



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 43:	
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development:	
(a) Report of the Conference on its third session;	
(b) Report of the Trade and Development Board	
Report of the Second Committee (Part I)	1
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Abouhamad (Lebanon)	1
Speech by Mr. Schumann (France)	5
Speech by Mr. Mora Otero (Uruguay)	9
Speech by Mr. Raymond (Haiti)	12

President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 43

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development:
(a) Report of the Conference on its third session;
(b) Report of the Trade and Development Board

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART I)
(A/8824)

1. Mr. FARHANG (Afghanistan), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly part I of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 43 [A/8824].

2. In paragraph 4 of the report, the Second Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions. The first one relates to amendments to General Assembly resolution 1995 (XIX) including amendments designed to enlarge the Trade and Development Board. The second draft resolution concerns the revision of the list of States eligible for membership in the Trade and Development Board.

3. The two draft resolutions were adopted in the Second Committee without a vote.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolutions A and B, recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 4 of its report. Since no representative wishes to speak on this matter, may I take it that the General Assembly adopts the two draft resolutions?

The draft resolutions were adopted (resolutions 2904 A and B (XXVII)).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

5. Mr. ABOUHAMAD (Lebanon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your election to the presidency of our General Assembly is for us a source of profound joy. The honour it bestows upon your friendly country and on your own person is a just tribute to your high personal qualities and your competence.

6. In associating the delegation of Lebanon with the warm congratulations and good wishes that have been addressed to you, I wish to assure you of our full co-operation and to express our conviction that under your wise guidance our work will progress under the very best of circumstances.

7. We are also pleased to thank and pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, and to recall the wisdom, tactfulness and great skill with which he discharged the functions of the presidency of the last General Assembly session, in particularly delicate circumstances.

8. The agenda of the present session includes many important items to the consideration of which the delegation of Lebanon will lend its full co-operation. I shall at this time limit myself to mentioning two of them which are, for us as a developing country, of particular interest. These are disarmament and development.

9. One of the priority aims of our Organization is to achieve disarmament. The mad arms race of recent years and the terrible holocaust that threatens our universe must urge States—all States—forward to work by every possible means for the attainment of that noble objective. We recognize, to be sure, that some progress has been made and that some partial success has been achieved within the framework of our Organization or bilaterally. But much more will have to be done and our efforts to achieve the goals we seek must be increased.

10. That is why the delegation of Lebanon welcomes the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference within the framework of the United Nations. This conference will be called upon to contribute to dispelling the fears of an anxious mankind, to carry out progressively and by stages the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and the destruction of these weapons and, finally, to arrive at the desired disarmament to ensure international security.

11. Disarmament cannot be disassociated from the major problem confronting our planet: that of development. It is not by mere chance that the General Assembly has proclaimed the 1970s as both a disarmament and develop-

ment decade. Incalculable resources are swallowed up every year for military purposes. A minute part of these resources, if devoted to action for development, would greatly contribute to solving the economic and social problems which are becoming increasingly acute because of under-development, would narrow the gap between the rich and the poor of the earth and would lessen the enormous disparities which still exist within national communities as well as between a small group of privileged countries and the vast majority of mankind.

12. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], which was inspired by the loftiest principles, has set important targets and defined the means to attain them. However, these principles and objectives must not remain pious hopes; and a political will, particularly on the part of the developed countries, and a feeling of human solidarity over and above selfish interests must contribute to implementing these objectives fully.

13. The disappointing results of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*], which confirmed the apprehensions that the previous conference had aroused, prove that this will and this feeling have not yet attained the necessary degree and intensity.

14. On another level, we are gratified at the positive results achieved at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. The Declaration of the Conference,¹ the environment funds and the appropriate institutional machinery will doubtless promote international co-operation for the preservation of the human environment. In this field as in others relating to development, the contribution of the advanced countries is of paramount importance and the needs and interests of the developing countries must be protected. Lebanon for its part will contribute within its means to the collective undertaking for the preservation of the environment.

15. The yearly sessions of the General Assembly provide us with an opportunity to assess the international political situation and to measure the progress accomplished in the attainment of the objectives of our Charter. This year we find indications both of new hope and continuing disenchantment.

16. First of all, we see reason for hope because we have observed an atmosphere of détente and rapprochement which has continued to establish itself and develop throughout the past year and a slow but sure progress towards the peaceful political solution of a certain number of conflicts and crises which trouble our world.

17. The high-level contacts between the great Powers and the recourse to diplomacy and discussion certainly contribute to the maintenance of peace and encourage rapprochement and co-operation, thereby removing the spectre of confrontation. The efforts made to accelerate the process of the political settlement of certain persistent

¹ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 3-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. I.

conflicts also contribute to a relaxation of the international climate and to putting into effect within our Organization the principle of universality, which is so earnestly desired.

18. However, we cannot help noticing that there is less interest in certain grave problems, in particular, the situation prevailing in the Middle East, which constantly threatens international peace and security. The interdependence of nations in our present world is such that it is quite obvious that no nation can remain indifferent to the crises which for many years have troubled that part of the world.

19. I need not recall facts which are known to all. I simply wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly to two points which, as I see it, are of particular interest.

20. The first is that the Assembly, as well as other United Nations organs, such as the Security Council and the Commission on Human Rights, has already adopted clear-cut positions on the question of the Middle East in general and on some of its aspects in particular, for example on the status of Jerusalem, the treatment of the occupied populations and the Israeli attacks against Lebanon and other Arab countries.

21. What I should like to say here—and I shall never tire of repeating it—is that none of these decisions, and I stress “none”, has been implemented by Israel.

22. Ambassador Jarring’s mission under Security Council resolution 242 (1967) has been deliberately and methodically sabotaged, like the decision itself. General Assembly resolution 2799 (XXVI), adopted at the last session, which, like Security Council resolution 242 (1967), was designed to seek a political solution to the conflict, has not even begun to be implemented.

23. In resolution 2253 (ES-V), which was adopted by an overwhelming majority on 4 July 1967 and confirmed by resolution 2254 (ES-V) of 14 July 1967, the General Assembly declared that the annexation of Jerusalem to the State of Israel was invalid and called on Israel “to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem”. Other resolutions on the same lines have been adopted since 1967, confirming the above-mentioned resolutions. In spite of this, the process of Judaization is continuing implacably in the Holy City.

24. The populations of the occupied territories, which should have been protected by the Geneva Conventions and the general laws of war, are subjected by the occupier to a veritable régime of terror. Kept in a state of inferiority and subjection, their freedoms are violated and their property is plundered. The commissions of inquiry established by the United Nations have never been able to carry out the mission entrusted to them. The Israeli authorities have always refused them access to the territories which Israel controls.

25. Even within the territories that since 1948 have been directly subjected to Israeli authority, the Arab populations have always been the subject of bullying and discrimination. The treatment applied to them is the most arbitrary

which can be imagined. By way of example, the Christian inhabitants of the villages of Kefar Bar'am and Iqrit, who were removed by force from their homes in 1948, have not been able to return to their villages and land in spite of a decree in their favour, a decree which this time was issued not by the Security Council but by the Supreme Court of Israel itself. What has happened at Iqrit and Kefar Bar'am is but an example. It illustrates the procedures used by the Israeli authorities in hundreds of similar cases.

26. In another field which is of more direct concern to my country, how many times has the Security Council condemned Israel for the attacks committed by its armed forces against Lebanon? How many times has it called upon Israel to put an end to its aggression and threatened it with more effective measures if it did not change its attitude?

27. All these appeals, resolutions and injunctions have remained without effect, as have those which defined the foundations for political solutions, those intended to safeguard the real character of Jerusalem and protect the populations in the occupied territories, or those designed to put an end to aggression against neighbours. These resolutions, to quote Israel, are "destined for the morgue of history".

28. No further proof is needed. Israel does not intend to submit to any discipline or to implement any decision. Only the policy of force counts for Israel.

29. I consider that this permanent challenge to the international community by a country which owes everything—even its very existence—to the United Nations quite obviously raises a problem which should be considered and settled by the United Nations. The facts of the problem are clear, as I have just recalled. What is also clear are the elements of the solution. By this I mean the sanctions provided in Chapter VII of the Charter of our Organization.

30. The second point to which I should like to draw the attention of this Assembly is that the conflict in the Middle East is degenerating rapidly and becoming extremely dangerous. Acts of violence have become so frequent, so broad and so serious that they no longer threaten only the civilian populations, but even endanger international peace and security. Certain Palestinian elements on the one hand, and the regular Israeli forces on the other hand, are embarked on an infernal cycle of violence.

31. If measures were to be adopted to put an end to this state of affairs, it seems to us necessary, if they are to be effective, that they should be studied in an impartial spirit inspired by the two following requirements.

32. First of all, the study must cover all the acts of violence. To circumscribe it to the acts committed by the Palestinians alone would be proof of partiality and injustice. One must not pretend to forget that it is the Zionists who inaugurated political terrorism and introduced it in the Near East. Today there is too great a tendency to wish to ignore the bloody exploits of the Haganah, Irgun, Stern and many other Zionist terrorist organizations. But how can one fail to remind all those who—no doubt in order to clear their consciences—are accusing the Palestin-

ians of the assassination of Count Bernadotte, the United Nations mediator, or of the massacre of the inhabitants in the village of Deir Yassin, where the bodies of old people, women and children were thrown into a hole where they were discovered by the International Red Cross? How can we forget the attack on the King David Hotel in Jerusalem which killed men, women and children?

