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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
 (Algeria).**

*Address by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman,
 Prime Minister of Bangladesh*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and inviting him to address the General Assembly.
2. Sheikh Mujibur RAHMAN (Bangladesh):* Today as I stand before this Assembly I share with you profound satisfaction that the 75 million people of Bangladesh are now represented in this Parliament of Man. For the Bangalee nation this is a historic moment, marking the consummation of the struggle to vindicate its right of self-determination. The Bangalee people have fought over the centuries so that they may secure for themselves the right to live in freedom and with dignity as free citizens of a free country. They have aspired to live in peace and friendship with all the nations of the world. The noble ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations are the very ideals for which millions of our people have made the supreme sacrifice. I know that the souls of our martyrs join us in pledging that the Bangalee nation fully commits itself to the building of a world order in which the aspiration of all men for peace and justice will be realized.
3. It is particularly gratifying that Bangladesh has been admitted to this Assembly when its presidency has been assumed by one who has been active in the fight for freedom. I recall, Mr. President, the valuable contribution made by you to the success of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September of last year.
4. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to salute all those whose sacrifices have earned for

Bangladesh a place in the comity of nations. I express our deep sense of gratitude to all those nations and peoples that supported Bangladesh in its struggle. We should also like to thank all those who have been rendering valuable assistance to Bangladesh in consolidating our independence, in reconstructing our war-ravaged land and in meeting the formidable challenge of building a better future for our people. To all those who have welcomed us into the United Nations, I offer the most sincere thanks of the people of Bangladesh.

5. The very struggle of Bangladesh symbolized the universal struggle for peace and justice. It was, therefore, only natural that Bangladesh, from its very inception, should stand firmly by the side of the oppressed people of the world. The experience of a quarter of a century since the United Nations was established has shown how a relentless struggle in pursuit of these ideals has had to be waged against daunting odds. The right of self-determination which the Charter of the United Nations promised could be redeemed only through the supreme sacrifice of millions of valiant freedom fighters in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle still continues against the illegal occupation of territory by aggression, against the use of force to negate the legitimate rights of peoples, and against the practice of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Great victories have been won in Algeria, in Viet Nam, in Bangladesh and in Guinea-Bissau. Such victories prove that history is on the side of the people and that justice ultimately triumphs.

6. But injustice and oppression persist in many parts of the world. Our Arab brethren are still fighting for the complete liberation of all illegally occupied territories, and the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine have yet to be restored. The process of decolonization, though greatly advanced, has yet to reach its ultimate goal. This is particularly true in Africa, where the heroic peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia are still engaged in a grim struggle for freedom and national liberation. *Apartheid*, which this Assembly has repeatedly declared to be a crime against humanity, continues to outrage the conscience of man.

7. While the legacy of injustice from the past has to be liquidated, we are confronted by the challenges of the future. Today the nations of the world are faced with critical choices. Upon the wisdom of our choice will depend whether we will move towards a world haunted by the fear of total destruction, threatened by nuclear war, faced with the aggravation of human suffering on a horrendous scale, and marked by mass starvation, unemployment and the wretchedness of deepening poverty, or whether we can look forward to a world where human creativity and the great achievements of our age in science and

* Sheikh Mujibur Rahman spoke in Bengali. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

technology will be able to shape a better future free from the threat of nuclear war and based upon a sharing of technology and resources on a global scale, so that men everywhere can begin to enjoy the minimal conditions of a decent life.

