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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MULLER (South Africa): Mr. President, I am glad to have the opportunity today of extending to you, on behalf of the South African delegation, my congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. At the same time, I should like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Malik of Indonesia, who so successfully guided our deliberations during the twenty-sixth session of the Assembly.

2. May I also pay my respects to our new Secretary-General and wish him every success in the discharge of his heavy responsibilities?

3. Change is inevitable, and nowhere is this more true than in the field of international relations. We contemplate today a world different from the world that existed at the time of the last session of the General Assembly, for the past year has witnessed changes of more than ordinary significance, including the evolution of what may be termed a new relationship among the major Powers. It is true that the legacy of the Second World War, the polarization of the nations of the world into different power blocs, is still with us today more than a quarter of a century later. But recently, important developments have begun to ease at least some of the tensions of the past.

4. These developments have followed a series of initiatives on the part of several of the major Powers, leading, it would seem, to a degree of reconciliation and a lessening of animosity between some of them. We find ourselves in a new situation, and axiomatically a new situation brings with it the prospect of new opportunities. There is, in particular, the promise of better understanding and therefore of a more peaceful world.

5. We in South Africa hope that this promise will be realized. We welcome any development which tends to lessen international tension and which leans in the direction

of defusing, rather than accentuating, international confrontation—confrontation which in this day and age could lead to catastrophe for the world. We welcome the approach of the major Powers which, after all these years, are moving increasingly, albeit cautiously, from a posture of mutual recrimination towards one of negotiation. We are glad that the negotiations which have already taken place provide support for the concept of the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations, large and small.

6. What conclusions are to be drawn by an onlooker from these developments? In the first place, it is striking that, although the internal political and social systems of the major Powers are often widely divergent, this has not deterred them from reaching an accommodation with one another on the issues which have hitherto divided them. None has found it necessary to change its own system or to try to impose such an adjustment on others. It has, in fact, been specifically stated in communiqués and conference documentation that essential differences in ideology, social systems and even foreign policies should be no bar to the conduct of relations between States, based on such universal principles as respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-aggression against States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. It was also recognized that international disputes should be settled without resort to the threat or use of force.

7. In the second place we should note that, despite the significance of the recent developments to which I have referred, the progress so far made is unfortunately only marginal in comparison with the awesome magnitude and complexity of the problems that still remain. These problems, which vitally affect not only the larger nations but every nation in the world, include such issues as economic development, the preservation of our global environment, famine and over-population, disarmament, and so on. Any advance in these spheres is encouraging and it is indeed gratifying to acknowledge in passing that a measure of progress has this year been recorded in some of them. It is regrettable, however, that even on such cardinal matters as the environment and economic development, political considerations, for reasons frequently not even remotely relevant to the central issue, are allowed to intrude into the proceedings.

8. How are the smaller nations affected by the new fluidity in international relations? It is clear that the developments in the past year or two involving the major Powers have acted as a catalyst for the reassessment of many existing political situations. No country can wisely disregard them altogether. It seems to me, furthermore, that the smaller Powers now have an incentive to show that

they, too, can relax tension among themselves. The lesson is that consultation and negotiation are more rewarding for all the parties concerned than confrontation leading to possible conflict, destruction and suffering; the lesson is that differences in internal social systems are no deterrent to accommodation between the parties; the lesson, furthermore, is that an essential prerequisite to a climate of mutual trust and confidence, leading to the settlement of differences, is acceptance and implementation of the principles of non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and peaceful coexistence. It is my hope that the smaller States will heed this lesson, strive for co-operation and thus lay the basis for the progress and advancement of their peoples.

9. In the face of the great problems with which the world as a whole is confronted, and with particular reference to the immense task of development which faces the smaller developing countries, none of us can afford the luxury of international bickering and dispute, which distract our attention from the fundamental problems and detract from our ability to solve them.

10. Let us in this regard briefly consider the record of the year which has just gone by. We find that progress has in fact been erratic. In some areas improvement has been registered; in others, however, an atmosphere of armed hostility survives in the aftermath of a regional war; elsewhere we have witnessed military coups d'état, assassination attempts, massive loss of life in communal conflicts, hijacking and terrorism in its different manifestations. Only some of these activities have received the attention of this Organization. This is the darker side of the picture, but I mention it because these are activities which gravely undermine international order and progress, and history will harshly judge the international community and this Organization if they continue unchecked. In the economic and social fields progress has also been uneven and the world has had to live through a further period of financial crisis and instability. It is clear that progress will not come easily.

11. Against this background of shifting international attitudes and uneven accomplishment, may I sketch some of the principles governing South Africa's approach to international intercourse. As a starting-point, let me reiterate that we fully subscribe to the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. We shall continue to apply this principle in the conduct of our relations with our neighbours in southern Africa, where the principle has most relevance for us. We have given solemn undertakings in this regard. Our aim is to exist peacefully with each of them to our mutual advantage. We have no aggressive intentions or expansionist ambitions.

12. We believe also in the peaceful settlement of disputes, which is the fundamental message of the Charter, and we reject the use of violence and force as a means to an end. Instead we favour dialogue and negotiation, contact and communication. We can point in this regard to our contacts with the Secretary-General on the future of South West Africa. We remain ready to enter into dialogue with anyone who reciprocates our genuine interest therein. Let me make it clear once again today that we are prepared to discuss even South Africa's internal policies in the course of such a

dialogue. My country practises and lives dialogue and sees in it a positive approach to world problems and an effective way of promoting peaceful coexistence and world harmony.

13. Accordingly we have on several occasions shown our readiness to seek solutions to current problems within this framework. I am convinced that the development of dialogue between South Africa and African nations can lead only to improved relations to the benefit of all. There is already evidence that this is so. I may mention in this regard, for example, the historic state visit of the President-for-life of Malawi to South Africa during 1971, which was followed by an equally successful return visit by the South African State President earlier this year. We believe that reciprocal visits of this nature, conducted at all levels, are important from the point of view of breaking down prejudices and increasing understanding.

14. Then there is the question of internal dialogue. It has been asserted in some quarters that South Africa should conduct a dialogue with its own people before attempting to engage in a dialogue with independent States, particularly those of Africa. This assertion appears to be based, as in the case of so many attitudes towards South Africa, on a fundamental misconception of the situation. There is, in fact, a continuing dialogue with the various peoples in South Africa, which has been and is being conducted at all levels, from the lowest to the highest. The self-governing nations emerging in South Africa are producing leaders and representatives who are empowered by their own people to conduct a dialogue at the highest level with the South African Government and this they have been doing. Ministers and officials of my Government are in constant touch with ministers and their officials in the homelands, all of which enjoy some form of self-government. Last year the South African Prime Minister himself conferred with leaders of all the different peoples of the Republic, some of which, namely the Xhosas and the Zulus, total as many as 4 million each, and these meetings have continued this year. Moreover, these leaders travel overseas extensively and exchange views and ideas with a wide cross-section of world opinion. What is all this, if it is not dialogue in the truest sense of the word?

15. It is a strange phenomenon that dialogue in any form should be discouraged in this Organization. The Organization, whose *raison d'être* is the maintenance of peace in the world, is the largest and most universal forum of the community of nations for the exchange of points of view. Implicit in the concept of the United Nations is that disputes are better settled by words than by force. It is therefore inexplicable and unforgivable that the membership should actively or even obliquely support in any way programmes of force, violence and terror, while at the same time disavowing dialogue. We hope that all Members will adopt a positive approach to dialogue and that dialogue itself will not become a source of discord among the nations of the world. It would be tragic if it were to be used by some for divisive purposes to split us into opposing groups or blocs.

16. The repudiation of dialogue leads to reliance upon uglier means of settling differences, none more ugly and abhorrent than terrorism. Recent incidents of terrorism

have horrified the world. But terrorism is not new. It has existed for years. During the past decade or more, indiscriminate terrorism has spread to virtually every corner of the globe, bringing in its wake suffering, destruction and death. The terrorist outrages committed at Munich and elsewhere have been widely condemned, here and elsewhere. This is very proper, but it is not enough. Terrorism is a universal evil which must be stamped out everywhere. There can be no differentiation between types of terrorism. In all its forms it is a disease which respects no frontier. None that ignores it abroad is immune to it at home.