33. Without going too far into the past, which is nevertheless still in our minds, let us recall to those who today show so much anger and indignation about the taking of hostages and the massacre which followed—a massacre which took place under very confused circumstances that no one seems to be in a hurry to elucidate—that however horrible the violence which took place in Munich, the attack committed only yesterday by the Israeli forces within the territory of Lebanon was no less odious and condemnable.

34. On 21 June 1972 Israeli forces penetrated into our territory, killing 3 Lebanese soldiers and kidnapping 6 Lebanese and Syrian officers to be used as hostages in order to obtain the liberation of Israeli prisoners held in Egypt and Syria. Those who committed this aggression were not uncontrolled and practically uncontrollable elements; they were not men who were driven to despair and who are alone responsible for their acts. They were soldiers of a regular army, acting on behalf of their Government and on the orders of their superiors. This act of State terrorism was applauded by the Israeli leaders and presented by them as a glorious exploit.

35. On the morrow of the Lod attack, of which Lebanon immediately disapproved and with which it was in no way associated, the Israeli air force on 21, 22 and 23 June unleashed an attack against the innocent civilian population of Hasbaya and Deir El-Achaer, killing and wounding men, women and children. The intention of Israel was to take revenge on the peaceful Lebanese villagers for the Puerto Rican and Israeli deaths which had taken place under the guns of foreign extremists who came to Israel from a foreign country. How can one fail to condemn this massacre of Lebanese civilians, dictated by an apparent logic of terror?

36. Only a few days ago, on 8 September, the same Israeli air force bombed three sites in the north and south of Lebanon. The "glorious" results of this heroic operation was that 9 children, one woman and 2 men were killed and 34 other civilians were wounded, including 16 children aged from 8 to 15 years.

37. Even more recently, on 16 September an armoured Israeli division, with air support, invaded the south of Lebanon under cover of "suppressing" the *fedayeen*. Actually, it destroyed or damaged 435 dwellings and two bridges, killed or wounded 143 military and civilian Lebanese, as well as approximately a score of Palestinian refugees, and itself suffered severe losses inflicted by the Lebanese army. I believe that the least that can be said about this typical new aggression is that it had resulted in a definite setback for Israel on the political level and on the military level.

38. Is it the desire to take measures against terrorism? Such measures can be effective only if they are based on objectivity, not using two weights and two measures.

39. Secondly, if there is really a desire to do away with acts of violence, one must attack honestly and courageously the real causes and discover means of eradicating them. It is not sufficient to consider certain episodic manifestations. In this connexion, certain truths should be said, and said without hedging the issue, even though they might disturb the moral and intellectual comfort of those people and circles who are complacently desirous of keeping a clear conscience and who themselves shoulder an awesome responsibility, either because they have persecuted the Jews, or because they have allowed the Jews to subject an innocent people to the atrocious treatment to which they themselves were subjected.

40. The creation of the State of Israel was accompanied by the mass exodus of the inhabitants of Palestine, provoked by threats, intimidation and terror. Today there is a new Diaspora of wandering Palestinians and displaced Arabs, who cannot and do not want to be assimilated in any other country.

41. These people, almost 2 million human beings, live in a state of growing despair, which explains certain passionate reactions and certain desperate acts. These people are convinced, quite rightly, that they are the victims of Zionist terror.

42. Despite all the principles on which our civilization is based, never has this people been given the opportunity to be consulted as to its fate or to exercise its natural right to self-determination. True, the international community had decided 23 years ago that the Palestinians who were chased away could choose between returning to their homes or receiving just compensation [*resolution 302 (IV)*]. But for 23 years never has there been a beginning of the application of this decision because of the intransigence of Israel. Nor has the international community, in 23 years, ever decided to apply the decision which it itself had freely adopted. The Palestinians—and who can blame them?—feel themselves to be totally abandoned and betrayed.

43. If it is really desired to do away with the sources of violence, it is to this source that one must go in the first place. It will solve nothing to repress, it will avail nothing to punish, one group of persons or another or any given country which one considers—unjustly, furthermore—to be responsible for any given attempt. Violence has never suppressed violence. On the contrary, it rekindles and exacerbates it and gives it increased vigour, audacity and intensity.

44. What does one expect, what can one expect from repression—that it will physically repress the elements of the Palestinian resistance? Suppose that this objective could be attained and that the world were to tolerate such genocide. Can one not foresee that the resistance of the Palestinian people will rise from the ashes and give it a vigour and aggressiveness which it has never known so far?

45. Zionist terrorism cannot suppress the entire Palestinian people. And as long as justice is not done and these

legitimate aspirations are not satisfied, one must expect these feelings of despair and frustration to increase in intensity and seriousness.

46. Before I conclude, it is my duty to draw the attention of the Assembly most particularly to the aggressive attitude of Israel in regard to my country. Israel has constantly been committing aggression against Lebanon for four years, whereas the Armistice Agreement of 1949, which remains in force and was once again confirmed by the Security Council in its consensus of 19 April 1972,² categorically forbids Israel to do so. Israel first sought to justify these aggressions by alleging that there had been rocket fire from Lebanese territory directed against the territories under Israel's control.

47. Lebanon adopted certain measures to put an end to these allegations. Being short of arguments, Israel then claimed that Palestinian resistance fighters were undertaking acts of violence within the occupied territories and it deduced from this that they had infiltrated through the Lebanese frontier. Lebanon then requested of the Security Council, and obtained on 19 April 1972, an increase in the number of observers on its international frontier. The reports of these international observers presented to the Council prove not only that the allegations of Israel are unfounded, but further, that it is Israel itself which constantly violates the Lebanese frontier.

48. At the end of 1968, the Israeli commandos destroyed 13 Lebanese civil aircraft at the airport in Beirut, under the pretext that Palestinian commandos which had attacked an Israeli aircraft at Athens had passed through Lebanon in transit. Even more recently, after the Lod attack, the Israeli army organized a genuine massacre of the Lebanese civilian population under the pretext that the extremists had passed through Lebanon in transit. On the morrow of Munich three deadly raids were carried out against the Lebanese civilian population, and this time Israel felt no need to seek the slightest justification.

49. Need I say how fallacious these pretexts seem to us? That there are Palestinians in Lebanon and that they feel that they are the victims of Israel nobody denies; Israel knows it better than anyone, since it has forced them by terror to take refuge in Lebanon and is against their repatriation.

50. Moreover, Palestinians are settled in a large number of countries, Arab and non-Arab. If Israel were to follow all their movements, suspect and implicate all the countries where they reside or through which they may have gone in transit, then it would be not only towards Lebanon but towards most of the countries of the world that it should launch its bomber squadrons.

51. How can one allow Israel to attack Lebanon, and Lebanon alone, persistently, whenever any action is undertaken against its interest or its nationals in any part of the world? If the intransigence of the leaders of Israel was the cause of the Munich massacre, by what confused logic can

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1972*, document S/10611.

one blame Lebanon and hence justify the attacks on Lebanon and the massacre of women and children? Furthermore, the Federal Government of Germany itself officially declared that Lebanon could not in any way be held responsible.

52. Actually Israel is pursuing quite different objectives. If Lebanon is the target it is not to avenge Athens, nor Lod, nor Munich. I repeat, Lebanon—and Israel knows it—is in no way implicated in these affairs. What Israel is doing is seeking a pretext to destroy it. Lebanon in its present structure, where Jews, Christians and Moslems coexist freely, harmoniously and democratically, this Lebanon disturbs Israel because it is a categorical and living denial of Israel's racist concepts and policy of ostracism. Furthermore, Israel covets a part of our territory. It is an expansionist State by nature and by vocation and cannot be satisfied with fixed, immovable and recognized frontiers.

53. All the maps drawn up by the Zionist movement and the statements made by authoritative Israeli leaders confirm these objectives. Zionist propaganda, which has available to it means heretofore unknown in the history of the world, has succeeded in making international public opinion believe in the image of a peaceful and threatened Israel. The facts, particularly since 1967, categorically refute these assertions.

54. Today, when the same propaganda claims that the security of Israel is threatened by Lebanon, and that to defend its security it is forced to carry out military actions against Lebanon, no one can any longer believe it.

55. Lebanon does not threaten Israel. It is Israel which threatens Israel. It threatens Lebanon in its harmonious, human structures; in its integrity and its independence.

56. The international community, which has so often condemned Israel for its aggression against my country, knows this full well. In expressing my gratitude, as well as that of Lebanon, to this community, and especially to those friendly countries that have so often taken the initiative of giving support to the cause of Lebanon, in particular by demanding the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory, I appeal once again to the friendship and vigilance of those I have mentioned to prevent any new aggression.

57. It is not the Israelis or the Palestinians or the allies of either of the parties directly engaged in the conflict that can put an end to that conflict and thereby to acts of violence. It is only the international community which is capable of taking that responsibility. For my part, I refuse to make a definite finding of failure or bankruptcy. The founders of our Organization wished it to be powerful, effective, and capable of ensuring the new international order to which mankind aspired after the ravages of the war—a new order based on law and justice, solidarity, peace and collective security. Towards that end they vested the Security Council—which bears the prime responsibility for the task of maintaining that new international order—with powerful means. The Charter also provides for adequate measures to deal with the persistent violation of its principles by a Member of the Organization.