8. The great economic upheavals that have recently shaken the entire world should generate a sense of urgency for building a just international economic order. The sixth special session of the General Assembly earlier this year took note of the grave implications of the present international economic situation. Speaking for a country which heads the list of those described as being most severely affected by the current economic situation, I can only underline how grievous those effects are. Bangladesh, which was born on the ruins of a devastating war, has, ever since liberation, been plagued by a series of natural disasters, the latest one being the unprecedented floods we have experienced this year. We are grateful to the United Nations and its agencies and to the Secretary-General for their active interest in helping Bangladesh to meet the situation. President Boumediène and Foreign Minister Bouteflika of Algeria have appealed to the non-aligned countries to come forward to help Bangladesh. Friendly countries and humanitarian organizations all over the world have been responding positively. These natural calamities not only have impeded the march of Bangladesh towards economic progress, but have also left the country in a state of near-famine conditions. At the same time global inflation has meant, for a country such as ours, a balance-of-payments gap in the order of hundreds of millions of dollars. Translated into terms of human suffering, this means that people with a meagre annual *per capita* income of less than \$100 are now faced with the prospect of a severe reduction in even their current subsistence level of living. People who are consuming less than the minimum considered by WHO to be necessary for mere survival now face starvation. The forecast for the future of the poorer countries is even more gloomy. Food grains, of which the developed industrial nations are the main exporters, are gradually getting out of the reach of the poorer countries as a result of steadily increasing prices. Efforts to attain self-sufficiency in food production are also being severely affected because of rising costs and the growing scarcity of vital agricultural inputs. Side by side with this, as a result of the global inflation which not only has increased by many times the cost of development projects but has also adversely reduced their ability to mobilize their own resources, countries already faced with grinding poverty and massive unemployment are threatened with dire possibilities of cut-backs in their modest development plans envisaging growth rates of 5 to 6 per cent per annum.

9. Unless the nations of the world can concert their action to meet this situation, human misery will be aggravated on a scale unknown in history. Indeed, there would be no recorded parallel of such human misery having to be endured by so many side by side with such unprecedented levels of affluence and prosperity enjoyed by so few. Only a regeneration of the feeling of human solidarity and brotherhood and an acknowledgement of interdependence can

bring about a rational solution and the urgent action needed to avoid this catastrophe.

10. No greater challenge has been faced by the United Nations than that of marshalling the forces of reason to bring about a just international economic order. That order not only must ensure the sovereignty of each State over its natural resources, but also should seek to establish a framework of international co-operation based upon recognition of the overriding common interest of the countries of the world in a stable and just economic system. This is the moment when we must reaffirm in unequivocal terms that there is an international responsibility to ensure that everyone everywhere should enjoy the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality, as guaranteed to him by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This responsibility, according to the Universal Declaration, should extend to ensuring to everyone the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family.

11. We are fully conscious that the current economic crisis can be dealt with only in an environment of peace, international amity and understanding. In this context, urgent measures to control the present arms race assume special importance not only for the creation of such an environment but also for releasing for the common good of mankind the massive resources currently being wasted on armaments.

12. Bangladesh, from its very inception, has adopted a non-aligned foreign policy based upon the principles of peaceful coexistence and of friendship towards all. Our total commitment to peace is born of the realization that only an environment of peace would enable us to enjoy the fruits of our hard-won national independence and to mobilize and concentrate all our energies and resources in combating the scourges of poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy and unemployment.

13. We therefore welcome every effort aimed at advancing the process of *détente*, relaxation of tension, limitation of armaments and the promotion of peaceful coexistence in every part of the world, whether in Asia, Africa, Europe or Latin America. In pursuance of this policy we have consistently supported the concept of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean area, which has received the powerful endorsement of this Assembly [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. We have also supported the concept of South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

14. We believe that the nations of the emerging world assembled in the non-aligned conferences provide powerful support for the cause of peace. These nations have reaffirmed the common determination of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world to preserve national independence and to promote peace and justice.

15. Peace is an imperative for the survival of mankind; it represents the deepest aspirations of men and women throughout the world. Peace to endure must, however, be peace based upon justice.

16. Consistent with our own total commitment to peace, we have striven to promote the process of reconciliation in our own subcontinent. It was our firm belief that the emergence of Bangladesh would materially contribute towards the creation of a structure of peace and stability in our subcontinent and that the confrontation and strife of the past could be replaced by relations of friendship and co-operation for the welfare of all our peoples. Not only have we developed good-neighbourly relations with our immediate neighbours, India, Burma and Nepal, but we have also striven to turn away from the past and to open a new chapter in our relations with Pakistan.

