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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CASTILLO-VALDES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my Government, and on my own behalf, I wish to express to you, Mr. President, our sincere and cordial congratulations on your election. Under your distinguished guidance our task of fulfilling the purposes and principles of the United Nations promises this year to be most fruitful.

2. Guatemala is attending this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly moved as always by a desire to take part in the work of this lofty world Organization and with a faith that has been confirmed in the noble principles which uphold it. We are fully convinced that, despite the great difficulties encountered since its birth, the United Nations has increasingly asserted itself in the maintenance of peace, the preservation of future generations from the scourge of war, and the protection of all mankind in the social, economic and human rights fields.

3. No one can be unaware that in the first area, notwithstanding the persistence of the Viet-Nam conflict and the delicate situation in the Near East, the United Nations has remained active in its efforts to maintain peace, which is the fundamental requirement for the development of all forms of international co-operation which ensure solidarity among men and nations.

4. We must not fail to realize that part of this general and constructive activity has been the resolutions on general and complete disarmament, the Treaties relating to the nuclear test-ban and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which inspired the recently concluded agreements among the great Powers. Consideration has also been given to the elimination of chemical and bacteriological weapons and to the peaceful use of the sea-bed and outer space, and to policies to halt the arms race, the economic and social

consequences of which have been delaying the integral development of the largest portions of the world's population. Of great significance for peace too are the efforts and achievements of the United Nations in the liberation of peoples under the colonial yoke. In Korea its efforts, together with those of the Korean people, have done much to reunify that great nation. In the human rights field, we here reaffirm our faith in the work of the United Nations and in the principles of its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and we condemn all policies of racial discrimination which denigrate the human person.

5. Guatemala, therefore, reiterates both its support for the purposes which inspired the establishment of the United Nations as an Organization of the entire international community and its full respect for the legal principles incorporated in the Charter; we also support compliance with all the obligations which that legal instrument imposes on the Members of this Organization. Specifically, we reaffirm the competence of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security, and we believe there is a need to strengthen the Organization so that it may attain this common objective of mankind.

6. As for the growing effort to develop universal co-operation under United Nations sponsorship in an effort to preserve and improve the human environment, I wish to say that Guatemala participated with great interest in the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in June of this year, at which my delegation was honoured to represent the fraternal Governments of Costa Rica and El Salvador.

7. In the light of the results of the Stockholm Conference, Guatemala expresses its intention to co-operate internationally in implementing the standards and principles incorporated by world consensus in the historic Declaration of the Conference.¹ At the same time, the Government of my country intends, at the national level, to take all measures it deems appropriate to improve the quality of the environment and to preserve the ecological balance as part of its programmes for economic and social development, the ultimate purpose of which is the continuous improvement of the Guatemalan standard of living.

8. Consistent with its traditional position, my Government will support in this Assembly any action to permit the participation of the developing countries in the machinery and programmes of the United Nations related to the human environment, and will promote all international

¹ 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), chap. I.

efforts in this field, as long as they equitably respond to the aspirations and needs of the developing countries.

9. My Government has also endorsed General Assembly resolution 2750 C (XXV), in which the Assembly decided to convene a conference on the law of the sea in 1973, recognizing "the need for early and progressive development of the law of the sea". The peoples of America are fully aware that we depend on natural resources for our subsistence and regionally we have proclaimed the right to protect, preserve and develop those resources and to ensure their use and exploitation, including primarily those of the sea, the legal régime for which in the Americas was consolidated in 1956, by the Principles of Mexico on the Juridical Régime of the Sea, which are recognized:

"... as the expression of the juridical conscience of the Continent, and as applicable between the American States";²

and more recently by the following:

"That the economic and social development of all the peoples and the assurance of equal opportunities for all human beings are essential conditions for peace;

"That the renewable and non-renewable resources of the sea contribute to improve the standard of living of the developing countries and to stimulate and accelerate their progress;

"That such resources are not inexhaustible since even the living species may be depleted or extinguished as a consequence of irrational exploitation or pollution;

"That the law of the sea should harmonize the needs and interests of States and those of the International Community". [A/8721, pp. 70-71.]

The American States, meeting last June, laid down in the Declaration of Santo Domingo [*ibid.*, pp. 70-73] the legal standards for the territorial sea, the patrimonial sea, the continental shelf, the international sea-bed, the high seas, pollution of the sea and regional co-operation, which are to prevail as a protection and safeguard of the rights and interests of our peoples.

10. The present Government of Guatemala is the result of an election held in accordance with the constitutional and legal procedures of our country and in keeping with the purest democratic processes and the free interplay of political parties. The people of Guatemala exercised their right to self-determination and elected the government of their choice. And yet my Government has had to face the problem, now widespread throughout the world, of subversion and terrorism by extremist and clandestine minority groups. My Government, with the resources available to it under its Constitution and laws, has proceeded to bring to the country peace, which is indispensable to continuing the irreversible task of improving the social, cultural and economic life of the nation in order to attain the

development level necessary in the world during the times we live in. The constant action of terrorism, which weakens peoples, together with defects in the factors for development, led the President of the Republic, on celebrating our independence, to declare:

"The sum of many weaknesses produces only inferior countries, and if we have no strength or resolution to improve the quality of our life in our national community, independence will merely be a symbol, but not a reality."

11. Our Government has viewed with concern the intensification of terrorist activities in various parts of the world characterized by kidnapping and coercion with a continuous threat to the lives and property, of our own citizens and of foreigners; this in some cases has led to the criminal and unspeakable assassination of the victims. This is a breach of the most sacred human right, the right to life, and is particularly reprehensible because of its cruelty and cowardness and because it shows total scorn for the legal institutions which have been created to bring about harmony and the common good of society. We consider that a state of law cannot accept such crimes and extortions by attributing to them apparently political motives when by their commission what is intended is to create a general atmosphere of insecurity and collective fear, and a lack of confidence that public order will officially be ensured, thus provoking a crisis in the rule of law and bringing about political and social chaos.

12. Given that situation, my Government reiterates its complete support for resolution 4 (I-E/70), which was adopted on 30 June 1970 by the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, at its first special session, in which acts of terrorism, and especially the kidnapping of persons and extortion connected with that crime, were condemned as crimes against humanity. That resolution also establishes that those acts constitute grave common crimes and recommends that Member States adopt such measures as they may deem suitable, in the exercise of their sovereignty, to prevent and when appropriate to punish crimes of this kind, and to facilitate the exchange of information that will help in the prevention and punishment of crimes of this kind.

13. My Government considers that kidnapping and other attempts upon the life, physical integrity or freedom of persons constitute common crimes, whatever the motives for which they are committed and that acts of terrorism, including the kidnapping of persons for purposes of blackmail, do not constitute either political crimes or their related common crimes.

14. My delegation will support any draft resolution submitted to this General Assembly the purpose of which is to develop international co-operation in order to preserve the community of nations from terrorism which threatens the stability, democracy and the security of our institutions and the well-being of our peoples.

15. On another subject but in connexion with the internal and regional action of my Government, I wish to declare that in our desire for economic improvement we are

² See *Final Act of the Third Meeting of the Inter-American Council of Jurists, Mexico City, Mexico, 17 January-4 February 1956* (Washington, Pan American Union, 1956), p. 36.

continuing to implement the five-year integral development plan, land reform and institutional and fiscal reforms intended to raise the standard of living of the nation. Regionally, Guatemala continues to participate actively in the Central-American Common Market, which, despite the various crises which have arisen in the past years, continues its forward march. The process of industrialization is continuing, but in order to bring about the economic well-being which we aspire to for the people of Guatemala, we need the co-operation of the international community, and particularly that of the highly industrialized countries.

16. At the important third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held at Santiago, Chile, in April and May 1972, we pointed out that there was a lack of understanding for the problems which affect countries such as ours, which are at a relatively low stage of development. We observed this lack of understanding not only among the industrialized countries but also in some of the more advanced developing countries.

17. Exports of farm and agricultural products are and will continue to be very important in earning foreign exchange in Central America. Guatemala is convinced of the need to strengthen the international agreements on commodities, such as coffee or sugar, but we believe that for the least developed countries different criteria should be applied from those that are applied to the other developing countries which have reached a more advanced level of economic progress. In determining quotas, the index of industrial development must be taken into account, as well as dependence on the product in question, the nature and availability of natural resources and, in general, the degree of socio-economic development of the country.

18. One of the major obstacles we are confronting in the path towards development is the unjust, arbitrary and artificial payment of our labour in the international markets. To be able to move ahead it is necessary that there be established some machinery whereby we shall be able to obtain an equitable price for our commodities.

19. It is also imperative to proceed to greater liberalization of the tariff barriers of all the industrialized countries so as to permit the growing participation of the goods of the developing countries in their markets.

20. The establishment of a new international monetary order, in which the developing countries will participate fully, is indispensable for economic development. Small countries should not have to suffer the consequences of economic imbalances for which they are not in the least responsible.

21. We reiterate our complete support for regional economic integration, being convinced that it is only through it that we can achieve full development. This integration, however, must be carried out taking very much into consideration the socio-economic disparities in various countries. Central America is made up of five least developed countries, a category which has been accepted in the Central American subregion as well as at the Latin American level. Worldwide, the additional criteria should be adopted to identify least developed subregions, which could

be considered as a unit, so that special measures could be applied to them to promote their economic development and integration.

22. As regards peace in the region of Central America, my country has carried out intense diplomatic activity intended to make it easier for two brother countries, which have in the past had tragic moments of armed conflict, to return to cordial relations by a settlement of their differences on the basis of the standards of international law, living together in peace, co-operation and solidarity, with full respect for the sovereignty and independence of States in their quest to carry out their legitimate interests.

23. Lastly, I wish to affirm that the Republic of Guatemala has had with the United Kingdom a dispute of more than 100 years over our territory of Belize, which is occupied by that Power. Years ago Guatemala agreed to submit this dispute to the peaceful means for the settlement of disputes established in international law and prescribed in the Charter of the United Nations as mandatory for States Members of the Organization. Good Offices, mediation and direct negotiations have occupied our special attention in seeking a just and equitable solution which will make it possible to restore the territory of Belize to the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guatemala while not ignoring the interests of the population living there. My Government reiterates that it will oppose any change in the legal and political status of Belize without a prior and complete settlement of the problem of the rights of Guatemala over that territory.

24. Mr. MANLEY (Jamaica): It is of special and symbolic significance to me that my first major statement outside of Jamaica since my election to office earlier this year should be made here, before this Assembly, in which so many of the hopes of mankind are invested, and I return thanks to God and to the people of Jamaica for making this possible.

25. Mr. President, may I extend to you, on behalf of the Government and the people of Jamaica, our congratulations on your election to the office of President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. As a distinguished son of Poland, you have been a steadfast contributor to the principles on which this Organization was founded. Your election, therefore, is a tribute not only to your great country and to you personally but also to the Eastern European group of nations, which you represent.

26. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, who so ably guided our deliberations during the last session.

27. May I also take this opportunity to express to Mr. Kurt Waldheim our satisfaction at the dynamism he has displayed since assuming the office of the Secretary-General.

28. It may surprise you, Mr. President, to learn that I hesitated long before deciding to come and make this statement myself. I hesitated because so many great voices have spoken with passion, eloquence and cogency about the world's problems that I realized that it would not lie within my powers to bring a new revelation to the continuing debate about the world and its crises. But in the end I

decided to come because, with all its institutional limitations, this Organization, the United Nations, and this General Assembly still represent the highest aspirations of mankind and still offer the most efficient instrument that man has devised to translate these aspirations into reality for the benefit of all.

