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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SISSOKO (Mali) (*interpretation from French*):
Mr. President, may I be permitted first to express to you the warm congratulations of my delegation on your brilliant election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. These congratulations go equally to all the other members of the General Committee.

2. This tribute, which is paid to your country through you as evidence of its attachment to the ideals of the United Nations Charter, is a matter of gratification to us particularly since our two peoples and Governments maintain extremely friendly relations.

3. We are convinced from the very outset that, through your distinguished qualities and your great experience in international life, the work of the present session will be conducted with wisdom and skill.

4. Furthermore, I should like to take advantage of this pleasant occasion to thank very sincerely the outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik, who conducted so well the work of the last session.

5. Our acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations implies for all our States an obligation of loyalty to its principles and its ideals. Consequently, it is our duty to join our efforts in order to bring about a world of peace and justice in which the negative forces of hatred and domination will give way to those of understanding and comprehension among peoples, based on the respect of our individual characteristics.

6. Last year I had an opportunity to dwell on certain of the positive aspects of our joint action. However, at the same time, I had occasion to speak out against the persistence of colonialism, the principle of settling conflicts by sheer armed force and the organization of human

society on the basis of racial or religious differences. At that time I also deplored the reluctance shown by the international community to meet the elementary needs of the majority of the world's population.

7. If we wish to respond to the profound aspirations of our peoples, we must promptly eliminate from our practices those principles which run counter to international ethics and at the same time we must strengthen the universal nature of our Organization.

8. Undoubtedly history will remember the political courage with which we have honoured the Charter and thus put an end to the conflict caused in our consciences by restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Encouraged by that victory, the international Organization will justly be able to create other opportunities for redress of this sort so that in coming years the voice of all peoples can be heard in this hall in the same fraternal spirit.

9. The opening of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly is marked by a series of noteworthy events.

10. Europe which, twice in less than a generation, has seen the outbreak of conflagrations which have sorely tried humanity, is preparing for a conference on its security and economic integration. The Treaty on Questions relating to Surface Transport, which was concluded between the two Germanys, on 25 May 1972, in our view constitutes an encouraging sign of a reconciliation between those two States. The ratification by the Bundestag, on 17 May 1972, of the Treaties concluded firstly between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union¹ and, secondly, between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland,² leads us to believe that the desire to work for peace and international security has definitely triumphed over mistrust and suspicion.

11. Undoubtedly, the threat of what philosophers have called our "cosmic suicide" still exists. Our horizon is not yet totally free of the atomic clouds which have darkened it since the end of the Second World War. Although it is unreasonable to draw any final conclusion about arrangements whose nature is not yet known to us entirely, we would note, as an important contribution to détente, the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, which was concluded at Moscow on 26 May 1972 between the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of

¹ Signed at Moscow on 12 August 1970.

² Treaty on the Bases for the Normalization of Relations, signed at Warsaw on 7 December 1970.

Soviet Socialist Republics. The arms race has not stopped nor has it slackened either in the Soviet Union or the United States. These agreements, however, serve as an example; and unless there is a misconception as to the role which each of these States must play in the harmonious evolution of international relations, they will have opened up the way to other forms of agreement and to the possibility of using atomic power for the benefit of mankind.

12. Our constant concern to abide by the noble ideals of the Charter and to preserve mankind from the scourge of war has led us during the past session to adopt the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction [*see resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*], which 169 States signed on 10 April 1972 in Moscow, London and Washington.

13. This series of important events proves that a minimum of political far-sightedness can lead to results which bring us closer to the ideals of the Charter, to which, as I said, we have all freely subscribed. We need only refer to the holding of meetings of the Security Council in Africa and the important decisions taken by the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of Africa Unity [*OAU*], held at Rabat in February 1972, and the last Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown, Guyana, in August 1972.

14. The improvement of international relations, which is the bounden duty of each of our States, is one of the major concerns of the present-day world. The division of the world into two antagonistic blocs seems to be giving way to a certain multipolarity, which may lead us progressively to democratize relations among States. Unfortunately, this encouraging turn of events has been marred by reactions which have been dictated either by false concepts of national honour or by philosophies and policies that are backward and dangerous because they attack the fundamental values of human civilization.

15. This explains why the Government of the Republic of Mali was indignant at the deterioration of the situation in the Indo-China peninsula; why we refuse to sanction the law of the force of arms in the settlement of disputes among States; and, finally, why we shall never compromise with colonialist and racist régimes.

16. We had sincerely believed that political wisdom would have prompted us to consider realistically the heroic struggle of the people of South Viet-Nam for its genuine independence and for the enjoyment of the rights attached to the sovereignty of a people which continues to confront the forces of imperialist aggression by a united will and resistance never before equalled. This people more than any other knows the price of peace because it has long suffered from unjust wars, and the seven-point proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam illustrate this will to build a just and peaceful society in a world free of bombs, napalm and defoliants. The Government of the Republic of Mali cannot tolerate the idea that such proposals have been responded to by actions of systematic destruction of South Viet-Nam, by the intensi-

fication of indiscriminate bombings of the economic infrastructure of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and by attempts to strangle this country by mining, against all legal norms, its ports and its territorial waters.

17. The courage of a people which is resolutely struggling for its freedom is only equalled by its wisdom. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam has demonstrated this once again by its declaration of 11 September 1972, proposing the creation of a tripartite provisional government of national reconciliation, representing the political, administrative and military reality of the country.

18. It cannot be over-emphasized that it is up to the Viet-Nameese people, and up to that people alone, to choose the political, economic and social framework in which it intends to live. All countries which love peace and justice must help that people to achieve unity so that reason may prevail over brute force.

19. We are witnessing on the same Asian continent a positive turn in the Korean situation. The Koreans, mindful of their national identity and their common destiny, have begun, in accordance with their Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 [*A/8727, annex I*] on the reunification of their country, talks for whose success the international community must give its full assistance. Our Organization, which has been illegally involved in the war of aggression of which the Korean people is the victim, must bring to bear all its political and moral force to achieve the peaceful reunification of this country. The Koreans have taken a significant step towards the solution of their internal crisis. Let us not delay events by continuing to impose upon them the presence of military forces which use our emblem for purposes of prestige and hegemony. That is precisely why my delegation regrets the postponement of the discussion of the Korean question to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

20. The device by means of which certain States have deferred from year to year the examination of this agenda item deceives no one. However, we dare to hope that our worthy Assembly has not been fooled by this and will not follow them in their fraud. It must take the opportunity offered by the dialogue begun between the two parties to speed up, by concrete actions, the process leading to the solution of this unfortunate crisis, which for more than 20 years has tried the heroic Korean people. The three-point proposal of Marshal Kim Il Sung, the well-loved and respected leader of revolutionary Korea, at least opens up the way to this.

21. Peace is therefore within reach in Korea. In order to safeguard it, it would be sufficient for us to help the parties to accelerate the process of peaceful reunification which is going on. We, for our part, remain convinced that our Organization will no longer shirk its responsibilities in Korea.

22. The continuing improvement in international relations means that no provision of the Charter may be violated with impunity. Hesitations, delays in taking decisions and tongue in cheek commitments at the time they are implemented have created areas of extreme tension in the

world. The Middle East gives us a disturbing example of this. The announcement by the Secretary-General on 10 July that the Jarring mission had been resumed created a certain optimism, which the latest Israeli raids against Lebanon and Syria soon dispelled. Only the full application of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) can lead to a just and lasting peace in this sorely tried region of the world. The elimination of Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples and of its consequences demands firm and energetic action by the international community. Our Organization cannot leave in frustration those thousands of Palestinians, who, like everyone else, are entitled to live in their own home and to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural evolution of their homeland. Israel, which continues to block the process of the settlement of the crisis, must understand that the United Nations, which it challenges with such arrogance, cannot indefinitely remain indifferent to the illegal occupation by Israeli troops of the Arab territories of Golan, Sinai, Gaza and Trans-Jordan, which it has practically annexed. We should like to assure our Arab brothers of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Syrian Arab Republic, Lebanon, the Kingdom of Jordan and Palestine of our total solidarity in the struggle they are waging with such determination to defend the territorial integrity of their homeland and to affirm their national identity.

23. The struggle against the injustices characteristic of our society is a global one. It has no limitation in time or in space. Those political leaders who would be satisfied with maintaining a balance while bombs and napalm are churning up and burning the lands of Asia, the Middle East and Africa, have understood nothing about the aims and the objectives of the Charter. Putting an end to colonization is one of these priority objectives. If we refer to the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, we read:

“The full and complete implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization remains a major goal of the United Nations.” [A/8701/Add.1, p. 4.]

24. In the opinion of the delegation of Mali, there will be no independence or freedom in Africa as long as the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa remain under colonialist and racist domination.

25. With reference to the hysterical Portuguese colonialism, Mário Soares has aptly written in his work *Le Portugal baillonné*:

“In fact, the only specific feature of Portuguese colonialism in comparison with other European colonialisms derives essentially from the financial and mental poverty of the settlers and the economic underdevelopment of the metropolitan country, which itself is a colony of the great Powers.”³

26. The Portuguese Government is not competent to teach freedom and the values of any civilization whatsoever; for

otherwise, it would have applied those principles to Portugal itself. Africa is not deceived about the true intentions of the Powers members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] which provide it with weapons.

27. The report of the United Nations Special Mission of inquiry which was sent to Guinea (Bissau) [A/8723/Rev.1, chap. X, annex I] has enlightened the world as to the scope of the barbarous acts carried out by the Portuguese colonial army. This session of the General Assembly should focus its full attention on two aspects of the questions raised in that document. First, it should be noted that vast areas of the territory have been liberated and that the victory of the freedom fighters over the Portuguese army is irreversible. Secondly, we must determine the specific nature of the help to be given to the people of Guinea (Bissau), which should be both political and material.

28. The illegal régime of Ian Smith and the racists of Pretoria are warring openly against the international community. The Salisbury rebels have drawn closer to Portugal and to South Africa in order better to inculcate racial hatred and methods of repression.

29. However, despite the threats, the brutalities, the imprisonments and the assassinations perpetrated by the illegal régime of Ian Smith, the overwhelming majority of the Rhodesian population has pronounced itself against the Home-Smith agreements,⁴ which were only intended to formalize the domination of the white racists in Zimbabwe.

30. The United Nations, for its part, guided by the principles of the Charter and specifically by the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), should henceforth direct its action in Rhodesia in the light of the most recent proposals made by the African National Congress, namely, the convening of a constitutional conference on the political future of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. That is the only initiative which can possibly put an end to the chain of violence in which the Rhodesian rebels wish to involve the country, in order to dominate it further.

31. The responsibility of Great Britain, as administering Power in the Rhodesian question, remains unimpaired.

32. We are not unaware of the fact that the moral, political, economic and military assistance which certain Powers give to the Portuguese colonialists, to the rebels in Rhodesia and to the racist Government of South Africa is utilized to put down the nationalists and to strengthen white power in southern Africa. Is it not with the weapons which are provided under these alliances that the Government of South Africa has brutally repressed the demonstrations by theologians and university students directed against the odious régime of *apartheid*? NATO, of which South Africa is a vassal, has thus become a system of aggression against Africa. We need only refer to the belligerent statements of the Government of Pretoria and to recall its attacks against Zambia and the United Republic of

³ Mário Soares, *Le Portugal baillonné* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1972), p. 173.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10405.

Tanzania and its pacts with the Government of Portugal and the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia to be convinced of this.

33. Not content with oppressing and humiliating the Coloured people in South Africa, the Pretoria régime has extended the abscess of *apartheid* to Namibia, which it continues to occupy despite the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.⁵ This illegal occupation, which is an insulting challenge to our Organization, is the fruit of the plan for hegemony which has always been nurtured by that retrograde régime.

34. The impotence of the United Nations in the face of the arrogance of those who preach *apartheid* is inadmissible. It must act promptly to see to it that the sacred right of the Namibian people to self-determination is upheld. In this way it will shoulder its responsibilities towards the international community.

35. The lack of co-operation of certain major Powers in the implementation of United Nations decisions against the white racists of southern Africa is not such as to make our task easier.

36. The coalition of the racists and of those who support colonialism must be met by a permanent aggressive front consisting of those who believe in the value of human dignity and who refuse to let the world be pushed to the brink of the abyss.

37. The recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle against colonialism so often proclaimed by our Organization should finally cease to be a mere declaration of intention and should become a fact.

38. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government held by the OAU, which unanimously decided at Rabat to double the budget for liberation movements, wished thus to show what could be done to quench the murderous flame which Portugal has lit in southern Africa and which it continues to fan in collusion with the racists of South Africa and Rhodesia.

39. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, which met in Georgetown, after having stressed the indivisibility of peace, adopted a position on the question of giving assistance to liberation movements, which, we are convinced, will have a certain impact on the United Nations.

40. The year 1972 undoubtedly has been rich in events which might be attributed to our Organization, whose purpose it is to bring men and peoples closer together.

41. In point of fact, the great nuclear Powers have for some time now demonstrated a certain desire, if not to put an end to the arms race, at least to hold it in check. But the progress achieved in the limitation of nuclear arms would be completely pointless if it were not followed up by general disarmament measures.

42. The objectives set for the Disarmament Decade are far from being achieved, and we can only note with some disquiet the observation of the Secretary-General:

“Neither has the arms race been halted nor perceptibly slowed down. In fact, the armaments race has spiralled to a level higher than ever before.” [A/8701/Add.1, p. 3.]

43. International security, we have stated, is indivisible. Disarmament concerns us all, and it is regrettable to note that the composition of the United Nations committee entrusted with this matter does not take into account the evolution of the forces prevailing in the world.

44. Furthermore, the present formula of co-chairmanship of that body should be replaced by a more democratic formula which would fully involve all its members in the responsibility for its work. Today more than ever the need for a world disarmament conference is being felt. In order for such a conference to achieve any results, it must be carefully prepared by inviting all States to it.

45. The present trend marked by the frenzied arms race should be reversed so that the astronomical sums absorbed by arsenals can be released and devoted to the economic, social and cultural progress of man. It is the welfare and stability of the world which are at stake.

46. The democratization of international relations affects the future of the world as a whole. It applies both to the political as well as to the economic areas. In the particular case of trade, it may well open the way to undreamed-of possibilities of co-operation for the well-being of our peoples.

47. Unfortunately, neither the discussions in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT], nor in the first and second sessions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], held in Geneva and New Delhi respectively, have led to any concrete measures to improve relations between the industrialized Powers and the developing countries.

48. The third session of UNCTAD, which was held in Santiago, Chile, in April and May of 1972, has brutally revealed this fact to the world. The results of the work were so far below expectations that Mr. Tibor Mende, referring to the reluctance of the rich countries to contribute to the solution of the problem of under-development, wrote recently: “Henceforth it is less a question of resolving the problem than of learning to live with it.”