58. We are increasingly convinced that it is necessary and urgent to restore the authority of the United Nations and its prestige, to enable our Organization, by the energetic application of the provisions of the Charter, fully to ensure its noble role in the interests of all Member States, all nations, large or small.

59. Lebanon is a small country, which believes in peace and justice. It firmly believes in the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, and finds in the respect of these principles and their development the principal guarantee for its security. Accordingly, Lebanon would fervently hope that the safeguarding and consolidation of the United Nations will unite the faith and the energies of all States and of all men.

60. Mr. SCHUMANN (France) (*interpretation from French*): The first word I should like to mention as I mount this rostrum for the fifth time is hope, a difficult virtue. I am encouraged to do so, Mr. President, by your accession to this high office, which was distinguished last year by the prestige of Mr. Adam Malik. I am thinking of the ties which have linked my country to yours for almost six centuries, ties which, if such a thing is possible, will be strengthened still further by Mr. Gierek's forthcoming visit to France. I also have in mind the important lesson of perseverance that Poland has continually lavished on Europe and the world. But the virtue of hope has also been called to mind by the praises earned in a matter of months by our new Secretary-General—a worthy successor to the man who, for the sake of the United Nations, pushed himself to the very limit of his strength. We all knew that Kurt Waldheim excelled in every intellectual quality. Today we all know that he is no less distinguished by his strength of character. He is not a man to shun the new duties which loom in his path, and so it is to him that I would first address myself.

61. France immediately and unconditionally condemned "the acts of terrorism and reprisals which are increasing the numbers of innocent victims", to quote the exact terms of the communiqué that my friend Mr. Schmelzer, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, read on 12 September on behalf of the Conference of the 10 European Ministers of Foreign Affairs who were meeting near Rome. My country therefore shares the anguish of the Secretary-General and endorses his initiative, which we feel sets an example in two respects: first of all, because it aims at breaking the merciless chain of indiscriminate violence, and secondly, because the man who took this initiative intends to grapple not only with the most tragic consequences but also with the deep-seated causes of the problem, as the most authoritative voice in France again requested him to do some days ago in connexion with the Palestinian problem; that "human and therefore political problem". I am in particular happy that the Assembly has decided to include on its agenda the examination of the problem of international terrorism as a whole and that it has entrusted this task to its Sixth Committee, which will, I am sure, approach this urgent and painful issue with all the attention and—to recall the word used a few moments ago by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon from this same rostrum—objectivity that it requires. Mr. Waldheim has, moreover, already proved this. No obstacle deters him when it is a question of implementing Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

62. Why should the spokesman for an old European country feel today—despite all the preoccupations he and every one of us has—that hope prevails over his distress of mind? It is because this year has seen two events which are grounds for certainty: first of all, Europe is moving ahead; secondly, such a forward movement brings us nearer our common goal, namely, closer co-operation and better understanding with all peoples. If I ask your permission to link this central idea, like a conducting wire, to certain major issues which require our reflection, it is because I am speaking on behalf of a country which, as I say again deliberately, has allies but neither has nor wants enemies.

63. So let us turn our attention to Europe, towards the whole of Europe, where we shall find grounds for reassurance.

64. It was on 3 June 1972 that the Treaties of Moscow³ and Warsaw⁴ were ratified. It was on 3 June 1972, at the same moment, that the final protocol of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin was signed by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Mr. Gromyko, Mr. Rogers and myself. This protocol implemented an agreement which has been supplemented by arrangements concluded by all the German authorities. The negotiations were difficult, but none of the parties imposed its point of view on the others. On the contrary, the balance achieved between the reciprocal concessions was an example worth following and could only serve to strengthen equilibrium in Europe.

65. May the same spirit inspire the negotiators who are now striving to define relations between the two German States. The success of their efforts matters all the more for this Assembly because one of their objectives is to permit these two States to present themselves together before our Organization. When the time comes—and the sooner the better—the four Powers which will continue to have special duties vis-à-vis Germany and Berlin will undoubtedly be the first to want to support these two candidates for admission to the United Nations. We have become even more aware since China has joined us that the United Nations has a universal mission.

66. One year ago [1942nd meeting] I said of the European Economic Community that it was in the process of being enlarged. On 1 January the Community will group together some 250 million Europeans. Meanwhile, owing to the success of the negotiations with countries which are members of the European Free Trade Association and are not applying for membership, a vast network of agreements will link the Community to the whole of Western Europe. In a month's time in Paris the Heads of State or Government of member countries of the Community will meet, as was said recently in the course of a Franco-Italian meeting by my colleague and friend, Mr. Medici, not so much to congratulate themselves on such a success, but rather to take stock of the responsibilities incumbent upon them, responsibilities first of all towards their own people who do not want European economic integration to lose in

depth what it is gaining in breadth. On the contrary, they want to expand into new fields, beginning with those of currency and the battle against inflation.

67. With regard to the other industrialized countries, the Community should also be prepared, without ever abdicating its autonomy of decision, to encourage extensive and balanced development of trade on the basis of reciprocal advantage.

68. But the French Government feels that it is particularly essential for the enlarged Community to define vis-à-vis the developing countries and, in the first instance, vis-à-vis the former associates of the Common Market, a policy no less generous than that practised by the six members, a policy worthy of being called European. Lastly, there can be no development restricted to Western Europe. Consequently, while Western Europe is being built, the countries which comprise it are striving to strengthen their ties or to forge new ties with the nations which inhabit the eastern part of our continent.

69. And here is the third reason for Europeans to regard 1972 as memorable despite certain inevitable disappointments: the conference on security and co-operation in Europe no longer looks like just a grand design. In two months, multilateral preparations for the conference will at last begin in Helsinki. We shall do everything possible to ensure that next year the conference itself will attain its true objective, an objective that is of interest and concern to all the countries represented here: to replace—for this is indeed the issue—the confrontation of blocs with dialogue between peoples.

70. It took a thousand years of harsh and turbulent history for Europe to thus arrive at the beginnings of wisdom. The memory of the horrors of two world wars which began there help Europe today better to understand the price of peace and better to uphold the chances for it. The dangers through which democracy has passed in so many European countries, and to which it often succumbed, have put Europe in a better position today to weigh the price of freedom. The grandeur, but also the shadows, of its colonial past enable Europe the better to shun many forms of imperialism. Never has Europe, in its relative equilibrium, seemed better able to defend a certain ideal, which is none other than that of the United Nations: respect for international order and for the independence of each nation, the safeguard of human rights, and the rejection of everything that divides the world into rival hegemonies.

71. Already many people are turning towards this Europe, which is rediscovering its universal mission, believing in it and expecting a great deal from it. It is time for Europe to realize this; by asserting itself, it is gradually creating its own responsibilities towards the international community. Europe must understand these new duties and not shirk them.

72. Whatever the economic, political and social problems that face the members of the international community and which are echoed here, Europe must be prepared to make its own response.

³ Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

⁴ Treaty on the Bases for Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 18 November 1970.

73. We felt this especially strongly at the last UNCTAD meeting in April and May in Santiago, Chile. This meeting was, on the economic level, one of the most keenly awaited events of 1972, and it was held, significantly, in one of the Latin American countries which are so dear to France and which are both strongly marked by European influence and confronted with all the difficulties of profound transformation. Can we not then say that if the Santiago meeting has had positive results it was to the extent that the developing countries found understanding and support from some European nations? But also, that if the results were disappointing it was because this great movement of solidarity is as yet only in its early stages?

74. Some progress was made at the third session of UNCTAD and it is only fair to mention this. In particular, the significance of the joint conclusions which were reached on the need for complete and whole-hearted participation by the developing countries in trade and monetary negotiations in 1973 was widely appreciated.⁵

75. In addition, I welcome, for example, the agreement on special measures in favour of the least developed among the developing countries.⁶ The fact remains, however, that on two essential points—primary commodities and aid—the balance-sheet of UNCTAD did not meet our hopes.

76. In the first case this lack of success—and the meeting could have ended in total failure had the African-sponsored draft resolution on the financing of buffer stocks not been adopted⁷—was due to the overly abstract search for new formulas on the subject of outlets and prices. Rather than lingering over this debate on theory, would it not be wiser to examine, case by case, the situation of each commodity which is of particular concern to the developing countries in order to take specific measures to remedy the inadequate revenue which these countries receive from their exports?

77. In this respect the current United Nations Cocoa Conference will put to the test our determination to arrive at a satisfactory solution. The same is true for aid. Must we really reopen discussion on the objectives decided on by common agreement? Would it not be preferable to concentrate our efforts on the means of attaining them? The real problem is whether we shall follow up our resolutions; in other words, whether our political determination matches our intentions. Under-development is not of concern only to international experts; it is primarily our concern, but statesmen need to have the support of public opinion. UNCTAD, at least, has understood this. It is proposing that we have a world development information day. That resolution⁸ will, I am sure, attract the attention of our Assembly.