17. This Organization in particular must be consistent. It cannot shirk its duty and discard its Charter in regard to terrorism. We must speak with one voice on this scourge, without equivocation, because terrorism, no matter where it may erupt or what its current guise, cannot shed its essential characteristics: it is beyond the pale of order, of law, of decency, of society and of humanity. We cannot for selfish or regional reasons move to stamp it out in one form or in one region, while encouraging it in another. It is obvious that this merely guarantees its survival and its spread. And yet, the records of this Assembly abound in expressions serving as encouragement to those committed to violence as a means of achieving their political objectives. Furthermore, at the very time of the Munich outrage, plans were openly being laid for stepping up terrorism in Africa. Terrorism will survive so long as this and other Organizations continue not only to condone the use of force and violence as a means to an end but, in certain circumstances, to support and even to subsidize it.

18. We deplore this attitude. South Africa cannot and will not compromise on the issue of terrorism. We have not hesitated to take drastic action against it in the past, and we shall fight it with all means at our disposal in the future. I much regret, I might add, that even while the Secretary-General and the South African Government are engaged in discussions on the future of South West Africa, with progress already registered, some individuals and organizations, and even some Governments represented here, should still openly advocate the use of force and violence in that Territory.

19. So far as the contacts between the Secretary-General and my Government are concerned, this is obviously not the opportune moment for me to speak on them at any length. There is no denying that the gap to be bridged is wide and deep, and it cannot be expected that a solution will be found overnight. Time, perseverance and patience will clearly be required. Nevertheless, we sincerely hope that goodwill, mutual trust and understanding will prevail on all sides and that in this atmosphere progress will be possible. I want again to reaffirm that, so far as South West Africa is concerned, the South African Government is firmly committed to the principle of self-determination and independence with all that this implies, and we shall continue to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the search for a solution.

20. In the meantime, South Africa is continuing to assist in the development of the Territory and the advancement of its peoples in all spheres so that they may achieve the declared goal of self-determination and independence as rapidly as possible. During the last two generations we have

made a considerable contribution to the Territory's development. I may also mention that, by virtue of South African legislation, all revenue collected in South West Africa, including taxation on foreign investments, is applied there exclusively for the benefit of all the inhabitants. In addition, South Africa itself annually contributes directly and indirectly a substantial amount to the Territory's development. In 1972 this additional contribution by the South African Government, on current account alone, is estimated at \$80 million, an amount which very nearly equals South West Africa's own estimated revenue receipts. We shall be more than prepared to continue to assist the peoples of the Territory after independence, if that is what they desire; and we are in a good position to do so, because of our close association with South West Africa over many years, our geographic proximity and our links in numerous fields; but it will be clear that our assistance then cannot be on the same scale as it is today. Even now the growing needs of the indigenous peoples can hardly be met from local and South African resources combined.

21. After independence, therefore, as in the case of most newly independent States, they will inevitably continue to look beyond their borders for assistance.

22. In all the circumstances, we simply cannot understand the motives of those who discourage new foreign investment or call for the cessation of existing foreign investment in South West Africa. It cannot be in the interest of the peoples of the Territory to deprive them of the contribution to their welfare which overseas investors make in the context of their business operations there, for it is the inhabitants themselves who gain from such investments. And it must surely be clear that, the closer we move in the direction of self-determination and independence, the more important foreign investment becomes in developing the essential economic launching-pad which new States need in order to get off to a sound start. An attempt to retard the economic growth of the Territory simply means a prolongation of its economic dependence upon others. I would ask those discouraging, or advocating a withdrawal of, investments in South West Africa at least to take account of the wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory, and to cease arrogating to themselves exclusively the privilege of deciding what is in their best interests.

23. From what I have said today, it should be clear that South Africa has adopted an approach to its problems and its relations with other countries which is not out of tune with the current trend of negotiation and détente now influencing international relations. This applies both to the conduct of South Africa's internal affairs and to the wider international sphere.

24. I have in mind, in this regard, relations with our neighbours as well as with the United Nations. We subscribe to this policy because we are convinced that, provided our efforts are not undermined by external influences, it will promote peace in our part of the world.

25. It should not be necessary to commend a similar approach to Members of this Organization, since that approach is implicit in the Charter. But a return to the Charter in this respect might lead the Organization to higher levels of achievement in the pursuit of its principal objective: international peace and security.

26. Mr. KHALATBARI (Iran): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to express my delegation's sincere felicitations on your election as the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high post is indeed a tribute to your eminent qualities as a diplomat and statesman, as well as to your country, which has made valuable contributions to the cause of the United Nations. As I have had the honour to represent my country in Poland, I stand reminded of the depth and richness of your country's culture, and believe that you will ably personify the courage of its people. I have no doubt that you will perform your duties here with the same distinction that has characterized your past public services.

27. I wish also to pay a high tribute to the outgoing President of the Assembly, Mr. Adam Malik, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, for his valuable contributions to our Organization.

28. Allow me, moreover, to extend once again my delegation's warmest congratulations to our new Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on his appointment to this most important office.

29. It is indeed a source of gratification to continue to have at the helm of this Organization a man of great public distinction and international stature. In the course of the past year he has demonstrated his acute awareness of world problems and in the interest of international peace and security he has taken constructive measures to deal with problems before they reach a critical stage. We are confident he will continue to discharge faithfully, and with devotion and foresight, the awesome responsibilities that have been entrusted to him. My delegation pledges to him its unequivocal support and co-operation.

30. In this context it is fitting to recall once more the valuable contributions rendered by our former Secretary-General, U Thant, whose tireless efforts in the cause of world peace and security will long be remembered.

31. Since the last session of the General Assembly the world has undergone significant changes in both the political and the economic fields. The rigid bipolarity of the past is making way for a more diversified and multilateral world power structure.

32. In the light of these circumstances my delegation views with some optimism the recent unfolding panorama of political events on the world scene.

33. In this context, the latest developments in Asia deserve our special attention. The People's Republic of China has joined the community of nations. Pragmatic and sustained efforts towards the normalization of relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States has smoothed the way for a policy of coexistence between those two Powers. This new understanding is indeed a milestone in the development of a better political climate in Asia and in the world.

34. The recent contacts between South and North Korea are fraught with hopeful signs for the eventual reunification of the two parts of Korea and can be considered the first step towards defusing existing frictions in that area.

35. The latest sequel of political events on the Indian subcontinent also offers encouraging prospects for the restoration of peace. Both Pakistan and India are reviewing their relations and seeking in earnest to find mutually acceptable solutions to their existing problems. The initiative taken by President Bhutto of Pakistan in paving the way for a meeting between the leaders of those two countries in the month of June of this year and the ensuing Simla Agreement are a constructive starting-point and could result in the opening of a new phase in relations between Pakistan and India. It is our fervent hope that the question of disputed territories will be resolved and that the Pakistani prisoners of war will be released in accordance with the relevant Geneva Conventions, thus creating an atmosphere conducive to the establishment of normal relations between the two nations. In this respect, the United Nations should assist in bringing about a just settlement of outstanding disputes as promptly as possible.

36. The ratification of the friendship and frontier treaties with the Federal Republic of Germany by the Soviet Union and by Poland and the conclusion of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin are also symbolic of the significant strides made towards creating a détente in Europe. These agreements will no doubt facilitate the road to future negotiations between the countries members of NATO and the countries signatories of the Warsaw Pact with the ultimate aim of convening a conference on European security.

37. This year's session of the General Assembly is marked by an atmosphere of political realism. The historic summit meetings held in Peking between the leaders of the United States and China and in Moscow between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States have accorded a sharp impetus to forces actively engaged in strengthening the pillars of international security.

38. Indeed, the three global Powers have made landmark progress towards defining their positions and diminishing the causes of misunderstanding in an attempt to relax world tensions and to provide the peoples of the world with a more secure environment in which to live.