29. Therefore, may I speak to the Assembly, first, as the leader of a small and young nation and, second, in all humility for myself as a human being, and may I briefly redirect members' attention to the fundamental root and source of the continuing crises in human affairs which directly threatens the future of mankind and underlies so many current dislocations, tensions, upheavals and, indeed, violence around the globe.

30. As I said, my words cannot be new, because the world's problems do not arise from what men have said in this hall, but rather from the stubborn refusal of men to listen.

31. Simply put, this Assembly has become known as a place where torrents of words that burn with urgency and truth fall upon deaf ears—ears that are often closed by the narrowest considerations of national self-interest. The continuing inability of the United Nations to mediate situations of international crisis and reduce the inequalities between nations does not reflect any lack of desire or skill among the staff of this Organization or its various agencies. I suggest rather that the inadequacies of the United Nations precisely reflect the misplaced priorities of its Member nations—and especially of the most powerful and wealthy ones among them.

32. I speak today for a new administration in Jamaica which has a clear and simple philosophy about human affairs. We believe that the idea of equality is the only enduring principle by which mankind may be guided in the conduct of national and international affairs. We believe, further, that the survival of mankind itself depends upon the speed with which man comes to learn that there must be a universal moral foundation for the conduct of affairs and that in the absence of a universal morality to determine relations within societies and as between nations modern technology will eventually destroy us.

33. Therefore, we begin with the thesis that unemployment and poverty, malnutrition, inadequate housing existing side by side with conspicuous affluence represent an intolerable invasion of the principle of equality and represent a challenge to the will of our nation which must be faced and overcome.

34. And, equally, we believe that the international juxtaposition of wealthy nations and poor nations is an affront to both the conscience and the common sense of mankind.

35. If we fail within Jamaica to build a society of equality and to achieve an equitable distribution of wealth among all our people, we will have failed our generation and history will exact its price.

36. But equally, if the international community fails to build an order that is founded upon the equitable distribu-

tion of the world's wealth, generations will arise that will sweep us away.

37. May I remind this Assembly of the two critical elements in our present dilemma. On the one hand, colonialism and technology have combined to create an intolerable and self-perpetuating disproportion between the wealth of nations. On the other hand, one of the most dangerous of man's gifts is his ability to mask the raw pursuit of self-interest behind the rhetoric of good intentions but technology has spread the rhetoric to the four corners of the globe and created a world that is no longer merely content to hope for social justice, but has come to demand it as a matter of right.

38. I believe that the United Nations at this moment is in danger of losing its collective will to pursue right. I believe that the wars which have raged unchecked, the pursuit of national self-interest by the great Powers and indeed by some of the small Powers too, the manipulation of focal points of tension by the great Powers to their own ends and purposes, and the continuing paralysis of the United Nations in the face of this sordid spectacle, are creating the danger that we may forfeit our collective will and see our resolve sink finally into the quicksands of cynicism. My plea, therefore, is the same to you as it is to my own people.

39. At home, we have launched a massive literacy campaign because a just society cannot function unless the doors of knowledge through reading are open to all the people. We are mobilizing our resources behind the elementary requirements of jobs, food and shelter for the people. We are seeking to mobilize these resources in the name of equality and through the method of self-reliance.

40. And here today, my plea to the world is for a recommitment to international morality for its own sake and as the condition of survival.

41. Let me begin with the simplest possible illustration of what I mean by "international morality". The Government of Jamaica is proud of the fact that its initiative in relation to Southern Rhodesian participation in the Olympic Games led to an international process that ended with the repudiation of a formula for Southern Rhodesia's participation because that formula was totally inconsistent with any moral principle properly understood. We thank our African colleagues for their support, but we note the whole sequence of events with a residual concern.

42. Because of our adherence to the principle of international morality, I declare that the new Government of Jamaica is totally and bitterly opposed to the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and to the continuing Portuguese tyranny in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). I also note with concern recent developments in Uganda.

43. Now that the overwhelming majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia have answered the inquiries of the Pearce Commission, we call upon the United Kingdom, once again, to bring that illegal, racist régime to an end.

44. I am proud to declare our unswerving support for the freedom fighters of Africa in their struggle for independence. I am equally proud that it was Jamaica, under the leadership of my late father, that was the first country in the world to forbid trade with South Africa and I believe that, small as we are, we pointed a moral direction for mankind to follow. Today, I reconfirm Jamaica's support of the various resolutions that call for economic sanctions against Portugal. However, I am concerned to note that once again there is evidence of international double-talk in respect of trade with Portugal. Among other things, I discovered that, in spite of Jamaica's support of Assembly resolutions calling for sanctions, we are actually conducting trade with that country. And I am announcing here and now that the Government of Jamaica will be taking steps to bring all trade with Portugal to a halt until its African colonies have won their freedom.

45. I turn now to the question of international terrorism and note with pleasure that the item, as amended by Jamaica, is to be debated [item 92]. Let me state Jamaica's position flatly.

46. Whenever the means of peaceful political action to correct oppression are effectively denied a people, we accept and support absolutely the right of the oppressed to fight for freedom and justice against the apparatus of authority that oppresses them. On the other hand, we totally and irrevocably repudiate all acts of violence which are directed against innocent third parties who have nothing to do with the dispute.

47. I turn now from the question of international morality in the political arena to the problem of the world, its wealth and the developing nations.

48. The question of how the terrible inequalities of wealth between nations arose in the course of history has been thoroughly analysed, massively documented and is completely understood. But two questions arise now. Should the present position be allowed to continue; and, if the answer is "no", have we the will to correct it? For let me be clear, I stress the word "will" because the question of technique does not arise.

49. Everybody knows perfectly well what needs to be done to reverse the process by which rich nations get richer while poor nations get relatively poorer. The world's crisis arises because the major economic Powers are slow to accept the fact that our view of international economic relationships must undergo a transformation as total as that which brought political colonialism more or less to an end. I suggest that, to survive, the world must make the sort of commitment in the economic field that it is learning to make politically and racially; and it must do so, I repeat, as the condition of survival.

50. We know that at the heart of our economic problem are to be found three questions: the terms of trade, the price of money and the basis on which the proceeds that arise from the exploitation of natural resources are shared between the countries that have the resources and those that provide the capital and the know-how necessary for their exploitation. However, while we talk about these problems and indulge yesterday's fantasies about the

exclusive and prescriptive rights of capital, the world sinks into an ever-widening abyss of inequality. Massive unemployment coexists with spectacular monuments to capital-intensive technology; the endless rows of shanty-town shacks are mocked by the high-rise condominiums of the affluent; levels of unemployment exist around the developing world which would tear apart the very fabric of metropolitan society; and everywhere there is the silent reproach to man's conscience of the young children trying to find a way to grow without the food, the shelter or the settled family patterns that they need.

51. What, then, can we do? To start with, we must summon our collective will and find the key to the international conscience, because without that the doors will not open. More specifically, reminding you that we are in the Second Development Decade, I wish to make a series of specific recommendations for the consideration of this great body and the many specialized agencies that it directs.

52. In the first place, I think that we must apply our minds to the role, scope and powers of the Economic and Social Council. This is the body that we have charged with the tremendous task of overseeing the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. However, it is impossible to implement a strategy if all the tactical elements are not working in harmony.

53. Noting with pleasure that the Economic and Social Council has recently been expanded, I now call upon the Assembly to take whatever steps are needed to ensure that the full power and authority to co-ordinate a coherent, integrated global development strategy rest clearly with the Economic and Social Council. It is entirely self-defeating for the Council to devise a strategy of development that is aimed at closing the gap between rich and poor countries and at assaulting world-wide problems of poverty and unemployment, only to find that the specialized agencies through which the Council must function are devoted to policies that are often in conflict with every thrust of central development planning. With respect, I suggest that this is a situation that is as illogical as it is unacceptable.

54. Equally, in dealing with a development strategy, it is vital that the people who must plan should be kept free of the distraction of other problems, however important. I would suggest, then, that the direction of the Commission on Human Rights be removed from the immediate concern of the Economic and Social Council and that a human rights council be created which might well be merged with the Trusteeship Council. One is pleased to find that this latter is rapidly becoming self-liquidating as it approaches the completion of the tasks which were entrusted to it.

55. Before I turn to more specifics in the area of world economics, I should like to press upon your attention a central concern of mine. It is increasingly understood that it is impossible to separate the economic from the social aspects of development; and I will not bore you with a recitation of the interrelationships that are involved. However, I come increasingly to the conclusion that the world which came to understand that there is a close relationship between health and economic development, and later between education and economic development, must now

learn to understand that there is an even closer relationship between housing and economic development.

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

57. In the more obviously economic area, we will propose that the entire basis on which special drawing rights are handled should be revised. Special drawing rights should be a key element in the whole process by which capital for development purposes is transferred from the metropolitan to the developing countries.

58. Equally, I wish to draw attention to the rules that govern the availability of soft loans, through the international monetary agencies, to the developing world. The present criterion for eligibility for soft loans that distinguishes nations on the basis of *per capita* income is clearly inadequate. Obviously, *per capita* income is no measure of the ability of an economy to provide a life for all its people and shows only that there is some wealth for some people. I propose, then, that we work out additional criteria under which developing countries may qualify for low-interest loans, and I make two specific proposals to that end: firstly, that high rates of unemployment in a country should be accepted as a measure for eligibility wherever that exceeds some predetermined level and, secondly, that certain social priorities should be isolated for soft loan purposes, regardless of other circumstances. The most important of these should be housing.

59. I should now like to turn to an even more fundamental consideration of world economics. It has always been assumed that the continuing imbalance between the living standards of the nations must be adjusted by transfers of aid and technical know-how from developed to developing States. However, the international community counts as aid certain kinds of capital movement whose net effect can only be to increase the long-term drain on the resources of the poorer States. At the same time, the United Nations sets targets for the amount of total aid which should be given. To begin with, there is doubt whether those targets are adequate, but not even those targets are ever met. Yet no sense of urgency infuses our discussion of this problem.

60. Are we prepared to face the facts? This widening gap will never be closed by economic aid alone, for the simple reason that the established system of economic relations

between developed and developing nations works in the opposite direction. Under the established system, which has thus far been singularly resistant to change, the lion's share of the gains from international trade and investment from the extraction, conversion and sale of the world's raw materials accrues to those who command supplies of capital and know-how, and these are inevitably the developed nations.

61. Nothing less, then, than a reorganization of the system, of the basic economic relations between the two groups, gives any real hope of ever narrowing that gap. I think that the leaders of the developed nations have a moral obligation to address their minds, with us, to this reorganization, an obligation based sometimes on historical facts concerning the original sources of their present wealth, but also based on simple common sense about the future condition of mankind. Some other basis must be found, and soon, for the international distribution of the gains from international economic activity. I think that these leaders have a duty to make clear to their own citizens that, unless they are to continue as islands of affluence and luxury surrounded by seas of poverty and misery, we just cannot all go on having business as usual, profits as usual, national growth rates as usual. Some sacrifice on their own part must also be involved. I say, let the process of adjustment in these gains between developed and developing States begin with what we, the developing countries, own: our mineral resources.

62. The time has come to reconstruct the basis on which the gains arising from the exploitation of these resources are shared between those, on the one hand, who provide the capital and know-how, and those, on the other, who own the resources and provide the essential infrastructure and the labour force. Let the resources continue in our ownership from the point of extraction to the final sale of the processed product. Let the agreements of the future cover, not the sale of our resources to developed countries, but the reasonable payments which shall be made to those who supply capital and know-how for their services in the process of conversion.