17. We have spared no effort to liquidate the legacies of the past, and made our ultimate contribution by granting clemency even to those 195 prisoners of war against whom there was overwhelming evidence of their having committed grave crimes, including crimes against humanity. This was our investment towards the opening of a new chapter and towards the building of a future of peace and stability in our tormented subcontinent. In doing this we insisted on no pre-conditions, nor did we seek to strike any bargain, for we were influenced only by the vision of a better future for all our peoples.

18. We look forward to the solution of other outstanding problems in a spirit of fair play and mutual accommodation. The plight of the 63,000 Pakistani families who have reaffirmed their allegiance to Pakistan and have registered themselves with the International Committee of the Red Cross for repatriation to their country remains a pressing humanitarian problem. Not only is their right to be repatriated to the country to which they retain allegiance based on the strongest foundations of law and international agreement, but the dictates of humanity call for an urgent solution of their problem.

19. The just division of the assets of former Pakistan is the other problem which awaits urgent solution. Bangladesh for its part was, and remains, ready to move forward towards reconciliation. We expect that, in the overriding interest of the welfare of the peoples of the subcontinent, Pakistan will reciprocate by coming forward to solve these outstanding problems in a spirit of fair play and mutual accommodation so that the process of normalization can be carried to a successful conclusion.

20. Bangladesh will continue to strive for good-neighbourly relations with all of its neighbours on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. We will continue to support every move that seeks to promote peace in our region and in the world.

21. In a world that is marked by strife and human misery, the United Nations remains the focus of man's hope for the future. Despite the many difficulties and obstacles placed in its way, the United Nations, during the more than quarter-century of its existence, has significantly contributed to human progress in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. There are few countries in the world that have a better realization than Bangladesh of the concrete achievements and potential for good of the Organization. It was under the inspired leadership

of Mr. Kurt Waldheim and his able and dedicated colleagues that the United Nations mounted a major relief and reconstruction programme in our country to heal the wounds of war, to restore the productive capacity of our war-ravaged economy and to rehabilitate millions of returning refugees from India, who had had to take shelter there during our struggle for liberation. To the Secretary-General, the members of his staff and the various humanitarian agencies that contributed to the success of that gigantic operation, I should like to express the sincere gratitude of the Government and people of Bangladesh. We are confident that the same constructive leadership will be forthcoming from the United Nations in the solution of the remaining humanitarian problems in the subcontinent.

22. As I mentioned earlier, we are grateful to the United Nations for its efforts in mobilizing assistance in aid of the victims of the current catastrophic floods in Bangladesh. As a country which has repeatedly been exposed to the ravages of natural calamities, Bangladesh has a special stake in the creation of an institutional arrangement by which the international community can move effectively to meet and prevent such calamities. Indeed a beginning, though modest, has already been made in this respect by the establishment of the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator. However, in order that it can effectively play the role assigned to it, there is an imperative need to strengthen the organization. The Members of the United Nations have a special responsibility to concert their efforts for the achievement of this objective.

23. I should like to conclude by reaffirming my faith in the indomitable spirit of man—in the capacity of the people to achieve the impossible and to overcome insurmountable odds. This is the faith that sustains nations like us that have emerged through struggle and sacrifice. Our nations may suffer, but they can never die. In facing the challenge of survival, the resilience and determination of the people is an ultimate strength. Our goal is self-reliance; our chosen path is the united and collective efforts of our people. International co-operation and the sharing of resources and technology could, no doubt, make our task less onerous and reduce the cost in human suffering. But for us in the emerging world, ultimately we must have faith in ourselves and in our capacity, through the united and concerted efforts of our peoples, to fulfil our destiny and to build for ourselves a better future.

24. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Assembly, I should like to thank the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, for the very important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

25. Mr. FITZGERALD (Ireland): Mr. President, I wish at the outset to convey to you the very warm congratulations of the Irish delegation on your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is doubly fortu-

nate, since your personal wisdom and experience will guide our deliberations, and you represent a country which in both the political and the economic spheres has a record of initiative and leadership.

26. My delegation wishes, too, to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Benites of Ecuador, who guided the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly with brilliance and juridical sagacity.

27. It is my privilege to be the first after the address of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh to welcome Bangladesh to the United Nations. The Prime Minister's moving address has emphasized to us the urgent and terrible problems which face many parts of the world—none more so than his stricken country.

28. We particularly welcome Guinea-Bissau as a new Member State. Its gallant struggle for freedom has been vindicated and its presence here today reflects the rebirth of democracy in Portugal, whose previous régime's colonial policy I described at the previous session of this Assembly [2125th meeting] as doing an injustice to the Portuguese people, their traditions and their past contributions to human knowledge and culture. We hope soon to greet the newly emerging independent States of Mozambique and Angola. My delegation wishes to pay a special tribute to the inspiring and heart-warming address delivered here on Monday [2239th meeting] by the Foreign Minister of Portugal and to offer to his country our congratulations and most whole-hearted support in the new phase of its history which is now opening.

29. To Grenada, the Isle of Spice, we also give our warm felicitations. As the Prime Minister, Mr. Gairy, has said [2233rd meeting], the presence here of Grenada is an expression of faith in fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of man which underscores the principle of self-determination.

30. The world that we have inherited from the past has had its own equilibrium. Supply and demand have been kept more or less in balance by the price mechanism; the spheres of influence of the great Powers have remained more or less stable over a full generation; and even within particular regions of the world where local conflict situations have existed, a political balance has been maintained, disrupted only infrequently by the outbreak of conflicts, which have in each case been successfully localized.

31. The fact that such a balance has existed throughout the past generation has obscured for many the fact that the relationships which have found themselves more or less in equilibrium during this period are themselves in many instances inherently unjust and therefore unstable. The equilibrium has in fact in many respects been a false one, reflecting an inherited balance of forces that has no objective justification other than the fact that it has secured a certain short-term stability in world affairs.

32. We in this generation now face the consequences of the understandable, but perhaps near-fatal, neglect by those who have gone before us of the fundamental problems involved in this false equilibrium. We face the problem of setting right imbalances between and within nations and social and economic injustices

on a global scale, as well as the problem of creating a new world political equilibrium that will reflect the rights of peoples *vis-à-vis* each other—a new equilibrium that will replace a pattern of international relationships that owes all too much to injustices inherited from history.

33. It is only in the past decade that rich and poor nations alike have for the first time come to a full realization of how unjust is the present distribution of the world's resources and how inequitable is the sharing of power between the world's peoples. This belated realization brings with it, naturally, a desire to set things right, to create a true equilibrium in place of that false equilibrium that has hitherto existed between the nations of the world.

34. That radical changes in the relationships between rich and poor nations and in the distribution of the world's resources are urgently needed is now common ground among all but the most selfish and most reactionary. A new sense of mutual commitment between nations and peoples has been a feature of the past decade in world affairs and has begun to influence the attitudes of nations and their political leaders towards each other.

35. The problem of putting right a world structure which is so evidently and pervasively wrong is not, however, going to be easy to solve; on the contrary, it seems likely to prove frustratingly intractable. For, unjust though the economic and political equilibrium that has hitherto existed in the world may be, it is an equilibrium, and a delicately balanced one at that. We have seen on a number of occasions in recent decades how in the sphere of power politics even a marginal shift in the political balance between the super-Powers can endanger world peace.