39. The Declaration of Basic Principles of Relations between the United States and the USSR, adopted at Moscow on 29 May 1972, constitutes a strong reaffirmation of the basic principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

40. The strategic arms limitation agreements, adopted at Moscow on 26 May 1972, are yet another significant outcome of the conference between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union. This and further agreements in areas of mutual interest such as space, science and technology, medical research and trade, are bound to serve peaceful and humanitarian aims and will no doubt reduce international frictions and enhance mutual trust and amity among nations.

41. All these new developments have left a deep imprint on the standing and composition of our Organization.

42. The United Nations has consequently expanded its membership and is now approaching its goal of universality.

Last year, we applauded the restoration of the lawful rights in the United Nations of the People's Republic of China and the admission of five new Members. We hope this trend will continue until the United Nations brings under its roof all countries which remain outside the Organization.

43. However, in spite of these favourable trends, the picture of the world scene remains rather dark.

44. The situation in the Middle East has taken a turn for the worse, especially during recent weeks. The latest armed interventions against Syria and Lebanon have further endangered peace and security in the area. A precarious situation continues to loom large, causing further frustrations and aggravations. The Arab Republic of Egypt, motivated by a sense of realism and compromise, has made successive peace overtures to Israel with a view to an equitable settlement of all its outstanding disputes. These efforts have, however, met with no positive response and have failed to persuade Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories.

45. Other peaceful initiatives have also yielded no results. Ambassador Jarring's mission has not received the cooperation necessary for its successful accomplishment. All indications are, therefore, that nothing concrete has been achieved to resolve the Middle East crisis since the last session of the General Assembly.

46. In spite of the inability of the Arab States and Israel to reach an agreement, my delegation continues to believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) constitutes the most workable basis for a political settlement of existing disputes. In our considered view it is time that more intensified and collective efforts be made within the context of that resolution to eliminate the sources of contention and to guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of all States in the region.

47. South-East Asia is another area of the world beset by strife, chronic war and economic dislocation. During the past year, the war in Viet-Nam has expanded with alarming speed and devastating impact. It is our fervent hope, however, that normality and peace will be restored to Viet-Nam within the framework of the Geneva Conventions and on the basis of strict respect for the right of the people to self-determination, to independent development and to the inviolability of their territorial integrity.

48. More than a decade after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], colonialism persists in dominating certain parts of Africa. In fact, a figure in excess of one tenth of the population of the African continent continues to be oppressed by the colonial yoke and racial discrimination. In Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), and Zimbabwe, millions of people are being denied their rights to political, social and economic self-expression, to human dignity and to self-determination. Neither the efforts of the United Nations nor the concerted pressure exerted by mankind has succeeded in eliminating the deprivation of human rights and fundamental freedoms inflicted by the colonial Powers.

49. In this connexion we welcomed the meetings of the Security Council held in Addis Ababa. Those meetings, which brought the members of the Security Council in closer touch with the problems and aspirations of the peoples of Africa, may, hopefully, open the way for the Security Council to take more effective measures in this regard. They have also helped reinforce the determination of the African countries to utilize the instruments of this Organization to combat colonialism, racial discrimination and, in particular, *apartheid*. It is indeed gratifying that in this realm the Council adopted positive resolutions on some major problems.

50. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that Members of the United Nations will, in concert, pool their energies to eradicate the last relics of colonialism and racism in all its forms and manifestations.

51. Progress in the field of disarmament since our last session has been encouraging. First and foremost is the adoption and signing of the Convention on the banning of biological weapons.¹ This Convention holds open the possibility of an agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons and contains an explicit pledge by all parties to reach an early accord in this regard. Combined with past achievements in arms control and disarmament, it is testimony to the progress made by the United Nations in the limitation of armaments. However, it would be purblind optimism to deny that a great deal remains to be done.

52. Despite an agreement reached in principle by the major Powers a decade ago, a substantive programme of general and complete disarmament has yet to be launched. We believe, as we stated last year, that marginal agreements providing for the limitation of armaments in regional or functional areas are not goals in themselves and cannot supplant general and complete disarmament as an ultimate objective [*1940th meeting, para. 116*].

53. In this connexion it is indeed a source of dismay that little progress has been achieved in the vital area of a comprehensive test ban. The partial test-ban Treaty² has been at the most a qualified success and, due to its restricted sphere of control, has left the door open to the increasing use of underground testing. The question of inspection stands as the main obstacle to a comprehensive test-ban Treaty, but has not precluded progress in other areas of disarmament.

54. To cite the most recent example, the strategic arms limitation agreements, concluded in May of this year, are based on an "open skies" inspection system. Therefore, it is a matter for regret that the faith and the trust demonstrated in this case and in the case of other important agreements have not served as a yardstick for an agreement on a comprehensive test ban.

55. We consider the agreements concluded in Moscow in May of this year to be of seminal importance. The

¹ Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex).

² Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

agreements between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics designed to impose quantitative limits on their strategic weapons and to expand their relations in the field of trade, medicine and space, provide ample evidence of the desire of both countries to advance from mere détente and coexistence to active co-operation.

56. We hope the momentum gained will continue to increase in the future and result in a wider and more comprehensive agreement covering the entire European continent. We also hope that these practical achievements will have an encouraging and beneficial effect on the whole spectrum of issues relating to conventional and nuclear disarmament. In fact, we anxiously look forward to the day when man's inventive genius in creating weapons of total destruction will be employed with equal effectiveness and skill in achieving total disarmament.

57. The preservation of our environment has also assumed a new dimension and importance for all the States and peoples of the world. It is a subject which directly impinges on their survival, well-being, and socio-economic development. Nations can no longer afford to be heedless about the vulnerability of their ecology and natural resources to misuse and contamination.

58. During the past five years, the findings of science have made us aware of the environmental consequences of material progress either in biospheric or psycho-social terms. They have awakened the consciousness of mankind to its natural heritage and instilled in us a sense of responsibility to future generations.

59. The rising world-wide concern focused on this problem led the United Nations to convene the first major international conference on the human environment in Stockholm. The historic Declaration of the Conference³ has established a set of guidelines which could, if implemented in good faith, arrest and perhaps even reverse the increasing deterioration of the quality of life on our planet.

60. With this conviction, the Iranian Government has, in recent years, engaged in a series of conservational reform laws including the nationalization of its forests, rangeland and water resources.

61. The International Conference on the Conservation of Wetlands and Waterfowl, held at Ramsar in Iran, which received unanimous support by all the participating countries, was an apt illustration of Iran's deep interest in all aspects of conservation. It was on this occasion that the foundation for the establishment in southern Iran of an ecological research station of global scope, in joint trust with an appropriate international agency at the Arjan International Environmental Reserve, was laid to underline the pressing needs of contemporary society. Moreover, Iran has decided to offer an annual international award in the amount of \$20,000 for the most outstanding contribution made in the field of human environment. Iran has also taken steps to establish an urgently needed monitoring

system to control pollution in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. We have also signed a protocol with the Government of the Soviet Union laying down conditions for the prevention of pollution of the Caspian Sea; it is hoped this protocol will result in a bilateral convention. In addition, our two Governments have been in contact with a view to concluding, within the framework of the Ramsar Agreement, accords of a similar nature regarding our common wildlife resources.

62. Another area of rising importance is the peaceful uses of the sea. The ocean has opened a new horizon to man's needs and expectations. This issue involves not only the exploration and exploitation of the virgin resources of the sea but also the formation of new régimes for law, politics and socio-economics.

63. It is generally agreed that the sea-bed provides a fertile field for the devising of new laws of the sea. This consensus is clearly reflected in the Declaration of Principles, approved by the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly,⁴ which delineated modalities for progress in this field. We are of the belief that, on the issue of the law of the sea, any successful multilateral initiative must represent and adequately accommodate various interests in socio-economic terms and also take into consideration geographical and geological problems.