49. Despite the resolutions adopted by the international community to overcome under-development, it is still true that the combined gross national product of the developing countries, which is on the order of \$700,000 million, continues to decline whereas that of the industrialized countries, estimated at \$2 million million, is progressing by approximately \$100,000 million per year.

50. The net earnings of international trade could have reduced this unfortunate trend towards the excessive impoverishment of the technically backward countries; but, unfortunately, here also they are hampered by the continuing deterioration of the terms of trade. Their immense

⁵ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

mining resources are thus outrageously exploited by the industrialized countries solely to benefit international capitalism. Therefore it is imperative to prepare a code for international trade relations which would ensure that we could manage our own resources as we saw fit.

51. The first efforts of the countries of the third world, therefore, should be directed at the exploitation of our mining resources and potentialities in order first and foremost to serve our populations. This implies necessarily that our sovereignty should be effectively exercised over our natural wealth.

52. The assistance of the industrialized countries to the developing countries, which was far from achieving percentage-wise the figure recommended by the various resolutions of our Organization, is still tending to decline while the conditions for repayment of debts are set very strictly. This has reached such a point that the developing countries are now faced with a situation of indebtedness which does not allow them any possibility for development.

53. The negative effects of these facts on our economies are further aggravated by monetary tensions; and, as if it had not been sufficiently proved that establishing an international order would require the co-operation of everyone, solutions to monetary crises are at present being sought without the effective participation of the developing countries. International monetary reform can be viable only if it is established on the basis of a world indicative plan in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2218 (XXI) on the first United Nations Development Decade.

54. The solutions which have been advocated within the context of the Second United Nations Development Decade will have little effect if there is no political will, without which no planning is feasible.

55. The over-all analyses made of the economies of the developing countries, unfortunately, do not enable world public opinion to grasp the serious human realities and social problems of the countries which are considered among the least developed of the low-income countries. The models which were generally put forward to stimulate the economic growth of the developing countries do not take into account the specific nature and the tremendous scope of their needs.

56. Over and above the reinforcement and intensification of the measures already taken for their benefit, the international community should hold free and open discussions with these countries in order to establish precise programmes which would make possible the attainment of the goals set in the various resolutions and recommendations.

57. I should like now to take up a very timely question which the General Assembly, acting on the initiative of the Secretary-General of our Organization, has decided to examine. Some have already stated that this question will constitute the central focus of our discussions. Undoubtedly it cannot be denied that this is an important issue which is of concern to all mankind, but let us not forget that it is, above all, a particularly complex question, with multiple ramifications, whose examination should,

therefore, be taken up in a spirit of absolute serenity and great objectivity.

58. We should like to put stress on this final wording of the title of the item and thus on the need to study first and foremost the underlying diverse causes of this phenomenon before trying to determine at all costs measures to eliminate it.

59. No one can approve of violence, wherever it may be practised, particularly if when it is unleashed it endangers or even takes innocent human lives, but it must be realized that we will oppose any attempt thus to jeopardize by this means the actions undertaken by various liberation movements, whether in Africa, in Asia, in the Middle East or elsewhere.

60. Those are the few comments my delegation wished to make about the international situation. We have no doubt that we share these views with most of the delegations present here, which are themselves concerned over the deterioration of the internal relations of contemporary society in the political, economic, social and cultural areas. In point of fact, man, after having revolted against the injustices continuously inflicted on him, has assumed the role of judge. This explains the recrudescence of violence which characterizes the world and the resultant climate of total insecurity facing mankind. Hence for us it is much more a matter of seeking to remedy this state of affairs than of condemning or stigmatizing the phenomenon, which is simply growing because iniquities continue to exist.

61. We realize today that the world is so interdependent that no individual and no country can be sheltered from the consequences of acts of despair and hysteria. Indeed, we have never felt so much as today that the destiny of mankind is a common one. Therefore, let us pool our resources in order to hasten the transformation our society so sorely needs.

62. We must resolutely engage in a great crusade against injustice and against all causes of insecurity which daily jeopardize peace and human lives and which are called imperialism, colonialism, *apartheid*, hunger, disease, illiteracy, poverty and selfishness, to cite only the most familiar ones. We would thus be contributing to the achievement of a world of peace and happiness to which all our peoples so strongly aspire. Mali is determined to work for the realization of this great project when is, furthermore, in full accord with the historic mission of our generation.

63. Therefore, Mr. President, let us see to it that the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, over which you are presiding with such perspicacity and wisdom, will mark the point of departure of this great transformation. The interest of peace and the survival of humanity should stimulate our efforts to this end. Let us act therefore before it is too late.

64. Mr. EBAN (Israel): Mr. President, I congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly for this session, and I wish Secretary-General Waldheim well as he embarks on his heavy responsibilities.

65. There is much violence in the international air, and the atmosphere of it can be felt in this very hall. But we should not forget that the past year has been fruitful for international conciliation. The main theme has been the victory of dialogue. Complexes and taboos which had prevented contact between adversaries have almost everywhere been overcome. We read of meetings and agreements between the United States and the People's Republic of China; between West and East Germany; between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland; between North and South Korea; between the United States and the Soviet Union; between the United States and North Viet-Nam; between the rivals of yesterday who are the partners of today in the European community; and even between India and Pakistan on the very morrow of their armed clash.

66. How improbable all this would have seemed a short time ago! There is a new spirit in international relations. The polemical and rhetorical mood which dominated the past two decades has given way to a strong instinct for conciliation. The question that preoccupies nations today is not how they fell into conflict in the past, but how they can live side by side, together, in the future.

67. If we look more deeply into the successes of diplomacy in the past year, we find a strong similarity in the conditions under which they were achieved. These successes have all been secured by direct settlement. They have all been the result of laborious and reticent preparation. They have all been the product of agreement, not of external adjudication. In every single case the pursuit of agreement has had to take place outside the United Nations framework.

68. This is of course a significant reflection on the institutional condition of this Organization. It justifies a long hard look at its techniques, its procedures and its atmosphere, which have clearly not been congenial to the craftsmanship of peace. The plain fact is that strident public debate is not a good method of peacemaking but a poor substitute for it. An annual exercise in polemics with preordained voting results either paralyzes conciliation or delays its commencement.

69. I said here last year [*1946th meeting*] that the Middle East was the only area in which the parties to a conflict were not engaged in a dialogue to bring it to an end. That is still the situation. Those who will have to live together side by side in our region have still not come face to face at a table of negotiation. This is a primary source of deadlock. In all other international disputes the breakthrough has come on the level of communication, and not through substantive commitments ahead of negotiation. The very decision of governments to make contact with each other creates a dynamic of its own. It transforms the context of their relationships and leads to mutual adjustment of their positions and thereafter towards binding agreements.

70. Despite this central disappointment, the Middle Eastern scene has not become darker in the past year. The cease-fire has been maintained. There seems to be less feasibility for full-scale hostilities. Despite deplorable slogans about "inevitable struggle", it is clear that resumed fighting would serve no interest and advance no settlement. The retirement of Soviet forces and equipment from Egypt

has stripped the conflict of its dangerous global dimension. Powers outside the Middle East cannot solve our region's problems; they have not fought its wars and they will not build its peace. The idea of a settlement imposed from outside has become visibly weaker. It is explicitly rejected by some of the Powers; and the summit meeting between the leaders of the United States of America and the Soviet Union in May 1972 revealed what an illusory prospect it is. Once it becomes generally understood that a military solution is not feasible and that an imposed solution is excluded by the international realities of our times, a negotiated peace will emerge as the only valid alternative. The central aim of our policy is to create this consciousness: we aspire to break out of deadlock into a new vision and a new hope.

71. The developments in Egypt during July 1972 made it natural for the Israeli Government to restate its positions on a negotiated peace. Our ambition is to see an end of belligerency and conflict and to advance towards a peaceful future. Negotiation is not an act of "humiliation" or "surrender" for anybody, as some Arab leaders have said. It is a supreme assertion of national sovereignty and of international responsibility. Courage in leadership does not belong to the battlefield alone; it can be put to the service of conciliation and peace.

72. In maintaining the cease-fire positions until peace is obtained, we do not seek to perpetuate the cease-fire lines or to freeze the existing situation for ever. Our proposals for permanent boundaries to be established for the first time between Israel and its Arab neighbours will be determined by the need to ensure security and to prevent new wars such as that which arose from the fragile and vulnerable armistice lines of 1967. The construction of a stable peace and security between Israel and Egypt requires a precise, detailed negotiation on territorial delimitation.

73. The deadlock on the over-all settlement in this sector arises from the fact that Egypt has so far refused to begin negotiation unless its position on the final outcome is conceded in advance. There is no valid precedent for such an approach. Negotiation creates the final result; the final result does not create negotiation. We seek no binding commitments from Egypt in advance on matters that are subject to negotiation. We have not sought to determine the final peace boundary, and we have drawn no ultimative maps.

74. It is unlikely that a transition from complete deadlock to complete peace can be made in one stage. Accordingly, the Israeli Government through its Prime Minister reiterated on 27 July this year its readiness to negotiate a special Suez Canal agreement. Such an accord would be a contribution and a stimulus to an over-all peace. We would consider such an arrangement as a temporary solution and as a step towards peace. In the atmosphere of confidence created by such an agreement, a momentum for further accords would be generated.

75. It is far-fetched to assert that the positions which I have briefly outlined today offer Arab Governments no possibility of honourable and meaningful negotiation. These principles correspond to the norms of international conciliation. What is required is the application to the

Middle East of the spirit and method that have had successful results elsewhere.

76. The lack of Egyptian response so far to Israel's willingness to negotiate a temporary Suez agreement has long been an obstacle to progress. So, too, is the deadlock created by Cairo's insistence on determining the boundary and withdrawal issues before and without negotiation. In addition, a new massive barrier to peace has arisen through the resurgence of the Arab terrorist outrages which have sent a shock of revulsion through the civilized world.

77. The story seems unending. Only a few hours ago, the heroes of the Arab liberation movement handed a transistor radio to a woman passenger about to embark on an airliner from Paris to Israel, with hundreds of passengers. It contained a heavy explosive charge. The passenger showed the vigilance necessary to transmit it to the security authorities. The moral qualities of this terrorism come to expression here.

78. When the Secretary-General decided to request the inclusion in the agenda of an item on international terrorism [*A/8791 and Add.1*], he was giving a correct and perceptive interpretation of his rights and duties under the Charter. Organized groups of terrorists, for whom violence is both a means and an end, are threatening the texture of international life. Innocent civilians live in fear of attack by murder squads from abroad. The airlines work in an atmosphere of vulnerability. The international mails are violated by the assaults of cowardly men whose malice knows no compassion and no restraint.

79. There are many forms and varieties of terrorist violence. They spread like a contagious germ. They respond to destructive and nihilist impulses that have taken root in contemporary culture. And the ultimate arrogance of the terrorists is not that they perform their outrages, but that they then ask for understanding and endorsement. They base their assault on the proposition that all restraints, civilities, immunities and human solidarities must be sacrificed to what they unilaterally proclaim to be their "rights". When they endanger the principles of international order, such as the sovereignty of States, the legal systems of free societies, the universal freedom of the air, the physical safety of men and women who handle the international mail, then the United Nations would lose all credit and repute if its Secretary-General were not to focus its attention and conscience on the approaching abyss.

80. It is disquieting that the inclusion of the item in the agenda was so strongly opposed that it was nearly lost. Civilized mankind should take a keen look at the Governments which opposed the inclusion of the item or advocated its long postponement. The truth is that this Organization came within a few votes of moral death last week. And the Foreign Minister of Brazil was perfectly right in deploring the General Assembly's failure to endorse the wording of the item as recommended by the General Committee [*2038th meeting*]. Once the deliberate and unprovoked murder of unarmed civilians is justified by reference to the murderers' "motives" or "frustrations", we might as well include murder amongst the legitimate indulgences of a permissive society and wipe the sixth commandment off the tablet of man's ethical history.

81. The Israeli delegation will support the draft resolution presented by the United States [*A/C.6/L.851*] and will give careful study in an affirmative spirit to the text proposed for an international convention against terrorism [*A/C.6/L.850*].

82. But while the problem has its international aspects, especially in aviation and in police security, much depends on the willingness of individual Governments to take measures of prevention on their own soil. The terrorists are particularly active on the territory of free democratic States in which tolerance and hospitality are cherished values. It thus becomes painfully necessary for such States to develop habits of sharp detection and action which are, in a sense, contrary to their easy temperament. But a free society cannot long survive if it fails to defend itself against those who would destroy its freedom and menace its survival by illicit violence. Similarly, many a government must face a moment of agonizing truth when it is called upon to judge the results of giving the terrorists what they want under the threat of dreadful blackmail. To withstand hijackers and kidnappers requires very strong nerves. A compromise convenient for the short term will usually have the effect of giving terrorism a new lease of strength, thereby endangering more victims than are immediately at stake.

83. In addition to the need for international and national action there is an important area for regional co-operation. The terrorists have made the liberal societies of Western Europe the main arena of their activities. It is here that the majority of outrages against vulnerable aircraft and civilian establishments have taken place. We attach importance and interest to the discussion initiated by the Federal Republic of Germany at the Council of the European Community a few weeks ago regarding measures to combat international terrorism.

84. My Government has considered certain specific concrete proposals for international, regional and national measures to combat terrorism and we shall bring them forward at the appropriate Committee stage.

85. It is of course right and inevitable that the item on our agenda [*item 92*] should be drafted in universal terms. It would, however, be mere pretense to lose sight of the fact that the most rampant terrorism today is that which has its root in Arab hostility to Israel. It was after all the ghastly crime at Munich that gave the incentive for the debate which the General Assembly has decided to hold.

86. In this context I come to discuss the methods used by Arab terrorist organizations; their political aims; and, above all, the crucial role of Arab Governments in creating and maintaining them.

87. The original targets of Arab terrorism in the early 1950s were the lives and homes of Israelis on their own soil. The toll was heavy and constant. A busload of passengers at Scorpion Pass; a group of farmers celebrating a wedding at Patish; a party of scholars on an archaeological expedition at Ramat Rachel; farmers in the collective villages of the Jordan Valley; fishermen on Lake Tiberias. These are random extracts from our nation's memory of bereavement. No other people has had to live all its days with a mark of interrogation hanging over its collective and

individual security. A United Nations representative, General E. L. M. Burns of Canada, wrote then of these *fedayeen* activities that they were worthy of the Nazis. In those days murder was not regarded anywhere as a symptom of revolutionary “progress”.

88. The terrorist bands called the “*fedayeen*”, which, thereafter, became the “Palestine Liberation Organization”, developed their main activity in the 1950s and the early 1960s. In other words, they have absolutely nothing to do with the situation created by the 1967 war. Their object has been and is to destroy security of life for Israel, irrespective of what the armistice or cease-fire configuration is at any given time. After 1967 they transferred their violence from frontier areas to Israel’s urban centres; shoppers in Mahne Yehuda Market in Jerusalem; housewives in a supermarket; students in a college cafeteria; passers-by in a crowded bus station—and on one horrifying morning a clearly marked school bus at Avivim in Northern Israel. As the mangled bodies of our children, still clutching toys and copybooks, were flown by helicopter to hospitals and morgues, there came across the frontier the gloating voice of Mr. George Habash, Commander of the so-called Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, announcing that it was wise to kill Israelis while they were still young. It is difficult to speak or hear of this morbid monster without a cold chill of revulsion. The essential point for these “liberators” is that their victims should be defenceless, vulnerable and unarmed. This is their chivalry.