63. It will be recalled that I spoke earlier, in relation to my own country, of the method of self-reliance. I believe that this has relevance and application in the international field in so far as the developing countries are concerned. We have a responsibility to ourselves to explore every avenue through which we can promote our own development. This is going to require the planned exploration of trading opportunities within the developing world; it is also going to demand the creation of institutions through which we can mobilize our own savings and apply them to our own concept of priorities. In response to similar needs and common pressure, the developing world is evolving its own know-how and ought now to establish the closest communication in the area of indigenous technology and organization.

64. It is my firm belief that, along with the increasing exploration of trading opportunities, the Member States of the developing world should plan to set aside an agreed share of national income for joint development purposes and to create appropriate institutions through which this capital may be invested.

65. It is my belief that a fund generated in this way could make a major contribution to international progress and be a sign to the world of the capacity of developing nations to promote the conditions of their own development through international co-operation in their own ranks.

66. To this end, and if the idea finds favour, my Government proposes to invite other developing nations to attend a conference in Jamaica in 1973 to discuss the ways and means of implementing this proposal.

67. And so, I end as I began, humble in the face of the awesome responsibility that faces all those who aspire to leadership and conscious of the great voices which have bespoken the cause of peace and justice from this rostrum.

68. May I urge the members of this Assembly to remember that throughout history there have always been those who have called for the creation of a moral frame within which men and nations may deal with one another. More than ever it is those voices that we must heed. The requirements of survival and justice demand that we listen and act, and now.

69. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of my delegation, to associate myself with previous speakers in congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. My delegation is convinced that with your wisdom and vast experience to guide us, this session of the Assembly will be able to cope successfully with the problems with which it is being confronted. I should like to congratulate also the 17 Vice-Presidents on their election. My delegation is certain that their wise counsel will be of utmost benefit to us all in the deliberations upon which we have embarked.

70. My delegation feels flattered by, and grateful for, the laudatory remarks made by delegations in their tributes to your predecessor. It has indeed been an honour for my country to have shared with this Assembly the services of Adam Malik, one of Indonesia's prominent and outstanding citizens.

71. Allow me also to convey to our distinguished Secretary-General Indonesia's congratulations on his assumption of his high and exacting office. The efforts that he has made during the course of this year in the interest of universal peace and security deserve our whole-hearted support and appreciation. On this occasion our warm thoughts and deep gratitude also go to U Thant, our former Secretary-General, a great son of Asia, who occupied the highest executive office of our Organization during a decade of turbulence.

72. Indonesia's view on the issues that confront mankind today cannot be separated from the fact that we are a nation whose cultural heritage is deeply embedded in the South-East Asian region. It is profoundly influenced by events and problems of that region.

73. For Indonesia, situated in an area of the world that continues to suffer under strains of war and human sorrow, the strengthening of international peace and security cannot but be of primary importance. The atmosphere of

détente which is now being felt in the international political arena will, we hope, facilitate the further efforts of the big Powers to reduce tensions between them. Indonesia welcomes this détente, which has been accentuated by the meetings between leaders of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, respectively. We consider the agreement between the United States of America and the Soviet Union as a result of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks as an important step towards disarmament. It represents, however, only a beginning and we recognize that much more remains to be done before we are really on the road to complete disarmament.

74. It must be stressed here that a détente among the big Powers does not automatically bring about conditions of peace and security in all regions of the world. We still witness hotbeds of conflicts persisting in South-East Asia, the Middle East and southern Africa. Another aspect of this phenomenon is the tendency of the great Powers to ignore the small and medium-sized members of the international community and by-pass the United Nations in their search for solutions to world problems. Peace and security, however, should be the concern of all nations, both large and small, and all countries must be encouraged to play an active role in the achievement of these important goals.

75. It was with these considerations in mind that Indonesia voted for resolution 2833 (XXVI), which recommends the convening of a world disarmament conference open to all States. My delegation believes that careful preparations should precede such a conference.

76. At this juncture, while the concept of a world disarmament conference is still in its embryonic stage, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva remains the only negotiating body under the United Nations umbrella entrusted with the problems of disarmament. The most urgent issue to be solved by a Conference at this stage is an agreement on a comprehensive nuclear-test ban. Pending such an agreement, a moratorium on all nuclear testing is most desirable. Meanwhile, it is to be regretted that, notwithstanding General Assembly resolutions 1910 (XVIII) and 2828 C (XXVI) on nuclear-weapon tests, certain States continue their nuclear-weapon testing.

77. My delegation notes with sorrow and deep regret that the end of bloodshed and suffering in Viet-Nam, in the Khmer Republic and in Laos is not yet in sight. Hundreds of thousands of precious human lives have been extinguished, a much greater number of persons have been maimed, and devastation of indescribable magnitude has ravaged these lands; but the war in Viet-Nam and in the other countries of Indo-China, which has lasted for more than one generation, still goes on. Located close to this scene of war, Indonesia yearns for peace in this region. It is for this reason that Indonesia and other countries in South-East Asia have exerted themselves to help find solutions that may end the fighting and establish genuine peace. Our view remains that the future of Viet-Nam, of the Khmer Republic and of Laos should be decided by the peoples themselves without outside interference. Withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territories of the countries concerned is a prerequisite for the return of peace to these war-torn lands. It is important, however, to remind

ourselves that the events in Viet-Nam, in the Khmer Republic and in Laos, while closely interrelated, are not entirely similar in origin and character.

78. The situation in the Middle East shows no signs of improvement. Israel's adamant defiance of United Nations resolutions, in particular the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), is the principal cause of the tension in the area, which has been continuously aggravated by Israel's armed incursions and air raids into the neighbouring Arab countries. Moreover, Israel's continued illegal occupation of Arab territory and its persistent denial of fundamental human rights to the Palestinians are in direct violation of the United Nations Charter. Expansion of territory by force of arms cannot be condoned. The United Nations must be able to act effectively to ensure implementation by Israel of the relevant resolutions.

79. We also see no progress in the solution of the problems of Namibia, of Portuguese colonialism or of *apartheid* and racism in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Indonesia views the task entrusted to the Secretary-General under Security Council resolution 309 (1972) as a new approach which must not be allowed to undermine the legal status which Namibia has attained. The sovereign integrity and unity of Namibia and the Namibian people must remain the basis for any contact between the Secretary-General or his emissary and the racist régime of South Africa.

80. As to the Territories of Africa still under Portuguese colonial domination, it is heartening to note that, for the first time in the history of decolonization, the Special Mission of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) in April 1972. After having considered the Mission's report [*A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, annex I*], the Special Committee, of which Indonesia has the honour to be a member, passed a resolution recognizing the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde as the only authentic and representative liberation movement in Guinea (Bissau) [*ibid.*, chap. X, para. 34]. Indonesia recommends strongly that the United Nations increase its assistance to the liberation movements fighting against Portuguese colonial domination.

81. The twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, in its waning days, saw the flames of war engulfing the South Asian subcontinent. As we begin our twenty-seventh session, those tragic days have become part of history. It is the fervent hope of my delegation that the current negotiations between India and Pakistan, both close friends of Indonesia, will continue to be fruitful. Indonesia has established diplomatic relations with the new nation of Bangladesh. We regret that this new State has been denied membership in the United Nations. Indonesia firmly believes that Bangladesh should be accepted as a Member, as this is in accordance with the Charter and the principle of universality. At the same time we hope that the outstanding issues between Bangladesh and Pakistan, especially the serious matter of the return of prisoners of war to Pakistan, can be expeditiously resolved and the way paved for normal and peaceful relations between those two countries.

82. Indonesia views the current efforts towards rapprochement on the part of the two Koreas as an encouraging development, and hopes that the Korean people in both parts of that divided country will be able to continue to widen the areas of agreement between them. The efforts of the leaders in the north and south deserve all the support that the international community can provide. It is incumbent upon all of us to assist in the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the success of the direct negotiations now going on between the two Governments.

83. The recent tragic incident in Munich resulting in the loss of lives of innocent people is to be regretted. At the same time, Indonesia calls upon the international community not to have a limited perspective concerning these desperate acts committed by desperate people. This tragedy, like other actions in a string of violent events which are occurring on a world-wide scale, must not be viewed as an isolated phenomenon. Rather, it must be considered within the framework of the grave problems which have gripped the Middle East and other areas for so long and for which no solutions have been found. We have to consider the root-causes of those problems and try to solve them. Otherwise, the world community will continue to be plagued by a recurrence of such tragedies. If the General Assembly in this present session is prepared, with a strong sense of urgency, to address itself to the question of so-called international terrorism, we should be no less aware of the urgency in remedying the underlying causes leading to these acts of violence.

84. Indonesia is a nation whose national territory includes more than 13,000 islands. Since more than half of its territory consists of the sea, Indonesia is vitally interested in the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. We hope that the projected conference on the law of the sea will succeed in establishing universally accepted legal concepts and rules governing the exploitation of the natural riches of the sea-bed and ocean floor and other unsettled issues of the law of the sea, taking into consideration the legitimate national interests of coastal States. We are particularly interested in seeing the archipelago concept accepted by the international community, as this concept constitutes a safeguard and a guarantee for the political, economic and social unity of island-nations like Indonesia.

85. The twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly adopted resolution 2832 (XXVI), which declares the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. As a State bordering the Indian Ocean, Indonesia considers this resolution of signal importance. However, the proper implementation of the resolution requires the existence of mutual trust and understanding among the coastal States. Furthermore, a certain consensus should exist among the coastal States themselves as to what the zone of peace should mean in practice before consultations can be held with outside Powers with a view to observing the terms of the declaration. Such a consensus can only be brought about through negotiations between the parties concerned. This is by no means an easy task, but the collective will of these coastal States will, it is to be hoped, prevent resolution 2832 (XXVI) from becoming a dead letter.

86. Fully realizing the detrimental effects of power politics in many parts of the world including their own region, member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] are very much concerned to keep their region outside the sphere of power rivalries and power conflicts in order to enable them to concentrate their efforts on the betterment of their peoples. It is for this reason that the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia welcomed Malaysia's initiative for the neutralization of South-East Asia. The concept of South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality is embodied in the Kuala Lumpur Declaration.³ My colleague and friend the Chairman of the Malaysian delegation has already dwelt at length on this subject from this rostrum [2039th meeting], and I can only add that my delegation fully shares his views.

87. The region of South-East Asia has enormous potential for economic growth and development. It is rich in resources and the people are dedicated to the economic and social improvement of their respective nations. It is a region which, through the centuries, has attracted traders from many parts of the world and was subsequently colonized by Western empires. Now that it has freed itself from colonial domination, it finds itself becoming a focal point in the international power game. It is therefore not by accident that these countries of South-East Asia, which are at the early states of economic development, have felt the need for regional co-operation.

88. ASEAN has already proved a useful instrument for enhancing mutual assistance and co-operation in the economic and cultural fields. It has also become increasingly important as a framework for the protection of regional economic interests in relation to other economic communities.

89. One of the intangible but no less important results is that ASEAN has created a certain measure of common identity and a feeling of unity among its members. They firmly believe that this co-operation within ASEAN will promote the stability of their region, which in turn will contribute to the consolidation of world peace and security. Our regional efforts should therefore be seen as an integral part of global endeavours to create a better world for man.

90. Regional stability, however, can be effectively developed only if each component part develops its own national resilience. The strengthening of national resilience, which is the over-all capability to resist outside negative influences and pressures on the basis of political stability and economic well-being, together with an increasing sense of unity and common identity, will likewise enhance the resilience of the region as a whole.