64. In the area of economics and trade, we are still living under archaic and radically unjust economic precepts governing relations among States. Under present conditions, the division of material prosperity which separates the developing and the developed countries will become sharper, and the widening gap of economic imbalance among nations will prove even more difficult to bridge.

65. In this regard the hopes pinned on the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) had discouraging results. The deliberations of the Conference were marked by the intransigence of economically advanced countries, which did not wish to accommodate their interests to the rising needs of the economically less advanced nations and by the refusal of the former to use trade and monetary policies to redress the existing imbalance.

66. My August Sovereign clearly described this problem at the fifty-seventh session of the International Labour Conference held in Geneva in June this year:

"There is no doubt that the elimination of commercial rivalries, the removal of the barriers which now exist in this domain and international monetary stabilization are of vital importance for the developing countries. . . . prices of exports from industrialised countries are constantly rising. . . . In other words, when the industrialised countries export their products, they also export inflation. . . .

"The inflationary methods practised by the industrialised countries have caused an increase in interest rates

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

⁴ Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (resolution 2749 (XXV)).

and, consequently, foreign loans to the developing countries have become more expensive.”⁵

67. It is therefore essential that provision be made to guarantee a stable and just price for the raw materials and primary products of the less developed countries, in order to cushion recurring price fluctuations. In any policy adopted by the economically advanced nations and designed to reorganize the structure of the international monetary system for the purpose of ensuring greater world financial stability, the interests of less advanced countries, as well as those of the entire community of nations, should be adequately reflected. These remedies, in addition to the implementation of UNCTAD's recommendation that the economically advanced countries should allocate 1 per cent of their gross national product for assistance to the less advanced nations, could serve as an effective means of coping with some of the problems which beset the international community.

68. Before concluding, I wish to turn to a question which deserves particular attention. The rise in terrorism and violence in recent times has aroused concern and indignation throughout the world. We deplore and condemn such acts, which endanger or take innocent lives. The rule of law is of paramount importance to all of us. If we allow lawlessness to continue unchecked, the United Nations will be totally undermined.

69. The Secretary-General should be commended for having taken the initiative to invite the attention of the United Nations [A/8791 and Add.1] to a matter which threatens to throw the whole fabric of the international order into disarray. We believe that the problem should be dealt with most urgently in all its aspects, including its underlying causes. It is high time the United Nations took necessary and effective measures to curb and eradicate terrorism in all its forms.

70. Every year, as we enter this majestic hall to pay a tribute to the founders of the United Nations for the contribution they have made to the pursuit of a lasting peace for humanity, our hearts yearn with the hope of accomplishment. It is once again the deep-seated wish of my Government and delegation to voice this hope.

71. As developments last year have shown, we are confident that, given a spirit of compromise and reconciliation, greater progress could be made in reducing threats to peace and security throughout the world. We therefore look to the future with optimism. In the final analysis, it is our earnest hope that concrete steps will be taken to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations as a universal peace machinery, with the aim of converting theatres of conflict and areas of discord into fields ripe for co-operation and progress.

72. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*translation from Russian*): May I, Sir, congratulate you warmly on your election to the responsible post of President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We are

very glad that the work of this international forum will be guided this year by an outstanding diplomat from fraternal Poland and we are most pleased that you, a representative of the countries of the socialist community, have been elected to that high office.

73. It was with pleasure that we welcomed the appointment last year of Mr. Kurt Waldheim as the new Secretary-General of the United Nations. We would like to take this opportunity to assure him that he can count on the full support of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in his efforts to enhance the role of the United Nations and to increase the effectiveness of its work in carrying out the basic task of the Organization as enshrined in the Charter, namely the maintenance of international peace and security.

74. Every year the General Assembly is faced with the task of analysing and assessing the international situation and taking stock of the activities of the United Nations. However, this task should not become mere routine. We ourselves in any case welcome this occasion as a means of encouraging positive developments while exposing and rebuffing the forces of war, imperialism and reaction.

75. The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic approaches the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly firmly resolved to support the trends towards a relaxation of international tension which have appeared recently and to support the efforts of peace-loving forces to settle controversial international problems by peaceful means. The results achieved in this area are proof that the principle of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, a principle which has been followed consistently by countries in the socialist community, and in particular by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from its inception 50 years ago, is becoming an increasingly effective and real force in relations between States, for it is fully responsive to the aspirations and vital interests of the peoples.

76. Our delegation approaches the work of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly with a genuine desire to make a contribution to the solution of those complex and conflicting problems which developments in international relations place on our agenda at a time when the trend towards a better climate is advancing only with great difficulty and by dint of great efforts.

77. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always taken an active part in the efforts of the socialist countries to ensure peace and international security. For example it has recently made its contribution to the important measure adopted by the countries of the socialist community, namely the Prague Declaration of the Political Advisory Committee of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty,⁶ which addresses itself to the major issues of the day.

78. In this regard we welcomed the outcome of the talks between the leaders of the Soviet Union and France, during which the basic principles of peaceful coexistence, which operate also in relations between other countries, were

⁵ See *International Labour Conference, Fifty-seventh Session, Record of Proceedings* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1972), p. 201.

⁶ Declaration on Peace, Security and Co-operation in Europe, adopted at Prague on 26 January 1972.

affirmed and the results of the summit talks between the Soviet Union and the United States, which affirmed as a basic principle the notion that even the most complicated problems should be solved through negotiation and not by confrontation. We also welcome the other important events that are helping to create favourable conditions for a further relaxation of international tension.

79. An integral part of the policy pursued by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is its complete support for the United Nations and its objectives, as the leading representatives of our State have frequently stated.

80. In expressing satisfaction at the increase in positive trends, we are thinking mainly of current developments in Europe.

81. Europe, which has been a constant source of ferment and conflict and in this century alone has been the epicentre of two terrible world wars, is now experiencing one of the longest periods of peace in its whole history.

82. Moreover, since the ratification of a treaty between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany, a treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and the agreement on West Berlin setting this positive trend in motion, the continent has been moving towards an extremely significant event, namely the conference on European security and co-operation which the overwhelming majority of European countries have agreed to.

83. We are extremely glad that the idea of an all-European conference is, in spite of obstacles and every conceivable kind of obstruction, being brought to fruition. Our Government has expressed its agreement and support for the proposal that preparatory talks should be initiated soon at Helsinki. We can only hope that all the participants will approach these talks in a business-like way with a genuine desire to hold a fruitful conference without undue delay. In our opinion the Prague Declaration of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty indicates a reasonable and realistic course in this regard.

84. We sincerely believe that strengthening security and expanding co-operation in Europe will be of benefit to the peoples of all continents and will promote a settlement of conflict situations in other parts of the world. A new generation is emerging whose prospective healthy future must be built on a solid and reliable basis.

85. But in order to maintain permanent peace in Europe the questions which are still pending must be completely settled.

86. One important movement in that direction is the talks being held between the two German States. Their outcome should establish an appropriate foundation for normalizing relations between the two States on the basis of the principles of international law. We think that in the present circumstances no obstacles should be placed in the way of the admission of the two German States into the United Nations. There is no reason for further delay.

87. The question also arises, in connexion with efforts to regularize the situation in Europe, of creating conditions for the normalization of relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Representatives of our State have often shown goodwill in their attempt to find a path towards mutual understanding; they have also indicated that they are willing to sign a treaty with the Federal Republic of Germany which would be a starting point for regularizing relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. However, before that can be done, the question of the so-called Munich agreement will have to be settled once and for all; that agreement must be recognized as invalid from the start. The brutal Munich *diktat* initiated the dismembering of the Czechoslovak State, the Nazi occupation of our country and the untold suffering of our people; it also heralded the Second World War. We believe that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will take a realistic approach to this question and will help to ensure that the frontier between our countries is a frontier that will encourage constructive and peaceful co-operation; that would, without a doubt, have a favourable effect on the general climate in Europe.

88. The development of constructive relations not only with our neighbours but with other countries in Western Europe and other continents in the political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields is becoming an integral part of the general positive movement in Europe and throughout the world.