89. The rest is part of the recent experience and memory of everyone in this hall. Before the squalid butchery at Munich, the worst horror was at Lod Airport, where a group of depraved mercenaries from a distant land methodically slaughtered 26 civilian passengers—one of them was an eminent Israeli physicist, others were humble Puerto Rican pilgrims coming from the United States. Condemnation was world-wide; but alas it was not universal. Those who take their weekly instruction from the cultivated prose of Hassanein Heykal should ponder his commentary on the massacre at Lod. I quote from an article by him dated 9 June 1972:

“If there had been three Palestinians there instead of three Japanese I should have been enthusiastic about it, in spite of the fact that at the bottom of my heart I’m for the three Japanese.”

90. The Egyptian Prime Minister’s reaction was less sophisticated and more simple, although it had a note of blasphemy. He invoked divine blessing on the murderous example:

“I want to say that what happened at Lod Airport proves that we can, with Allah’s help, achieve victory in our battle with Israel. This is the only reaction I have to this matter.”

91. In the history of revolutionary violence there is a constant clash between ends and means. But in the Arab terrorist movement, dedicated to enslavement and genocide, there is no such ambivalence. The aims which Arab terrorism serves are even worse than the means it employs. The means are murder and kidnapping. The aim is not to win freedom for the Arab nation, whose freedom is so

amply and lavishly assured, but to liquidate the national liberation which the most ancient of nations has already achieved.

92. There is no need of interpretation here. Quotation is enough. The Palestine terrorist organizations are not at all concerned with finding a solution for the problems of Palestinian Arabs within the framework of a Middle East of which Israel forms a part. This, in fact, is what they are fighting to prevent. The aim is much more radical. Let their leader, Yasser Arafat, speak for himself:

“Al Fatah started its activities in 1956 and its armed struggle in 1965. Its aim is the liquidation of the Zionist Israeli existence.”

President El-Sadat is often very frank on this theme. On 2 June 1971 he told the Egyptian National Council:

“The Zionist conquest to which we are being subjected will not be terminated by the return of the occupied territories. This is a new Crusader war which will persist during our generation and through the coming one.”

93. A document called the Palestine Covenant was adopted by all the Palestine liberation groups at the sixth congress of the Palestinian National Council, which met in Cairo in September 1968. The Covenant lays down that the Palestine State is to be an Arab State, that it is to comprise the whole area west of the Jordan not part of it, and that only Jews who were living in Palestine before the “Zionist invasion” could be citizens. The rest—the vast majority—would be pressed to depart. So the aim of this terrorist movement is the liquidation of the solitary Israeli State for the purpose of establishing the nineteenth Arab State. A compact expression of this policy came from former Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad in a press conference in Paris on 1 October 1971, when he said: “I give complete support to the organizations and their programme of wiping out the Jewish State.”

94. The concept of “politicide”—the extinction of the identity and personality of a State—is so unfamiliar, indeed unique, that it may be difficult for other Governments to grasp its significance. Israelis study this notion against the background of another unique experience, the memory of which no other people has ever shared. In the Hitler decade we learned that some things are too terrible to believe but that nothing in our people’s history is too terrible to have happened.

95. In questioning Israel’s axiomatic right to security and independence, the terrorist organizations commit a disruptive heresy in the life of our age. They rise up in revolt against history, law, justice, humanity and peace. There are now 18 Arab States, with a population of 100 million, an area of 4-1/2 million square miles and unlimited wealth and opportunity. Facing them alone on the scales of equity is the small State of Israel. There is, therefore, only one nation which stands or falls in history by the way in which this conflict is resolved. By its solitude and uniqueness, Israel’s secure existence is the overriding moral imperative in this dispute. The moral quality of the Arab terrorist organizations is determined not only by their brutal acts but by the destructive vision which inspires them. Their

close links with neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic organizations are in full harmony with their inner nature.

96. I have said that the resurgence of Arab terrorism is a massive obstacle on the road to peace. This is not only a reflection on the psychological atmosphere. It is true that a condition of hate, fear, bloodshed and bereavement works against the prospect of a conciliatory effort, which would be difficult enough in any case. What is no less grave is that we find it impossible to accept the distinction between these organizations and the Arab Governments which are our destined partners in the peace effort. The support given by those Governments to the organizations undermines the credibility of their peaceful professions—and even the professions are few and far between.

97. Egyptian support for the terrorists finds expression in the press, radio and television. The terrorist leaders see Cairo as the centre at which they co-ordinate matters of common concern with the League of Arab States. Egypt serves as the centre where the heads of the terrorist movements meet the representatives of the various Arab countries passing through Cairo. Not a week passes without a central Egyptian personality meeting with a terrorist leader for co-ordination and co-operation. Cairo Radio gives a special programme on Palestine in which terrorist activities are constantly praised. The special radio station broadcasting from Cairo, called "Saut Falastin", belongs entirely to the terrorists, who are free to broadcast what they like. The station broadcasts constant agitation and incitement against Israel and justifies every terrorist action.

98. Egyptian support on the military level is very broad. On many occasions delegations of the organizations with Arafat at their head pay visits to Egyptian army camps in the rear and at the front. Arafat wears an Egyptian army decoration for valour.

99. The terrorist organizations are permitted to carry on activity everywhere in the country to mobilize volunteers. Apart from their own independent mobilization machinery, they receive active support in this respect from the Libyan Embassy in Cairo, which openly signs up volunteers, pays them and sends them to Libya for training.

100. Delegations from the various terrorist organizations receive information and instruction in Egyptian military bases. The Fatah stands apart from the rest and has special privileges in Egypt. Its members actually go through training together with Egyptian soldiers in the ranks of the Egyptian army. The "Ein Jalud" unit of the Palestine Liberation Army is commanded by an Egyptian officer. Egypt also helps the organizations with supplies of arms, ammunition and other military material.

101. The crisis that broke out between Lebanon and the terrorists in June 1972 brought to the fore Egypt's role as guardian and protector of the organizations. Realizing that the terrorist movement might find itself obliged to quit Lebanese territory, the Egyptian President took action to forestall any Lebanese attempt to harm the terrorists. Mahmoud Riad, Secretary of the League of Arab States, was sent as a special mediator. President El-Sadat was not content with that. He sent his personal representative to Beirut in order to exert pressure on the Lebanese Govern-

ment not to cancel the Cairo agreement of November 1969, which provided for the terrorists' presence in Lebanon.

102. Egypt's leaders address the terrorist bodies at all their conferences. In any clash between the terrorists and their victims, the Government sponsors the terrorists' cause. In September 1970 a Pan American aircraft landed in Cairo, where the hijackers calmly blew it up in the sight of the authorities. When the Jordanian Defence Minister was murdered as a guest on Egyptian soil, his hosts allowed the murderers to go free.

103. In Lebanon there are 5,000 terrorists, whose constant activity is undisturbed by the authorities. Under the Cairo agreement between Lebanon and the terrorist organizations, the Lebanese Government granted the terrorists legal recognition, freedom to organize and a base for activity against Israel. Beirut is the seat and centre of terrorist planning and propaganda. It is from Beirut that groups set out with detailed plans to commit murder and hijackings and set off explosions in Europe and elsewhere. It was in Beirut and Baalbek that Kozo Okamoto received shelter and training for his assault on the airport at Lod.

104. Syria was the first Arab State which supported terrorist activities from the outset. President Al-Assad said on 2 September 1971 in the weekly journal *Al Mussawar* that:

"... the *fedayeen* are to be found in more than one area of Syria, and they have absolute freedom of movement on the Syrian front. Moreover,"—said President Al-Assad—"we encourage and stimulate them and often we complain that they are not sufficiently active . . .".

105. Libyan support for terrorist assaults in the Middle East and Europe needs no documentation. President Qaddafi's admiration of the Munich murderers was rhapsodic and explicit.

106. Whatever the position may be with other terrorist groups, there is no truth or value in a discussion of Arab terrorism which does not face the fact that it is a recognized arm of Arab Governments in a policy of war against Israel. These organizations could not exist, still less function, without the shelter, support, endorsement, financial aid, arms, training facilities and territorial bases supplied by certain Arab States. All the activities of these organizations without exception violate the principles which the signatories of the Charter—including Arab signatories—pledged themselves to defend. It is not an accident that the Governments which sponsor Arab terrorist organizations are unable to fulfil normal international obligations. The Arab Governments have not signed the Tokyo Convention;⁶ they have not signed the Montreal Convention;⁷ they have not responded to the Secretary-General's proposal for drawing the attention of the twenty-seventh session of this Assembly to the problem of international terrorism [*A/8791 and Add.1*].

⁶ Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, signed at Tokyo on 14 September 1963.

⁷ Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed at Montreal on 23 September 1971.

107. Now, whether or not the General Assembly can take effective action in this matter, it does at least possess the capacity of accurate judgement. Such honourable words as "liberation", "resistance", "commando" have no application—and have never before been applied—to attempts to liquidate a lawful sovereignty, to compound the Nazi assault on Jewish survival and to wage a campaign of indiscriminate assault against civilians in the Middle East and elsewhere.

108. The attitude of Arab Governments towards Arab terrorists is today a graver obstacle to peace than the admittedly disparate positions of the parties to the problems of withdrawal, boundaries, navigation, peace, etc. I say in all frankness: I cannot today believe that Egypt and Syria are willing, or that Lebanon is able, to make peace with Israel; and in that profound scepticism the attitude of those movements to terrorism plays the central role.

109. The discussion must inevitably take us back to a consideration of the word "Palestine" that appears as the title of the terrorist organizations. Now, is it true that there is a distinct people deprived of self-determination, languishing in poverty, squalor and humiliation, dependant on organized violence as its sole prospect of redemption? Nothing could be further from the truth.

110. There are some 2-3/4 million Palestine Arabs in the world today. Three quarters of them are in the original territory of Palestine, on both sides of the Jordan—that is to say, under Jordanian rule or within the area at present under Israel's jurisdiction. The other quarter are in Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria and Saudi Arabia. Moreover, 1,300,000 Palestine Arabs now hold Jordanian citizenship, which has been available to them since 1950, when Jordan annexed the territories of the west bank with the consent of the Palestinian leaders.

111. For the entire period of the armistice régime between 1949 and 1967 all Palestine Arabs—except a few hundred thousand who are citizens of Israel—were living under Arab sovereignty and Arab flags. In other words, the question of their civic and political identity was a matter for determination by Arab Governments and authorities alone.

112. The Kingdom of Jordan was a Palestinian State, in the double sense that a majority of its citizens were Palestinians and a majority of all the Palestinians in the world were citizens of that State.

113. In a final peace settlement a new permanent boundary will be drawn between Israel and its eastern neighbour. Some hundreds of thousands of Palestine Arabs would in all conditions be a community within the State of Israel; this is normal. There is no such thing as 100 per cent self-determination, although the Arab nation comes closer to that figure than any other in history. Those Palestinian Arabs who will be outside Israel's permanent boundary once it is drawn will be free to determine their future in conjunction with the Arab Governments and peoples concerned.

114. As recently as 8 September 1972, the Israeli Prime Minister made it plain that in her conception of a peace agreement there would have to be important modifications

of the previous armistice lines in order to preserve security and to avoid new wars. But she added that it was not her conception that under such an agreement the vast majority of all the Palestine Arabs in the administered territories would have to fall within Israeli jurisdiction.

115. It follows, therefore, that the political status of the Palestine Arabs would find its solution within a peace settlement. Now, here is the most drastic paradox of all: the "Palestine Liberation" organizations are the implacable opponents of an Arab peace with Israel. Yet nothing but peace with Israel can clarify the political and civil destiny of the Palestine Arabs in a manner compatible with Israel's sovereignty and security, with regional peace and with their own basic interests.

116. In the meantime, this community is not languishing in despair and poverty: there is a new freedom of movement and contact. The national product of the Samaria-Judea-Gaza areas, administered by Israel since 1967, in which a million Arabs live, has nearly doubled since 1968. The *per capita* income has risen from £I 670 in 1968 to £I 1,100 in 1972. The agricultural product has tripled. There were less than 4,000 private vehicles in 1969; there are nearly 7,000 today. There were 3,000 television sets there in 1967; today there are 40,000. Fifty thousand workers find labour opportunities in the Israeli market, from which they bring back £I 300 million a year. There is no unemployment. Wage levels have trebled since 1967. The value of exports from these territories has risen from £I 220 million to £I 305 million.

117. Perhaps more significant than the language of statistics is the spectacle of human contact, commerce and exchange that brings hundreds of thousands of Israelis and hundreds of thousands of Palestine Arabs into a normal and fruitful communion the like of which never existed before.

118. In the latter half of 1971, 200,000 Arabs from neighbouring countries freely crossed the Jordan bridges towards Israel. It is not inconceivable that, when the agreed peace boundary is drawn, the relations between Israel and its eastern Arab neighbours could evolve across open boundaries into something like the community structure in parts of Western Europe today.

119. So while Arab terrorists in Beirut and European capitals manufacture their bombs and plot their assassinations, the majority of the Palestinian Arabs are living solid lives enriched by a widening contact with their neighbours—still clouded, of course, by a lack of political definition, but nevertheless alive with the hope and prospect of a peaceful regional future.

120. There is, of course, hardship in every sector of Middle Eastern life. But there is not one single problem of the Palestinian Arabs that can be advanced towards a solution by the action of the terrorist groups. There is not one single legitimate interest of the Palestinian Arabs that would not come to reasonable satisfaction in a negotiated peace settlement between Israel and its neighbours. The terrorist groups are not only the enemies of law and order across the Middle East and in many parts of the world: they also alienate the Palestine Arabs from their true interest and their authentic vocation.

121. The problem of curbing the terrorists is now our most urgent preoccupation. We are resolved to resist and weaken them in our region. We believe that national, regional and international action against Arab terrorism is an indispensable prelude to the fruitful exploration of peaceful prospects for the Middle East.

122. I have spoken of psychological and human obstacles on the road to peace. Some of these obstacles could easily be removed. I refer, for example, to the problem of prisoners of war.

123. There are 10 Israeli prisoners of war in Egyptian hands; they have been there for two and a half to three years. On the other hand, Israel holds 61 Egyptian prisoners of war, most of whom have been in captivity for nearly three years. Syria has been holding three Israeli prisoners of war for the last two and a half years. Israel holds 45 Syrian prisoners of war. Israel also holds 10 Lebanese prisoners of war.