91. I believe that none of us will disagree with the view that the world economy does not develop in favour of the developing countries. Based on preliminary data, the rate of growth of those countries in 1971 was below the target rate of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

92. Although the recent economic performance of a number of these countries appeared to be satisfactory, the fact remains that most of them are lagging behind on the road to progress. Their relative position in world trade continues to worsen because of the chronic unfavourable development of their terms of trade and because of lagging exports, caused in part by the growing difficulties faced by their traditional exports with regard to access to the markets of the developed countries.

93. Furthermore, the international monetary situation is such that an atmosphere of uncertainty prevails among the developing countries with regard to their foreign exchange reserves as well as their prospective export earnings. Its negative effects on economic development are further amplified by the reduction in development assistance. Several developed countries have failed to make progress towards achieving the 1 per cent target of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], while the average terms and conditions of their aid have hardened. The developing countries face the danger of a reversal in the net flow of capital from the developing to the developed countries as a result of debt servicing, capital repatriation and profit transfer.

94. It is unfortunate that the third session of UNCTAD ended with only inconclusive results and failed to contribute concretely to the solution of the fundamental problems confronting the developing countries.

95. These developments are running counter to the commitments jointly undertaken by all nations under the International Development Strategy. They make evident the urgent need for substantial reform and innovation. In this connexion it might be useful to recall the statement made by Mr. McNamara, President of the World Bank, at that session,⁴ in which he expressed his deep concern about the unacceptable state of development in most of the developing countries and emphasized the urgent need for moving forward with practical measures.

96. Those and some other problems relating to development are now on the agenda of our current session. I trust that, if the political will exists, especially with the rich countries represented here, the General Assembly can make a positive contribution towards practical solutions.

97. The developing countries have made it clear that in the endeavour to find solutions to economic problems in which their very interests are at stake, they want to be full participants and active partners. First and foremost is the problem of international monetary reform, for which an urgent solution is required. Of equal importance are the 1972 multilateral trade negotiations, which must not be conducted along the traditional lines of negotiations within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade but should comprise all aspects which are identified as barriers to trade. Special ground rules, modalities and techniques for the participation of developing countries

³ Declaration issued by the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, held at Kuala Lumpur on 27 November 1971.

⁴ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. Ia, part one, *Summaries of Statements by Heads of Delegations* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.Mim.1, part one), p. 324.

should be worked out to ensure that these countries will really benefit from the results.

98. With regard to development assistance, my delegation joins its voice with those of other delegations in appealing to developed countries to adhere to the targets set out in the International Development Strategy.

99. While I am on the subject of international aid, allow me to say a few words regarding the activities of the United Nations in the operational field, namely that of the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], since we consider it one of the most successful and rewarding enterprises in the international joint endeavour, which has already done a great deal for the cause of the developing countries. Indonesia is one of the countries that has benefited from UNDP's activities, especially after the approval of its programme for the first cycle by the UNDP Governing Council at its fourteenth session. Indonesia is most appreciative of this fact, and would like to express its hope and confidence that a more dynamic growth in the over-all resources could be made available so as to enable the programme to grow substantially in the subsequent cycles.

100. Another example of a successful joint endeavour was the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June, which has contributed considerably to making man more aware of the serious threat that exists to his total environment on earth. The Conference has provided us with valuable recommendations as to how man can begin to correct the destruction which he himself has wrought upon the ecology of the earth. My delegation would like to stress that, in the formulation of international action concerning environmental problems, the needs of the developing countries should be given adequate consideration.

101. Turning now to the national economy, I am happy to state that there is manifestly an expansion of economic activities in Indonesia—not only in the agricultural sector, which still has priority in our development policy, but also in the industrial sector, especially in the extractive industries.

102. In spite of a definite shift from a deficit to a surplus in the routine budget, thus enabling the Government to release more domestic resources for investment, the development budget still has a heavy foreign component derived from bilateral as well as multilateral assistance. At the same time, the Government encourages foreign investment to participate in the development efforts, and it can be said that so far there is a satisfactory influx of investment capital in Indonesia.

103. The decreasing demand in many industrialized countries for our major primary commodities, along with the resultant drop in prices, on the one hand, and the higher cost of importing capital goods, on the other, may well result in negative balances of payments, jeopardizing our development efforts. Indonesia feels that a wider access to the markets of the developed countries for our export commodities through the elimination or progressive reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers is an indispensable requirement for our development effort.

104. Another negative trend discernible in the past two years has been the diminishing willingness to transfer capital to less-developed countries.

105. The development process in Indonesia has reached a point at which a larger economic basis has already been created as a launching pad for a subsequent development undertaking on a bigger scale, which in turn requires larger amounts of financing. Such financing could not be covered by domestic resources alone, but has to be increasingly supplemented with outside financial assistance.

106. My delegation would like to stress that external aid and participation in Indonesia's economic development can be accepted only on the basis of "no strings attached", in order not to limit our freedom of decision in accordance with our independent and active foreign policy.

107. We who are firm believers in the United Nations cannot fail to note the growing lack of confidence in the United Nations and its institutions, especially among youth.

108. The important role of youth today in world affairs was duly recognized by this Assembly last year when it resolved that a mural should be painted at United Nations Headquarters to commemorate the World Youth Assembly [resolution 2896 (XXVI)]. It is to youth that we shall pass on the United Nations—its successes as well as its failures—and they are the ones who will carry on our work in saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war. It is imperative that we restore their confidence in the United Nations—firstly, by ensuring through performance and achievements that the Organization really stands for the lofty principles and purposes of the Charter, and, secondly, by interesting them and including them in the work of our Organization, which the Secretary-General so aptly described as the most profitable long-term investment ever made in human history.

109. It would be appropriate for my delegation to recall in this connexion the statement made by Mr. Adam Malik in his inaugural address as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly:

"We must realize that, unless the United Nations makes sense and is meaningful to the youth of today, the Organization is doomed to atrophy or irrelevance.

"...

"... for all the confusion and contradictions that mark their emergence, these younger generations are the carriers of a new idealism; they are the vehicles of... global human solidarity, cutting across national boundaries....

"...

"We have to harness their idealism and give it concrete international purpose by relating it to the accumulated experience and knowledge within the United Nations".
[1934th meeting, paras. 53-59.]

110. In conclusion I should like to assure the Assembly of the readiness of the Indonesian delegation to co-operate

fully in an objective and realistic manner, with you, Mr. President, with all delegations represented here and with the Secretary-General in our quest for solutions to the problems and issues confronting the United Nations.

111. Mr. MOE (Barbados): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you warmly on your election as President of this, the twenty-seventh session, of the General Assembly, which is an indication of the high esteem in which you and your country are held. Your country's great contribution to international affairs and your own untiring efforts in promoting goodwill among nations have both been fittingly rewarded by this Assembly.

112. The deep appreciation of my delegation is also extended to your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, for the admirable manner in which he guided the deliberations of this Assembly during its twenty-sixth session.

113. To the Secretary-General my delegation also wishes to offer congratulations on his appointment to a most exacting job. He has already given proof that he possesses those qualities of mind and spirit which will be of inestimable value in dealing with the immense problems confronting our Organization. Barbados pledges him its unstinted support as he strives to uphold the principles of the Charter and to implement directives of this Organization and its related agencies.

114. At this time of the year the delegations here assembled sometimes enjoy the privilege of welcoming those new States admitted into the family of nations. My delegation very much regrets that it is not able on this occasion to welcome a delegation from Bangladesh. Barbados was one of the first two countries in the world—certainly the first in the Western Hemisphere—to recognize the sovereignty of the people of Bangladesh. We hope that this Organization will not repeat the craven blunder which for 20 spiteful years excluded from our family the largest single section of humanity, whose claim to be in full control of its own affairs was always beyond dispute. It is better to count heads than to break them, and for this reason my delegation looks forward to welcoming Bangladesh to this Organization in the very near future. As we bring more sovereign States into the United Nations we provide greater contentment for and, hopefully, easier dispersal of, their suspicions and frustrations.

115. Barbados is pleased to note the very positive steps which some countries have taken in the past year to resolve their differences with others. The great Powers have negotiated with one other and have defined their common interests without, according to the communiqués, sacrificing the vital interests of other States. Any accord, however tenuous, which exists among the nuclear Powers must be complemented by a greater willingness on their part to understand that world peace needs a more solid foundation than they seem disposed at the moment to give it. Not to blow the world up shows commendable restraint on their part, but my delegation feels that the purely negative virtue of self-preservation ought to give way to the more positive one of wanting peace for its own sake.

116. It is in this context that we note with satisfaction the attempts being made by the two Korean States and the two

Germanys to talk with each other. We hope that these dialogues will continue until mutual interests are distilled, and that other States will not cumber them with gratuitous, selfish and wrongheaded advice. It would be as well if the two Viet-Nams—or what is left of each of them—could talk to each other to discover whose war they are waging, and whether the great Powers—whose proxies they are—would permit them to bring it to an end, or whether the great Powers would transfer it to their respective soils. My delegation also hopes that the Simla Agreement of 3 July 1972 reached between India and Pakistan will hold firm and lead to an enduring peace among the peoples of those two great Asian States.

117. We have enough realism to know that these accords do not suggest that final solutions to these problems have been reached. But we are certain that these halting but welcome successes have come from the conference table and not from the battlefield. Where there has been persistence in dialogue and patience in discussion, something good has emerged. That is why this Assembly must continue to exhort all parties to a dispute, in all the tension-filled areas of the globe, to use the proven techniques of conciliation and negotiation.

118. We must also soften our rhetoric in our debates when we discuss areas of conflict and tension. If the truth must be told, we have not always helped a situation by taking sides in it when we should have been encouraging those in dispute to resolve their differences in accordance with the principles of the Charter. Great causes need to be thoroughly understood before they can be decently espoused, and it is always a better service to world peace if great and sensitive issues are debated with restraint and objectivity.

119. There is a widely held belief among nations that the maintenance of world peace is the special responsibility of the great Powers. It has a limited truth only because the great Powers have greater means at their disposal to breach the peace with impunity. But the maintenance of world peace is the responsibility of all States and it could well be that a genuine policy of non-alignment might encourage the great Powers to be more circumspect in the application of their selfish policies. My delegation therefore believes that all States should first contribute to the peace of their own immediate regions by pursuing peaceful policies with their neighbours. Within our own hemisphere, for instance, we would wish to see new initiatives taken to end the isolation of the Republic of Cuba on the basis of mutual respect and tolerance, and we would also wish to see our sister Caribbean State Belize achieve its independence with the positive goodwill of, and without demur from, its immediate neighbours. Outside our own region my delegation will strive with others to encourage the pacific settlement of disputes and we therefore in this session of the Assembly, as in previous ones, call upon the contestants in the Middle East to go to the conference table—no matter what its shape or size—and bring their tragic conflict to an end.

120. Even while we wrestle with these difficulties, we meet under the shadow of a greater menace. Recent events in an international sports arena, in airports and aircraft and elsewhere have brought into focus the need to answer resolutely and swiftly those who commit cowardly and

murderous acts of terrorism. My delegation condemns without equivocation the resort to murder as a political weapon and my Government would under no circumstances shelter or protect organizations or persons known to be or proved to be in sympathy with others who are so engaged. The political assassin is rarely a liberator and if there are countries and States which can make excuses for the seizure of aircraft and the infliction of needless terror upon innocent travellers by air, or can rationalize the cowardly slaughter of the diplomatic personnel of States, then those countries and States neither serve their own best interests nor strengthen their claim to be part of the civilized world. If terrorism is not struck down, then this Assembly will soon cease to be the voice of decency among the nations. No country will then be immune and those countries which even now will not condemn the terrorist will soon find themselves at his mercy because the nihilist will not distinguish between ideologies when the knife and the bomb quiver in his grasp.

