and Indo-China.

156. But the people of Viet-Nam have not permitted and will never permit others to play with the blood of their sons fallen on the field of honour; they are determined to fight—in unity with the peoples of Cambodia and Laos while benefiting from the powerful support of the great Chinese people and from international solidarity with the peace-loving peoples of the world—to win the final victory over the imperialist American aggressors and solve their own problems, as they have decided to do in keeping with their supreme national interests. There is no doubt that a true and just peace will be established in Viet-Nam and throughout Indo-China and it will be achieved through the resolute struggle of the heroic peoples of Indo-China. It will be obtained only when the United States is compelled completely and definitely and without conditions to withdraw its aggressive troops from that area, when it dismantles its bases and withdraws its military equipment, when it ceases to encourage and give support to its henchmen in Indo-China.

157. The development of events in the Middle East in the current year has again shown not only that the aggression against the Arab Republic of Egypt, Syria and other peaceful Arab countries continues but that the Israeli Zionists are embarking more and more along this course and insist obstinately on their absurd expansionist claims

and ambitions in regard to such countries. While in the occupied Arab territories they practise an unbridled policy of denationalization and apply racism, on the political level, starting from positions of strength, they seek to legalize the fruits of armed aggression and to dictate their will to the Arab peoples. In the meantime the United States does not cease to give Israel unreserved political and moral support and to supply it with the most modern weapons in unlimited quantities. The Soviet Union, although it passes for a champion of the just cause of the Arab peoples, indulges in a double play and creates obstacles for them in their just struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories and the defence of their national interests, which is tantamount to encouraging openly the Israeli Zionists to continue their aggression. While the United States provides Israel with weapons, the Soviet Union for its part supplies it with a qualified live force by sending to that country tens of thousands of Soviet Jews. The two partners thus jointly satisfy the needs of Israel, enabling it to continue its aggression against the Arab States. The Soviet Union, in connivance with the United States, has endeavoured and still endeavours entirely and definitely to liquidate the Palestinian affair.

158. The two super-Powers have never been in favour of a true solution of the Middle East problem. In keeping with the objectives of their over-all strategy in that area, they speculate on the temporary difficulties of the Arab countries and, as can be seen also from their recent common attitude, they do the impossible to maintain the situation of "no war, no peace" as it is called, which means the maintenance of their positions and their political, economic and military influence in that area.

159. The leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, at the Sixth Congress of the Labour Party of Albania, held in November last year, stated:

"The Zionists, the imperialists and the revisionists endeavour to divide the Arabs and to sow discord among them, with the intent of weakening their common front of anti-imperialist liberation and imposing on them a peace that is contrary to their vital interests. The two super-Powers, which seek to take into their hands the destinies of the Middle East and to play there the role of arbiter, propose to divide it into zones of influence and to build on the ruins of the Arab peoples new bases from which they would set out on new conquests in the Asian and African continent.

"But if the Arab peoples have fought for centuries for their freedom and independence, for the defence of their honour and their property, it is not in order to sacrifice them now to the imperialist interests of the great Powers. The price of the peace that the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists offer them is very high. Further, it is an insult to them and a serious affront to the glorious traditions, the dignity and pride of all the Arab peoples. Those peoples have clearly made it known that they will not renounce even an inch of Arab land and that there will be no bargaining on the Palestinian question."

160. The recent measures adopted by the Arab Republic of Egypt to expel the Soviet advisers and military experts dealt a serious blow to the Soviet expansionist policy in the

Middle East; they revealed the dangerous conspiracies that the Soviet social-imperialists are plotting with the American imperialists against the Arab peoples and the other peoples.

161. These measures represent an important step towards the consolidation of Egypt's independence and State sovereignty and once again confirm what we, the Albanians, have been saying for a long time, namely, that the Soviet revisionists do not give their weapons to the Arab States to help them in their struggle against Zionist imperialist aggression, but rather to tie their hands and to become tomorrow the masters of those countries in order to install themselves at their ease in the Middle East. We have said this not from drawing abstract, political conclusions but also and above all by drawing our conclusions from the hostile policy of the Soviet Khrushchevian revisionists who have sought to occupy our ports and turn Albania into an arsenal for their own ends. But the Albanian people have unhesitatingly unmasked their diabolical plans.

162. The lesson to be drawn from recent events in Egypt is that sovereign peoples and countries cannot rely on the weapons and "assistance" provided by the two great imperialist Powers who seek to impose on them their domination.