124. With the cease-fire well into its third year we propose the mutual release and repatriation of all prisoners of war. The arithmetical advantage is overwhelmingly on the Arab side; but in the broader human sense everyone would gain.

125. The Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August 1949 lays down in article 118 that: "Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities."⁸ This provision of the Geneva Convention is clear and definite. In accordance with it there should have been a release of prisoners when the cease-fire entered into force on 7 August 1970.

126. Articles 109 and 110 of the Convention provide that prisoners of war who are seriously wounded or who are seriously sick must be sent back to their own country even before the cessation of active hostilities.

127. It is reported that Egypt considers the six pilots amongst the Israeli prisoners that it has captured as being of greater importance than the 60 Egyptian prisoners held by Israel, who are mostly ordinary soldiers. But this is certainly not a humane approach to the problem. All prisoners of war, irrespective of rank, must be released in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Geneva Convention. A gesture of goodwill by Egypt and Syria on behalf of 115 Arabs and 13 Israeli prisoners would help diminish the acute lack of confidence which now obstructs any progress towards peace. What valid argument can there possibly be against this course?

128. At the same time our Jewish destiny and responsibility inspire our concern for the plight of the small Jewish minority in Syria where 4,500 Jews are held as helpless hostages, forbidden to depart, discriminated against, humiliated, their movement restricted, essential services denied them, their property confiscated, and their livelihood in constant jeopardy.

129. The plight of Syrian Jewry has been brought to the United Nations General Assembly and its Committees in

the past. Two years ago committees to help the Jews of the Arab countries arose in 25 different countries in four continents, and an international committee came into existence. Some of the Arab countries responded to the humanitarian pressure of world public opinion and permitted the Jews who had remained in their territories to leave. Only Syria has persisted in its present position. Public opinion should not rest or remain silent until the imprisoned are released and the Jews of Syria permitted to reach safety.

130. Year in and year out the problem of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union comes to the General Assembly and its Committees.

131. The history of the Jews in Russia is a continuous chain of hardship and suffering from the days of the Tsars until the present time. Recently their urgent aspiration to emigrate to their historic homeland has broken through the barrier of silence. Thousands have reached Israel, where they have been received with a deep poignancy arising from a long separation. Many people of goodwill throughout the world saw in the emigration of these Jews, however few, a sign of broader tolerance and humane understanding.

132. But there has now been a setback; while still permitting the emigration of thousands of Jews, the Soviet authorities have placed limitations on the freedom of movement of scores of thousands in disregard of their fundamental human rights. Many have been arrested just for wishing to go to Israel and have been sentenced to imprisonment. The Soviet information media publish calumnies, slanders and incitement against them.

133. Many of those who register in the emigration offices are dismissed from employment and thus lose their livelihood. An open anti-Semitic campaign is being conducted, and in the period 1971-1972 alone, dozens of anti-Semitic books have been published in the Soviet Union, in addition to the anti-Jewish campaign conducted by the press and official media of information.

134. And now as part of the attempt to dissuade Jews from submitting applications for exit permits to Israel, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics decided on 3 August to impose a special tax on Jews with higher education who wish to go to Israel. This effectively deprives thousands of people of any possibility and any hope ever to join their families and to realize their national aspiration. A scale has been established for each level of education, sometimes reaching \$25,000 and more per person.

135. It seems to us that the Soviet argument on the brain drain is not relevant or applicable here. The Soviet Union is not one of the needy developing countries, and Israel is not offering Jewish members of the scientific professions who come from the Soviet Union superior financial rewards. Israel is only able to give them a home, where they will feel as Jews who are not being discriminated against.

136. Likewise irrelevant is the argument that graduates are obliged, as it were, to repay the cost of their education.

137. The noted Soviet demographer, Uralnis, states in an article published on 26 July 1970 in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*

⁸ See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, p. 224.

that, in the conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union, the average university graduate repays by four years' work the State's investment in his training. The majority of scientists have thus already repaid that investment many times over by their creativity, their invention, their research and their professional work. The decree is not only a harassment of thousands of Jews, it is a serious infringement of intellectual freedom and scientific liberty. It creates the enslavement of scientists and intellectuals whose only crime is that they have studied and worked and contributed to the progress of their country, and today obey the call of their historic consciousness and wish to pursue their intellectual and social vocation elsewhere.

138. Scientific personalities and institutions across the world have reacted with astonishment and indignation to this limitation of intellectual freedom. It is precisely because we wish to see a greater harmony between East and West, between the Soviet Union and the West, in all fields, including that of science, that we raise our voice in protest against this superfluous obstacle to international understanding.

139. The General Assembly moves towards its agenda in an atmosphere of crisis for international institutions. There was never a time when a universal framework for international relations was more objectively necessary than today. Yet the concept of international organization is still surrounded by apathy and doubt. The United Nations should act with consistent purpose within the real limits of its capacity and strength. It should reinforce its role in international development in the light of the difficulties and dislocations revealed at the third session of UNCTAD in Santiago. It should take a careful course on the problems of the environment which were impressively brought to light at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in June. We must not allow an exaggerated ecological alarmism to act as a brake on accelerated development: for poverty and backwardness in most of the world have a more polluting effect on the life of our age than the excesses of industrialization in a small part of it. We should complete our universality by the admission of Bangladesh to membership. And we must not discredit our protest against racial discrimination in the southern parts of Africa by a craven silence about the brutal and capricious persecution of Asians undertaken by the present ruler of Uganda. The distribution of tasks and responsibilities between sovereign Governments and international institutions requires a delicate exercise in understanding. The United Nations must become an instrument for solving conflicts, not an arena for waging them. It should take a diplomatic, not a parliamentary view. Its task is to provide and promote consensus and agreement, not to take refuge in illusions of enforcement or adjudication. If we temper ambition with restraint we may yet endow this Organization with a constructive purpose and enlarge its humane role in the history of our turbulent age.

140. Mr. PANAYOTACOS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to extend to you, on behalf of the Greek delegation and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations upon your election to the presidency of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, which constitutes a well-deserved tribute to your personal ability as a distinguished statesman and to your

country, with which Greece maintains relations of sincere friendship.

141. Permit me also, Mr. President, to express to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Malik, our deep appreciation for the competent and effective manner in which he carried out his arduous task during a difficult session which was fraught with complex problems.

142. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to our Secretary-General and to thank him for his untiring zeal in the service of world peace.

143. The year which has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly has been marked with most important events, which are destined to affect profoundly international relations in the near future.

144. The ratification of treaties concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany with the Soviet Union and with Poland, the visits of the President of the United States of America to Peking and Moscow and the agreements signed on that occasion, the readjustment of the policy of the great Powers to present-world realities, President Nixon's initiative to bring the Viet-Nam war to an equitable and democratic solution—in sum, the détente which is emerging on the international horizon—all are events of the greatest importance.

145. Nevertheless, as is pointed out by our Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

“... we should not be too euphoric about this development since previous post-war indications of détente failed to materialize into a durable relaxation of international tensions.” [A/8701/Add.1, p. 1.]

146. Indeed, the international community has on many occasions in the past witnessed periods of euphoria only to discover a little later, to its regret, that the détente which appeared to be dawning was only a fortuitous accident if not a mere expedient. Since peace is not a simple pause in the conflicts between great Powers, the international community, and more particularly small countries, cannot feel free from threat and calmly turn to the search for a better life as long as our world can become overnight again a battleground where, on one pretext or another, the interests of the super-Powers are pitted against one another.

147. We certainly do not question the special responsibilities of the great Powers for the maintenance of international peace and security. None the less, we fully agree with the Secretary-General that the idea of maintaining peace and security in the world by means of an arrangement of great Powers is outdated, belonging rather to the political concepts of the nineteenth century. In this context, I should like to associate myself fully with the remarks made a year ago by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France that

“... refusing to accept any kind of hegemony is the best contribution that a country can make to the birth of a truly international community.”⁹

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1942nd meeting, para. 37.

148. It is certainly true that the activity of the United Nations has not always responded to the hopes of our peoples and that the goals that we set at the outset still remain partly in the realm of aspirations. World public opinion, which expected perhaps too much from the United Nations, seems to attribute to us the role of the chorus in Greek tragedies which bewails the sad fate of mortals always at the mercy of the all-powerful Olympians.

149. But since the United Nations is merely the reflection of its membership, its successes or failures are the responsibility of all its Member States, and especially of the great Powers which have been attributed special prerogatives by the Charter.

150. We feel that despite its deficiencies and imperfections we would be exaggerating if we were to maintain that our Organization, even in its present structure, is not able to deal more adequately with the problems of these difficult times. Indeed, we think that the ineffectiveness of the United Nations is due more to a lack of political will on the part of its Members to respect and abide by the principles to which they have subscribed, rather than to any institutional structural imperfections.

151. Despite a number of encouraging signs, peace continues to be absent in certain regions of the world. Thus, the situation in the Middle East still remains a constant source of anxiety and disquiet. The likelihood of a global settlement appears very remote. Five years have already elapsed since the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967)—five years of continuous tension, bloody incidents and, since August 1970, a precarious cease-fire. This protracted immobility is certainly not conducive to healing the open wounds. However, it is inconceivable that the Middle East should find itself mired indefinitely in a state of “no war, no peace”.

152. Greece, whose traditional bonds of friendship with the peoples of this region date well back in history and which wishes to see them living in peace and security, continues to believe that the resolution 242 (1967) provides an equitable basis for bringing about a peace settlement in the area, covering all the disputes which separate the parties concerned. In keeping with the spirit and the letter of this resolution, the parties to the dispute should be able to find a workable solution allowing them to lead a fruitful existence in peace and security.

153. We therefore urge the parties to the conflict, whose true interests should not be confused with their wishes, to demonstrate a spirit of compromise and realism and, taking advantage of the present climate of détente and the meritorious efforts of the Secretary-General and Mr. Jarling, to move courageously towards a lasting settlement in accordance with the dictates of peace and equity.

154. With regard to the situation in the eastern Mediterranean, I should like to make a few brief remarks concerning another problem for which a solution has yet to be found, namely, the problem of Cyprus. The renewal of talks between the two communities in an atmosphere of calm, with the participation of two constitutional experts—a Greek and a Turk—as well as with the valuable assistance of the personal representative of the Secretary-General, is an encouraging and promising development.

155. Greece, abiding as it does by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and dedicated as it is to the cause of peace and international co-operation, believes that the enlarged intercommunal talks are the most expedient, if not the sole remaining, means to arrive at an acceptable solution of the constitutional difficulties that persist on the island.

156. It is now up to the two negotiators to apply themselves, in a spirit of goodwill, to the search for a system of government that would enable the inhabitants of Cyprus to live peacefully within the framework of an independent, sovereign and unitary State. Admittedly, the road ahead will not be a short one, and the obstacles to be overcome are not easy. The interested parties must therefore show a great deal of perseverance and realism in order to arrive at an equitable and workable solution.

157. On this occasion it is my pleasant duty to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General as well as to all those who have contributed to this encouraging development in Cyprus, and to express at the same time our appreciation to the countries which, in a spirit of international solidarity, permit, either in the form of military units or in the form of voluntary contributions, peace-keeping operations in Cyprus to continue.

158. Speaking of trouble spots, one cannot overlook the situation in Indo-China, in Viet-Nam, which, although it does not appear on the agenda of the General Assembly, is nevertheless a subject of our concern. The continuing suffering and loss of human life cannot but trouble the conscience of all peace-loving people. We must nevertheless in all good faith recognize that the United States of America has on many occasions taken concrete measures for military disengagement and has submitted proposals such as to assure the Viet-Nameese people of the exercise of their right to self-determination without outside interference. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable, we feel, to expect that Hanoi would take similar measures, instead of making sterile and baseless accusations against the party that has scrupulously respected its announced calendar, thus prolonging the suffering of the Viet-Nameese people.

159. In passing from Asia to southern Africa, I should like once again to declare that Greece, which since the creation of the United Nations has been in the vanguard of those who have resolutely and unfailingly fought for the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and for the elimination of racial discrimination, remains ready to help in seeking a just and realistic solution of these problems in conformity with the principles and ideals that we uphold.

160. In speaking of the international order, my delegation wishes to stress that in view of the alarming resurgence of acts of terrorism, it is necessary scrupulously to implement the relevant provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, unanimously adopted by the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*], and more particularly the provisions setting out the duties incumbent upon all States in cases of international terrorism.

161. At the same time, it would be useful to undertake, as has been suggested by our Secretary-General, a thorough analysis of this problem in order to provide the necessary remedy.

162. In this respect, I wish to reiterate that my delegation unreservedly supports the provisions of the said Declaration and would stress the importance that we attach to its full implementation by all nations of the world.

163. As the question of the strengthening of international security is again on the agenda of this session, I should like to take this opportunity to state that Greece, a peace-loving country which has on many occasions been the victim of acts of aggression, is prepared, as in the past, to contribute in an active and positive manner, to all sincere efforts aimed at effectively strengthening international security.

164. At the same time Greece declares itself ready to participate in the conference on security and co-operation in Europe, as soon as the preliminary talks, in which it is taking an active part, have been concluded.

165. On the other hand, firmly attached as it is to the principles of Article 2 of the Charter, the Greek Government has for some years now been sincerely endeavouring to improve its relations with countries of different political, economic and social systems, and more particularly with neighbouring States. It should also be pointed out in this connexion that Greece has recently established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

166. We are gratified over the improvement of the political climate in the Balkan peninsula, and we should like to reaffirm our intention to pursue this policy further on the basis of strict reciprocity. We feel that there are ample opportunities for effective co-operation among the Balkan States in order to serve their common interests.

167. My delegation cannot conceal its disappointment, probably shared by the great majority of Member States, in noting that our Organization has still not been able to establish machinery to fulfil its fundamental task, namely, peace-keeping. No one can deny in the light of past experience, the usefulness and value of peace-keeping operations.

168. We feel that the time has come to abandon improvisation of such operations and to proceed to the formulation of a general agreement covering all aspects of the problem so that the United Nations may become an effective instrument for world peace.

169. Having always been actively interested in peace-keeping operations undertaken by our Organization, especially in the case of peace-keeping operations in Cyprus, towards whose success Greece has contributed substantially both materially and morally, we are prepared to work together with the other Member States to set up machinery which would enable our Organization properly to fulfil this fundamental task entrusted to it.

170. Since peace is irreconcilable with poverty and ignorance, we can hardly overemphasize the duty incumbent upon us all to take all possible steps to contribute

effectively to the economic and technological progress of the developing countries.

171. Technical progress, which provides tremendous possibilities for accelerating economic development, has only widened the gap between industrially developed countries and the less privileged ones. If we wish to avoid a world split into two antagonistic camps, the rich countries and the poor ones, the north and the south, we must show constructive solidarity and undertake challenging initiatives. Peace cannot be assured as long as the majority of mankind lives in despair and want.

172. Europe in particular must understand that it will win the friendship of the peoples of the southern hemisphere only to the extent that it shares with them the concern for their economic, social and humanitarian future.