78. The need to make Europe's own voice heard; the difficulty in attaining this; progress—depending on the case—towards political co-operation among our Governments since it, as one of the prerequisites of world

equilibrium, works in the interest of all peoples and for peace—these are the three conclusions that we are compelled to draw when we look at the strife and disruption going on in the world.

79. In the Middle East can we discern any reason to hope? I, for my part, see two reasons. The first is related to my dominant theme. We have seen emerging and then growing among members of the European Community a similarity of intentions, which has several times led to concerted action. The second shows to what extent the efforts of the European Community, when it affirms its own identity, coincide with those of the international community. The Secretary-General and his special representative do not allow themselves to be discouraged by stagnation, or by delays, or by apparently unchanging attitudes. Indeed, how could they give in to fatalism? How could we ourselves renounce our responsibilities? Has not the past year shown the futility of efforts undertaken outside the United Nations?

80. We were guided by two clear and simple ideas from 22 November 1967 until 13 December 1971, two ideas on which a peace agreement may simultaneously be based: the occupied territories must be evacuated subject to minor rectifications; and all the States concerned must undertake to conform, under United Nations guarantees, to the rules which regulate peaceful relations among sovereign States. I should like today to give a new form to the appeal which, for the fourth time, I express from this rostrum with all the moral force that continuity gives my country's policy: does any people or country of the Middle East not understand that for its independence to be definitively ensured it must be sheltered from the interplay of outside scheming or rivalries? To this fundamental question there can only be a definitive and sure answer here, not elsewhere.

81. Africa, too, needs the United Nations. Last year gave us proof of this. In southern Africa why did a sense of hope, still frail, follow a heightened sense of concern? Because the Africans themselves, gathered in the capital of Ethiopia, induced the Security Council to entrust the Secretary-General with a mission, which was to make contact. May this symbolic opportunity be seized. The stakes are far greater than the question of Namibia alone. If international ethics regains its proper place, and the spirit of the Charter along with it, we will no longer have to condemn, year after year, violations of human rights and of the principle of racial non-discrimination, stressing that they are all equally reprehensible, no matter who is the perpetrator and who the victim.

82. If international morality and the spirit of the Charter regain their proper place, we will no longer have to deplore the fact that Africa's march towards development and unity is hindered by racial antagonisms, which at times cause much bloodshed without evoking sufficient reproach or horror. This ascent towards unity must continue. France regards it with an active goodwill, which extends to associations that are usefully balanced. But no vision of the future can exempt us from the duties inherited from the past. We intend to assume those duties in two ways: as Europeans and as Frenchmen. As Europeans, true to the spirit and letter of the two Yaoundé Conventions, we regard favourably ties of association between the English-

⁵ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), p. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, annex I, resolution 62 (III).

⁷ *Ibid.*, resolution 54 (III).

⁸ *Ibid.*, resolution 43 (III).

speaking African States and our Community, on the sole but essential condition that the rights gained to date by the African countries, which already have ties of association, are preserved. As Frenchmen we are resolved to continue our efforts at co-operation, even if some aspects have to be changed, on the sole condition that our partners and friends continue to want it themselves.

83. But Asia? Can it be said that the United Nations does not have a voice it can make heard there, or a specific role to play there? That idea might conceivably have been defended before China was seated here. At our last session we were awaiting its delegation with impatience. I have never better understood to what extent that haste was justified than when I had the privilege—in the capital of a great people “older than history”, in the words of General de Gaulle—of greeting and listening to Chairman Mao Tse-tung after long talks with the Head of the Chinese Government and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I had never better understood how essential it was for China to be in our midst, since we want truly to make a patient and sincere effort to establish in Asia a peaceful order based on the reconciliation and coexistence of independent peoples.

84. For that matter, we are already seeing some necessary dialogues taking place. For its part, Japan, which I have visited since our last session, is contributing to that, and we must thank it. The Koreans are now providing a good example for all of us who believe that, as we have long said, ideological differences can be overcome by peaceful means. That conviction explains why we felt a harsh anomaly in the sudden eruption of the Indian subcontinent. Today we have a twofold duty: to welcome the new State which has just been born and help it to bind up its wounds; then to encourage the warring parties of yesterday to follow to the end the path of reason and reconciliation on which there must be no turning back.

85. But, above all, will the moment never come when our Organization can put into operation a vast effort of solidarity on behalf of peoples that are victims of the war in Indo-China and that are all the more dear to us because they suffer so unjustly? These people of the four States of Indo-China want to live in independence in a neutral and peaceful South-East Asia. France knows, of course, from experience how difficult it is to put an end to some conflicts; but I do not hesitate to say that the opportunity to bring to Indo-China a peace whose political and military terms can be equally perceived is now at hand. I cannot believe that this opportunity will again be lost. No, I cannot believe that, six years after a certain address delivered in Phnom Penh which history has already proved right—a history which would have been less painful and less bloody if the voice of General de Gaulle had been better heeded.

86. The survey I have just made leads me to a very natural conclusion: on the one hand, Europe is gradually becoming aware of itself and of the role it must play in serving world equilibrium, and thus peace; on the other hand, the more France realizes that truth, the more she believes that the mission of the United Nations is not only useful but irreplaceable.

87. Why? We must ask ourselves that question very clearly, for the world has changed to such a degree since the

birth of the Organization that it would be a mistake to be satisfied with the old justifications applicable to a time gone by, which preceded the entry into this Organization of most of the States represented here. I shall give my answer immediately: the respective tasks of the European Community and of the United Nations are indeed very different. The Community is an economic power *par excellence* whose political goals are based on its service to a certain type of civilization. The United Nations is essentially a moral force which cannot have a secular arm because its *raison d'être* is to assemble, for the purpose of maintaining or restoring peace, governments representative of all systems, all doctrines, all régimes. But both have one essential thing in common: they tend to prevent the division of the world between two decision-making centres. Understand me well: the rejection of hegemonies, far from creating distrust or hostility towards the very great Powers, is the very prerequisite for a genuine and fruitful dialogue. The same President of the French Republic who in a few weeks' time hopes to receive nine Heads of Government received Mr. Leonid Brezhnev in Paris and met with Mr. Nixon in the Azores. With Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Pompidou signed the declaration of 13 principles which makes Franco-Soviet co-operation exemplary and, as the President of the Republic has just said again, gives it capital importance. With Mr. Nixon he discussed the continuance of a friendship as old as the United States itself and ever strengthened by mutual frankness.

88. The more relations improve between two very great Powers with which we maintain ties of co-operation or alliance, the more we gain, if peace gains therefrom. But, surely, no country among us, even the least powerful, intends to give up the right to choose and to guide its destiny itself.

89. For that right to be preserved it must be kept from slipping almost from sight, as would happen if left to a natural course of events. That is why so many Mediterranean countries—and I am thinking especially of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, which are so close to us—are showing such concern to have continuous dialogue with Europe, in a form still to be determined. The motives that prompt them to look towards Europe are, on the whole, the same as those which justify their attachment to the principles of the Charter.

90. Such is the spirit in which we propose to participate in the major debates here, in particular those which concern the problems of over-armament and under-development—which, for that matter, are connected. But I intend to conclude on the essential thing, which is also the most threatened and challenged. I am aware that I speak on behalf of a country which has certainly not been irreproachable in the course of its lengthy history but which, nearly two centuries ago, proclaimed not the rights of Frenchmen but the rights of man.

91. I mentioned a moment ago that one of the essential tasks of our Organization was to condemn racial discrimination in all its forms and to combat it by the most effective means, that is to say, means consistent with the principles of our Charter. In the same spirit, the French Government last year deposited the instruments of accession to the International Convention on the Elimination of

All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*] and this year submitted to parliament a law, which was unanimously adopted, on the elimination of all expressions of racism.

92. France is participating actively, as members know, in the convention work of the United Nations on human rights. We have, in addition, been initiators in the work in which our Organization is currently engaged to draft an international instrument for the protection of journalists on perilous missions. We cannot be indifferent to the fate of those who, in their search for objectivity, sometimes knowingly placing their lives in danger and make an essential contribution to the knowledge of the modern world and to the emancipation of peoples. Often we feel, as I have said, the need for an appeal to public opinion, which alone can jolt people out of their apathy and hasten a solution to the most serious political crises. Is it impossible to hope that increased protection will be given to those who serve the public and serve truth? We hope that this year the Assembly will be sympathetic to our efforts.

93. At its last session the General Assembly unanimously decided, in resolution 2860 (XXVI), that a Human Rights Day should be celebrated on 10 December 1973 to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

94. It was in Paris that the Declaration was proclaimed on 10 December 1948, and France, true to its long tradition, intends solemnly to celebrate this anniversary.

95. Assuredly, before the immensity of the problems that face the world and the urgency of certain decisions, this celebration will have mainly symbolic value, but the world of today has more need than ever of symbols—symbols strong enough to avenge justice and to comfort brotherhood.

96. Mr. MORA OTERO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My country is once again attending the General Assembly in the same spirit of co-operation and hope as has always prompted us in regard to the vast objectives the world Organization is called upon to fulfil. I should like to express first of all my congratulations on the wise election to the presidency of the Assembly of the representative of Poland, whose eminent qualifications and dedication to the cause of the international Organization give us a complete guarantee of his conduct in such a prominent post.

97. The present session enables us to renew the periodic analysis of the status of the compliance or response of the United Nations in regard to the complex problems which have arisen in our community.