36. In the economic sphere also we are learning at this time how sensitive is the equilibrium that has hitherto existed among different groups of nations in the world—the United States, the countries of Western Europe and other industrialized countries, the State-trading countries, the oil-producing countries, the producers of other raw materials and those countries which are not endowed with natural resources. For the past 12 months the world economic system has been reverberating with the shock-effects of a sudden readjustment in the terms of trade between the oil-producing countries and the rest of the world, and to a lesser extent between other raw material producers and the rest of the world.

37. So finely balanced are the economic and social structures that have grown up through the centuries, and so accustomed have most peoples, especially in the developed world, become in recent decades to a regular annual increase in their real incomes, that the impact of a sudden adjustment in real incomes of even 5 or 6 per cent has proved dangerously disruptive and threatens the economic and perhaps even the political stability of some countries.

38. Moreover, the chain effects of any disruption of this balance are so immensely dangerous to the economy of the whole world and all its peoples, poor as well as rich, that all who are concerned with securing a more equitable distribution of wealth and power throughout the world have been forced by these recent events to consider carefully the manner

in which this objective can be achieved without doing more harm than good to the poor as well as the rich, not merely in the short term but indeed over an indefinite period ahead. We have to face the unpalatable fact that already the sudden shift in the terms of trade has sparked off an unprecedented inflation, and that a world recession, the effects of which would inevitably hit the poorest and weakest worst of all, and with which we are most ill-prepared to deal, now threatens.

39. There will, no doubt, be those in the world who try to draw from this the conclusion that however great the injustices that blemish the international order it may be more prudent to leave these untouched than to attempt reforms whose unanticipated shock-effects on the system might in the short and medium run be harmful beyond any gains that can be achieved. This, however, would be a counsel of despair, for the economic, social and political injustices prevailing in the world are so great, and are now so clearly seen to be so, that no counsel of reason could prevent or inhibit efforts to set them right.

40. Whether we like it or not, the old order has to change, and it is clear that, rather than seek to persuade those who suffer under this system to hold their hand lest worse should befall them, we must set out to plan a readjustment of the relations between nations and between economies on a scale large enough and at a rate rapid enough to secure acceptance by those who suffer most from the injustices of the present system. This readjustment must, however, be prepared and planned sufficiently skilfully to ensure against the danger of shocks so great as to increase still further the sufferings of those who are the losers from the present unjust equilibrium.

41. The onus for such plans and preparations lies upon the "haves" of the world; it is they who must, not only in their own enlightened self-interest but also in the interest of the rest of the world, seek the means of putting right what is so evidently wrong, at a pace and in a manner, as I have said, that will secure the confidence and trust of those who suffer from the present system.

42. This I take to be the message from the sixth special session of the General Assembly and from the meeting in Mexico of the Working Group on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, established by UNCTAD; and no doubt it will also be the message that will come within the next couple of months from the World Food Conference in Rome.

43. The inequities in the distribution of wealth in the world are not, as some have perhaps simplistically believed, merely the immediate consequence of past colonialism. Many inequities are rather the product of a technological gap which formerly made colonialism possible but which remains an equally formidable force after the end of the colonial system. Other inequities in the distribution of wealth are the product of an unequal distribution of raw materials, with which the nations of the world are most unevenly endowed. Others, again, may reflect massive disparities of size as between different nations: disparities of geographical size, which is often relevant to the range of raw materials available; or of population size, which determines the scale of the

domestic market and therefore, to a degree, the possibilities of mass production.

44. We are just learning at present to understand the full complexity of the unequal distribution of wealth as we see how increases in the prices of oil and raw materials aid the economies of only some developing countries, and damage, in certain instances disastrously, the economies of others less well endowed. What seemed up to a year ago a relatively clear-cut, although not easily soluble, problem of two sets of nations, rich and poor, is now universally perceived to be much more complex, involving first the developed countries, which are suffering the consequences of increased oil and raw material prices; secondly, the oil-producing countries, whose resources have overnight been increased on a scale which, for some at least, creates problems of disposal and investment; thirdly, a range of other raw-material-producing countries, some of them great gainers from the rise in the price of certain raw materials, some less markedly benefiting because of a less fortunate pattern of raw material production, and some even losing because the prices of their raw materials have not risen at all; and, fourthly, that group of countries with no raw materials to speak of, which are now far worse off than ever before.