173. Sir Keith HOLYOAKE (New Zealand): Mr. President, New Zealand joins with the previous speakers in offering you its warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency. You have already brought efficiency and vigour to the conduct of our work. Like other speakers, I would like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to my personal friend, Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, who presided so admirably over last year's arduous session.

174. We meet this year oppressed by the tragic events of recent weeks. A new and horrible form of savagery has been visited upon a desperately vulnerable and unprepared world. Yet this year more than most has been marked by the promise of a new era of international peace and stability. For most of its life the United Nations has mirrored the mutual suspicions and hostilities that characterized the attitude of the super-Powers over that period. Now the easing of tension in the relationships among the great Powers is reflected in a growing pattern of reconciliation among the smaller Powers. The courageous initiative of President Nixon, the summit talks in Peking, Moscow, Warsaw and elsewhere and other vigorous moves towards détente, particularly by the two super-Powers, are in the best spirit of the Charter. As both a courtesy and a duty we should pay a tribute to all the Powers concerned for the prospect of a new peace which seems to lie ahead of us.

175. Another development in international relationships that is welcome to New Zealand, as a country having a special interest in the European Economic Community, is the impending enlargement of that Community through the entry of the United Kingdom and other new members. We look forward to the emergence of a stronger, more outward-looking and united Western Europe. The trend towards reconciliation between the countries of Western and Eastern Europe is gathering momentum. The negotiation of non-aggression treaties between West Germany and Poland and between West Germany and the Soviet Union and the four-Power agreement on Berlin were welcome first steps in that direction. We strongly hope that the current negotiations between the two Germanys will end in an agreement that will permit us very soon to welcome both to membership in the United Nations.

176. The changes in great-Power relationships have modified the policies of countries in the area of the world

of most direct interest to New Zealand. I refer to Asia and the Pacific. We have been especially encouraged by the Simla meeting between the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India aimed at settling peacefully the differences between their two countries. The major problems, of course, are not yet solved; but the way has been opened for a durable settlement in the subcontinent under which the three countries of the region will be able to live together in peace. I would emphasize that New Zealand earnestly feels the need for such a settlement.

177. Last year's crisis in East Pakistan caused human suffering on a vast and frightening scale. New Zealand, small though it is, has not hesitated to draw attention to the material and political needs which had to be met in order to end that tragic situation. The new State of Bangladesh has emerged from the chaos and suffering. However, independence alone and of itself cannot put an end to human misery. The reconstruction and development of Bangladesh represents an enormous task which the new Government cannot be expected to accomplish without massive external assistance. A great deal has already been done, both by the United Nations and by individual countries. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Indian Government, specifically, have successfully tackled a refugee operation larger than any ever before undertaken in the history of the world. The United Nations and non-governmental bodies have undertaken rehabilitation operations on an unprecedented scale and have thus averted more widespread suffering in the new nation. We in New Zealand have tried to help wherever we can to reduce the suffering in Bangladesh and to promote peace and stability among fellow members of the Commonwealth of Nations on the subcontinent. However, much more needs to be done. In such a vast undertaking it is essential that all partners have the full support and co-operation of the others. For this practical reason, New Zealand believes it is important that Bangladesh should be admitted to the United Nations as soon as possible.

178. By a happy coincidence, the agreement between India and Pakistan was followed almost immediately by one between two other Asian neighbours, North and South Korea. That agreement opens the way for the deep and bitter hostilities of the past to be worked out by the Koreans themselves. In due course the Organization will no doubt have a role to play. At this juncture, however, we believe that the Assembly took a very wise decision when last week it deferred consideration of the Korean items [2036th meeting], thereby acknowledging that the two Koreas should have the opportunity, and should be encouraged, to come to terms with each other.

179. The movement in Asia towards reconciliation has not so far been reflected in Indo-China—in Viet-Nam, in Laos and in the Khmer Republic—but it is not for want of effort on the part of South Viet-Nam and its friends. The United States has offered to withdraw all its forces in return for an internationally supervised cease-fire and the return of the American prisoners. The United States and South Viet-Nam together have offered to hold new elections in which the national liberation front can take its full part in organizing the elections and to have the elections internationally supervised. President Thieu of South Viet-Nam has offered to resign before the elections take place. My Government

supports these proposals, which are directed towards obtaining a just and durable peace settlement in that part of the world.

180. The encouragement that countries have had this year to seek a peaceful resolution of their differences has also been reflected in the Pacific region. New Zealand, Australia and a number of newly independent small nations of the South Pacific have been developing a very real spirit of community and co-operation. More recently the most outstanding evidence of this spirit has been the creation of what is known as the South Pacific Forum. In that Forum the government leaders of Fiji, Tonga, Western Samoa, Nauru, the Cook Islands, Australia and New Zealand have met together to discuss issues of practical interest to our Governments and peoples. As was mentioned by my Australian colleague yesterday, Papua New Guinea has been invited to observe the next meeting. The first Forum, held in Wellington in August last year, has been followed in 1972 by two further meetings, one in Canberra, Australia, and the other in Suva, Fiji. Talks have covered a very wide range of subjects. However, it is a measure of the Forum's concern with immediate practical issues that it has already established a South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation. This is a serious effort to stimulate new thinking and create greater opportunities for the development of trade and economic advancement throughout that vast area of the Pacific Ocean, particularly in the south.

181. There is scope for a much greater involvement by the United Nations in the economic progress of the developing countries and the newly independent countries of the South Pacific. Perhaps because of their geographical remoteness, the problems of these countries too have seemed remote to other countries. Yet only a very little more attention, as measured in the total United Nations effort, would do so much more for these small and isolated communities. For that reason we are very pleased that the Asian Development Bank has accepted the independent island nations of the South Pacific as members and that loans are already being made available to them. Also, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East is becoming increasingly involved in the development of the island nations, as are the United Nations Development Programme, UNICEF and the specialized agencies concerned. However, I repeat that there is still much more to be done in that area.

182. Over the years, New Zealand has involved the United Nations in the process of decolonization as it applied to New Zealand's island Territories. Some years ago we invited the United Nations missions to observe the act of self-determination in the former Trust Territory of Western Samoa, and also in the Cook Islands. This year the Assembly will have a report from a visiting mission 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, which at New Zealand's invitation visited the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Niue [A/8723/Rev.1, chap. XVI, annex I]. That mission was under the able leadership of Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. In my own Government's view, the report of the Committee is a very well-balanced, fair and, we believe, helpful document. We hope it will do more than enable the Assembly to consider

the political issues to which the report itself was directed. It should also lead to a greater understanding of the special problems of survival and development faced by other very small dependent Territories.

183. A minute ago I touched upon the remoteness of the problems of the South Pacific as seen by the rest of the world, and perhaps especially by the European countries. I draw attention now to the serious apprehension which exists in that vast area about the continuance of nuclear testing in the Pacific region.

184. There is a regional concern because this year a further series of nuclear tests was conducted in the Tuamotu archipelago, and that is the fifth such series since 1967. My Government is aware that the problem of nuclear weapons testing is a global one and that nuclear tests are at present being conducted by four different nations. We also realize that nuclear testing is a part of the wider problem of the nuclear arms race. But I want to make it quite clear here today that the continuation of atmospheric nuclear testing in French Polynesia is deeply resented by the people of the whole of the South Pacific region and, indeed, of the North Pacific as well.

185. At its meeting in Fiji earlier this month, the South Pacific Forum that I spoke of earlier unanimously expressed its deep concern that the French Government, in conducting its latest nuclear tests, should have failed to recognize the wishes of the people of the South Pacific area, despite the views so clearly expressed by the Governments and the peoples of those countries. The Forum strongly reaffirmed its opposition to all such nuclear experiments anywhere in the world.

186. In support of that standpoint, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, referred to again this afternoon, has asked all States intending to carry out nuclear weapons tests to abandon those plans.¹⁰ Countries in Asia, and in Latin America bordering the Pacific, have declared their total opposition. It is our intention to seek the Assembly's endorsement of these calls to cease all nuclear weapons testing.

187. Nuclear testing is an issue on which the smaller States have had to speak bluntly to some of the larger Powers whose activities affect us.

188. In the debate last year [*1955th meeting*], the New Zealand representative spoke of the great Powers taking policy decisions that profoundly affect the economic stability of smaller nations. There is still a pressing need for the great Powers to recognize that smaller economies can rock dangerously in the waves of their major-policy decisions. There is still a pressing need for a further liberalization of world trade and monetary matters. New Zealand attaches considerable importance to a successful outcome of the multilateral trade negotiations under the framework of GATT in 1973. The Kennedy Round failed to meet our hopes.

189. New Zealand, like so many other, smaller countries, is heavily dependent on trade in primary agricultural commodities. We are vitally concerned, on that account, with the progress that will have to be made with eliminating or reducing barriers to trade in agricultural products. The developing countries quite rightly want to have their say in these talks, in these negotiations, in these kinds of decisions. Like us, they are less interested in tariff reductions on industrial products, which seem to be the pervading preoccupation of such talks, than in primary products. There are few benefits for smaller and developing nations in enhancing the economic advantages of the great industrial Powers. But I urge the need for less international charity and more true international economic equality.

190. I suggested that the past year has seen the advent of a more favourable general political climate. Unfortunately, it will also be remembered as a year in which the resort to terrorism, individual killing of totally innocent and unsuspecting people, mass cruelty, mistreatment, and even genocide, have left a very tragic mark. Private violence as a means of influencing issues between States must be condemned as strongly as State violence against States, which of course is proscribed by our Charter.

191. The revulsion to which violence gives rise, in the minds of all people throughout the world, renders these horrible actions politically sterile and useless, indeed counter-productive. It does not further the cause which they variously profess to espouse. Take two outstanding examples: those who claim to speak for the Palestinian and the Croatian peoples. What this violence does do is to increase the readiness of Governments to concert their actions to halt this scourge throughout the world.

192. The New Zealand Government approves the efforts made by the Secretary-General to seek a greater awakening of the United Nations interest in these horrible actions and events.

193. In the field of human rights, the right to life and security of person must have first place in anyone's scale of priorities. Nobody will underestimate the difficulties of grappling with the subject of international terrorism. Yet, it is surely right that this subject should be on our agenda. It will be a sad reflection on our strength of purpose and on the capacity of this Organization if no effective means can be found to eliminate the threat to innocent lives which this modern phenomenon presents.

194. At the same time, we must not overlook other problems of human rights which may gravely affect very large numbers of people in particular areas of the world. The question of people of Asian origin expelled from Uganda is a case in point, as was already mentioned. My Government understands the wish of the Government of Uganda, or of any other Government, to ensure that the control of its economy remains largely in the hands of its own nationals. But there is more than one way of implementing such policy, and many countries have shown the way.

195. The decision taken by the Uganda Government involves the abrupt wrenching from their own homes and the expulsion from the country of people who, for the

¹⁰ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. IV, resolution 3 (I).

most part, have that country as their only home and who spring from generations of people who have lived in that country. The New Zealand Government, which has offered a place in our own multiracial society to some of those expelled from Uganda, hopes that the Government of Uganda will even now reconsider the decision that it has taken. We would expect that, at the least, a more reasonable time limit for departure will be set and that, having regard to the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the persons concerned will be allowed to transfer from the country those assets to which they have an undoubted personal right. And so we strongly support the initiative taken by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom. My delegation, as you can see, is in favour of his request for the inclusion in the agenda of a new item entitled "International implications of the expulsion of the Asian community from Uganda" [A/8794].

196. Before I leave the subject of human rights I should like, only very briefly, to refer to three measures taken by the New Zealand Government which may be of interest to some countries represented in this Assembly. First, New Zealand has enacted its own Race Relations Act and should this year ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*]. Secondly, our Government is this year passing legislation providing for the introduction of equal pay for women. New Zealand was the first country in the world to give women the vote and so we are rather proud to be among the pioneers in making this further contribution to women's rights. The third measure I have in mind is a bill recently introduced in our Parliament which we hope will be passed this year and which will introduce a system whereby accident compensation amounting to 80 per cent of salary will be available to all employed persons who may suffer injury in any circumstances whatever, including accidents such as road accidents or any other kind of accident which is not related in any way to work at their jobs. We regard this as a major social advance and will be happy to provide details to any other countries which may be interested in it.

197. A notable achievement in international co-operation of the best sort has been demonstrated in Stockholm where the Conference on the Human Environment alerted the world community to the dangers created in our environment by mankind's sometimes reckless use of the earth's resources. The fact of the Conference and its achievement is surely evidence of the vitality of this United Nations. I should like to place on record my Government's appreciation for the efforts made by Sweden as host Government to bring about the success of the Conference. We hope that the role played by Mr. Maurice Strong as Secretary-General of that Conference will be further recognized as we consider, I hope at this session, the setting up of new institutions, including a governing council for environmental programmes and an environment fund. In anticipation of the Assembly's decision on the Fund, my Government will be prepared to contribute over a five-year period the sum of \$320,000.

198. The future crisis of world population, which will double by the year 2000, is inextricably linked with the problem of the world environment. Great tensions already

exist in some parts of the world between populations and the space, natural resources and social structures available to them—considerable stress. If these problems are not better understood now and dealt with in a pragmatic and, I hope, understanding way, we will be giving our children a legacy for which they will not thank us and in which we will take very little pride. Our Government is anxious to take its full share in international efforts which must move forward, we believe, speedily. We welcome the decision to hold the World Population Conference in 1974 [*resolution 2683 (XXV)*]. New Zealand will also continue, as we have in the past, to support the United Nations Fund for Population Activities which, after only two years, is already an active and worth-while agent of this Organization for this global endeavour.

199. New Zealand has always been a staunch supporter of the United Nations. New Zealand has always constantly supported the concept of an active role for the Secretary-General, and I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to Mr. Waldheim. We commend his firm approach to financial and administrative problems and questions at a difficult time. We commend him for the forthright action he has taken to draw the Assembly's attention to the growing question of violence and terrorism. In many more ways also the Secretary-General this year has exercised energetically the powers of initiative with which his office is properly endowed. We trust that he will continue to do so and he is certainly assured of the support and co-operation of New Zealand in that role.

200. Again, Mr. President, I congratulate you in your high office. I wish you every success in your heavy and demanding task.

201. Mr. KARJALAINEN (Finland): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, on behalf of my Government and myself, our sincerest congratulations on your election to the office of the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We recognize in you the representative of a European nation that is ardently working for peace and stability on our continent. We are confident that under your leadership the General Assembly will function effectively and harmoniously.

202. We see today a profound change in international relations, one unprecedented in modern history. This change is characterized by an increased search for dialogue between the great Powers in order to solve international problems.

203. Indeed encouraging is the determination of the great Powers to do their utmost to prevent conflicts or situations which would serve to increase international tensions from arising. If this process of détente will promote, as we hope and believe, general conditions in which all countries can live in peace and security without outside interference in their internal affairs, our hopes will have been well founded. We also hope that in this process the great Powers will find it possible to establish their relations on a permanent basis of mutual trust, in spite of ideological and structural differences.