121. Barbados, with a tradition of respect for law and order, will support any action taken to stamp out this malignant growth and to erase this terrible blot on the conscience of mankind.

122. But terrorism, like peace, is indivisible. We must not suppose that there is greater immorality in blowing up an aircraft with innocent passengers than there is in the mindless brutalities which are heaped upon whole populations in southern Africa and sometimes elsewhere. In some countries the mere possession of a white skin confers unbridled license to inflict upon darker skins the most bestial assaults, of which the taking of life is perhaps the least unbearable. When States can commit acts of aggression against whole peoples in the name of a counterfeit philosophy of racism, and can do this in full defiance of world opinion, it should not astonish anyone that wicked and depraved individuals should plan and encompass the murder of others and even boast about it, while some States, whose agents they may be, nurse their guilty secrets in complacency. My delegation therefore calls once again upon this Assembly to condemn and outlaw all forms of assault upon human life and dignity, whether the aggressors are homeless and misguided robots, or whether they happen to be, for the time being, entrenched in the control or possession of States. This threat of terrorism and anarchy has always been with us and in our haste to utter a rightful condemnation of the new gangsterism we must show the same sense of urgency in rooting out the detestable racist régimes which exist in any part of Africa or elsewhere.

123. There is a necessary connexion between the ills we condemn and the economic injustice—yet another form of terrorism—which is suffered by the majority of States. Hundreds of millions of human beings in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America still live—if that is the word for it—in great but still unfulfilled expectations of a fairer share of the world's trade. At the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in Chile earlier this year, while the rich nations were prepared to discuss freely how hungry nations were to be fed, or how the primary commodities of poor countries were to bring good prices in the markets of the few, those same nations were not prepared to make the decent political commitments

which would help developing countries. They had no sooner left Santiago than they set about stiffening the terms of trade by all those artifices which are designed further to impoverish the already poor countries. They manipulate the world's currencies always to their own convenience and would have us believe that the world's future depends on what artificial values they choose to bestow upon the bits of metal or paper which they use to siphon off the profits of the world's trade into their own countries. They scurry to one another's capitals to decide how the world should be run, and, inevitably, their decisions decree that the peasant in Africa or Asia or Latin America must pay more for goods and services produced in a few countries, but must sell, if he can, what he produces at prices which drive him further below the poverty line.

124. As if that were not enough, the richer nations have devised yet another means of pauperizing the rest of the world. Not long ago we heard many pious resolutions about the allocation of 1 per cent of their gross domestic product to raise the rest of us above the poverty line. A few countries—equal to the number of people who could stand in a telephone booth—have honourably tried to meet this obligation. A few others were lavish in promise of aid and have fulfilled their promises by tying their assistance to such burdensome restrictions that recipient countries either have refused the help or have impoverished themselves further by accepting it.

125. It is no accident of history that the world's major trading and financial powers are precisely those which once held great empires or extended their military and economic influence beyond their patrimonial seas. Old habits die hard and the cynical substitution of "spheres of affluence" for "spheres of influence" is but the new method of controlling the world without the vulgar necessity of having to govern it.

126. A very casual glance at the conditions laid down by the European Economic Community for association with it, or even for selling anything to its members, will indicate that this venture may well become a conspiracy in restraint of world trade.

127. It will be the duty of this Organization and its agencies to search out and, if not prevented, find solutions to the problems of international economic development. The agencies must develop proper insights into the question of poverty in the under-developed world. They must take note of the different levels of development, but they are not entitled to categorize some poor countries as well off merely because their pride and industry inhibits them from passing around their begging bowls.

128. While the poor nations struggle to find some redress to the prevailing economic imbalances, the resources of the sea and the immense wealth that lies in the ocean bed and the subsoil thereof have presented some glimmer of hope. In June this year, Barbados, with other Caribbean countries, while stressing that the resources of the sea, sea-bed and subsoil of the maritime areas within their jurisdiction and adjacent to their coasts can help to improve the living standards of our peoples and accelerate progress in our countries, recognized the need to preserve and protect these resources. For not only are these resources being contami-

nated and polluted, but they are already being exploited and utilized to increase the wealth of those nations which by their manipulations pauperize the rest of the world.

129. The immediate need to regulate the use of and preserve and protect the marine resources makes it urgent that arrangements be concluded for the international conference on the law of the sea.

130. Today more than ever there is need for the United Nations to act with determination to meet the ideals of peace, justice and progress enshrined in its Charter. Even while the Organization is preoccupied with adopting measures to arrest the wave of disrespect for human life, which has reached alarming proportions, greater efforts must be expanded to overcome the frustrations of the many peoples of this world and bring into reality their desire for a better life.

131. All States Members of this Organization must assist in this regard.

132. Mr. FACIO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am very happy to add my congratulations to those you have already received from so many on your unanimous election as President of this session of the Assembly. It is a just recognition of your personal merits and a well-deserved tribute to your country, Poland, for whose prosperity I express my best wishes.

133. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of our Organization during the past year [*A/8701 and Add.1*] has been given the careful consideration which such a well-prepared document deserves. We are grateful to Mr. Waldheim for the information and the guidance his report has given us. It shall be our guide as we strive to be productive in the service of mankind, and it has aroused in my delegation greater confidence in what we can accomplish here.

134. We continue to believe that the United Nations is our best option to resolve the political conflicts which at present keep many nations apart or only serve to foster tension among them. We also continue to believe that it is here in this Organization that States have their best opportunity jointly to forge just, viable and effective solutions to reconcile their economic interests which have thus far seemed to be incompatible. We believe that in the United Nations peoples have their best opportunity to leave behind past errors and to build a future in which various cultures, diverse ideologies and different economic systems will compete nobly, in broad areas of agreement, so as to obtain for their citizens freedom, prosperity and the advancement of the human spirit.

135. The United Nations, born of the tragedy of global warfare and of the dismaying poverty and ignorance in which most of our fellow human beings live, cannot and must not fail.

136. Human institutions must periodically revise their structures and activities. New and unforeseeable needs require more suitable procedures, more flexible methods

and more functional structures. The United Nations is no exception to this sociological rule. We do not cling to standards of action or structures which, in the face of new requirements, reduce the likelihood of attaining the purposes of those who forged the Charter at San Francisco. Experience is our teacher, and we must benefit from its lessons.

137. Costa Rica has welcomed, and plans to study, the proposals made by the illustrious Government of Colombia regarding certain amendments to the United Nations Charter [*see A/8746*]. We shall participate in the discussion of this item [*item 89*] in the certainty that the statements of other delegations will shed new light on how best still further to improve upon the proposals of Colombia, and we shall vote in favour of them when the time comes to adopt a decision.

138. However, we believe that together with reforms to improve the performance of our Organization it is necessary for all of us to acquire the conviction that the United Nations will be what the Member States wish it to be. The whole will be no better than the sum of its parts. The degree of sincerity with which each State Member of this Organization adheres to and achieves its objectives, the degree of sincerity with which each State supports its purposes and action, will be a measure of the degree to which the United Nations will respond to the hopes of the peoples of the world.

139. We welcome the relaxation of tension which has taken place between the great Powers, which has been made manifest in the statements of the Secretary of State of the United States of America [*2038th meeting*] and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [*2040th meeting*] in this general debate. This move by certain great nations, which had maintained until quite recently dangerously hostile relations, to seek no longer armed confrontation but dialogue, no longer diatribe but understanding and negotiation, nourishes the hope that peaceful coexistence and, even more, constructive relations among nations of various political creeds, can some day become a magnificent reality.

140. In our Organization we must give these budding signs, like weak plants, all our solicitous, patient and generous support, being aware that there is no human problem that man cannot solve if it is approached with a desire for justice and truth.

141. Of course, it is necessary that this collective action be supported by the individual conduct of each nation consistent with the expressions of peace and international co-operation which may be heard here.

142. The era of confrontation, born of the hatred and suspicion of the cold war, must for all time yield to an era of negotiation.

143. The extremist thesis that the democratic and Communist nations cannot coexist in the same world and that sooner or later one form of society will completely dominate the other must be rejected in theory and in practice as the product of sick fanaticism.

144. Regrettably, the residue of this fanaticism still permeates the propaganda which poisons the minds of peoples who live under both political systems. While the statesmen of the great Powers meet and strive to build a world in which they can live together in peace, their propaganda and security agencies continue to function according to the obsolete dogmas of the cold war. They seem to be determined to carry on the absurd task of maintaining the small nations as belligerents in a cold war which the leaders of the great Powers have already decided to replace by peaceful coexistence.

145. Costa Rica believes that the desire for peace, which has inspired the steps taken by the statesmen of the most powerful nations in the world in the last few years and has led to an atmosphere of coexistence, which we here applaud, must be supported and practised by all nations, large and small. It is precisely for this reason that the Government of which I am a part decided to break the isolation in which it has lived with regard to the socialist nations and has established beneficial diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia.

146. This position has exposed us to enraged propaganda attacks on the part of those who wish to maintain the climate of the cold war, and those attacks have been welcomed by the fanatics in our own country and have created suspicion among some Governments in our area which are still living under that influence. Nevertheless, our Government is prepared to continue to deal with those who prefer to sacrifice mankind to a nuclear holocaust rather than tolerate the existence of political doctrines contrary to their own.

147. The acceptance of the existence of various ideologies in the political field and the conviction that it is undesirable, and indeed impossible, for a man or a nation to determine what is best for all of mankind constitute the very basis of the democratic system, in which we hope to continue to live in Costa Rica. We are therefore prepared to maintain and broaden our relations with nations which have adopted systems different from ours, as long as they respect our sovereignty. We feel sure that this position, which has unleashed a storm against our Government, deserves the support and understanding of the vast majority of the States Members of this Organization.

148. The United Nations is committed, because of its origin, to carry forward to the end in the fight against fear. That is why the item on disarmament must be a key question at every session of the General Assembly. The Secretary-General has sadly warned us that there has been no halt or perceptible slowing down in the arms race [A/8701/Add.1, p. 3]. The information that he has furnished us is alarming. It states that in the decade of the 1960s the countries of the world allocated \$1,870,000 million to acquire weapons of war and that in the last years the total military expenditures for that purpose have increased by approximately \$200,000 million a year. Costa Rica, which has set an example and shown that it is possible for a nation to live without an army, sadly takes note of these facts. We regret even more that nations with grave problems of under-development have become swept up in this dizzying arms race.

149. However, there are signs of hope, at least in the legal field, in the commitments that nations have entered into. The Antarctic Treaty; the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, Outer Space and under Water; the Tlatelolco Treaty; the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; the treaties which forbid the emplacement of nuclear weapons in outer space, the sea-bed and the ocean floor; and the recent convention on the prohibition of the use of biological weapons; as well as the agreement reached at the summit meeting held in Moscow in May of this year by the leaders of the two great Powers of the world on the limitation of strategic weapons—all of this has raised the hopes of peoples that the night of terror will be left behind, and we now dimly see at least the dawn of a day without terror.

150. The General Assembly must continue to go forward. The hopes of peoples during this session would be increased if States which have not yet done so would announce that they have signed any of those treaties, in which they have been invited to participate. We shall welcome any action intended to establish some organ charged with preparing, prudently but with firm resolution, the convening of a world disarmament conference which would be charged with attaining one of the noblest goals which the peoples set for themselves when they constituted the United Nations, namely, to end the scourge of war.

151. In the past years there has been an epidemic of criminal attacks and threats against personal security. We have had to endure a wave of savage terrorism which, in the words of Secretary of State Rodgers, "tragically touched the lives of people everywhere, without warning, without discrimination, without regard for the sanctity of human life" [2038th meeting, para. 76].