89. The efforts we have been making to ensure peace and security in Europe do not imply, however, that we will not do our utmost to help solve the urgent problems that have arisen in other continents.

90. This is particularly so since dangerous hotbeds of tension still exist and the cruel war continues in Indo-China where the United States aggression has recently been escalated even further. The blockade of ports in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the unprecedented scale and methods of bombing by the United States Air Force are shaking the very foundations of life in the countries in that region and are bringing untold suffering to the civilian population. We strongly condemn these acts and repeat once again that we fully support the people struggling in Viet-Nam and the other peoples in Indo-China. The only way to bring peace to Viet-Nam is to respect the inalienable right of the Viet-Nameese people to decide their own fate freely without any foreign interference whatsoever. We fully support the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam of 11 September and of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam of 14 September this year concerning a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam conflict.

91. Another area of continuing dangerous tension in the world is the Middle East where Israeli aggression has led to a persistent state of conflict. We strongly favour removal of the consequences of this aggression on the basis of the unconditional implementation of the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

92. Can our Organization continue to remain a passive bystander while the Israeli Government, under cover of its protectors, persists in sabotaging the mission of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Jarring, and while Israel blocks all progress towards a peaceful settlement and continues its aggressive actions against the neighbouring Arab countries?

93. We support the just struggle of the Palestinian people for the restoration of their inalienable and legitimate rights. While we cannot agree to the acts of terrorism which, like the recent tragedy in Munich, only serve the cause of the opponents of a peaceful and just settlement in the Middle East, neither can we agree that anti-terrorism measures should constitute a pretext for crushing a just national liberation struggle.

94. We must put a halt to all terrorist activities throughout the world, for they only disrupt the peaceful life of ordinary people and disturb international relations, an example of this being the hijackings of our aircraft in the course of which a Czechoslovak pilot was murdered.

95. A reflection of the positive trends in present-day international relations is to be found in the talks held between the leaders of India and Pakistan, the productive results of which we welcomed. The basic prerequisite for ensuring a lasting peace and mutually advantageous co-operation between the countries of the Indian subcontinent is, we feel, the recognition of the existing realities. That means first of all the recognition of the People's Republic of Bangladesh as a separate and independent State which meets all the requirements for admission as a Member of the United Nations. The admission of Bangladesh into the United Nations would unquestionably further the realization of the principle of universality of the Organization, and it would promote United Nations activities and enhance its prestige. It is for that reason that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations.

96. We also welcome the first positive results of the efforts exerted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea over many years for a peaceful settlement on the Korean peninsula. We would hope that here, as elsewhere, the progressive and peaceful efforts being made will be crowned with success. However, we cannot attain that objective simply by closing our eyes to the injustice done in the past, unfortunately under cover of the United Nations flag. It is indeed high time for the United Nations to do its part towards the early peaceful reunification of the country, without outside interference. The constant and unjustified postponing of this item cannot assist positive developments in the Korean peninsula; it only shows up the forces that do not desire a peaceful settlement in that region.

97. For the United Nations to function effectively as an instrument for ensuring international peace and security it must be constantly strengthened as a political organization capable of fulfilling its paramount purpose. The task facing this session in that particular regard is to determine whether, and if so how, the principal resolutions adopted in previous years are being fulfilled, in particular the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*].

98. We welcome the initiative taken by the Soviet Government in submitting to the General Assembly a new and important item entitled "Non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons" [*A/8793*]. This new Soviet item should make possible the adoption of measures which we frankly believe would be of great help in creating conditions for peacefully solving all outstanding problems, without the use of force, conditions that would eliminate the danger of war and armed conflict between States. The non-use of force and a simultaneous permanent ban on the use of all types of weapons, including nuclear weapons, would place all countries in the world on the same footing so that none of them would have any unilateral military advantage.

99. In connexion with considerations of international security, we feel we must stress the importance of the Charter of the United Nations as a permanent instrument for ensuring general peace and security. There is no way of changing the Charter that would give the activities of the United Nations a more positive orientation. There is only one way to improve the activities of the Organization, and that is to pursue consistently the purposes for which it was established and to apply creatively and implement effectively the basic principles and provisions of the Charter.

100. One of the key targets of Czechoslovak foreign policy is disarmament, which is also a top-priority task of the United Nations closely connected with ensuring peace and security. We have always participated very actively in disarmament negotiations.

101. We see the bilateral agreements between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons, concluded in May this year,⁷ as a significant step forward in the field of disarmament. The agreements bear witness to the fact that in disarmament, too, substantial progress can be made. However, it is essential to reach a decisive turning-point in disarmament generally. We submit that a suitable place for this might be the World Disarmament Conference, which was proposed by the Soviet Union and endorsed by the General Assembly at last year's session [*resolution 2833 (XXVI)*].

102. We feel that this year we could set a final date for the World Disarmament Conference and reach agreement on how to prepare for it. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is ready to take an active part in the preparatory work.

103. The United Nations is faced with the further task of assisting in completing the process of decolonization, including the complete elimination of all remnants of colonialism throughout the world in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples which was adopted in 1960. In southern Africa the gravest injustice is still being done to the indigenous populations of the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Portuguese colonies,

⁷ Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and Interim Agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed in Moscow on 26 May 1972.

primarily because certain NATO Powers, in violation of United Nations resolutions, are giving extensive assistance to the colonialist and racist régimes in those countries. The General Assembly should draw the appropriate conclusions as to the seriousness of the situation from this year's report 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 on the implementation by Member States of the relevant United Nations resolutions [A/8723/Rev.1, chap. VII].

104. In reviewing the present-day situation in the world, we cannot overlook the problems of economic development and relations between States, particularly since restrictions are still being placed on opportunities for international trade and other forms of economic relations. I am thinking in particular of the negative effects of the Western Europe integrationist groupings and the measures they have been taking which, in view of their closed nature, are impeding the development of fruitful international co-operation.

105. Socialist economic integration, on the other hand, creates favourable conditions for improving economic relations with all States, particularly with developing countries. The comprehensive programme, on the basis of which the integration of States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is being intensified, attaches the highest importance to enhancing the effectiveness of a planned international division of labour and an improvement in the structure of production and in monetary and commodity relations. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to develop mutually advantageous economic co-operation with all countries that are interested in such co-operation and that provide the appropriate conditions. Promoting the development of international economic relations on a basis of equality, non-discrimination and mutual advantage is, we think, an important task for the United Nations.

106. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, consistently following a policy of peace, approaches the General Assembly's work with a real desire to make as great and active a contribution as possible to efforts to strengthen international security and curb conflicts and aggression, and to efforts to develop constructive relations between States on the basis of the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. We are convinced that the present-day international situation offers this General Assembly an opportunity to utilize all the resources at its disposal to strengthen and maintain the positive trends in the world. Our great common task and responsibility is to use these resources wisely, realistically and constructively.

107. Mr. CALVANI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of my Government, I wish to express to you my sincere congratulations upon your election. It is a well-deserved tribute to your country, a land of age-old culture that has always been present at the crossroads of history, and, above all, a country that has always been a cradle of heroic men. It is, moreover, a proper recognition of your great merits as a highly capable and dedicated public figure.

108. May we on this occasion pay a cordial tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Adam Malik, who had the honour to preside over the General Assembly at the last session.

109. We could not at this time fail to remember our unforgettable friend U Thant, or to pay him our most heartfelt tribute for his untiring and distinguished endeavours. His outstanding qualities have left an indelible impression on the minds of all those of us who were privileged to know him, and the pleasant memory of his kind personality.

110. I should like especially to offer our warmest congratulations to our present Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. His distinguished career as an enlightened and dedicated man, committed to the loftiest ideals, undoubtedly ensure a promising future for the United Nations.

111. In this general debate we shall refrain from giving our detailed position on the specific items in the agenda. My delegation will put forward the views of my Government in the relevant debates.