204. The efforts of the major Powers have already led to meaningful results. The agreements on the limitation of

strategic arms signed in Moscow by the Soviet Union and the United States on 26 May 1972 are not only a significant step towards enhancing international peace and security; they are also an expression of a growing feeling of trust and a genuine will to co-operate for a common cause. It is to be hoped that dialogue rather than dispute will become the dominant feature in international politics.

205. The efforts by the major Powers to contribute to a lessening of tension should not be seen as an alternative to the functions of the United Nations as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Rather, we would see them as an effort to overcome the lack of agreement which has so often manifested itself in the past between the major Powers and has prevented them from making full use of this Organization for the purpose for which it was originally created.

206. The effective use of the United Nations, as we have consistently emphasized, also depends on whether we can make it truly universal. An important step in that respect was taken last year, when the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China were finally restored in the Organization. We are confident that the progress under way in Europe will pave the way for the two German States to become Members of the United Nations in the near future. Similarly, the efforts by North and South Korea to normalize their relations should encourage this Organization to provide them with equal opportunity to take part in its work in the future.

207. The Secretary-General, who has with determination assumed the responsibilities of his office, has in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8701/Add.1] raised some fundamental and timely questions about the future role of the United Nations in the political process of establishing and maintaining international peace and security. Finland, as a neutral nation, has an especially vital interest in the development of a peaceful and rational world order based on a collective security system provided for by the Charter of the United Nations. Finland has consistently regarded this Organization as the only viable international instrument for strengthening international peace and security. It is therefore natural that the Finnish Government will remain fully committed to this Organization and will give its continued support to the Secretary-General in his efforts to strengthen it as an instrument for solving international disputes.

208. The positive change in the international situation has also clearly manifested itself on a regional basis. The European reconciliation was set in motion by the treaties concluded between the Federal Republic of Germany, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and Poland, on the other. This process has been further enhanced by the entry into force in June of the four-Power agreement on Berlin, as also through the on-going negotiations between the two German States.

209. In accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, and in a spirit of détente, Finland has been working actively for the cause of European reconciliation. We are genuinely encouraged by the positive response which our initiatives and efforts to realize a conference on European security and co-operation have met. The Finnish

Government believes that recent international developments have contributed decisively to making the preparatory multilateral consultations in Helsinki a reality in the near future.

210. The conclusions the Finnish Government has drawn from the fundamental changes which we are presently witnessing in the European situation further encouraged us last fall to make an identical proposal to both German Governments for a comprehensive arrangement of relations between Finland and the two German States. Later, in July of this year, the Finnish Government concluded that the time had come to enter into negotiations with both those States. These measures are based on the policy Finland has consistently pursued with regard to the two Germanys. That policy is dictated by our desire as a neutral country to stay outside the dispute between the great Powers on the German question—or the bilateral differences between the two Germanys deriving therefrom—and consistently to offer equal treatment and to seek to maintain equal relations with both.

211. Our contribution towards European reconciliation has been possible, we believe, because of our position as a neutral European nation. The recognition our policy has received from all sides has strengthened in us our conviction that neutrality cannot today be viewed as a passive concept but rather calls for active participation in efforts to keep peace and to promote co-operation between nations globally as well as regionally.

212. The strengthening of international security cannot be limited to efforts to contain or extinguish existing conflicts. Global disarmament and arms control are, indeed, most essential to our efforts to preserve coming generations from the scourge of war.

213. The Finnish Government therefore considers that this Assembly should give serious attention to realizing the proposals submitted last year by the Government of the Soviet Union¹¹ and subsequently endorsed by the Assembly at last year's session for the holding of a world disarmament conference [*resolution 2833 (XXVI)*]. We believe that such a conference, if well prepared under the auspices of the United Nations, will offer an additional impetus to work in this field. The world disarmament conference should, in our view, be regarded, not as an alternative avenue of approach, but as a corollary to the valuable work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. A necessary goal of the world conference would be to universalize the disarmament negotiations. The participation in such a world conference of all the permanent members of the Security Council, by the militarily significant nations and by the divided States, obviously remains indispensable for the attainment of any meaningful results.

214. The Finnish Government attaches equal importance to the early conclusion of a treaty banning the use, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. We are encouraged by the fact that progress is being made in Geneva in this regard, and we hope that an early solution

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 97, document A/L.631 and Add.1.

can be found *inter alia* to the question of the verification and control of those weapons.

215. In our opinion, the control of a treaty on chemical weapons should be based on a combination of national and international measures. The purpose of efforts to solve the main technical problems connected with such a treaty would be to promote an atmosphere of mutual trust and thus establish conditions for the emergence of a political consensus.

216. The generally favourable trends in international relations that I have touched upon have contributed to a feeling of confidence in the future. Unfortunately, the over-all situation has a negative side, as well.

217. The wave of international terrorism is reaching alarming dimensions throughout the world today. If not turned back in time, it can do irreparable damage to the world community as a whole. It is at present affecting all of us, irrespective of geography, size or political influence. The Government of Finland consequently supports the initiative taken by the Secretary-General. It is imperative that urgent attention be given to this serious and complex problem.

218. In Viet-Nam, we have in recent months witnessed an escalation in war, destruction, and human suffering. Finland has consistently maintained that the conflict in Viet-Nam can be solved only through a political settlement guaranteeing the Viet-Nameese people the right to decide its own future without external interference. The negotiating contacts must, therefore, be fully utilized.

219. Similarly, in the case of the Middle East, it is distressing to note that the peace-keeping process has come to a complete standstill. We see today an increased danger that the trend of affairs may, in fact, reverse itself. We must, therefore, once again make a most serious appeal to the parties concerned to show restraint and make a renewed effort to find a solution based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

220. The United Nations peace-keeping efforts, however inconclusive, remain an indispensable element in our endeavours to help solve international disputes through this Organization. Finland has consistently emphasized the importance of reaching early agreement on guidelines for future peace-keeping operations and their financing. We therefore urge the Committee dealing with these matters to make a fresh start and present us, in the near future, with a final agreement on the first stage of its task.

221. The efforts which the Secretary-General has undertaken with regard to Namibia at the request of the Security Council might for the first time in many years justify some feeling of hope. This, however, must not, in the opinion of the Finnish Government, become an alternative to our continued pressure on South Africa; nor must the limited results of the Rhodesian sanctions lead us to abandon them. We must, on the contrary, abide by them in accordance with our Charter obligations and make every effort to strengthen them. The active participation of the permanent members of the Security Council is of decisive importance for a solution of all the crucial problems of southern Africa.

222. In the work of our Organization in the field of economic and social development there are encouraging signs, in spite of a regrettable slowdown in the growth of the flow of resources. We have noted with satisfaction an increasing recognition of the close interdependence between economic and social development. The recognition of this interdependence is reflected in the wish to strengthen the co-ordinating role of the Economic and Social Council. Furthermore, the third session of UNCTAD did recognize the necessity of the widest possible participation of the developing countries in negotiations and decisions affecting their immediate interests, such as those linked to the international monetary system and the future multilateral trade negotiations. The problems of the least developed countries were also given special attention. These efforts need efficient over-all co-ordination. That, in our view, can best be undertaken by the Economic and Social Council.

223. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment has demonstrated that a third aspect, the human environment, has been incorporated into our concept of development. The Declaration on Human Environment¹² adopted unanimously at the Conference leaves no doubt that the environmental consequences of development cannot be dealt with in isolation. Over-all economic and social planning can be considered only within the environmental possibilities in order to put the activity of man in relation to his environment and natural resources. The universal realization of this fact must lead us to an equally universal feeling of responsibility in the management of the development process.

224. Mr. LOPES (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, in taking the floor for the first time in this august Assembly, my delegation and I myself have the pleasant duty of conveying to you, first of all, our sincere congratulations on your election, to which my delegation contributed whole-heartedly. That election is a recognition of the qualities and ability that you have displayed in your country, in international life, and more particularly in your work at the United Nations. We are convinced that your objectivity, tact and sense of impartiality will imbue our work with the brilliance that it rightly deserves, and will achieve the results that the world expects.

225. Our Government is also pleased to see in your election a symbol of the evolution of our Organization, because you represent a country and a social system whose successes are day by day impressing an ever-growing portion of humanity and whose views are gaining increased acceptance in this Assembly.

226. May I also be permitted to pay a fitting tribute to Mr. Adam Malik, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, for the calm and effective manner in which he presided over the debates of the twenty-sixth session.

227. Lastly, we should like to congratulate Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our new Secretary-General, who, in the short time that he has had since his brilliant election, has spared no effort to apply the principles of the Charter.

¹² See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm, 5-16 June 1972* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. I.

228. This annual meeting of the representatives of many peoples of our world is always an occasion for meditation about the ties between nations. Even if the purposes that the United Nations had set for itself have not been attained, it is none the less proper constantly to ask ourselves if some positive results for the establishment of world peace have at least been obtained. Will the peoples whom we represent begin to see the dawn of the dream that the wisest of their ancestors cherished since the beginning of our existence, or, on the contrary, is their life still to be nothing but a ridiculous and intolerable nightmare.

229. At first sight, in looking back at the great events that have marked international life since the beginning of this year, some of us might be inclined to find some sources of satisfaction. Many clouds fraught with threats and conflicts have in fact been dispelled and dialogues that yesterday were impossible have been started. Man in 1972 has witnessed events which the most optimistic of prophets would have hesitated to forecast only a few years ago. And, even if these encounters and these conversations are still only harbingers and do not yet represent any real change, they at least reflect the sincere desire of mankind to go beyond immobility and misunderstanding, in order to progress towards the recognition of others and the right of others to live. We are perhaps only at the stage of a comedy of peace which is being played by the leaders of this world. But if they are doing this, it is because they feel compelled to do this by the pressure of their peoples. But, for that matter, if they are content only to play at the drama, they will create in their peoples a desire to come upon the stage and become no longer actors in an imaginary history, but actors, once and for all, in a real drama according to the dictates of their heart.

230. Among the rapprochements that have taken place, we wish to emphasize the satisfaction that we felt at the dialogue begun between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. We hope that these conversations will succeed and that these two countries will be sitting in this Assembly, as we have always felt that they should.

231. But we are compelled to note that when we talk about peace in the world in which we live it is much more the peace of the advanced countries of the world. Europe and North America, swathed in the comforts offered them by the consumer society of our century, fear that this civilization of opulence may be attacked, this civilization that they have acquired at the cost of the blood and sweat of both the colonial and the neo-colonial countries, but they are disinterested in the fate of the damned of the third world. In order to maintain their way of life, they even go so far as to support war in a disguised form in those parts of the world where they are draining out the wealth.

232. Accordingly, my delegation is disappointed to note once again that the debate on Korea has been postponed until 1973, thus allowing imperialism to maintain a threatening climate in that region.

233. But when we refer to zones where peace is not assured, it is of our Africa that we think first. There we still have a situation in flagrant contradiction with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, one which constitutes

an insolent and criminal negation of fundamental human rights, of man's dignity, his value, and in the last analysis of the equality and the rights of peoples. Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are still under Portuguese colonialist domination. And there is no need to be any great authority in political matters to know that that small country can persist stubbornly in its policy, despite the resolutions of the United Nations, only because it knows that it enjoys the financial, military, political and diplomatic complicity of certain Powers, particularly those which are members of NATO.

234. And it is also because those Powers treat with contempt and disdain the resolutions that we adopt here that the illegal régime of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe defies the civilized world at the expense of the black population of that part of Africa. And lastly it is for the same reason and strengthened by the same support that the minority and racist régime of Pretoria not only imposes its dictatorship and its inhuman régime of *apartheid* in South Africa and in Namibia, but even threatens the sovereignty and peace of States which in southern and central Africa have freed themselves from the colonialist yoke.

235. The relaxation of tension at the international level which emerged this year thus makes even more unacceptable the unjust and criminal aggression that a Power of the dimensions of the United States continually perpetrates day after day against the heroic Indo-Chinese people of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. While it proclaimed in San Francisco, on 26 June 1945, that it was "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", one of the signatories to this Charter, and not among the least of them, today is happily forcing upon a people which had already experienced a long and heroic armed struggle for national liberation the most painful and atrocious of wars that mankind has ever known. This is a war in which the United States is not satisfied merely with killing the combatants, but also kills women and children; war where the aggressor, flouting all laws, destroys hospitals and schools, compelling man to live underground; a war which destroys the dikes that the people of Viet-Nam had built in their struggle with nature. To sum up, this is a war where defoliants, herbicides and other biological and bacteriological weapons destroy even the environment where, once peace has been restored, the children of the heroes who today are giving their lives for their freedom will be expected to live.

236. In this connexion, the stubborn and guilty silence of the United States administration in the face of the seven-point peace proposal put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam and in the face of the proposal of 11 September to set up a tripartite Government of national concord provides just so many examples of the basically bellicose nature of imperialism.

237. None of us is deceived by the United States manoeuvres. The reduction in its land troops and the so-called "Viet-Namization policy" are actually accompanied by an increase of its air and naval forces and attacks.

238. It is that same war which the United States is pursuing throughout Indo-China by laying waste to Laos

and supporting in Cambodia a clique thrown out by the people, so much so that in fact, the troops of the United Front of Kampuchéa control 80 per cent of the territory. That is why my Government is pleased to have recognized, from the outset, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, which is headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, to whom, for that matter, justice has just been done at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown, when the status of full member was conferred upon him.

239. The People's Republic of the Congo believes that it is high time to restore the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union in the United Nations. Let us hope that the absurd situation which led to the failure to recognize the People's Republic of China for more than 20 years is not going to be repeated in defence of the clique which today usurps power in Phnom Penh.

240. But does all of this not show the impotence of the United Nations to enforce respect for the principles of its Charter—an impotence which makes of most of our resolutions mere pieces of paper reflecting more our wishes than our real capacity to fight against the blind forces of war? Thus, despite Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which enjoined Israel to leave the occupied Egyptian territories, we see continued a situation which we believed had disappeared from the contemporary world, that is, a situation where one country invades another. The impotence of the United Nations in the face of this crime brings a bitter smile to the lips of our peoples, who have not forgotten, and can never forget, that at the time we were gaining our independence we saw the United Nations transport its troops to certain parts of Africa, not to establish the peace that was desired, but to engage in active intervention in the domestic affairs of our peoples. Yesterday it could intervene against the interests of Africa; today it is unable to restore the rights of an African country.

241. From all these events we are justified in concluding that if, on the one hand, an atmosphere of relaxation of tension has blossomed on our planet in this year 1972, it was outside of our Organization and, what is more, our Organization has not prevented its most influential Members from applying the law of violence at the expense of many peoples.

242. When, in addition, we note that the very people who promised peace to the world at San Francisco in 1945 are the same who now maintain situations of injustice and promote contempt for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law, one wonders whether certain States deserve the privileges they enjoy in the Security Council and whether the Charter of the United Nations should not be reviewed so that our Organization can undertake to promote the right of peoples to self-determination and peace through action commensurate with the vast sums which we give to it.