152. In a praiseworthy move to draw the attention of the United Nations to the principal problems of mankind, the Secretary-General made a solemn appeal to this Assembly to seek the appropriate means to fight terrorism and other forms of violence which jeopardize and destroy innocent human lives.

153. The Foreign Minister of Brazil, Ambassador Mario Gibson Barboza, deplored in this Assembly the fact that no support had been given to the wording of the item as requested by Secretary-General Waldheim in the clear and decisive manner in which it was recommended by the General Committee [*ibid.*, para. 6]. Like my colleague, I regret that amendments were introduced to that wording which seem to imply that in certain cases terrorism could be considered a legitimate political instrument. We totally reject these attempts to justify what cannot be justified. We can never accept the view that in order to reach certain political or social aims it is permissible to endanger the lives of innocent human beings who are totally alien to the conflict, or to disrupt international communications, thereby reducing the opportunities for people to come together.

154. On other occasions in this and other forums Costa Rica has proposed the adoption of severe measures to put an end to terrorism. We have asked that such measures be applied not only to the persons who carry out terrorism and to the organizations responsible, but also to the Governments which protect them. If no nations were

accomplices, terrorism would not last long. The suspension of air service to and from the countries which give refuge to the pirates and terrorists in general would doubtless constitute one of the most effective means in the fight against such crimes against mankind.

155. My delegation will support any draft resolution or convention intended to combat in the most effective way possible this criminal activity. We consider that we cannot leave this session of the Assembly without having formulated adequate instruments to contain international terrorism. We therefore would venture to appeal to the delegations that were determined to postpone the discussion of so fundamental an item in the Sixth Committee to set aside their obstructionist attitude and, without any political preferences or ideological partisanship, to realize that it is urgent and indispensable to unite firmly and decisively to confront this indiscriminate and odious violence, which violates one of the basic human rights proclaimed by our Organization.

156. The Middle East continues to be the burning issue in which world peace is at stake. There is at issue both peace and security as well as the possibilities for the economic and social development of the people of the area who deserve our fullest sympathy.

157. It is with dismay that we have seen how in the past this Organization has adopted certain resolutions which, instead of promoting peace, have contributed to the creation of obstacles to a direct understanding between the parties to the dispute. The debates have been neither calm nor objective. The voting has been in blocs, in most cases without taking into account the merits of the proposals under study.

158. Costa Rica is intensely concerned to contribute, with other nations, to bring about the day when peace will reign in the Middle East. We have proposed and will continue to propose and support dispassionate draft resolutions which seek a meeting of the minds between the parties. We shall insist on the need to prepare the way for direct negotiations between the belligerents and on the just demand that all the States of the area recognize the lawful and sovereign existence of the State of Israel within secure borders clearly defined in treaties with its neighbours.

159. This Organization cannot afford to continue to neglect, as though it did not exist, the conflict in Indo-China. I here endorse the prudent words of the Secretary-General when he told us that he was deeply concerned that "the United Nations, which was created as a result of a world war in order to safeguard international peace and security in the future, appears to have no relevance to what is now happening in Viet-Nam" [see A/8701/Add.1, p. 4].

160. Undoubtedly it is the duty of the United Nations at last to concern itself with the enormous humanitarian problems which arise in that area of conflict. We must be vigilant to prevent the worsening of the situation from affecting the peace and security of all mankind.

161. We consider that the peace offer made by President Nixon is reasonable: if the North Viet-Nameese were to

release the United States prisoners and accept a genuine cease-fire, the United States would withdraw completely from Viet-Nam and would even end its military assistance to the South Viet-Nameese. In these conditions, the future of Viet-Nam could be discussed in peace conferences and not on the battlefield.

162. If all foreign support for North and South Viet-Nam were to end, the cease-fire to be negotiated could put an end to a bloody war which for more than 20 years has been eroding the vitality of that country. Without foreign support the North and South Viet-Nameese will find a solution to their differences, even though this may not be wholly satisfactory to a sizable part of the population. The political régime that would arise from the settlement could be no worse than the brutal bloodletting and destruction that the Viet-Nameese have suffered for decades, in large measure because of foreign intervention.

163. Costa Rica continues to be firmly in the trenches in the struggle against all forms of racial discrimination. With the same vigour as that with which we have condemned and continue to condemn *apartheid* and other odious forms of discrimination which men of the white race practise against those of the black race, we also condemn the new manifestations of racism which have led majority groups of the black race to commit odious discriminatory acts against human beings of another race.

164. World public opinion is shaken by the deportation *en masse* of persons of Asian origin who have had their homes in Uganda. That is particularly serious when one realizes that, apart from being driven from their homes because they belong to a race different from that of the majority of the population of Uganda, thousands of human beings will be deprived of all their belongings. A mandatory deadline has been set for leaving the country, under the threat that if they do not leave their homes they will be sent to concentration camps.

165. My delegation adds its voice to the voices of protest of other delegations and unfortunately, all too few—against this brutal trampling of the rights of the Ugandans of Asian origin. We support the British proposal that the item should be included in the agenda of this Assembly [A/8794]. We agree with the point of view stated by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, to the effect that this item should be debated without delay in the General Assembly, since the inhuman action which creates refugees is of undoubted international concern [2042nd meeting, para. 118].

166. Costa Rica, although it is a developing country with unemployment problems, is prepared, as a token of the good faith with which it acts in such matters, to receive on its soil a group of inhabitants of Uganda who are victims of the discriminatory acts of their Government. President Figueres has responded to the humanitarian appeal made by the Secretary-General with a warm message of support and with a decision to contribute to the asylum provided to those who have been expelled.

167. The Russian Jews constitute a small part of the Soviet population. Nevertheless, they have contributed to the great achievements of that great Power. They maintain spiritual links with a nation which, spread throughout the

world, has decided to establish a proper home on the soil where its forefathers forged its culture and history.

168. International public opinion has come out against the restrictions imposed on the Jews by the Soviet Union with regard to free emigration to their homeland. Criticism comes not only from the enemies of the political-social régime of the Soviet Union; it comes also from many great admirers of socialism and leaders of Communist parties in various parts of the world.

169. My delegation sincerely believes that the Soviet Union would win greater respect in world public opinion if, instead of bargaining for the talents of these people, they were to yield those talents, which have forged their own culture, to a nation which is trying to build a prosperous, just and free society for its sons who have wandered throughout the world. It is, furthermore, a nation that has given constant proof of its decision to share its own achievements with the under-developed peoples of the world.

170. The State of Bangladesh came into being as a result of the resistance of a people heroically united against the most pitiless form of political repression. The Bengali nation stoically bore genocide rather than abdicate its endeavours to exercise self-determination. Now that the people have achieved self-determination, after a bloody battle, we cannot close the doors of the international community to them.

171. It is an irony that the People's Republic of China, to which entry to the United Nations was prohibited for so many years, has cast its first veto in the Security Council to prevent the State of Bangladesh from occupying its lawful seat in our Organization.

172. Costa Rica, which was the first Latin American country to extend diplomatic recognition to the new Bengali State, will enthusiastically support the recommendation it hopes the General Assembly will make for the purpose of opening the doors of the United Nations to the representatives of Bangladesh.

173. The Secretary-General, as an encouraging fact mentioned in his report on the work of the Organization, emphasizes the efforts of co-operation within the Organization in the fields of trade and development, the human environment and population. Indeed, even the severest critics of the United Nations are generous in their praise of this field of action of the United Nations.

174. This is the hour of international justice and equity. The poorer nations of the world harbour resentments born of an injustice-laden past. They wish to possess and reap the fruits of their national resources and to have their national labour well paid for, since they have to pay very well for the labour of the wealthy nations. The poor nations wish to achieve an integral economic and social growth. They cannot agree that growth should continue to favour only some small sectors of mankind or certain nations while the vast majority continues to be immersed in poverty, ill-health, malnutrition, lack of opportunity for education and under-employment of natural and human resources.

175. Let us bear in mind, as the Secretary-General warns us in his report, that to make progress in the solution of the global problems of the economic and social development of peoples "... Governments must develop more of a concern for each other's interests, a clear sense of each other's preoccupations and a wider knowledge of the sensibilities of other Governments and cultures" [*A/9701/Add.1, p. 5*]. My delegation wishes to place on record its confidence that the highly developed nations will for their own benefit heed the demands of the developing countries. We trust that in reducing their arms expenditures they will channel such resources to the peoples that live submerged in under-development and thereby co-operate with them in the attainment of a better life.

176. The United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea held in Geneva in 1958 and 1960 constituted the point of departure, and not the target, of legal developments which must bear fruit in the forthcoming United Nations conference on the law of the sea. The most important contribution to this development was given by Latin America, with its thesis of a greater extension of the territorial sea or of broader special jurisdiction for the coastal State to protect and exploit the ichthyological and natural resources of the adjacent sea and its coast.

177. The thesis that sea-hunting and fishing beyond the territorial waters of only a few miles of breadth must be governed absolutely by the principle of the freedom of the seas might have been warranted in the periods of history in which maritime resources seemed to be inexhaustible. But the use of increasingly sophisticated techniques of sea-hunting and fishing, and the building of increasingly bigger fleets, with a greater capacity to extend their activities to areas far removed from their countries of origin, brought about an irrational and wrongful exploitation of the riches of the sea.

178. That is why the principle of the freedom of the seas, which must continue to be considered untouchable for maritime and air transit, must be limited so far as the exploitation of resources is concerned.

179. In order to conserve and exploit for the benefit of the peoples of the coastal States the riches of the adjacent seas, in South America the thesis emerged that 200 miles should be the breadth of the territorial sea. At the Specialized Conference of the Caribbean Countries on Problems of the Sea, held at Santo Domingo on 7 June 1972, the more advanced concept was adopted of a patrimonial sea with a breadth of up to 200 miles.

180. In the Declaration of Santo Domingo [*A/8721, annex I, sect. 2*] it was recognized that the breadth of the territorial sea should be the subject of an international agreement. It was also agreed that until such time, "every State has the right to establish the breadth of its territorial sea up to a limit of 12 nautical miles measured from the applicable base line."

181. At that Conference it was made perfectly clear that one must not confuse the territorial sea, where the coastal State exercises all the attributes of full sovereignty, with another additional and broader area, which has been called

the patrimonial sea, where the coastal State exercises a sovereignty limited to the exploitation, exploration and conservation of marine resources, without jurisdiction to interfere with free navigation or with the right to lay under-water cables and pipes which any other State enjoys.

182. The 12-mile breadth is more than sufficient for the territorial sea and its purposes, which are conservation and the security of the coastal State. The complication has arisen because of the use of the concept of territorial sea for the economic defence of fisheries or the exploration and exploitation of marine resources existing in an adjacent area of the territorial sea, which can be extended up to 200 miles. Because the truth is that the jurisdiction which some South American States exercise over an area up to 200 miles, which they call the territorial sea, does not have the characteristics of full sovereignty, but is limited to the exploration, exploitation and conservation of the renewable and non-renewable resources of what was formerly the high seas. The confusion therefore arises out of giving the same name to two different things: the zone of the territorial sea, strictly speaking—and there is no reason for it to exceed 12 miles—and the adjacent area which can be extended up to 200 miles, where jurisdiction limited to the economic field is the only one exercised.

183. In the patrimonial sea, aircraft and ships of all States, whether coastal or not, have the right to free navigation and overflight, with no other restrictions than those that result from the exercise by the coastal State of its rights in the same area.

184. Inasmuch as recognizing a breadth of up to 12 miles for the territorial sea would include some straits, one must therefore enter a qualification to the effect that the extension of the territorial sea, and still less that of the patrimonial sea, shall in no way curtail the freedom of maritime navigation and air navigation over those straits.