112. Never have men felt so close to one another as today. Many factors have contributed to this phenomenon: distance is no longer the obstacle it once was; we have the means to travel with incredible speed from one part of the earth to another. The revolution in transport has been followed by a revolution in the means of social communication. Thus, in our time, it is possible for men to contact each other at any point or in any region of the world, almost immediately.

113. The impressive growth of the world's population has become a further element of change. Because of the population explosion—or to be more precise the demographic revolution—the earth is becoming increasingly smaller for an ever-larger population. With the ever-faster migration from the rural to the urban areas, we witness the emergence of metropolis and megalopolis, gigantic cities whose inhabitants live in overcrowded conditions.

114. Man's landing on the moon has enabled us to reach a new dimension: that of space. Our earth is almost beginning to look like an enormous spaceship. As we stated last year in this Assembly:

“Thus there emerges a new concept: that of mankind. We think of mankind as all the peoples of the world and, thus conceived, mankind appears to us as a world-wide society which encompasses us all and which is in opposition to individual societies or States, having their own lives, it is true, but dependent on the development of that greater society.” [1944th meeting, para. 8.]

115. At the same time, the technological revolution, with the profound changes it has introduced in all the material instruments of human life, has generated a growing process of mass phenomena. This is a continuing social process of progressive depersonalization. The human person—man, as a being endowed with reason and liberty—is replaced by mass man. In that mass man, primitive reactions prevail over rational life. He becomes the easy victim of manipulation processes; that is to say, he is at the mercy of those who know how to handle the media of social communication and the techniques of psychology so as to influence man's fundamental attitudes.

116. The consequences of these mass phenomena are far-reaching and deep-seated. Man dehumanized, one of the mass, has abdicated his fundamental condition as a human being, namely, the predominance of reason. Critical judgement has been replaced by emotional reaction, rational life by emotional life.

117. Thus it is that dehumanized man can easily become the plaything of the most diverse pressure groups. He has become fertile soil for the emergence of every kind of hatred and rancour, for all sorts of sectarian positions, however inconceivable, and for every kind of act, however brutal. Finally, this depersonalized, mass man, is capable of any sacrifice for the sake of myths imposed on him—and to which he clings emotionally—of every kind of violence, unable as he is to grasp the full significance of his acts.

118. Paradoxically and just as man is beginning to feel the unity and solidarity of mankind, just as he is feeling closer than ever to all men, we witness what would appear to be the collapse of all the values on which his conduct and behaviour were based. This phenomenon affects the whole of mankind, and there is no country on earth where all the principles that have governed man's life hitherto are not questioned. There is thus born an attitude of rebellion against every rule and of challenge to all authority.

119. Within that society of the masses, a very important role is played by all the public opinion manipulation procedures, for, through them, it is possible to distort reality to the extent of leaving man as if he were suspended in a vacuum. In point of fact, truth is intermingled with error to the extent that it is not possible to discern where the truth is. On the other hand, error is clothed as truth to the point that it is no longer possible to discover where the error lies. Such a situation engenders a reversal of values and the most serious mental confusion, creating a fertile ground for the proliferation of every kind of extremism and sectarianism.

120. Viewed from this angle, the world today appears to be compressed between two opposite movements: one, which accumulates motives for division and violence, the other which reveals the possibility of a unity which, for the first time, is truly expanding to embrace the whole of the human race.

121. Indeed, on the one hand, never as in our time have more efforts been deployed to achieve solidarity and understanding among men and peoples. The strongest proof of this fact is the constant increase in the large number of international organizations and activities oriented to serve mankind.

122. Yet, on the other hand, never before, perhaps, has the world been so submerged in an atmosphere of violence as it is today. But at this point it becomes necessary to define our terms. In this connexion, in my intervention before this Assembly at the twenty-fifth session I stated that:

“In ordinary language violence is often confused with force. But this is an error. Force is the body of all means and procedures”—of every kind: physical, psychological, economic, and so on—“used by law for the enforcement of law. On the other hand, violence signifies the illegal use

of force—meaning the indiscriminate use of force not in accordance with pre-established principles.” [1841st meeting, para. 108.]

123. The new development in the contemporary world is the deification of violence. It is paid almost religious reverence. We are faced with an existentialist attitude and, consequently, with a new set of values. The ends make the means good. A violent act becomes good if it permits the achievement of the objectives pursued. The followers of the new religion of violence maintain and proclaim that they will stop at no crime to put an end to injustice. They forget that if an unjust act—and because unjust therefore violent—is answered with a violent act—and because violent therefore unjust—we shall have changed nothing on earth since qualitatively we shall be on exactly the same plane of injustice.

124. It is a complex social reality, an effect with multiple causes and the cause of multiple effects. It involves many diverse dynamic factors. Let us analyse briefly the most conspicuous ones.

125. A very small number of States—the so-called developed States—control the greater part of the wealth and the scientific and technological knowledge of the world. On the other hand, the nations of the developing world see that with each year that passes the existing imbalance between them and the industrialized countries grows wider.

126. Profound social and economic differences—wealth and near-poverty, opulence and misery, a vast number of inadmissible contrasts in a human society—separate the various national groups within States, particularly in the developing countries.

127. At the international level, the centres of power and decision are concentrated in a few nations. Whether in the balance of blocs or through multipolarization, various methods of subjection are erected to the benefit of the great Powers.

128. Quite often the financing of development gives rise to situations of economic and political subjection which moreover and not infrequently strengthen the unfair structures of the developing countries. A European Minister in this connexion commented, in rather malicious terms: “Assistance for development is what the poor people in the rich countries give the rich people in the poor countries”.

129. The desire of States for power and their ambition to dominate engenders the various forms of economic and ideological imperialism. On the other hand, situations of oppression and tyranny at the national and international levels are proliferating.

130. New ideological trends are assuming radical positions and acquire messianic and, to a certain extent, apocalyptic features. Fanatically determined to destroy the existing structures by any means, they resort to systematized violence in order to compound their psychological effect through terror. Thus, systems of permanent subversion are created; conflicts of every kind become more acute, and the most refined means of psychological action are used to submit the will.

131. There is an atmosphere of ethical pollution that is gradually extending to all nations. This process is facilitated by the disintegration of the values by which mankind has so far lived. As a result, several phenomena of social disorder emerge, such as an alarming increase in drug traffic, an increase in crime and the release of primary instincts, phenomena which in turn become polluting agents.

132. The progress achieved in the means of social communication also contributes to the climate of violence. The "cultural patterns" they impose surreptitiously through their productions not infrequently contain an exaltation of the violent and therefore of violence. Similarly, the technological advances made in the means of social communication, place at the disposal of States possessing them a hitherto unknown power of cultural control over other States. Today, a nation may well lose its personality as the victim of a cultural invasion which has all the appearances of being a peaceful act but which is none the less fraught with psychological murders.

133. On the other hand, morally speaking, technological progress *per se* is neither good nor bad. It all depends on the use men make of it. For that reason, technological progress can and in fact does provide its refinements to the various manifestations of violence.

134. The crisis in religious values also has an unfavourable effect, especially in those countries whose religions actively advocate love of one's neighbour and solidarity among men. The eclipse of such values, though momentary, has a negative effect as the appeal to the ever-implicit ethical elevation of man is obscured.

135. Racial discrimination is still, in today's world, an uninterrupted source of violent conflicts. Man's rejection of man for reasons of race gives rise to unending hatred, often aggravated by various other factors that are intermixed with it.

136. This brief analysis we have outlined shows the complexity of the phenomenon of violence. One of its specific manifestations—perhaps the one that has the greatest impact—is terrorism. Terrorism is one of the items on the agenda of the current session. I therefore wish to refer to it specifically.

137. For all the aforesaid reasons, I believe that terrorism cannot be considered in isolation; rather it must be considered within the over-all context in which it is engendered. It is that context that we have endeavoured to summarize.

138. We understand the desire to submit terrorist activities having international repercussions to juridical regulation of universal character. However, while placing ourselves in the field of law, we cannot lose sight of the principles that should inspire any juridical regulation.