98. In my opinion, important progress has been achieved despite the recognized shortcomings of a system which has not yet reached the desired affirmation of a new international order. Nevertheless, none can fail to recognize that in the 27 years of the existence of the Organization we have witnessed a forward movement of a universal concert of the most varied tendencies, marching towards the erection of a global structure of mankind, bringing closer communications and closer political and social interactions among peoples, without the abandonment by those peoples of

their special characteristics, whether of culture, religion, race or otherwise. This enables us to understand the difficulties for an Organization which has not yet achieved its full development in fulfilling the main purposes which led to its establishment.

99. Uruguay had the privilege of being part of the original group of the United Nations and at San Francisco we accepted the reality of the great Powers, which were largely entrusted with the maintenance of peace, so that by this means they could facilitate social progress and the raising of the standard of living of all peoples and respect for the obligations flowing from treaties and other sources of international law.

100. Confronted with the picture now before us in 1972, we find a fact which is up to a point encouraging in ensuring that responsibility of the great Powers for peace. Obviously there has been progress, since there has been a lessening of tension between the great Powers. Together with the universality we have approached with the entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, we also have observed better prospects in the relations between the permanent members of the Security Council, in such a way that we can think that increasingly any idea of a third world war or of a conflict which would threaten the existence of our planet is being further removed.

Mr. Kröyer (Iceland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

101. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has just affirmed that "the process of *détente* among the great Powers is certainly a historic event of the highest importance" [*A/8701/Add.1, p. 1*]. This fact has led to what has been called a "balance of prudence" and permits us to hope for better results in the not-too-distant future. Despite these encouraging circumstances in which understanding and negotiations have begun in areas in which before they only moved within an atmosphere of confrontation, it has not yet been possible to eliminate conflicts which entail military hostilities, with great human losses, serious destruction and innocent victims, because of acts of violence and uncontrolled aggression. It has become obvious that the United Nations has not been able to put an end to or resolve these situations which have so gravely threatened peace and which in some cases have unleashed actual armed conflicts, which we still witness with grief, because of the powerlessness of the means called upon to maintain peace and security, indeed the principal objective of our Organization.

102. It would be unfair not to recognize the position in the world with regard to colonial liberation, which is a primary task of the United Nations. The history of mankind has accelerated dramatically in recent years in a direction favourable to mankind. The liberation which has been achieved is an admirable success of this Organization, which has been able to overcome the barriers of despotism and the scourge of colonial exploitation as part of an effort of immense courage and social redemption, which makes it possible to see many peoples now among the free nations after a lengthy period of decolonization. As a citizen of Uruguay I observe the often tragic history of the independence of our countries of Latin America, with constellations of glorious deeds and warlike struggles, and I think

that we did not have this tremendous accelerating drive which in recent times has been the decisive work of our community in action. This has created an international conscience which fights more effectively than armies themselves in those areas where complete liberation has not been attained and where barbarism and oppression still reign. We have worked out new formulas to resolve injustice and imbalance among the nations, applying to international life the inspired concept of complete equality of rights for all human beings. That is the task which our Organization has started in order to bring closer together nations which at times remained apart because of external influences or hegemonies, or for other sterile motives, nations which we now see coming together under the imperative course of history, compelling us to bring justice and well-being to all the areas of the world, which today we see united into a single territory destined for development and universal progress. The rate of these conquests is still slow, but they proceed inexorably.

103. We consider the initiation of contacts between governments such as those of South and North Korea to be auspicious and we predict fruitful results from these initial understandings, as well as from those between the two German States, which have been able to find a more favourable path towards a rapprochement. The Simla Agreement of 3 July 1972 between India and Pakistan can also be mentioned as an event full of good prospects capable of permitting a permanent peace between those great nations of Asia. With regard to the Middle East, we are saddened by the repetition of events which prevent the consolidation of a state of peace for the region, which in our opinion could only be achieved by the complete application of all the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

104. Our country maintains excellent relations with the Arab States and with the State of Israel and tries to maintain an impartial position which will permit it, as a Member of the United Nations, to do its utmost to co-operate towards a conciliation which is becoming increasingly urgent and necessary. Uruguay has distinguished groups and contingents of Arabs and Jews in its territory and has also received members of other communities, such as the Armenians, who have found protection and shelter with us as host country and as a free refuge for immigrants, the dispossessed and the exiles of the world. These communities have become bulwarks of civilization and progress in our midst and live together peacefully. Today they enjoy full citizenship, and we want justice and well-being for all, while respecting the traditions of their countries of origin. It is to be hoped that as negotiations and dialogues go on in other areas of the world it will also be possible to open up similar prospects in the Middle East between States and peoples which are today separated and which history has called upon to live together as good neighbours and to co-operate in progress not only in that area but in the world as a whole.

105. We cannot fail to mention the burning issues related to the still existing colonialism and the conditions which the African nations consider to be essential to complete the total liberation of their continent.

106. Our country has played an important role in the process of decolonization. We were members of, and

presided over, the former Committee on South West Africa and we were members 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 from its establishment and for seven years. In all forums Uruguay has advocated greater speed in meeting the task of contributing to the achievement of independence by all those territories.

107. We do not abdicate today our position of yesterday when we point out that the work which remains can only be carried out with respect for the principles of our Charter and its standards, since these achievements will be final only when they bear the imprint of international law. The path of international law and justice is at times a painful one, but it is increasingly less slow, as is proved by the presence here of so many sovereign nations; but it is the only course we can follow to put an end to colonial domination and discrimination of any kind whatsoever.

108. As regards natural resources and the law of the sea, we have reached a point at which the imperatives of technology, science and conservation itself may come into conflict with archaic concepts and the most deep-rooted nationalism. We must find a way to build a world in harmony with these new realities. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in June 1972, proved to us the urgency with which we must set out to resolve these pressing problems.

109. A new law of the sea is the most important event in this field and a growing number of States have extended their maritime jurisdiction with the object of preserving and making better use of those vast areas for the benefit of their peoples, for whom they are often the primary source of survival. A large number of countries of Latin America favour an extension of their territorial waters to 200 miles. In this field significant progress is being made in finding criteria which will make it possible to present a common front, whatever the name given to the territorial sea: economic sea, or patrimonial sea, or zone of conservation of the species or of the right to fisheries.

110. At the same time that we hope to arrive at satisfactory solutions in this field we recognize also the importance of establishing a régime for the sea-bed and the breadth of the territorial sea. The Declaration of Principles adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*] is of outstanding importance in that it establishes the principles that are to govern the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof. In that resolution the United Nations has declared that the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, together with the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor, are the common heritage of mankind. In this sense, no State may claim or exercise sovereignty or sovereign rights over any part whatsoever of the oceanic area. We hope that the conference on the law of the sea that is to be convened next year will be able to consider these specific points and that it will succeed in offering solutions that will take into account the fundamental interests of all countries—not only the coastal countries—that are to benefit by the international régime that is to be established.

111. The problems of the human environment and the results of the Stockholm Conference will undoubtedly call for special attention from the present session of the General Assembly.

112. It cannot be denied that modern civilization has had as its consequence, in addition to inestimable progress, serious shifts in natural ecology, alterations in the environment and the indiscriminate exploitation of the flora and fauna of the earth, as well as the grave harm done through air pollution.

113. The Latin American Regional Seminar on problems of the Human Environment and Development, held in Mexico City in September of last year, established that the principal source of environmental pollution and the pollution of water, land and sea on the international level must be attributed principally to the activities and policies of the developed countries.

114. The problems of human environment and development undoubtedly reveal differences among the industrialized States and those in the process of development. Therefore, action intended to preserve a sound ecological balance will require international co-operation in the sense of a general mobilization involving specific solutions for each region, so as to promote material development and the greatest possible prosperity for humanity in all parts of the earth.

115. Turning to the matter of international economy and trade, the Second United Nations Development Decade has not shown any success in the effective fulfilment of its programmes, but there do exist encouraging signs in the co-operation between prosperous nations and those in the process of development.

116. The third session of UNCTAD, held in Santiago, Chile, last April and May, produced no concrete results in some very sensitive areas, but it did nevertheless represent a step forward and it emphasized the need for rapidly finding suitable functional means for reducing the existing imbalance. In the field of international trade, some results have been achieved that must be supplemented by increasing assistance from the world institutions of credit and financing. Only through the effective utilization of the resources of the developing countries and the transformation and expansion of units of production, together with the required transfer of technology, can an acceptable economic balance be achieved.

117. We wish, further, to repeat our most resolute support for special consideration of the international monetary situation. In particular, and in connexion with the International Monetary Fund, it seems to us that the time has come to make its procedures more flexible, adjusting them in clearer fashion to the specific conditions of the member countries.

118. We agree with the position maintained by the developing countries, which have affirmed their vital interests and their full right to participate in most active fashion in all aspects connected with reform of the international monetary system. Likewise, we believe that, when the reform is carried out, special consideration must

be given to the fact that it should facilitate additional aid for development and should not represent simply an instrument for consolidating the situation at present prevailing.