243. The People's Republic of the Congo, as well as Africa as a whole, is no longer under any illusion about the role of the United Nations as it is being shaped by the imperialist Powers. We have already learned the lesson that it is only by their own struggle that our peoples have won the right to enter this Assembly. The same is true for those who

today claim their right to live. The impotence of our Organization compels them to have recourse to the only path left open to them, that is to say, to take up arms. It is not our resolutions but their victories over Portuguese colonialism which will enable Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to regain their legitimate rights.

244. In this connexion the report of the OAU Committee of Liberation on Guinea (Bissau) stripped the blinders from the eyes of those who persisted in considering that our freedom fighters were a handful of adventurers with no roots in the people. This time it has been decisively confirmed that the fighters of the PAIGC¹³ effectively control two thirds of the territory. However, in Angola and Mozambique there are also vast areas that have been completely freed from colonial domination. These zones that are controlled politically and administratively by the liberation movements deserve aid from the United Nations for their reorganization and reconstruction.

245. As for South Africa, whose presence in this hall in the form of a racist delegation is a direct affront to every African delegation, no honourable solution can be found other than through force used intelligently and for liberation against blind brutality.

246. In Zimbabwe, Great Britain was disconcerted by the popular reaction to the Anglo-Rhodesian agreement. Despite the measures of intimidation and reprisals of the Ian Smith minority clique, the people of Zimbabwe expressed themselves so decisively that the Pearce Commission, as we know, could not avoid noting the unpopularity of that agreement. Today, when the conclusions of this Commission are widely known, Great Britain would make a serious mistake if in examining the Pearce report¹⁴ it frustrates the hope the African peoples still place in it. From the historical perspective, Great Britain has much more to gain by taking account of the rights of the African people than by considering the sordid interests of a handful of racists. My Government is convinced that the only solution to the problem of Zimbabwe is independence with the formation of a government by the African majority. The first stage would be the convening of a constitutional conference bringing together all sectors of the population, beginning with the liberation movements.

247. My delegation has read with interest and attention the report on Namibia prepared by the Secretary-General.¹⁵ This is an opportunity for us to repeat the responsibility which devolves upon the United Nations in this part of Africa. As for our part, we cannot subscribe to any solution which does not provide for the unconditional withdrawal from Namibia of the South African police and administration. The powers of the United Nations in this Territory should be guaranteed by an international armed force which can enable the Namibian people to create, free from any foreign intervention, the conditions suitable for

¹³ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

¹⁴ See *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, Cmnd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1972*, document S/10738.

the exercise of its right to self-determination in unity and not in an ethnic and racial federalism which the South African racists would like to have and, as we know, they have already installed the black populations on the least desirable land.

248. While, on the one hand we take note of the appointment of a United Nations High Commissioner for Namibia, we regret that it should have been necessary to bow to the caprice of the Pretoria racists, who took the liberty of rejecting the first nominations to that post. But regardless of any hidden motives on Pretoria's part, we are sure that the High Commissioner is aware that his task is to safeguard the interests of the people of Namibia and not those of the Pretoria racists. Let him be wary of their proposal for self-determination; let him remember that that self-determination must not impair either the territorial integrity of Namibia or the unity of its people. The High Commissioner has a responsibility not only as a civil servant vis-à-vis the Secretary-General, but also a still greater responsibility to the peoples of Africa and to history.

249. The People's Republic of the Congo endorses the following plan as it was enunciated by the South West Africa People's Organization: first, if on 15 September 1972 the Pretoria régime has not committed itself definitely to withdraw its administration from Namibia and has not made arrangements for that withdrawal; secondly, if South Africa does not demonstrate without ambiguity that it is prepared to recognize the right of the people of Namibia to independence as a single national entity; and thirdly, if South Africa does not commit itself clearly to recognize the political, civil, economic, social and cultural right of the Namibian people freely to determine their future without foreign intervention, then it will be useless to pursue any other form of contacts between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the racists of Pretoria.

250. If that were to be the case, no matter how unseemly it may be to have to say this, Africa, in the settlement of its problems, will have less and less confidence in the United Nations and much more faith in itself. In the last analysis, this is what it has already stated quite recently at the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Rabat, when, after the disappointing results of the meetings of the Security Council at Addis Ababa, it decided to increase its aid to the liberation movements. This is also what it expresses each day more and more clearly by settling itself the disputes which arise within its frontiers. In saying this, we are thinking of the reconciliation achieved between Guinea and Senegal, between Guinea and the Ivory Coast, the treaty signed at Rabat between Algeria and Morocco under the aegis of the recent summit meeting of OAU, the reconciliation between Zaire and my country, the efforts which are now under way between President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and President Ngouabi of the People's Republic of the Congo, to reach a peaceful settlement of the dispute between Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, and lastly those efforts which are being undertaken by President Siad Barre of Somalia to quench the fire that has just blazed up along the frontiers between Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania.

251. All these contributions to peace deserve our praise and should be emphasized as victories of the people against

imperialism, which is, in our opinion, the primary root-cause of the wars of our era.

252. Just so long as that scourge exists we strongly doubt the possibilities for disarmament. But even if the damned of the earth use weapons to liberate themselves, they are not responsible for armed conflicts. They take up arms because they are refused any other solution. They use weapons because their claims are met only with armed troops. We would prefer peace in which to liberate ourselves, because we know that in these liberation struggles it is we who pay the heaviest price in human lives, lives which we shall need for our national rebuilding. This I say to show you how much we are in favour of disarmament. If that were a reality, complete and effective, nothing could oppose the peaceful march of peoples towards the reconquest of their rights. But we do not subscribe to a partial formula of disarmament. Moreover, we refuse to have this problem of disarmament, even if it is only the question of nuclear weapons, dealt with only by the Powers that possess the most advanced weapons. The peace of the world will be the concern of all nations, large and small, or it will be the concern of none.

253. My delegation cannot remain silent in the face of the insidious manoeuvres of certain great Powers which, while they promote racism in certain parts of the world for which they bear responsibility, today want an African State which wished to exercise its sovereignty to be tried by our Organization, we are told, for crimes against humanity. We consider that it is not our business to pass any value judgement on the decision taken by the Government of Uganda, to which reference was made here yesterday by Sir Alec Douglas-Home [2042nd meeting]. This is not the first time in history that a sovereign State, including the United Kingdom, has expelled foreigners from its national soil without any reckoning being demanded of it. The United Nations is not competent to deal with this problem, although it could ask for an explanation from the United Kingdom, which does not want to see returned to its shores British citizens who are not of Anglo-Saxon origin.

254. We shall therefore oppose—and we call upon all delegations of Africa and all countries that love justice and peace to oppose—what would be a mockery of justice.

255. But how can I conclude without saying a word about this problem which the Secretary-General has proposed for inclusion in our agenda [A/8791 and Add.1], the definition of which is so delicate in nature that it threatens to stir up our jurists just as much as the concept of aggression has stirred them. Of course I am referring to the question of terrorism.

256. May I be permitted to state that my Government is surprised that a problem which if not as old as the world itself is at least much older than the United Nations should be brought to our attention only as the result of the attacks which have just cast a pall over the Olympic games at Munich, attacks which we deplore.

257. But it would be unfortunate if under the guise of fine sentiments we should seek actually to condemn the action of the Palestinians and the other freedom fighters.

258. What we are witnessing today is the protective reaction of the world of the well-to-do and high-principled nations, which have seen death strike by chance and hit some of their own people unjustly. However, that world never raised its voice against the terrorism that it spread beyond its frontiers and its seas. It is we, the Africans and Asians who have experienced European terror when, debarking on our shores, they hunted us in order to sell us, when they penned us up in order better to enslave and exploit us.

259. Colonel de Montagnac, one of the conquerors of Algeria, wrote: "To dispel the thoughts which sometimes beset me, I have heads cut off, and not artichoke heads, but rather human heads." That is terrorism.

260. Pierre Loti, the well-known writer, described the taking of Thouan-An in Annam in *Le Figaro* in September 1883 as follows:

"Then the great slaughter began. We had volleys of shots fired and it was a pleasure to see the bursts of the shots which were so easily aimed, showered on them twice every minute, by command, in a methodical and sure-fire manner . . . We saw people who were absolutely crazy, who revealed a dizzy impulse to run . . . They followed a zig-zag course throughout the length of this death run; then they squat down on their haunches in a comical fashion . . . and then we amused ourselves with counting the dead."

That is terrorism. We are not quoting these two examples in order to reopen a case which has already been tried many times, but rather to recall that this terrorism, adapted to meet the requirements of space and time, still continues today in South Africa, in Zimbabwe and in the Portuguese colonies.

261. In addition to this terrorism we have that which day by day the United States bombers inflict on civilian populations, women, the sick in hospital and children in schools in Viet-Nam. The bombing of Guernica inspired Picasso to create one of the most famous canvases of this century, which is an outcry of horror against nazism. But Guernica is happening today, more than 400 times in a single day in Viet-Nam. Is there any greater terror? And why do people pretend to ignore that terror which has just been spread blindly along the frontiers of Lebanon by the armies and aircraft of Israeli zionism?

262. It is said that the Palestinians failed to respect the Olympic truce, which has a tradition consecrated by more than a thousand years, but we were not aware either that during the period of the Games any calm appeared as a result of the initiative of the colonialists and imperialists in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), in South Africa, in Zimbabwe or in Indo-China.

263. If in the People's Republic of the Congo we think that the best form of struggle is that which associates the masses with the action we still do not have that good conscience which authorizes certain people to dictate the form of struggle for those who are fighting for their rights and whom the oppressor forces to extremes out of which gestures of desperation are born. We cannot judge with the

same severity the oppressor and the oppressed. Otherwise we should be taking the part of the former against the latter.

264. Moreover, in the official education it provides for its children the Christian and *bourgeois* West has found it proper to devote pages of tributes to the terrorists who liberated their countries by harassing the invaders. There was Fabius Cunctator against the Carthaginians; there was Spartacus against the masters of the slaves, Vercingetorix against the Romans, the Spanish patriots against the armies of Napoleon; there were the partisans throughout Europe, the "soldiers of the night" against nazism to whom André Malraux referred.

265. All police measures against these actions and against the hijacking of aircraft for political reasons will remain without effect. What we need is to uproot the evil completely: to uproot racism, colonialism and imperialism; to return their country to the Palestinians. We cannot separate their actions from the circumstances that have engendered them. They were engendered in conditions that we made favourable by ignoring their rights, by taking no interest in their fate, by throwing them into a ghetto beyond the bounds of humanity. If the Europeans of 1972 no longer blow up trains and bridges, it is because their countries are free. Palestinians in a Palestine regained will go to the Olympic Games, no longer to take hostages but to compete with other nations in the stadium games just as the Palestinians in a Palestine regained will no longer have any reason to hijack aircraft.

266. You of course understand that we have not made a profession of faith in terrorism, but we wanted to express our vehement opposition to any trend or to any draft resolution the purpose of which would be to absolve the consciences of those who wish to condemn terrorists but excuse those engenderers of terrorism, to whom I have referred in sufficient detail throughout my statement.

267. As everyone knows, our world is marked by a fundamental imbalance in the process of the development of nations. Two quite separate blocs characterize in shocking terms the economic structures of the countries of the world. These are the zones of abundance on the one hand and the poverty zones on the other. This contradiction was created in the name of a so-called civilizing and humanitarian mission undertaken by the colonizing Powers.

268. But in reality these Powers have contributed and continue to contribute to the despoiling of the resources of the countries making up the poorer zones. Colonization has constituted and continues to constitute the most violent weapon; the most virulent scourge obstructing the developing of a large part of the world.

269. The colonizing Powers bear the heavy responsibility for the backwardness in economic development which afflicts the majority of the countries of the third world today.

270. It is another scandal of our era that on one and the same planet individuals of the same species do not enjoy in the same manner the fruits of the progress of science and technology of the modern age. While some live in abun-

dance and even in waste, others are condemned to attempt to survive in misery and almost total deprivation, in conditions in which life is only a pause between birth and death. Hence it is quite obvious that such a disequilibrium deepens the contradictions between the wealthy and the poor. Those who are hungry have a legitimate right to demand that the distribution of the fruits of science and technology should be done in an equitable, even-handed manner, as they are well aware that their servitude and their exploitation financed this formidable flowering of science and technology which we are witnessing.

271. To soften the ultimate logical reactions of the poorer countries, at one time it was thought that the wealthier countries would become increasingly aware of the poverty of the countries of the third world. What is more, it was thought that this awareness would lead them to work out a vast programme of co-operation in order to lessen the economic imbalance which divides them from the developing countries.

272. Thus, immediately after they had attained their independence, several countries of the third world entered into a considerable number of negotiations designed to conclude with the signature of agreements for bilateral co-operation; but this practice did not produce the results expected. In the light of this co-operation and assistance, which consisted of supplementary assistance with, in most cases, an element of domination, and also in the face of the increasing gap between the developed and the developing countries, it was thought that international co-operation might be an unselfish and decisive factor in the progressive elimination of the economic backwardness of the developing countries. This initiative took shape through the creation of a dynamic body reflecting the fundamental objectives defined in the Charter of the United Nations: I refer to UNCTAD. Since it was set up, it has held three sessions. True, some decisions were taken in favour of the countries of the third world, but after the third session the feeling of frustration, far from declining, had, on the contrary, increased among the countries of the third world. Repeatedly the developed countries were seen to adopt a selfish attitude, and in particular the developing countries deplore the fact that they were not associated with the important negotiations which culminated in an international monetary reform. Moreover, the economic disparities continue to grow between the wealthy countries and the countries of the third world. The output of the developing countries has not expanded, and the income from exports needed for the industrialization of those countries has constantly suffered from a deep decline in the terms of trade and obstacles to trade between countries with different levels of development.

273. The indifference that the rich countries display towards the development of the developing countries seriously endangers international peace and security. It weakens the fundamental objectives of the United Nations Charter, an Organization of which they are Members. It therefore weakens our Organization.

274. The noble ideals defined in the Charter should not constitute mere words but should be dynamic and active statements. That is why my country thinks that in the International Development Strategy for the Second United

Nations Development Decade, adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], the interests of the developing countries should inevitably be the subject of very special attention in any new world trade and monetary system. The wealthy countries should bow to this international imperative, without which any coexistence of the international community would be incompatible with the fundamental purposes of the Charter and thus would lead to a worsening of the international situation.

275. The recent firm positions taken by the developing countries at the third session of UNCTAD should have been sufficient evidence of the ripening of their awareness of their interests, which are attached by the developed countries. This energetic attitude of the developing countries must not leave the wealthy countries and international opinion unmoved if we want international peace and security to be preserved in the interests of all, and in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

276. Every year bears a symbolic seal for our Organization. It is then that we are given an opportunity to reflect, to adopt resolutions and to begin on actions in accord with the theme that has been chosen. It is within this framework that the Secretary-General has told us that the year 1974 will be the Population Year.