139. In our statement at the third special session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States on 26 January 1971, we said in this connexion that law arose to encompass the life from which it proceeded and moved between the desirable and the feasible. We said in simple terms like a great Belgian jurist, Professor Jean

Dabin, that on the legal plane not everything that was desirable was feasible and conversely not everything that was feasible was desirable and that it was in the balance between the desirable and the feasible that the optimum juridical norm could be located. We then added that it was therefore obvious that terrorism, because it was a complex phenomenon which was still undefined, could not be regulated in its entirety other than to the extent that clear social situations were being established to which clear-cut laws could be applied.

140. Positive law is oriented towards the attainment of the common good, inspired in an ideal of justice, within the limits established by juridical security. In other words, juridical regulations, from the point of view of the technique of law, are limited by the principle of juridical security. This is the basis for the Roman aphorism, "*summum jus, summa injuria*". Consequently, any juridical regulation which seeks to embody sanctions against acts of violence having international repercussions cannot disregard these fundamental ideas. Thus, for example, there is in the Latin American countries a very wide traditional concept of the right of asylum. In any possible regulation the true and real humanitarian character of this institution must be safeguarded.

141. On the other hand, every juridical norm must tend, by its very nature, towards its effective implementation. From the standpoint of the law and its purposes, it would be a contradiction in terms to dictate a juridical norm and not to apply it. At the international level this presupposes, moreover, the possibility of ratification by the largest possible number of States, especially in the case of the regulation of an act having multiple international repercussions.

142. For all these reasons we believe, justifiably, that in any attempt to regulate acts of violence having international repercussions, prudence—which does not exclude firmness—must be exercised. We must, in like manner, proceed gradually—that is to say, step by step, as results are obtained. Furthermore, the greatest possible number of national approvals should be sought, in order to make the provisions as effective as possible. That is why it is necessary to identify acts with great accuracy and to regulate those that command the consent of the largest number of nations which believe in the eminent dignity of the human person. Consequently, the most appropriate thing to do would be to address ourselves to fundamental situations: those most relevant to the universal common good, the ultimate objective of international law. To proceed otherwise would be to risk a regulation that would be impossible to apply adequately, through lack of universal ratification.

143. The principles that should guide the struggle against violence and its various manifestations are the defence of the eminent dignity of the human person and the safeguarding of justice in international relations. In other words, the struggle against violence is aimed at ensuring man's dignity and safeguarding a just system of international relations. It is for this reason that all we have said does not, of course, preclude the right of peoples to rebel against tyranny, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism or any other form of oppression. Indeed, in this case, it is the

oppressors who practise violence; and the right to rebellion, legitimately exercised, represents the effort of the people to restore the infringed juridical order.

144. All this is perfectly logical, since the different forms of oppression are attempts directed against the eminent dignity of the human person and, by disregarding it, are lacking in legality. Therefore, it is essential that at the same time that we proclaim the legitimate right of peoples to fight against the different forms of violence we should proclaim the right of peoples to rebel against the different forms of oppression. We are not trying by this means to allow the very violence we wish to combat. Indeed, the exercise of the legitimate right of peoples to rebel against the different forms of oppression is embodied within very specific ethical and political principles. We shall enumerate them briefly.

145. It is necessary for the prevailing system to be unjust as a whole—that is to say, as a system.

146. All lawful means of combatting the unjust order must have been exhausted. It is not, therefore, a question of irresponsibly exercising the right of recourse to force against the unjust order. Great harm will ensue as a result of that struggle. In other words, it is necessary that the system, by its very injustice, leaves no other alternative but force.

147. The system to be instituted must be more just than the one that is combatted, which presupposes that to destroy the existing one without preparing the régime that is to follow would not be admissible. Moreover, it is the justice of the system to be instituted that, among other reasons, makes legitimate the right to institute it.

148. Definite prospects of success are required, so as not to subject the people to greater evils than those that are being fought.

149. Ultimately, we cannot resort to any means indiscriminately. These, too, are subject to ethical norms. For instance, innocent persons, quite removed from the drama surrounding them, could not be attacked, and any kind of violence against the different means used by man to bring together the peoples of the world would be inadmissible.

150. The principles we have just enunciated are based on the thinking of great philosophers and are still valid today. We believe that we should not forget them; that we should take them into account, in order that, in attempting to fight violence we should not fall into a serious error which could be used as a pretext by tyrannical régimes to maintain the unjust order.

151. Having made this reservation, we condemn terrorism in all its forms because we condemn recourse to violence. The latter carries within it its own lethal dialectics: one act of violence is followed by another in a dynamic crescendo of recourse to violence.

152. In man's every thought and heart-beat there is always a direct relationship between the positive-evolutionary forces and the instinctive-regressive violence. That dangerous relationship makes it possible to assess the risks and the

advantages. And there will always be more risks than advantages, because hatred and violence spring from animal instinct, whereas understanding and friendship are created and recreated in the heart guided by reason.

153. We reject as anti-human the postulate of inevitable violence, since its blind outbreak implies the very surrender of the human condition. But at the same time, we affirm that neither classical pacifism nor the dialectics of atomic horror, nor a Utopian international ideology will either singly or jointly suffice to solve the crucial problem of the violence and exasperation of the present-day world. Ideological hatred, generator of mistrust, misunderstanding and fanaticism, continues to be the major factor responsible for violence.

154. But violence is not exercised exclusively through action. Omission and negligence in the face of a state of violence may be equally compromising. The spirit guilty of routine and the *status quo* of inertia and immobility in the face of conflicts and divergencies are the direct cause of the irrational paroxysm of violence. Thus, before the final judgement of history and mankind, those responsible for omission or surrender of the necessary political will are as guilty as the irrational agents of violence themselves.

155. The struggle against violence is, therefore, not only a juridical but a political, economic, social, cultural, ethical and religious fact as well. It is a task devolving on us all. It entails individual and collective, national and international action. It likewise entails the institution of a new international order in which relations among peoples lead towards the attainment of the universal common good inspired in international social justice. Indeed, in the final analysis, the struggle against violence is the building of peace itself.

156. Mr. SAHO (Gambia): Permit me to offer my sincere congratulations and good wishes to the President of the Assembly and to the Vice-Presidents who have been elected to guide the activities of the twenty-seventh session of the Assembly. With their experience and reputation for wise counsel, I have no doubt that this session will prove as fruitful and beneficial as the others.

157. Permit me also to express my delegation's gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Adam Malik, for the efficiency and diligence he has shown in executing his functions at the past session.

158. One could, with much justification, assert that the last session was characterized by a general determination to clear the air—to clear the air not only in terms of the environment but also in terms of major issues of vital interest to the developing countries. I refer to the problems arising from the structure of international trade, the law of the sea—about which we shall no doubt be hearing more this session—the admission of certain countries to the United Nations, the Rhodesian question and the situation in the Middle East.

159. We have followed very closely the proceedings of the First All-African Seminar on the Human Environment, held at Addis-Ababa from 23 to 28 August 1971, as well as the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment,

held at Stockholm in June 1972, which, in our opinion, constitutes a landmark in the history of post-industrial civilization and in the continuous efforts of man not only to conquer nature through science and technology but also to place science in perspective by critically evaluating its ethical and aesthetic aspects and directing science, not toward that uncertain progress that leads to alienation, destruction and meaninglessness, but towards the service of man and his environment. By so doing science would be not, as is commonly supposed, the antithesis of nature, but the mediator between man and nature. We believe that science and technology, when properly controlled and applied, can be of immense value in the rehabilitation of man—both industrial and developing man—in the integration of the alienated individual into society, and in the search for new moral and aesthetic concepts, in keeping with a rapidly changing world.

160. Naturally, we, the developing countries, were at first wary of the alarm sounded by the industrialized countries at the serious environmental problems that resulted from rapid and haphazard industrialization and urbanization, seeing it, perhaps wrongly, in terms of the rich having the leisure to tell the poor how to keep their gardens neat and trim. My Government has gradually come to the view, particularly after the Stockholm Conference, which laid down certain conditions of development, that there is much value and merit in the argument of the environmentalist movement.