119. The Government of Uruguay firmly supports the initiative of the Secretary-General in submitting to this General Assembly a request for the consideration of the problem of terrorism [*A/8791 and Add.1*] with a view to having it adopt effective measures for the prevention and repression of terrorist acts. I should like to recall that, at the last session of the General Assembly, on behalf of my country I submitted a working paper concerning the question⁹ which contained a draft convention for consideration by the International Law Commission to ensure that the problem would be considered at this session of the Assembly. On that occasion I stated to the Assembly the following:

“In addition to the many different forms of social disturbance which have occurred in various countries and have affected a large number of members of the international community, there has been a widespread increase in violence, crime, thefts and hijackings.” [*1941st meeting, para. 129.*]

Recently occurring events in various parts of the world demonstrate how urgent it is that this matter be dealt with so that international action may be taken to defend the community from the continually occurring crimes afflicting it.

120. International terrorism has taken on an extraordinary virulence in recent days, and this crime, in all its varied forms, assailing as it does the values consecrated by the civilized conscience and attacking innocent victims in absolutely cold blood, constitutes a constant terror which the international community cannot disregard, and the latter must therefore react in defence of the peace and tranquillity of all peoples.

121. When I raised this item last year, I stated that Uruguay had, in this regard, lived through an experience unique in its history [*ibid.*]. I added that, to the challenge thrown in its face, our country responded with all the vigour of its free institutions, with full adherence to its constitutional standards and with the election of its leaders, held at the regular times specified by its constitution, and accompanied by broad and free election campaigning amid the full exercise of its parliamentary procedures and the absolute authority of its institutions of justice [*ibid., para. 130*]. The doctrine governing Uruguay in the face of violence was that of strengthening law and the rule of law.

122. To us, the answer to violence must be the firm application of the law. In that connexion, we approve the idea of agreeing on an international convention to establish positive applicable provisions for preventing, or applying sanctions to, crimes of terrorism in their various manifestations.

123. We cannot accept terrorist methods as a legitimate weapon of political action. In this connexion the people of

⁹ Document A/C.6/L.822 (mimeographed).

my country, in the last elections which were held at the end of last year, showed its total repudiation of such methods and firmly supported democratic institutions and the consolidation of its institutional life, which had been gravely threatened. Those circumstances enabled President Bordaberry, shortly after taking power, to arrive at a national agreement between the traditional political parties and immediately and emphatically to start the struggle against violence. President Bordaberry said that the confrontation with that state of subversion was difficult because of the absence of legal texts which would have authorized the Government to undertake really effective action. He added that in our opinion, it is essential that the political parties should reach agreement to alter the existing legal texts in such a way that, while respecting individual rights—and it could not be otherwise—the public power would be enabled effectively to deal with the situations which it was facing.

124. That is the contribution which Uruguay, within its limited resources, has been able to make in the defence of human values and the legal and social order, when it is confronted with crimes of violence.

125. We hope that the results of the studies and the resolutions which will be adopted on the basis of the drafts submitted will make it possible to take positive steps in the defence of man and his fundamental rights, which constitute the high goals my country has fought for throughout its history. Those are the same purposes and principles established by the Charter of the United Nations to ensure peace throughout the world, and we are at the service of these purposes and principles of our world Organization.

126. Mr. RAYMOND (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The Republic of Haiti takes particular satisfaction in extending its warm congratulations to Mr. Trepczyński on his election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly.

127. We were happy to contribute to his election, recalling the significant gesture of the Polish battalion which, arriving in the colony of Santo Domingo with a Napoleonic expedition under the orders of General Leclerc, refused to bear arms against the Negroes of Haiti, who were fighting fiercely for their freedom and independence. To applaud this lofty sense of respect for the fundamental rights of the human person, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the Founder of the world's First Black Republic, forthwith conferred Haitian nationality on the Polish soldiers, who subsequently were among the most ardent defenders of their adopted fatherland.

128. This historic memory, dear to the heart of all Haitians, sufficiently expresses the pride the Haitian delegation takes in offering the President its most loyal co-operation for the success of his mandate.

129. I should also like to hail the President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly who, despite numerous difficulties, managed with competence and tact to carry out his delicate mission to the satisfaction of the Members of the Organization.

130. I am speaking on behalf of His Excellency Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier, President-for-life of the Republic, and of his Government, when I address my most earnest thanks to the members of the General Assembly for the support they offered the Haitian candidate for one of the vice-presidencies of the General Assembly. We see this gesture as a token of appreciation of the ceaseless efforts of the Government of the Republic to improve the living conditions of our people while contributing to the maintenance of a climate of peace, harmony and understanding in the Caribbean.

131. As we begin the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly under the aegis of the great principles which, immediately following the last war, brought together men and nations in a single surge of brotherhood, the world is darkened by the Viet-Nam war, which continues in blood, horror and destruction; the armed conflict between Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania, which has inflamed a large part of Africa and is threatening the equilibrium of the continent; the Middle East, where the atmosphere remains explosive while a wave of terrorism is spreading over the world: kidnapping, assassinations, hijackings of aircraft, attacks against persons and property, sequestrations, blackmail with hostages. Terrorism itself leads to counter-terrorism and murderous acts provoke reprisals of the same kind—in other words, terror is met with terror. There is an uninterrupted chain of victims which stretches from Lod Airport to the Olympic Games in Munich, to the villages burned in Lebanon and practically to all continents.

132. If these acts have a more immediate impact on the conscience of mankind and underscore the responsibility of each State of the international community, they must not be allowed to obscure the drama of the large majority of the world's population, which is deeply marked by poverty, under-nourishment, unemployment, ignorance and sickness.

133. The problem of development, which is closely bound up with the independence of Latin America, has assumed new dimensions with the emancipation of the colonial peoples and has become a demand of the poor countries. The initial phase of piecemeal struggle against the major economic Powers has given way to a sense of solidarity, of common destiny, among the disinherited peoples; to an awareness of the identity of the problems and a more realistic grasp of under-development; an awareness of the need to present a united front in the defence of essential interests, thus emphasizing the weight of the third world in the destiny of our earth. How many distinguished voices have been raised in the defence of this cause! "The price of primary commodities, above all that of coffee, copper, cocoa and sisal, continues to decline on the international market, whereas at the same time the cost of manufactured products constantly rises", wrote Dr. François Duvalier in 1969. The assistance granted by international organizations is proving to be parsimonious and insufficient in the face of the agonizing problems of development confronting Governments and peoples. These disenchanted considerations of a statesman were echoed three years later at the session of UNCTAD held in Santiago, Chile.

134. The inadequacy of action undertaken in the field of trade and aid policy derives from the attitude of the

developed countries, which are preoccupied by the complexity of their own problems: spiralling inflation, pollution, arms policy tied to the will-to-power. And it must be recognized that the rate of transfer of know-how and capital necessary for the third world's economic and social development is proving clearly insufficient.

135. In fact, the third world's economic and technological dependence on the great Powers is becoming more and more marked in the twentieth century.

136. The international community is still confronted with the task of giving practical expression to new trade and aid policies, of finding reasonable solutions to the growing indebtedness of the under-developed countries, of offsetting the burden of debt servicing and its impact on development efforts. No agreement has been forthcoming to date on the vital question for the countries of the third world of preferential access to the markets of the industrialized countries, or on the diversification of agricultural production tied to an increasing volume of assistance. Nevertheless, there are certain things on the plus side: the recognition of the developing countries' right to participate in any reform of the international monetary system, the recognition of the necessity for a transfer of technology to the nations of the third world, and the drafting of a charter of the economic rights and duties of States.

137. In Latin America, in Africa and in Asia the voices of many millions of men are being upraised to claim the right to education, health and happiness. They look to the Second United Nations Development Decade to improve their living conditions.

138. Those who bear the responsibility for the world's destiny must surely be aware that the urgent problems of economic development and disequilibrium between nations and between different social groups within nations are a source of chronic tension and one of the greater threats to peace. With the ever-widening gap between the industrialized and the under-developed countries, a feeling of frustration and despair is overtaking the disinherited of the earth. The moral argument, as well as the clearly understood interest of peoples that are guided by a sense of the future, point to the need to adapt economic and political structures to the new requirements of contemporary thinking while remaining true to the principles of law and solidarity of the United Nations Charter.

139. It is with bitter disappointment that the Republic of Haiti notes that 1971, proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations as "The International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination" [*resolution 2544 (XXIV)*], has passed without any effective measure being taken to eliminate these brazen practices in South Africa and Rhodesia.

140. The United Nations Charter proclaims the fundamental rights of man, the dignity and worth of the human being, the equality of rights of men and women as well as of nations great and small. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights goes further, recalling that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

141. Yet, since 1946 the General Assembly has had before it the case of South Africa, where the majority of the

people are oppressed by a minority on the ground of supposed racial superiority. Yet racism persists with its inevitable genocidal component and threatens to become, as former Secretary-General U Thant wrote, a hideous monster ready to devour everything beneficial mankind has thus far succeeded in achieving and of reducing men to a bestial level of hatred and intolerance.

142. To extirpate this virus of racial discrimination, which is tirelessly eroding the international community, means harnessing the progress of science and technology, which are irresistibly drawing humanity towards a universal civilization that will destroy backward and outdated particularisms. It means accepting and respecting the diversity of men in the complexity of their cultural and social-political evolution. It means struggling for social, economic and political justice, for equality of opportunity and for a brotherhood which will guarantee the dignity of man and the effective exercise of his rights.