277. The People's Republic of the Congo reserves the possibility of studying the subject in great depth and in due course to make known the results of those studies, based on its own real situation.

278. But as of this moment we consider that we are in a position to state that this theme should not be tackled with certain specific unduly rigid views in mind. Among these, we would emphasize the attitude which considers that the cure for world ills is to be found in limiting the earth's population. Certain countries may have reasons to feel that they are over-populated. That is not the case of Africa. Moreover, the concept of over-population is a relative one. It is determined on the basis of the country's development in all its aspects. A particular country of Europe or North America might have appeared to be over-populated in the eighteenth century with the population that it has in the twentieth century. Is not the real problem rather that of liberating the natural and human energies which each country possesses? These energies and wealth are as infinite as nature itself. By this I mean to say that the possibilities for life are limitless. There are still innumerable areas where man can conquer the wilderness and render it productive. The obstacles relate rather to relations between nations, and within nations to the relations between men, rather than to the number of human beings.

279. I hope that the World Population Year, 1974, will not be a year of depopulation, for then it would have been directed against man, man whom our Charter considers as the supreme asset.

280. The Assembly has never been so sovereign and so representative as it has been since the historic year of 1971, which saw the long-expected arrival of China in our midst. Unfortunately despite this fact, its activities in the settle-

ment of disputes which threaten or undermine a great part of our planet are still largely hamstrung, benefiting the diabolical machinations of colonialism and imperialism.

281. Our vigilance and our activities should be redoubled in the interest of the lasting preservation of peace and the independence of nations.

282. The United Nations, by virtue of the noble task which devolves upon the Organization within the scheme of the Second Development Decade, should act in such a way as progressively to eliminate the regrettable disequilibrium in the distribution of the wealth of the world. It is almost a certainty today that no war will ravage Europe or North America. But it is equally obvious that the imperialist world will not hesitate to provoke or support slaughter in those vast areas which are the storage-houses of raw materials, and I refer to Africa, Asia and Latin America.

283. Many good intentions are to be found in the professions of faith made by certain great Powers. The People's Republic of the Congo would hope, for its part, that behind these intentions there will be no hidden designs and that, adhering to the fundamental problems, we will avoid allowing ourselves to be seduced by the song of the siren chanting lofty sentiments which often conceal sordid interests.

284. We deliberately choose to close on this note.

285. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Saudi Arabia, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

286. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I feel constrained to exercise my right of reply to what Mr. Eban said this afternoon about the terrorism of what he called "Palestinian Arabs". It so happens that I personally have been seized of this problem of Palestine since 1922, when the League of Nations, in contravention of Article 22 of its Covenant, cast by the wayside the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations enunciated by none other than a former President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson. Wilson left Europe a broken man after Clemenceau had taken him by his necktie and told him "You go back where you came from". Clemenceau and the allies were the parties to selling a people, the Palestinian people, down the river.

287. The Jews at that time were only 6 per cent of the population of Palestine. The rest were known as Palestinians. Ironically, as a humble student of the area, I must tell Mr. Eban that the Jews are those Jews (Semitic Jews, not converted Jews) who in the eighth century came from Mesopotamia. There was a town in Palestine called Jerusalem that was inhabited by the indigenous people of the land, who were Semites, like the Jews who came from Mesopotamia. There were wars between tribes, regardless of whether the tribes were Amorites, Canaanites or Arameans, so-called Jews or Hebrews. Palestine was conquered by the sword. There were Philistines who came from Crete and they settled in what today is the Gaza strip. Ironically, many Jews—after the so-called dispersal, or Diaspora as the Zionists refer to it, after the Romans destroyed the Temple—embraced Christianity and later many Christians

embraced Islam. So many of those indigenous people of Palestine had been Jews ethnologically.

288. A man like Mr. Eban, hailing from South Africa—where was he in 1922? He was an officer—of course, being a Cambridge graduate he would not be a "tommy"—in what was called then the British Forces. Some of those forces—called the Egyptian Expeditionary Force—were sent to Palestine to fight the Turks. He hails from South Africa. Mr. Ben-Gurion hails from Russia. Mrs. Golda Meir hails from Wisconsin, but originally she came from somewhere in Russia. Many of those Eastern European Jews came either from the Ukraine or from the Balkans or from Poland. They were the descendants of the converted Jews of the eighth century, who were known as the Khazars, not the descendants of the Jews of our area with whom we claim a similarity of culture, language and way of life.

289. With his eloquence and with his oratorical skill Mr. Abba Eban wants to gloss over the fact that it was those Eastern European Zionists who resorted to terrorism in order to establish an artificial State in our midst.

Mr. Kelani (Syrian Arab Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

290. Mr. Eban spoke of chivalry. Let me make it clear from the outset that no one here in the United Nations, Arab or non-Arab, African or non-African, condones terrorism. But when certain factions see that they have no recourse other than to surreptitious action, what do you want them to do—to come out into the open and fight, organize armies? They would not have a chance at all either of surviving or of having their cause live in the hearts of men.

291. I think that Mr. Eban also spoke of kidnapping. Who kidnapped Eichmann from Argentina? That was a kind of justifiable kidnapping. Who is going to draw the line between what is justifiable and what is not justifiable? I witnessed what happened in the Security Council when Argentina brought up the question of the kidnapping of Eichmann. Pressure was brought to bear on Argentina by Western Powers to make the best of it and all of a sudden we found that despite the original intention no resolution was submitted in the Council to condemn the Zionist authorities for having gone into another State, for having surreptitiously kidnapped somebody whom they deemed to be their enemy and for having taken the law into their own hands.

292. Mr. Eban spoke of the annihilation of a State—meaning that the Arabs want to annihilate the State of Israel. But has this gentleman who hails from South Africa and who acquired the citizenship of that usurping State thought for a moment that a whole people has been in the process of annihilation—none other than the Palestinian people? It so happens that the culture of those people is Arabic, but originally they were Semites, most probably the Jews of the land, ethnologically speaking.

293. A prophet came to the land, none other than Jesus of Nazareth and at the time when he came, during the Roman era, there were many Jews in the land and he addressed them, saying, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy

brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own? ”

294. Has Mr. Eban taken into account that the Palestinian people thought that they would be annihilated by being scattered? But the assessment of the Zionists was wrong.

295. They thought that in time those who fled from Palestine after they had been terrorized—and I have mentioned how they were terrorized—would die away. But things did not work out like that, because those who were born of Palestinian parents took the torch of liberty and freedom, carrying it and, unfortunately for everybody concerned, killing and getting killed.

296. Human life is sacred to us all, without distinction between Jew and Gentile. We do not believe that God is a discriminator—or the Creator, for those who do not believe in God, or nature. We are all *homo sapiens*. Our religion is the concern of our conscience. But it seems that the term “chosen people of God” was taken literally by our colleague who originated from South Africa and wants to tell us, the people of the area, what is by implication meant by “the chosen people”.

297. If God chooses one people, then he is a discriminator. And here in the United Nations we are opposed to discrimination. We deal with subjects such as racial discrimination—all forms of racial discrimination.

298. I do not see Mr. Eban sitting in this hall. He knows that it has become traditional for me to take the floor after he speaks. But I think someone will relay to him my comments concerning the significance of the term “the chosen people of God”. As a humble student of comparative religion I would say that that term means that God chose certain prophets from among that people. It does not mean that He discriminates against other people. The Creator chose Buddha, chose Confucius. Whether or not we believe in theism or in any other form of religion, that does not mean that the Indians put themselves above any other people because Buddha happened to be an Indian. It does not mean that because they produced Confucius and Lao-tse the Chinese think they are superior to others. They are thankful for such teachers, philosophers, prophets or whatever you want to call them.

299. Mr. Eban wants to tell us that the Arabs do not exercise chivalry and are resorting to ways and means of annihilating the State of Israel. How can the Arabs annihilate anyone, when they do not exercise power, when they know there are Powers behind Israel's aeroplanes that rain bombs on their land? They are not so simple. This is rhetoric on the part of Mr. Eban.

300. But we shall come to terrorism. I remember very well how the seat of the British Mandate, the King David Hotel, was bombed, demolished, destroyed by the Zionists, with about 200 killed and wounded. None other than the first President of Israel—and I stand to be corrected if it was not he—said, “They did very well.” And from your history you may know that there was a certain Lord, Lord Moyne. Who in the area killed him but the Zionists? Who surrounded a city not very far from Jerusalem at dawn in 1948 and machine-gunned every human being, every creature, and cut

down the trees, terrorizing the whole people of Palestine? A large part of the exodus started after that incident. If there has been any genocide, that was genocide.

301. A certain gentleman who happened to be a Jew coined the word “genocide”. He had himself suffered at the hands of the European Nazis. I questioned him in the lounge here about 15 years ago. I asked him, “Do you consider Deir Yasin to constitute genocide?” He said, “I have no choice, Sir, but to consider it such.” An honest Jew who did not mix up his religion with politics. I have forgotten his name, but he is the one who coined the word “genocide”. At one time, he lectured at Columbia University. And now, assuming a holier-than-thou attitude, Mr. Eban tells us that all the trouble comes from the Arabs and those misguided Palestinians.

302. He spoke of those lethal letters. Has Mr. Eban forgotten the Lavon affair, when the Zionists placed explosives inside books that were sent to none other than the British and American information services in Cairo in 1954 so as to create more dissent between certain Western Powers and Egypt at that time? That was the Lavon affair. Has Mr. Eban forgotten, or have his intelligence services not told him, that Zionist agents sent letters containing explosives to German scientists at a time when the word “German” was still anathema to the Zionists? Those German scientists were in Cairo, and the Zionists later bragged that they had sent those letters to the German scientists in order to kill them. Who took the law into his own hands?

303. I need not go on citing such incidents—for instance, when British tommies were hanged from trees in Jerusalem while Britain was still the Mandatory Power in that land. I could go on indefinitely *ad nauseam*, but it is my intention to show that, unfortunately for themselves and for the Palestinians, those who resorted to terrorism in our area were the Zionists.

304. We have our codes of chivalry. Does he want to teach us chivalry, that South African? If an enemy shakes the tent of an Arab and tells him, “I seek peace”, although he may have killed the father of the dweller in that tent he is given peace and he is treated with chivalry. And Mr. Eban wants to teach us chivalry?

305. There is a certain gentleman who I believe to be an Arab Jew; he lives in Israel. I do not know him personally, but his name is Shemesh. Referring to the alleged hatred of Arabs for Jews, he was quoted in the Israeli paper *Maariv* of 11 April 1972—Mr. Eban resorted to many quotations, from Hassanein Heykal, Mr. El-Sadat and others, but I think this quotation from *Maariv* is very significant—as saying:

“The establishment is the one who cultivated this hatred by means employed already. We lived in Morocco and in Iraq in peace and harmony, until the emissaries of zionism came and threw bombs into Jewish centres in order to generate conflicts between us and the Arabs.”

And Mr. Eban talks of Arab terrorism.

306. Well, I am not condoning terrorism of any kind, but I must assert that it does seem that when the Palestinians saw

that the Zionists had succeeded by resorting to terrorism, they thought that that might be the answer for them. No one says that they are right, least of all this United Nations which, in 1947 witnessed—as I myself did—the immoral manoeuvring and the pressure that was brought to bear on States to partition Palestine. Since then there have been 22 condemnations of the usurping State of Israel in our resolutions. But Israel has power—and not only has power, but is bolstered by one of the super-Powers. Why? We will get to that when we discuss the situation in the Middle East. This is not the time to say why.

307. So the Palestinians reason: since the Zionists succeeded in establishing a State there and chasing us out of the land by terrorism, why should we not resort to the same method?

308. Now, two wrongs do not make a right. But if the United Nations remains, arms folded, and does not look at the grievances of the Palestinians, with whom do you think they are going to take the matter up—with Mr. Eban himself? Mrs. Golda Meir has said several times: “The Palestine people, who are they?”—as if they did not exist. Now, it seems they do exist—after the unfortunate incidents in Munich. And now the Germans, who have poured billions of dollars into Israel through the pressure of certain Powers, are no longer anathema: they are *persona grata*; the erstwhile Nazis have been white-washed.

309. Whom do you think you are fooling, Mr. Eban and you Zionists? You resorted to terrorism. You are the ones who taught people how to kidnap, how to hijack, how to send explosives in letters. And then, when such methods are used against you—and unfortunately so—you begin to talk about chivalry, and about the dastardly acts perpetrated by the Palestinian Arabs. You always say “Arabs”. Say “Palestinians”; they are an entity; they have an identity and a personality of their own.

310. There will be no peace as long as those Palestinians are robbed of their homeland, Mr. Eban and the rest of you Zionists. They do not come and tell us, representatives of Arab Governments, what they are going to do; they are not accountable to us. They are taking the law into their own hands, just as you did when you resorted to terrorism and took the law into your own hands.

311. I must say a few words about several telephone calls that I received today—not from terrorists but from friendly Jews. A rabbi got in touch with me today. I think his name

was Schwartz. He said, “We want you to know, Baroody”—and I have been here since 10 o'clock this morning; every day I come here at 10 and I do not leave till 7—“that we are protesting what the Zionists are doing. We are against political zionism.” But the Zionists give the impression that every Jew should be a Zionist and have a dual loyalty. But there are Jews who do not believe in political zionism; they are Orthodox Jews. If there is any real Jew, it is the Orthodox Jew, the original Jew.

312. And Mr. Eban, from this rostrum, year in, year out, talks about the 100 or 110 million Arabs who are surrounding that poor little State of Israel—poor not in monetary terms, television sets and whatnot. Well, when we were dealing with self-determination 24 years ago, I said that civilization was not measured by how many bathtubs there are in a city, or by how many faucets there are with running water. A civilization is something of the spirit. We have witnessed in two world wars that people who were advanced materially and who went to church on Sunday and prayed to the Prince of Peace—none other than Jesus—on Monday cut one another's throats. What kind of civilization is that?

313. And then Mr. Eban quotes the Bible—the sixth commandment. What about the injunction of Moses, “Love thy neighbour as thyself”? The Zionists killed their neighbours. Had the Zionists been prompted by religious sentiment, and had they come to the land of Palestine to revere the prophets of Judaism without a flag, whether they were converted Jews or Jews that are of our own, I think the Palestinians would have received them with open arms, as they have always been known to do.

314. But the Zionists wanted to chase away the indigenous people of Palestine and expropriate it. Colonialism is nothing compared to this—this is expropriation. Who can blame the Palestinians for their desperate stand any more than anyone can blame the Africans who are fighting for liberation in their own continent. Man is a rationalizing animal and not a rational animal. He can always find excuses and twist the facts. But the facts are more eloquent than anything, including the oratory of Mr. Eban. And I, a man in my seventh decade, do not prophesy, but it is my duty to tell from this rostrum every Zionist and the representatives here, that there will be no peace in Palestine as long as the Palestinian people are robbed of their land and their patrimony.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.