45. That is, surely, the primary lesson brought home to all of us at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, convened earlier this year on the inspired initiative of your country, Mr. President: the complexity of the problem. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] stresses in its paragraph 3 "reality of interdependence" and the fact that "the prosperity of the international community as a whole depends upon the prosperity of its constituent parts". And the complexity of the interests which must be reconciled is reflected in the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*].

46. In my delegation's view, the solution to the imbalance of wealth in the world must include three essential elements: first, there must be an assurance of a continued long-term improvement in the relative prices of raw materials from developing countries *vis-à-vis* the prices of industrial manufactures.

47. Secondly, there must be an assurance to those countries which, because of their lack of natural resources, may be expected to lose rather than to gain from such a continued price adjustment of long-term and continuing aid of a kind, and on a scale, that will enable them to share fully in the continuing redistribution of world wealth, and, over a period of time, to secure self-sustaining economic growth.

48. My own country has not in the past played as full a part as it should have done in the provision of development aid to countries much less well off than itself. We have, however, quadrupled our development aid programme in the past 18 months and have committed ourselves to a continued expansion of the real volume of this aid designed at least to-treble it again within the next four or five years.

49. But, thirdly, there must be, as between the developed world and the developing countries, whether endowed with raw materials or not, a transfer of technology to bridge that most fundamental gap which, as I said a few moments ago, remains a formidable force perpetuating the division of the world into the "haves" and "have nots" even after the end of the colonial era. The forthcoming Euro-Arab dialogue, in which my country as a member of the European Economic Community will be participating, will, I hope, among other things, lead to a beginning of such a transfer of technology in favour of one group of developing countries and could perhaps, if successful—as we hope it will be—provide a model for similar arrangements between other groups of countries.

50. But pending the development of a long-term plan comprising *inter alia* these elements, we must ensure as a preliminary step that there is no recurrence of the disastrous cycle of gross fluctuations in the prices of raw materials which has in the past inflicted such misery on poor countries dependent on raw materials for their livelihood and disrupted the markets of the industrialized countries, whose stability is important to the world as a whole.

51. In other words, the benefits gained by many poor countries as a result of the rise in the prices of raw materials in the past couple of years must by some means be substantially guaranteed pending the development of arrangements that will assure to them a continued, steady future growth of real income from these sources. The European Community, in its negotiations with the associated African, Caribbean and Pacific countries in Jamaica two months ago, undertook some first tentative steps in this direction which will, however, need to be reinforced and to be extended much more widely if the trading gains secured by the raw-material-producing countries in the last couple of years are to be maintained.

52. Next, as part of the immediate programme demanded by the urgent needs of the present situation, there must be an adequate emergency fund to help those developing countries which, because of their lack of raw materials, have merely had their poverty made even more absolute by these recent price movements and have, in some instances, been threatened with actual starvation, as we have just heard in moving terms from the Prime Minister of Bangladesh. The efforts to get an emergency fund of this kind off the ground have been frustratingly slow, and have hitherto evoked a somewhat uneven response from those whose means impose on them a severe responsibility in this matter. A number of countries, including those of the European Economic Community and a number of the oil-producing countries, have tried in their different ways to give a lead in this matter, but this lead has yet to be followed on a scale large enough to offer an assurance that the action to be taken in respect of this aspect of the problem will be in any degree commensurate with the urgent need.