143. For, when all is said and done, we must realize that racial discrimination does not result primarily from mistaken notions, but is rather an ideological mask for more real conflicts based on the will to enslave and on relations of force. In other words, racism is one of the most abhorrent and degrading vestiges of colonialism, which, unfortunately, mankind has not yet extirpated, despite the profound changes which have taken place since the Second World War.

144. The Republic of Haiti reaffirms the urgency of measures both national and international to implement the instruments of the United Nations aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in order to foster harmonious relations among all races.

145. The General Assembly, and the Security Council in its resolution 310 (1972), have already condemned this year the refusal of South Africa to withdraw from Namibia. It is urgent that the Secretary-General, in conformity with Council resolution 309 (1972) should be authorized to contact the interested parties so that the Namibian people may freely exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

146. The ethnic and cultural ties that bind the Republic of Haiti to Africa make us still more sympathetic to the desperate lot of those peoples. The delegation of Haiti appeals to the conscience of all Members of the Organization to demand respect for the resolutions and the fundamental principles of the Charter.

147. Upon the inauguration of the proceedings of this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, your spontaneous choice of the Republic of Haiti to occupy one of the vice-presidencies of the Organization, testifying to delegations' appreciation, and sympathy vis-à-vis the Government of our President-for-life, Jean-Claude Duvalier, stimulates our efforts, strengthens our faith in the glorious destiny of our fatherland and encourages us to do still more to assist the United Nations to discharge its delicate and important mission.

148. Almost 18 months ago President Duvalier inaugurated a new international policy based on peace and

international co-operation, in respect for the principles of non-intervention, self-determination and the inalienable right of peoples freely to decide their destiny.

149. The particular and close ties that history and geography have forged over the centuries between our country and the Dominican Republic explain why we should have looked first to that country. The conversations which took place both in Port-au-Prince and Santo Domingo have created a climate of confidence and harmony which took practical form in agreements on cultural exchange, while new economic and trade conventions are now being negotiated by experts of the two countries. Their signature will reaffirm the bonds already existing between the two States and at the same time help to strengthen their political stability. The Republic of Haiti invites all the peoples of the Caribbean ardently struggling to better themselves at this crossroads of races and civilizations to join in this co-operation for the full flowering of our rich potentials.

150. In March of this year a Haitian good-will mission left for Washington, where it set forth the main lines of the policy of social justice of its Government, of progressive harmonization of interests of different sectors. At the State Department, at the Pentagon, the Haitian plenipotentiaries were received with warmth, and with their American counterparts laid the basis for a new era of co-operation between these two oldest independent republics of our hemisphere. In return, representatives of the Agency for International Development and an American military mission came to Port-au-Prince to discuss practical conditions for collaboration between the two Governments in the fields of the economy, arms, and technical assistance.

151. At the same time the deep linguistic and cultural affinities between Haiti and France, which go back more than three centuries and which found such happy expression in the brilliant intellectual qualities of Dr. François Duvalier, encouraged a rapprochement between France and Haiti at a time when the policies of the late General de Gaulle, seeking to restore to France its place in the world, were bearing fruit. There was an important exchange of letters between Presidents Jean-Claude Duvalier and Georges Pompidou. At the invitation of the French Government a sizable Haitian mission went to Paris for talks on economic and financial matters and signed a specific agreement for the development in Haiti of French cultural and technical co-operation services. In the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Israel and Lebanon, this same delegation continued its cordial talks that promise much for the future of our relations with these friendly countries.

152. Vis-à-vis Latin America, President Duvalier has adopted a policy of openness and understanding inspired by our highest pan-American traditions. The misunderstandings and misinterpretations perpetuated by factions blinded by their own interests, wealth and privileges and, insensible to the physical and moral sufferings of the great majority of the people, were thus dispelled. The humanitarian nature of the Duvalierist revolution, the strength of its ideology which has aroused in the nation psychological stimuli capable of engendering the hope, energy and enthusiasm that are essential to the effort for a new start—this Christian revolution, as was attested by the

happy negotiations with the Holy See—was presented in its true light. The nobility of its purpose in seeking to improve the human lot in Haiti was properly understood.

153. In December 1971, the Republic of Haiti resumed diplomatic and consular relations with Costa Rica; in April 1972 with Ecuador; and on 8 June of that same year with Venezuela, to which we are bound by fraternal relations which go back to the time when Bolívar was struggling for the independence of Latin America.

154. Thus, less than two years after his inauguration, President Jean-Claude Duvalier has given, in the concern for the honour and dignity of his country, a dynamic impetus to the pan-Americanism of which Haiti was the cradle.

155. Since the object of all international co-operation, as of all development policies, remains the human being and the satisfaction of his needs, both physical and moral, the Government of the Republic of Haiti has resolutely pursued the establishment of a national infrastructure, the construction of roads, schools, dispensaries and hospitals; with the François Duvalier hydro-electric plant at Péligre the production of electric power has been doubled. New channels of co-operation have been opened with the international finance agencies: the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. To illustrate these new relations, I shall simply mention the latest loan of \$10 million granted by the World Bank to help improve our drinking water supply.

156. Thanks to this political stability that only the confidence and the dedication of the people can maintain, a favourable climate has been created for private investment, tourist complexes, hotels, the development of beaches, factories, and sugar plants. All the parameters of the Haitian economy confirm this improvement, this renaissance, the fruit and the result of our revolution of social justice.

157. The policy of openness, reconciliation and entente that President Duvalier inaugurated, holding out the hand of friendship to erstwhile adversaries and enemies, is reflected in the return home of former diplomats, parliamentarians, politicians and soldiers, where they are freely going about their business under the protection of the law and administrative authority.

158. The explosive nature in the situation in the Middle East is now evident to us all. From the war in Sinai, to the Six-Day War, from the bloody days of Munich, which stripped the Olympic Games of their symbolism of peace, to the reprisals against towns in Syria and Lebanon, the conflict is going beyond the Middle East and a bewildered world is now asking itself where this chain of passions and violence will stop.

159. For five years now Ambassador Gunnar Jarring has been working with zeal and dedication in the quest for a practical solution within the framework of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Faced with this situation, which is developing so dangerously and in which certain great Powers dream of satisfying their ancient dream of hegemony, in the face of this crisis where alliances, misunderstandings and ruptures succeed one another, it is necessary

to appeal to the wisdom and comprehension of the parties concerned, and thus to spare the civil populations and war prisoners further suffering. Is there no other way but war, between the resolve of the Arab countries to force the Israelis to abandon the occupied territories and Israel's determination to seek safety within secure frontiers? In any event, it is certain that the escalation of violence leads nowhere.

160. A resolute champion of peace, the Haitian Government, as President Jean-Claude Duvalier has said, supports the theory of secure frontiers for all States including Israel. If they did not feel for ever hostages to a past marked by struggle, hatred and confrontation, the two parties could undertake, under the aegis of our Organization, a constructive dialogue which could lead to peaceful coexistence and which would meet the wishes of all men of goodwill.

161. Would it not be a good thing—and this is the wish of the Republic of Haiti—at this time, when the unhappy peoples of the Middle East are chafing at the fate that condemns them to a state of war, exhausts economic resources and prevents the flourishing of any social life, for the United Nations to intervene and revive the Jarring mission so as to advance the cause of peace and encourage the parties to re-examine the problem with a view to reaching a satisfactory solution of the conflict?

162. It was in this same spirit of dialogue and in the conviction of the desirability of bilateral conversations that our delegation noted the new relations between South and North Korea. At this stage of the negotiations, which hold out hope for a happy outcome, the Government of Haiti considers that public debates based on ideological opposition would risk closing the way to the necessary reciprocal concessions and provoke a hardening of positions. Therefore, my delegation is in favour of the proposal that the two parties should be left free to carry on their bilateral conversations in a spirit of mutual understanding derived from their common origin. In the light of these considerations, the Republic of Haiti is absolutely in agreement that the question of Korea should be postponed to the next session of the General Assembly.

163. The Government of Haiti has also followed with keen interest the new *Ostpolitik* of the Federal Republic of Germany and the initiation of new East-West contacts in Europe with a view to restoring the peace, reconciliation and fraternity of sports of which Chancellor Willy Brandt had hoped to make Munich the symbol. The Moscow Treaty, the recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland, the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin and the complementary arrangements are all positive steps in this policy, at the same time as the continuance of conversations between the two Germanys for the normalization of their relations.

164. The United Nations can achieve its universal vocation only with the representation of all nations that make up the international community. Ideological conflicts bound up with political rivalries have thus far kept outside it human entities which have displayed their vitality in the building of modern civilization. This seems to be the case with the two German States, whose admission to this Organization the Assembly may be led to consider at this session. The

admission of one to the detriment of the other would, we believe, be no solution to the problem. On the contrary, it would tend to widen still further the gap between these two States and would impede progress towards a satisfactory solution of the German problem. What the United Nations needs is less a broad range of State delegations than a continuous determination, constantly renewed, on the part of its Members, to contribute to the welfare of agonized humanity. The delegation of the Republic of Haiti believes that it would be a good idea to postpone consideration of the admission to the United Nations of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic until such time as the parties directly concerned have found adequate solutions to the problems that have arisen from the division of Germany.