163. The Soviet leaders are not in the habit of speaking of their defeats. That is why, again this time, they attempt to minimize the whole affair. They present things as if the military advisers expelled from Egypt "have acquitted themselves with honour of their tasks and are now going back home". One may well wonder what tasks they acquitted themselves of with honour? Would it be by chance their attempt to halt the Arab peoples in their just struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories, or would it be their attempt to maintain in the Middle East the *status quo*, which favours Israel and the Soviet-American designs of expansion.

164. Peace in the Middle East will not be instituted either by the United States or the Soviet Union, nor by these two Powers together, nor by resolutions adopted on their initiative nor through missions proposed and manipulated by them, but by the firm struggle of the Arab peoples, in close unity, against the Zionist aggressors and the plots of the two super-Powers. The Israeli aggressors must definitely and without conditions leave all the occupied Arab territories and put an end to their policy of aggression and armed provocation against the peace-loving Arab peoples. The Palestinian rights must be recognized and restored.

165. The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America aspire, like all peoples, to live in freedom and independence, to become masters within their frontiers. But, despite the great changes that have taken place and are taking place, the imperialist Powers do not renounce their old colonial possessions and brutally apply there the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. That is why the whole of Africa is in ferment today and everywhere we witness armed liberation struggles for the liberation and independence of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde Islands, Namibia, and South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Northern Ireland patriots fight, weapons in hand, against colonial oppression and the terror of

the British leading circles. The People of Puerto Rico stubbornly seek to shake off the imperialist yoke. In the United States itself, rebellion and the movement of protest of the blacks against racial discrimination do not cease to grow and expand.

166. The imperialist Powers, and first of all the United States and the Soviet Union, obstinately apply a very marked neo-colonialist policy. They exploit and plunder other peoples, particularly those that have recently acquired freedom from colonial oppression.

167. It is not my intention to dwell at length here on the forms of domination and the hateful practices of these Powers in those countries, but, as the representative of a country the noble principle underlying whose policy is the support of peoples fighting for freedom and independence, I cannot remain silent in the face of the fact that these countries are the object of the greed of neo-colonialists who threaten their political independence and sovereignty, nor can I fail at the same time to express the full solidarity of our people with their just, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle.

168. The United States and the Soviet Union have already agreed and co-ordinated their action relating to their so-called aid to other countries. All their assistance is subordinated to political and military conditions and is calculated to preserve intact the *status quo* in the distribution of their zones of influence, to hinder the extension of national liberation struggles, and to prevent the creation of situations which might endanger the interests of the super-Powers.

169. We applaud the struggle of the peaceful countries of Latin America and other countries which defend their national and territorial integrity and national jurisdiction against the hegemonic designs of the two super-Powers. We firmly support the just measures taken by Algeria, Iraq, Libya and other main petroleum-producing countries, as well as Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and other Latin American countries, and countries of Africa and Asia, to defend their independence and sovereignty, as well as their property and their national rights. The People's Republic of Albania will never cease to support their just cause.

170. Peace-loving peoples and countries are strong enough to stand up to the threat and dangers to which the two super-Powers subject them, and we are convinced that that firm resolve to defend their honour and independence cannot be destroyed by any Power however great and strongly armed it may be. The great People's China, that great socialist Power which is developing rapidly and continues to move forward, has become a great factor of peace and security in the world. It represents a definite support for the struggle of peoples and countries for freedom and national independence and social progress—an insurmountable obstacle to the aggressive hegemony plans of the two super-Powers.

171. The whole of progressive mankind enthusiastically applauded last year the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, a glowing victory of the great Chinese People's Republic and of its just external policy, and at the same time a victory

for all the peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples of the world. That was the crowning of the struggle that Member States, including the People's Republic of Albania, have carried on unceasingly for over 20 years to put an end to the unprecedented situation that had been created in our Organization.

172. The presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has notably strengthened the struggle of anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces even here in the Organization, as well as the struggle of peace-loving member States against the two great imperialist Powers and in favour of the defence of the rights of peoples and the cause of peace. But with the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations only a first step, although an important one, was taken along the path leading to the enhancement of the authority and effectiveness of the Organization. Many other measures will have to be adopted in order that the Organization may live up to the provisions of the Charter and the demands of our times.