185. Costa Rica reiterates at this time its support for the principle stated by the General Assembly in its resolution 2749 (XXV) that the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the territorial sea and continental shelf are the common heritage of mankind.

186. The peoples of the world expect just solutions for the many international problems which beset them. For them let us try to maintain this Organization as the most appropriate instrument to preserve peace, to bring about general well-being, and to defend freedom.

187. Mr. CISSOKO (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Since the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the international political situation has been marked by new and decisive facts in relations between certain Powers.

188. Despite the easing of tension which is being brought about between what is conventionally termed the East and West, despite the contacts which have occurred between the United States and the People's Republic of China on the one hand, and between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the other hand, despite the tremendously encouraging admission of the People's

Republic of China to the United Nations, the world still remains in a state of tension, with trouble spots and injustices which are arbitrarily suffered by those people who are still oppressed and subjected in the middle of the twentieth century.

189. Imperialism, in effect, although it is at bay, is not giving up so easily. Its aggressions are continuing, both in Africa and Asia, as well as in Latin America, and its constant threats are still levelled against young States.

190. I should like once again to draw the attention of our international Organization to the permanent state of war in which my country is living. From July 1961 to October 1970 we were alerting international public opinion to the fact that war is being prepared against our State. This war was prefaced by repeated violations of our air space and bombings of the villages bordering on Guinea (Bissau). The aggression of 22 November 1970 against our country has shown how right we were in thus alerting international public opinion.

191. This state of affairs is recurring even now, despite the fact that the Security Council condemned Portugal after that barbarous aggression which was perpetrated in Conakry, at Gaoual and Koundara, against the Republic of Guinea.

192. In recent months, we have witnessed repeated incursions on the part of the Portuguese pirate planes which continue to violate our air space, for the most part hurling rocket bombs on our villages, sowing death and destruction and destroying the harvest of peaceful farmers. By way of example I should like to quote some other cases to illustrate the threats which are hanging over our people, threats which might turn into genuine aggression: on 27 November 1971 at 1230 four bombers dropped eight rockets on Katila, setting fire to the village and leaving three dead and several wounded; on 9 December 1971, a reconnaissance plane flew over the villages of Léla and of Sinta for 35 minutes; on 20 January 1972 at 1555 there was a reconnaissance flight over the village of Bakilouto in the administrative region of Boké; on 20 February 1972 at 1225 a reconnaissance plane was shot down in Pakaye; the next day at 1125 in the same village one of two bombers was shot down, both of these bombers being of the same type, FIAT; on 23 February 1972 at 1045 and on 18 March 1972 at 0930 two planes, one reconnaissance plane and one transport, flew over the villages of Négaré and of Bundu-Furdu; on 22 April 1972 at 1600 an unidentified plane flew over the village of Guingan; on 24 April 1972 from 1052 to 1125, the villages of Kandika-Kutan, of Sutumuru and of Missira were flown over by two bombers and on the same date at 1125 at Kaurane, two other bombers attempted in vain to attack a reservoir; on 2 May 1972 at 1200, three bombers of the FIAT type attempted to attack the village of Sutumuru; on 14 July 1972 at 1425, two FIAT bombers bombed Pakaye and set fire to the Pirada station and one plane was shot down leaving two of the enemy crew dead; on 8 August 1972 at 1435 a heavy bomber attacked the villages of Pakaye and Missira, was pursued, hit and shot down in the forest of the village of Kodé-Sané between Pirada and St. Hoggou.

193. These multiple attacks against the sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea surely demonstrate that imperialism is pursuing fresh aggressive manoeuvres against our people.

194. We have been informed of the fact that in Guinea (Bissau) the training of mercenaries has been started again, for the purpose of reconquering the Republic of Guinea. In a few months the world should not be surprised to learn that forces made up of countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and South Africa are attacking our people. But we give you due notice that these future mercenaries will meet their end in the Republic of Guinea.

195. Those few facts must impress each and every one of us. If colonialist Portugal is pursuing a deliberate policy of provocation, to the point of bombing African States neighbouring on Territories which it occupies illegally, and is indulging in acts of piracy and banditry in deliberate violation of international morality, it is because behind them stand powerful allies which represent, as we see it, those who are truly responsible for maintaining foreign domination in Africa.

196. It is NATO, again, which makes it possible for the *apartheid* régime of South Africa to survive and to consolidate its system of racial segregation in southern Africa in defiance of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It goes without saying that the people of South Africa, the victim of this brutal oppression, will not be able to contain its legitimate aspiration to freedom and resign itself to living in Bantustans which are nothing more than ghettos for the black man, stripped of all his elementary rights. Despite the considerable assistance which the NATO Powers are giving to South Africa to make it into a military Power pitted against the independent States of Africa, no Power in the world will prevent the people of South Africa from some day in the near future being the absolute masters of this area which is so rich and prosperous and which is now being arbitrarily exploited by the Boers.

197. The Government of the Republic of Guinea, its Party and its militant people urge the South African nationalists to destroy the Vorster clique by force of arms and by united revolutionary action. We have no doubt that such action will be pursued victoriously under the banner of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress in order to restore to our militant brothers their inalienable rights.

198. South Africa, whose mandate over Namibia has been revoked by decisions taken respectively by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations, must forthwith withdraw from this Territory.

199. The strike movements initiated by Namibian workers at the beginning of this year are incontestable proof that the South West Africa People's Organization has undertaken and is skilfully conducting the struggle for liberation throughout Namibian territory. Furthermore, pursuant to resolutions adopted by the Security Council in Addis Ababa, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, will next November make a complete report to the Security Council on his mission. Whatever happens the prospects for the

independence of this people can no longer be in question, although it is true that South Africa is desperately clinging to this Territory, over which it has already forfeited political and administrative control.

200. White minority régimes have no place in southern Africa. The failure of the Pearce Commission has demonstrated to the world the shaky foundations of the rebel régime in Salisbury. The popular and spontaneous uprising of the Zimbabwe people is undeniable proof of the fact that this people has become aware of the Anglo-Rhodesian manoeuvres. The United Kingdom, which is in fact the administering Power in Rhodesia, can no longer shirk its responsibility to lead this colony to independence. The group of businessmen for whom Ian Smith is a mere spokesman will of necessity have to bow to the rule of the majority which the Zimbabwe nationalists will soon make prevail under the auspices of the OAU, which at this very moment is working for unity of action on the part of all the political parties in the struggle for Zimbabwe.

201. However, the United Kingdom will have to shoulder its responsibilities fully, by immediately convening a constitutional conference of all parties to the dispute. Prior to this they should free all political prisoners, particularly Joshua Nkomo, the Reverend Sithole and others. In this connexion the vetoes cast by the United Kingdom at Addis Ababa on 4 February 1972 and in New York on 29 September 1972 will not fail to arouse in all the peoples in Africa that love peace and justice a feeling of abhorrence and indignation against the Government of the United Kingdom. Thus, in less than a year the United Kingdom has twice demonstrated its opposition to the Zimbabwe people's exercising its right to self-determination and independence.

202. Africa, which still remains the only continent where colonialism is rife, has mobilized all its human and material resources to free its peoples. Did not the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Rabat in June, double the volume of assistance given to the African liberation movements to expedite and streamline their struggle? The persistence of colonialism has made all the States of Africa fully aware of the situation; their independence will not be fully effective until all the pockets of colonial resistance in the African continent have been destroyed. The Portuguese colonies are now inflicting on economically undeveloped Portugal military reverses which undoubtedly will lead shortly to their national independence.

203. In Guinea (Bissau), where two-thirds of the territory is at present liberated, the PAIGC,⁵ under the direction of Amílcar Cabral, exercises effective control in the pacified areas, where a social and political infrastructure is being developed. The acts of Portuguese terrorism are in constant retreat in the face of the military offensive of the revolutionary forces of the PAIGC. Similarly, in Mozambique, where FRELIMO⁶ has just opened a fourth battle-front in the province of Manikesso-Fala, popular action is gaining ground. The Portuguese enemy, which is endeav-

⁵ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

⁶ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

ouring in vain to construct the Cabora Bassa and Cunene dams, will one day or another have to withdraw from this territory because, despite the logistic support of NATO, it is impossible for Portugal, which is a small country, to sustain the armed struggle even in the colony of Guinea (Bissau) alone. In this connexion it is comforting to note the recent reconciliation in Angola between the MPLA⁷ and the FNLA.⁸ This means that new military offensives will be a sign of the intensification of armed struggle throughout the Territory. It is therefore to be hoped that the United Nations will not delay in giving its recognition to the movements in Angola and Mozambique in the same way as it did for the PAIGC. It should here be recalled that an unprecedented role has been played by the Special Mission to Guinea (Bissau) of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That Mission of inquiry put on record how the struggle is going and how the programme for economic and social development is progressing in the areas liberated by the PAIGC.

204. The Republic of Guinea wishes to pay a tribute to the three-man Mission whose report [A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, annex I] constitutes for the Organization an example of objectivity which Fascist Portugal will not be able to impugn despite all its misleading propaganda aimed at concealing from the world the fact that it is being routed in the Portuguese Territories.

205. It is thus with pride that the Republic of Guinea welcomed in Conakry from 10 to 13 April 1972 the Special Committee during the meetings it held in Africa. In the context of those meetings, the United Nations sent to Guinea (Bissau) a Mission that was able to see for itself that the only genuine authority in Guinea (Bissau)—the only legitimate and popular Government—is that of the PAIGC, and that without the massive aid which the NATO Powers render to the arch-colonialist Portuguese Government the Portuguese terrorists would have been cast into the sea years ago and would never have been able to take their banditry so far as to strike a blow against the life of the people of the Republic of Guinea. Everyone will agree that such a mission should equally be sent to Angola and Mozambique in order to confer upon the liberation movements in those Territories the recognition of the United Nations.

206. Another source of anxiety to which we must refer is the Middle East. The “no war, no peace” situation seems more or less to be becoming the *status quo*. Since 1967 the Zionist occupation forces have with impunity refused to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and have refused to withdraw from the occupied territories. It must be said that Israel would never have assumed that arrogant and contemptuous attitude towards our Organization had it not enjoyed the logistic support and complicity of certain NATO Powers. That is why my delegation would like to exhort our Organization, and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, to oblige Israel to withdraw behind the 1967 frontiers in order to

make it possible for a lasting peace to be established in that sorely tried area.

207. In the same way, it is of paramount importance that our Organization finally find a solution to the sorry plight of the Palestinian refugees. That population, which has been a population of wanderers for about a quarter of a century, has undoubtedly been a victim of decisions taken by our Organization. It would therefore be logical for this Organization, with the guarantee of the permanent members of the Security Council, to decide to rehouse and indemnify the people that has been arbitrarily hounded from its native land.

208. Can we be astonished at the sudden deterioration of the political situation in the Middle East and the consequent ever-growing resistance of Palestinian liberation movements? It is time—nay, it is high time—that our Organization seriously got down to the task of restoring peace in the Middle East. It is precisely those who were responsible for the creation of the State of Israel and for depriving the Palestinians of their lands who are responsible for the increased tension and all the troubles that have been caused by the refugees, who are at the pinnacle of despair. The recent events in Munich are an example of the desperate manifestation of the victims of imperialist arbitrariness and oppression.

209. If oppression engenders its opposite—armed resistance—it can better be understood what sort of struggles peoples resolutely vow to wage against all forms of domination. It matters little whether the liberation movements, the legitimacy of whose struggles have been universally recognized, are called terrorist organizations or not. That term is not enough to cast anathema on those who claim the same fundamental rights and the same prerogatives to a free and independent life in the community of nations we have achieved in the course of time. In some ways terrorism necessarily becomes a weapon of nations endowed with strength—those very nations which yesterday, dominated by external forces and subjugated by nazism, resorted to weapons to liberate themselves.