165. In the struggle of the peoples of the third world for better living conditions, the sea and the immense riches it contains have aroused new hopes. In this regard one may rightly recall the importance of the decision taken within the strict framework of their sovereignty by most countries of Latin America, which have fixed the limit of their territorial waters at 200 nautical miles.

166. At the initiative of Venezuela, almost all the countries of Central America and the Caribbean, including the Republic of Haiti, met at Caracas in order in the spirit of Bolívar—that is to say, of pride, independence and pan-American solidarity—to consider the problems of the law of the sea, scientific investigations into the natural resources of the sea and the sea-bed and technological co-operation in that zone, taking into account the geographical characteristics of the region. The idea was to review the possibilities of exploiting the biological and mineral resources of the Caribbean sea, of deep drilling and also of guaranteeing the common and specific interests of the coastal countries.

167. In June 1972 the Specialized Conference of the Caribbean Countries on the Problems of the Sea met at Santo Domingo. The participants, while underlining the urgent economic needs of the peoples of the region, stressed the fact that the renewable and non-renewable resources of the sea help to raise the living standards of the developing countries and to stimulate and accelerate their progress. They also pointed out that the maritime resources are not inexhaustible, because even living species can decline or disappear as a result of irrational exploitation or contamination. The essential points of the conclusions of that Conference, called upon to play a certain role in the development of the Caribbean countries and in their mutual relations, specified that all States had a right to fix their territorial waters at the limit of 12 nautical miles measured from the base line. Furthermore, the coastal States should exercise the rights of sovereignty over the natural resources, renewable or non-renewable, located both within the patrimonial sea and on the continental shelf, that is to say, the sea-bed and the subsoil of the submarine zones adjacent to the shore, or to a total distance of 200 nautical miles from the shore line. These conclusions, to which the Republic of Haiti fully adheres, respect the maritime interests of the international community and the régime of the high seas and the sea-bed, which are part of the common heritage of mankind. Thus, the countries of the Caribbean are demonstrating that economic and technological co-operation are possible and essential between

under-developed peoples. They offer this example to the brother countries of the third world and emphasize the immense unexploited riches which are to be found in their local seas and which could powerfully contribute to their economic development and the strengthening of their independence.

168. It must be recognized that among the problems of concern to mankind that of disarmament is one of the most important and most agonizing. Despite the reiterated appeals of the General Assembly, the arms race, which threatens the world with the spectre of a nuclear war that could destroy all life on the planet, is continuing. We note with concern that the nuclear Powers are continuing indefinitely to strengthen their military arsenals, while others are engaging in nuclear and thermonuclear tests, in the atmosphere and underground, the better to enhance the destructive power of the atom.

169. The United Nations should intervene decisively to put an end to this insane competition, which is a serious threat to world peace and which is swallowing up considerable resources in order to maintain what is known as the "balance of terror". The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] the Moscow Agreement limiting anti-ballistic missile systems and strategic offensive weapons, signed in May, and the Tlatelolco Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America are among the initiatives which are to be encouraged and supported.

170. It is clear that all the money which is futilely spent on armaments could be used to attack the fundamental problem of our time, that of under-development.

171. Bilateral and multilateral co-operation would make it possible to restore a fairer balance in expenditures, which would certainly have a positive effect on terrorism and would help to strengthen peace, the peace which His Holiness Pope Paul VI thought would be possible only through "generalized development".

172. Terrorism, which has now become an international issue, is a matter of growing concern everywhere. Violence, which used to be limited in character, thanks to modern communications, has now spread to almost all continents, and the situation is aggravated by the use of modern arms and technology. Going beyond mere individuals, terrorist groups are now setting up full-blown organizations. They have their agents and representatives in various cities; they have their budgets and their sources of arms supply. They know the addresses and habits of their victims; they know the times of arrival and departure of aircraft, and they are present at international meetings.

173. The political aspect of terrorism is complicated when it is associated with national, racial and ideological claims or with the struggle of guerrilla forces, or when it is the alleged last resort of those who are beset by poverty and have lost all hopes in national and international institutions.

174. Terrorism in its full scope is part of the moral erosion of mankind, characterized by unlimited competition, by the unleashing of egoisms, and it is a threat to the permanent values of the modern world. Are these signs of

the imminent downfall of our civilization, as seen by Paul Valéry when he judiciously recalled that civilizations, too, are mortal?

175. Our age, which has seen the curious coexistence of science and illiteracy, is growing exhausted, as once did ancient Rome, on the one hand foundering in wealth and luxury, and on the other in poverty and physical and moral destitution. Recently a voice of great authority noted that we are now entering upon a phase similar to that which preceded the fall of Rome.

176. Following the Munich tragedy, President Duvalier condemned terrorism in general and acts of barbarism which arouse the reprobation of the international conscience and imperil the peace, comprehension, solidarity and fraternity which should characterize relations between peoples and races.

177. The Republic of Haiti considers that collective measures, supported by all Governments no matter what their ideology, could put an end to these kidnappings, seizures, assassinations and aerial hijackings, which are infringing the rights of individuals and nations. We therefore offer our unreserved support to the resolutions to that end which will be submitted at this twenty-seventh session.

178. The panorama which we have just sketched would leave little room for hope did we not believe in man's capacity to see obstacles as a challenge to fetch up, from the roots of his humanity, the conscience and energy necessary to transcend particularism and feed the hopes of universal fraternity and solidarity in the reconciliation of man with himself, of man with nature, and of man with his neighbour.

179. If the spectre of under-development and its painful aftermath continues to haunt four fifths of the world's population, intermittent violence punctuates international relations and creates a general atmosphere of insecurity, there are still some glimmers of hope to light the path of mankind. First of all there is the fact that we are gathered together in this hall to discuss questions of common interest. It is true that for 27 years now we have been coming from all over the world to take part in this exchange of views and, though the results rarely meet our expectations, each year we take up the task again as if to signify our determination to keep alive the United Nations, which, when all is said and done, represents the supreme body for the maintenance of peace and security.

180. We must not overlook the importance of the East-West détente, which seems to be relegating to history what used to be known as the cold war.

181. The Tlatelolco Treaty, which definitively established the denuclearization of Latin America, represents an encouraging precedent for all peoples that love fertile and constructive peace. Against the same background we should also consider the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, which represent a milestone in the efforts to safeguard the values of our civilization.

182. The present efforts are not confined to the mere preservation of the *status quo*. They are also directed

towards the improvement of the quality of life. The impassioned debates on ecology and the environment mark a growing awareness of the problems posed by the consumer society and may usher in a new era of civilization in which man will rediscover his sense of proportion and natural equilibrium.

183. It is no less important to emphasize the formation of large economic groupings as a factor for peace and progress. The European Economic Community has become a power to be reckoned with in the great debate for the survival of mankind. Its existence is changing the balance of force which once made the future of the world dependent on an extreme ideological polarization. It has shaken up the rules of the game, introducing an element of equilibrium which broadens horizons and multiplies possibilities for the peoples of the third world wishing to safeguard their national identity and their cultures and wishing themselves to determine the conditions for the exploitation of their natural riches. Of course the European Common Market has not yet reached its full power, but its weight can decisively influence major international decisions.

184. The countries of the third world are following the example of Europe. Groupings and subgroupings have been, or are being, formed in various parts of the world. In Latin America, the concepts of economic integration and of a free exchange area are finding practical expression and giving pan-Americanism a new dimension. In Africa similar associations reflect the determination of the African States to surmount their differences and consolidate their independence.

185. The outlines of a new world are taking shape before our eyes. In addition to the great economic groupings formed by States whose territories constitute natural geographic regions, other broader ensembles are aborning. We should like to mention here the association of all the peoples that are bound together by the French language and culture, without distinction as to race or ideology. Quickened by the breath of France, this association is based

on the common desire of the member countries to exploit the wealth of their cultural experience in a spirit of solidarity and fraternity.

186. All these manifestations of goodwill reflect our concern to harness the aspirations and anxieties of youth in order to build a world commensurate with twentieth-century man. But the Republic of Haiti, whose entire history constitutes an illustration of the maxim that nothing great can be achieved without sacrifice, cannot take refuge in exaggerated optimism. It has resolutely taken the road of national effort. In accordance with the Charter of Algiers,¹⁰ according to which it is for the developing countries themselves to assume responsibility for their development, our revolution of social justice is changing the economic and social structures, mobilizing the capacities, energies and resources and guaranteeing the participation of all in the benefits of the collective effort.

187. If we have emphasized the steps being undertaken to preserve mankind from decline and catastrophe, mentioning the signs for hope, it is to exhort us all to go on opening new paths and to mount a vigilant guard around the United Nations. In spite of its limitations, its inadequacies, and even its failures, the United Nations represents the highest political conscience of mankind. I also take this opportunity to reaffirm the unshakable dedication of the people and Government of Haiti to the ideals of peace and development inscribed in the Charter.

188. That is why the delegation of Haiti wishes to convey to this Assembly the fraternal greetings and the fervent hopes of His Excellency Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier, President-for-life of the Republic of Haiti, for the full success of the twenty-seventh session.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

¹⁰ Adopted at the Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77 Developing Countries on 24 October 1967. See United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.II.D.14, p. 431.