173. We note that the United Nations is still powerless to fulfil the tasks for which it was created, to make its contribution to the solution of important problems that are of concern to the world today. This is borne out by many recent and numerous events. The inability of the United Nations was clearly manifested in the case of the armed aggression perpetrated by India last year, with the support of the Soviet social-imperialists, against Pakistan, an aggression that led to the brutal dismemberment of the territory of a sovereign Member State. Now we are asked to recognize and legalize that situation created by violence. That inability or ineffectiveness is clearly noticeable, too, in the failure of efforts to solve the Middle East question; in the interminable debates on disarmament; in the legalization thereby of many dangerous conspiracies of the two super-Powers; in the non-implementation of many decisions concerning colonial problems, and so on.

174. Our Organization's past and present inadmissible attitude in regard to the peace-loving Korean people is also obvious proof of its weakness and the deadlock in which it finds itself. Everyone knows not only that the United Nations has been used to cover up the barbarous aggression of the United States and its allies against the Korean people, but also that its flag serves even today to camouflage the maintenance in South Korea of American aggressive troops, which have brought to the population of that part of Korea untold suffering and misery, which constantly indulge in armed provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and aggravate tension in the Far East. The existence, for 20 years, of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea constitutes another aspect of the flagrant interference of the United Nations in the internal affairs of the Korean people and is a clear violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

175. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, condemning once again most strongly the serious acts committed against the Korean people, emphasizes that if the Organization wishes to make its contribution to this question, it must as soon as possible adopt the decision demanded for a long time, first of all by the Korean people

but also by all peace-loving peoples, to dissolve without delay the unlawful Commission on Korea and immediately to withdraw American aggressive troops from South Korea. Those are the first urgent measures to be adopted. Only thus can we prevent discrediting further this Organization on this question. The Korean people must be left free to decide its own destiny in accordance with its wishes and without any interference from outside and to realize its legitimate national aspirations and the reunification of its country.

176. In the opinion of the Albanian delegation it is also necessary to restore without delay the legitimate rights of the Kingdom of Cambodia, whose place in the United Nations must be occupied by representatives of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the only legitimate representatives of the Cambodian people. This requires the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Lon Nol clique. As for the request for the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Lon Nol clique, such a decision would be in keeping with the tenets of justice, the sovereign right of the people of Cambodia and the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

177. The present international situation and the interests of enhancing and strengthening the capacity and role of the United Nations impose on all its Member States, and all those who are attached to the fundamental principles of its Charter and who respect them, the need to co-ordinate their efforts and to intensify their struggle to free the United Nations from the American-Soviet manoeuvres and to place it on the right course.

178. Those were some of the main problems in the international situation on which the delegation of Albania wished to express the point of view of its Government. But at the beginning of the work of this session the question of terrorism was raised, and the United States delegation made a lot of noise about it.

179. Our attitude concerning terrorism is well known. We do not approve of it. But the Albanian delegation could not

fail to highlight the fact that the timing and manner of presentation of this question show that the aim is, in the name of "the struggle against terrorism", to strike at the national liberation struggles, the sacred right of peoples to use every means to fight to recover and safeguard their freedom and independence. It is clear that the United States and those who support it are endeavouring to use this question to distract world public opinion from the monstrous crimes which they are committing in Viet-Nam and throughout Indo-China, the barbarous acts of terror perpetrated by Israel against the Palestinian people, Lebanon, and all the other Arab peoples, the savage racial oppression and genocide practised in certain African countries, and so forth.

180. Peace-loving Member States must not be hoodwinked by American manoeuvres, but must unmask the true terror, the crimes and barbarous acts of the imperialists. They must struggle against the policy of aggression and expansion, against the policy of oppression and colonial exploitation which have brought untold suffering and misery to the world.

181. The People's Republic of Albania—which consistently follows a just foreign policy of principle, of resolute defence of the lofty interests of the Albanian people, of unreserved support for the struggle of peoples and sovereign countries for their freedom, national independence and social progress and for peace and international co-operation—will, as in the past, always side with peace-loving peoples and countries and will spare no effort to help them to achieve the triumph of their common cause, to accede to genuine peace and ensure the defence of their supreme national interests. At this session once again, the Albanian delegation, in conformity with this just attitude of its socialist country, will unite its efforts with those of the delegations of other progressive countries and will make its fullest contribution to the realization of these high and noble objectives.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.