210. Nothing could lead us to deprive our combatant brothers of their inalienable right to accede to independence and to national sovereignty. Some might wish to regard their acts of violence as simple acts by individuals or groups of individuals pursuing no particular ideal or national objective. That is to mistake effect for cause. Quite the contrary. One must go into the historical reasons that prompted this group of individuals to take up arms, despairing of their cause. To deny that reality is tantamount to denying history. The United Nations and the peoples it represents cannot acquiesce in such double talk, because that would be to question a fundamental axiom—namely, the legitimacy of a liberation struggle. *In fine*, it would be to allow Vorster and Ian Smith, as well as Portugal and Israel, to invoke a right that has been rejected by mankind as a whole.

211. Turning now to Indo-China, the distressing situation that prevails in that part of the world, and particularly in Viet-Nam, has pained all mankind. All peace-loving and justice-loving peoples have condemned the barbaric bombing and inhuman acts perpetrated against North Viet-Nam,

⁷ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

⁸ Frente Nacional Para a Libertação de Angola.

and the Government of the United States must realize that American greatness can only be enhanced by the immediate cessation of those acts. The great people of the United States is aware of that, and is more and more massively demonstrating its opposition to that unsavoury war.

212. The escalation in bombing has reached a new stage—the stage of large-scale genocide—whereas at the same time we observe that the peace talks are proceeding. It is rather difficult, we believe, to wish for peace when the enemy is escalating the war by systematically bombing dikes, hospitals and factories, thus putting a stop to the life of the nation. The blockade of Viet-Nameese ports and the intensification of the conflicts in Cambodia and Laos are all reasons why the international community should be convinced that the peace proposals, as also the Paris talks, are in fact nothing but a subterfuge that can deceive no one, not even the people of the United States.

213. Furthermore, we are informed that the position of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of South Viet-Nam has been frequently reaffirmed through the seven-point proposals that the heroic and indomitable people of Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam have constantly presented to the Government of the United States. No one can in any way doubt the sincerity and validity of the peace conditions offered by the Viet-Nameese patriots. Therefore, we must repeat from this rostrum that the United States must finally face up to the facts. The entire world is clamouring for the immediate and unconditional cessation of this pernicious war, which has cost so many lives not only among the Viet-Nameese but also among the American people that have been thus involved in a war which is as good as lost.

214. Still in the Asian subcontinent, the talks recently initiated between South Korea and the Democratic Republic of Korea through the Red Cross are unprecedented in the history of a divided people. In this connexion it is edifying to note the merits of that people, which of its own volition has taken the initiative to reunite families divided for more than a quarter of a century. It will be noted that, in order to encourage that reunification effort, 29 States Members of this Organization, including my own country, the Republic of Guinea, took the initiative of requesting the inclusion of a new item on the agenda of the present session [*A/8752 and Add.1-10*] in order to convey to the Korean people the sentiments of solidarity of our Organization, because, actually, the international community cannot pass over such an event without comment, even if it is the result of negotiations that have been conducted without external interference. But at the same time, we were also aware that certain forces, always the same ones, would object, with the express purpose of jeopardizing those talks. We deplore the fact that when the agenda of this session was being adopted the proposed item was recommended for inclusion in the provisional agenda of the twenty-eighth session [*2036th meeting*]. However, we feel that we should repeat to those prophets of doom that despite their opposition to discussion of the Korean question at the present session, those delegations which sought to have that item included in the agenda are firmly convinced that the Korean people will effect its reunification independent of any divisive action on the part of imperialism, which seeks to perpetuate the division of the

Korean peninsula in order better to exercise its flagging domination throughout the Asian continent.

215. Turning to the problem of disarmament and the possible convening of a world disarmament conference, all countries must be associated in the various discussions. The problem of peace and other major international issues are of concern to the entire world. Peace must belong to everyone: two, three or four countries cannot take decisions on behalf of all continents; hence the problem of disarmament and, particularly, the problem of peace are not the exclusive concern of one nation, however great or strong it may be. All these matters, which are connected with the prohibition of the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, are of concern to the Republic of Guinea, but we wish to discuss them together with all other countries, without having piecemeal, biased or false solutions imposed upon us.

216. The struggle against economic under-development is for our peoples another field of action in which our Governments are mobilizing all their human resources in order to tap their natural resources. However, economic disparities, which are accentuated by the constant impoverishment of our countries, give a gloomy omen for the realization of the goals of the Second United Nations Development Decade. The failure of the third session of UNCTAD is ample proof of this, despite the concerted efforts made by the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It will be recalled that the Group of 77 developing countries, in adopting the Charter of Algiers⁹ and the Lima Declaration,¹⁰ not only defined the primary goals to be achieved by UNCTAD, but also contemplated measures to reconcile the interests of the peoples of the developing countries with those of the peoples of the industrialized countries. It will also be recalled that the present system of international trade is shot through with injustices and all sorts of tariff barriers imposed by the rich countries.

217. The fact of the matter is—and the delegation of Guinea has always emphasized this—that no country can do without co-operation with others. The developed countries must be able to trade, in so far as possible, with the developing countries on a basis of equality and without discrimination. But at present there is an inequitable system of trade which has been imposed on the young States and, quite obviously, is the most universal form of imperialism.

218. Our delegation agrees that no people can do without co-operation, whatever its state of development may be. For this co-operation to be lasting it is important that it be based on equality of terms of trade and on respect for the sovereignty, the rights and the legitimate interests of those States co-operating.

219. Since the accession to independence of a great number of young States colonialism has donned the paternalistic garb of neo-colonialism, using that cloak of

⁹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. I and Corr.1 and 3 and Add.1 and 2, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. 68.II.D.14), p. 431.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Third Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), annex VIII.F.

assistance and co-operation in order to exploit the so-called under-developed countries.

220. The truth is that every people is in quest of its happiness, and the foreign aid it receives should only be a supplement to its development. It is only through this approach that co-operation can be lasting and profitable. Genuine aid should help the recipient country to do without aid.

221. In order to make our contacts more fruitful it is high time that we considered the concepts of co-operation and mutual assistance in order to avoid any form of domination. It is also to be stressed that co-operation is not confined to trade, and for it to be equitable the co-operating parties must have absolutely identical views. It is not a question of developing countries measuring the assistance of more fortunate countries with a purely quantitative yardstick; the important thing is that what they receive be given without any political strings attached, such as the forfeiture of sovereignty, or interference in domestic affairs on the part of the donor country.

222. The developed countries demonstrated in Santiago, Chile, that they were not willing to co-operate with the developing countries on the basis of the terms proffered to them by those who wished to develop their economies.

223. We in the developing countries must therefore concert all our efforts in order to bring about concrete results; in so doing we must rely first and foremost on our efforts and organize ourselves in such a way as to ensure that the people exercise power directly and have the opportunity to unleash all its creative energies.

224. Some may assert that poor countries will never be able to develop without money. We in Guinea believe that productive labour alone creates those values which crystallize in the form of hard cash; it is the source of development and of the revolutionary reordering of our societies. Without labour, the money which might be given to us would only serve to corrupt us, make us idle and enslave us.

225. If even after the two preceding sessions, which we agreed to call stock-taking sessions, problems still preoccupy a great number of countries—particularly as regards the strengthening of the effectiveness of the role of the United Nations—it is here our common task to consider and to solve those problems. *Inter alia*, I would refer first to the problem of the strengthening of the actions of our Organization in the solution of problems and, above all, international conflicts; secondly, to the revision of the United Nations Charter, because, while, when the Charter was originally signed the Organization comprised only about 50 countries, today it has gathered in its 132 independent, sovereign States.

226. Hence the United Nations Charter needs to be revised in view of the requirements which are arising from the presence in the Organization of new Member States. It is now inconceivable that just a few countries should be able to impose their will on others. Not only would our delegation support any proposal likely to adapt the provisions of the United Nations Charter to the principle of

the sovereign equality of nations, but also we denounce the existence and, very often, the misuse of the right of the veto. That right favours exclusively the interests of those five countries in which it is vested in their capacity as permanent members of the Security Council. Hence the use of the right of veto violates those democratic principles which should govern the work of the United Nations. We must therefore abolish that practice in order to set our Organization on a genuinely democratic path, taking into account the number of countries which have been admitted to membership.

227. Furthermore, my delegation deplores the fact that certain Powers—namely, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the German Democratic Republic—should be excluded from this international Organization, despite the fact that they meet all those conditions laid down by the Charter. Need we point out that the peoples of those countries have frequently given concrete proof of their love of peace and have made excellent contributions to the political, economic, social and cultural evolution of the world in this twentieth century.

228. By way of conclusion, I should like to say, on behalf of my Government, how proud I am that you, Mr. President, were elected to preside over this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your election gives new and immense hope to all those who have struggled and continue to struggle for the ideals of peace and democratic progress. To you, as well as to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, I should like to reiterate the confidence of my people and Government.

229. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the Congo, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

230. Mr. LOPES (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I thank you for making it possible for me to exercise my right to reply to that delegation which saw fit to quote us in its statement of Friday, 29 September [2047th meeting], from this rostrum.

231. It is obviously quite normal that it would seek to justify itself after the statement made by my delegation, but it is surprising that in this connexion it saw fit to use arguments based on an edited version of the facts. It sought in effect to compare the régime in my country with that which the Lon Nol team is trying in vain to impose on the Khmer people. Because of that, I should like to recall that, contrary to his statements, the present Government of the People's Republic of the Congo was duly installed by the movement of 31 July 1968, in democratic conditions, to the extent that that term, etymologically, has the meaning of "people". We did not come to power by taking advantage of the absence of the former President of our Republic, and the readjustment of our revolution, on 31 July 1968, was the culmination of a strike and certain demonstrations in reaction against the anti-democratic measures of Massemba Debat, among which was the dissolution *sine die* of the National Assembly. Furthermore, it should be recalled, for the information of that representative, that Mr. Massemba Debat, to whom he referred by name, quit his post of his own volition and that today

he lives in liberty, without any disturbance, among us, with the pension of a Head of State. Quite obviously, the Government of the People's Republic of the Congo, which effectively controls its entire territory, has never appealed to any foreign Power to come and install itself and never has had to kill its own children or massacre as scapegoats foreigners who had elected to live in our country.

232. Those are facts which every well-informed person is fully aware of since they shook international opinion at that time. Contrary to what was said by the representative of that delegation, we do not allow ourselves to interfere in the internal affairs of the Khmer people, but we sought to denounce forcefully before this peace-loving Assembly the abnormal situation prevailing at present in Cambodia, where external intervention has given rise to and maintains a new trouble spot. It should be noted, furthermore, that the petition which we made in favour of the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia has already seen some beginnings of implementation through the restoration of that Government's lawful rights at the Georgetown Conference. If, therefore, a part of our statement aroused some emotion in certain people, let them be prepared to have even stronger emotions in the future.

For our part, we are sure that we are working with history and we should like to thank those who by their attacks have given us an opportunity once again to draw the attention of the international community to the abnormal situation which obtains in Cambodia.

233. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Malawi, whose name has not been included in the list of speakers, has expressed its wish to participate in the general debate. However, in view of the fact that by a decision of the General Assembly the list of speakers was declared closed on Wednesday, 27 September, I feel obliged to consult the Assembly on whether there is any objection to adding Malawi's name to the list of States wishing to participate in the general debate.

234. If there is no objection, the name of Malawi will be added to the list of States wishing to participate in the general debate.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.