161. As a developing country, it is our intention to avoid as many of the pitfalls and frustrations of development as possible. My Government has therefore taken steps, in co-operation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), to prevent pollution of our beaches by crude oil and the dumping of oil in Gambian waters. Many of our beaches were polluted by crude oil last August, at the rate of one cubic foot per yard. We are in the process of becoming a party to international conventions relating to oil pollution damage and to the conservation of natural resources. We therefore welcome the proposed United Nations environment secretariat, and we hope that as many countries as possible will avail themselves of its services. The Gambia Government has also taken steps to seek advice from UNESCO on appropriate legislative measures for the protection and preservation of historic sites and monuments, and the machinery for the administration of these sites and monuments will soon be established. Planning and drainage problems of the urban areas have also engaged our attention, and it is envisaged that significant progress in these directions will be made in the next few years.

162. My Government, however, feels that, in view of the possible conflict of interests between the claims of rapid agro-industrial development designed to raise the income and living standards of the population, and the equally valid claims of the people for the enjoyment of adequate social and physical facilities, the developing countries will require the financial and technical assistance of the United Nations agencies and other international bodies and the co-operation of foreign businesses and international corporations in the difficult but rewarding exercise of relating the pace of economic development to the preservation and control of the human and physical environment and reducing the mental-health and nutritional hazards con-

nected with rapid change. We are therefore encouraged by the positive approach the Stockholm Conference has taken towards the problem of pollution and the human environment. That approach, in our view, has correctly identified the major environmental problems and outlined an integrated strategy involving population control, nutrition, education, drainage and sewerage, physical planning and natural resource management for the solution of these problems. Our only reservation, which, I believe, we share with some other countries, is that instead of creating a United Nations super-agency for the environment, we propose an environmental policy and co-ordinating unit within the United Nations Secretariat, responsible to a governing council which in turn would be responsible to the General Assembly. The specialized agencies, UNDP and the World Bank would continue the work of environmental control and the injection of environmental questions into development plans and surveys.

163. There is another type of pollution, however, which is far more dangerous and difficult to control or eliminate. This is the pollution of racism and *apartheid*. It is a pollution both of the mind and of the body and, more significantly, it threatens to pollute the conduct of international relations. It is a pollutant the removal of which has persistently dogged the efforts of this Assembly and all the devices known to civilized statemanship.

164. We spoke a few minutes ago of the policies and programmes proposed by the international community to mediate the conflict between man and nature. The Stockholm Conference quite rightly drew the world's attention to the ravages which man's arrogance and steam-engine intellect have perpetrated on nature, with the resulting physical, aesthetic and psychological damage. Nevertheless, no damage can be greater or more dangerous than that caused by man's inhumanity to man, particularly when that inhumanity is based on economic deprivation, political oppression and a morally reprehensible and intellectually indefensible system of government. The racist minority régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury—and their silent backers in the West—have, in defiance of all the appeals and resolutions of this Assembly and the Security Council, and in defiance of civilized opinion throughout the world, persistently and with mechanical monotony paraded before this Assembly the tragi-comedy of *civitas diaboli* masquerading as *civitas dei*. We therefore propose that this Assembly should consider amending the Declaration of the Stockholm Conference to include world-wide economic and educational measures against racism and *apartheid*.

165. Matters arising from concerted international action against racism bring to mind the problem of Rhodesia. Sufficient time has now elapsed for all Member States to reach their conclusions on the findings of the Pearce Commission report on the so-called Anglo-Rhodesian proposals for a settlement. Before stating my Government's attitude to this new development, I should like to join my African colleagues in congratulating Lord Pearce and his Commissioners for their objectivity and their painstaking efforts in ascertaining the views of the majority of the Rhodesian population under very difficult and trying conditions. My Government is also pleased to note the United Kingdom Government's willingness to accept the necessity of this Commission in the first place, and for the

moral courage it has displayed in accepting the conclusions—the inevitable conclusions—of the Pearce Commission.

166. The Pearce Commission report⁸ has not only underlined the unequivocal rejection of the so-called settlement proposals, but has also exposed the pretensions of the illegal Smith régime to represent the wishes of the majority in Rhodesia. The report has also made it clear that there should be no illusions about the achievement of majority rule in the near future. My Government has always held the view that the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals constituted a deliberate departure from the five principles of the United Kingdom Government. We are happy that this conviction has been vindicated by an impartial body. We are also pleased to note the United Kingdom Government's continuing commitment to sanctions as long as no reasonable prospect of an equitable settlement is in sight. While we support the United Kingdom Government's proposal for a "time for reflection" and for more time so that all parties to the Rhodesian conflict would, hopefully, be able to create the conditions for a *modus vivendi*, we are somewhat apprehensive that the political time-scale that may be envisaged by the United Kingdom Government could further contribute to the preservation of the *status quo* in Rhodesia. We believe that the United Kingdom Government, as the responsible Power, should take the initiative, at the earliest opportunity, in convening a meeting of the representatives of all shades of opinion in Rhodesia—including the leaders of the banned African political parties—to review the 1969 Constitution and to propose amendments or alternatives to that Constitution, with a view to establishing democratic political processes and a genuine multiracial society as a basis for the independence of Rhodesia.

167. Time is useful for those who believe in the peaceful and democratic resolution of conflicts. It is, however, a serious error of judgement to allow dictators and racists too much time to spread their totalitarian tentacles further. It is precisely the political dividends of time, and therefore of growing confidence abroad, that the racists of southern Africa hope to reap. For this reason, we, the African countries, through the Organization of African Unity, have called upon the United Kingdom Government to convene a constitutional conference, guarantee the free expression of political opinion in Rhodesia, and provide the granting of universal adult suffrage by secret ballot for the population of Rhodesia as a whole.

168. Having outlined our position on Rhodesia, I now move from the local politics of inequality to the international economics, and politics, of inequality. Even before its meeting in Santiago in the spring of 1972, the third session of UNCTAD, was viewed with some justified pessimism by the developing countries. If its task was, in the words of its Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez Guerrero, "to

bring about a reversal of prevailing tendencies in international decision-making and to translate the awareness of the development problem—the central issue of our time—into convergent policies concerning trade, aid and related areas,"⁹ then in our view, this was not accomplished at Santiago. It could not be, particularly as certain countries chose to make it their duty to give us lessons in the efficient management of our resources, some going so far as to question the necessity of international commodity agreements. Internationally, therefore, we are still in the age of charity.

169. We do, however, share the concern expressed at UNCTAD's third session over the question of linking special drawing rights to additional development assistance. As a developing country, we are also concerned with increased freight rates and maritime transport costs, as well as with comprehensive international agreements on primary commodities. Our continued development to a large extent depends on the efforts of the international community to reach agreement on equitable solutions to these development difficulties that have engaged the attention of the UNCTAD secretariat. In this connexion, my Government also welcomes the forthright manner in which the importance of expanding trade links among the developing countries was pointed out in Santiago. We believe that the lessons learned from successive UNCTAD conferences since 1964 ought to lead to the inescapable conclusion that whatever UNCTAD may achieve, whatever breaches the developing countries may succeed in making in the protectionist wall of the rich nations, in the final analysis the problem of the economic emancipation of the developing countries is a problem only they can solve through their own united efforts and strategic economic choices. The salvation of the developing countries, we believe, cannot but be most materially assisted by the developing countries themselves and by economic methods and choices peculiarly suited to the realities of the developing world.

170. I have done no more than provide a summary of my Government's policy on various issues of the day. As a developing country and as an African country, Gambia's major concerns are trade and development, the effective prosecution of the struggle against racism and *apartheid*, the equitable sharing of the resources of the sea in the light of the special needs of the developing countries, the improvement and control of the human environment without prejudice to the rapid economic development of the non-European countries, and international security. These issues will no doubt engage the attention of this Assembly, and it is my Government's hope that our deliberations here will result in collective action and in the harmonization of views and policies for the resolution of these problems in the interests of mankind and in the cause of peace.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

⁸ 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).

⁹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.4), p. 1.