53. Finally, and equally urgently, effective international action is required to prevent the impact of the recent sudden deterioration in the terms of trade of the industrialized countries from precip-

itating a world recession. Almost a year has now passed since the increase in oil prices, and well over a year since some prices of raw materials started to move sharply upwards, but there still seems to be a dangerous hiatus in the redirecting of surplus funds not being spent on current consumption or investment by those who have received them; these funds are not yet working their way back into the system on a scale sufficient to maintain world economic activity. Moreover, as between the countries within the industrialized group of nations, no adequate progress has yet been made with smoothing out the uneven distribution of the impact of these events on somewhat differently placed national economies, nor has there been on the part of most of these countries sufficient progress in tackling the inflationary impact of the sharp price increases they face, which now threaten to precipitate a dangerously sharp second-stage wage cost inflation within many of these States.

54. What I have just said concerning the need to replace a false equilibrium in the economic sphere finds its application also, I believe, in the political sphere. There was a time when the world political balance seemed to be a function almost exclusively of the relationship between two super-Powers. We see today clearly that this is no longer the case; quite apart from the new situation created by the return of China to its rightful role as an active world Power, by the emergence of Japan as one of the world's major industrial Powers, and by the coming together of nine of the countries of Western Europe in a new European community, there has been the emergence of the group of non-aligned countries. Moreover, the relationship between the two super-Powers has settled into a more stable pattern and the confrontation that existed between them has, to a degree, been replaced as a source of world tension by local conflicts in various parts of the world, some of which carry in themselves, however—as others have already pointed out in this debate—the seeds of a threat to world peace.

55. At the same time, the former simple balance of terror between the nuclear capabilities of the two super-Powers has been replaced by a new, increasingly dispersed, and therefore perhaps increasingly threatening, proliferation of nuclear weapons and of the means to create them. The dangers posed by these developments, and the need for effective action to deal with them, were rightly stressed here last Monday by the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kissinger [2238th meeting]. As a country which a decade ago played a constructive part in the initiation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], Ireland is particularly concerned at the recent evidence of a breakdown in the safeguards then introduced and will join in any effort to restore tight control over the spread of nuclear weapons.

56. These new problems cannot be met by old, simplistic solutions; they require a far more sophisticated approach, one that will involve many nations in the exercise of statesmanship and self-restraint. What frankly is frightening is that here in the political sphere as in the economic sphere the achievement of a new and more equitable world equilibrium, one that would be acceptable to the world's peoples

as well as to their Governments, seems to be beyond the competence of our existing international institutions, as we work them today. The kind of international order needed to cope successfully with these problems demands an institutional structure far better organized and far better disciplined than that which we now have.

57. This poses great problems for the world's nations: for the super-Powers, which will find it difficult to accept any constraint on the freedom of action which their potential for destruction has hitherto given them; for the former colonial Powers, which cannot find it easy to adapt to the loss of their ancient privileges; but also for the new States, those like my own, with half a century of independence behind them as well as those which have secured their sovereign freedom only within the past decade or two. For all of us newer States the acceptance of constraints on our individual freedom of action in the interest of stability, and even of the survival of the world, must be somewhat irksome coming within decades, or even only within years, after we have achieved our long-sought independence.

58. No country can, however, escape from the constraints imposed by the situation that faces the world today. In southern Africa, in the Middle East, in Cyprus and in Northern Ireland, to name but four parts of the world, there are dangerous situations, each of which owes its potentially or actually explosive character to the world's too ready acceptance of past festering injustices—a failing to which the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, Mr. Callaghan, referred in the course of his address yesterday [2240th meeting]—and to the failure of one or other party to these disputes to face up to the inherent instability of a situation that momentarily may have seemed to favour their interests.

59. In Cyprus an inherently unstable situation was made even more dangerous by the emergence in Greece of a military dictatorship which was far too readily tolerated, and even aided, by some members of the world community. When that régime eventually succumbed to adventurism in Cyprus, the uneasy balance in that island foundered, bringing misery and death to the Cypriot community, Greek and Turk alike.

60. The disproportionate response by Turkey to the events precipitated by the *coup* in Cyprus has brought in its train tragic hardship and dislocation to the Cypriot population and a threat to the sovereignty and independence of Cyprus as a State. We trust that negotiations will permit the speedy and safe return to their homes of all those, from both communities, who have been uprooted, as well as the full restoration to Cyprus of its right to sovereignty and independence.

61. The course of events in Cyprus has not made the task entrusted to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus any easier, and we share the sorrow of those countries whose soldiers have died under the flag of the United Nations in the cause of peace in the island. We also wish to pay homage to the devoted and unflagging personal efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, to bring communal leaders of Cyprus together in a dialogue of peace.

62. It is our earnest hope that from the tragic drama of Cyprus in recent months, the participants—and the rest of the world too—may learn that attempts to resolve conflicts of communal rights by forceful means not only can bring greater hardship to the communities in whose name the actions were taken, but can also damage the international machinery available under the Charter for the solution of such problems and can undermine the principle that lies at the heart of the Charter itself—the sovereign equality of States.

63. In the Middle East, the unwillingness for so long of Arab States to recognize the right of Israel to exist and the reluctance in turn by Israel to recognize and work towards a resolution of the problem of the Palestinians have together contributed to instability, and thus to repeated armed conflict.

64. In southern Africa the same danger of confrontation persists. Happily, as I noted earlier, the emergence of a democratic Government in Portugal is helping to resolve this problem peacefully in several of the Territories involved; but these developments serve only to stress the urgency of a movement towards a solution in the rest of southern Africa, which has been suffering from the intransigence of its white minority régimes and from their short-sighted determination to perpetuate injustice in defence of a perverted concept of "civilization".

65. Within the past couple of days there have been reports from South Africa that the Government of that country may be about to announce a significant change in its policy with respect to Namibia. My delegation hopes that those reports are well founded, not merely for the sake of the Namibian people, whose welfare in the future is the special responsibility of this Organization, but also in the hope that such a development might mark a first step by the Government of South Africa away from its past policies which have cut it off from the rest of the world.

66. We in Ireland have also suffered in our turn from a failure on the part of those who had the authority to do so to tackle in good time the problem of injustice to the important nationalist minority in Northern Ireland. The explosive situation which inevitably developed from this failure burst into open conflict in 1969. This conflict increased fears on all sides, and even though many of the long-standing injustices were gradually rectified, self-righteous and ruthless men—the members of the illegal Irish Republican Army—were able to exploit the situation by claiming to act as defenders of a threatened minority. Their ruthlessness in the years that followed provoked from paramilitary groups amongst the majority indiscriminate retaliation against innocent members of the minority and the consequent cycle of violence has been compounded by cases of lack of judgement or lack of discipline on the part of security forces trying to cope with the situation. In an atmosphere where all live in fear of violence from any one of several sources, reason cannot easily prevail nor moderate policies gain the widespread support they need to bring a term to the crisis racking the Northern Ireland community.

67. The aim of my Government is, by initiating constructive policies and by rejecting the pursuit

of mere self-interest, to work towards the calming of passions and the achievement of peace with justice in Northern Ireland. Accordingly, since the last session of the General Assembly we have made it clear that we abjure irredentism, that we accept that the factual position of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom can be altered only with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.

68. Unhappily, even that clear statement, which we offered to incorporate in a solemn agreement to be registered at the United Nations, has failed to persuade the majority section of the community in Northern Ireland to accept the terms of a widely acclaimed agreement reached last December at Sunningdale in England between the Governments of Ireland and the United Kingdom and the parties to a power-sharing Government in Northern Ireland, which at that time commanded a majority in the then recently elected Northern Ireland Assembly. That agreement provided for participation by both sections of the people of Northern Ireland in the government of the area—an arrangement which actually operated successfully for a period of five months—and for an institutional structure between North and South that would have given expression to the close economic, social and cultural links that bind together the two parts of Ireland.

69. It is tragic that this solution to the problem, despite its initial good reception and despite the support given to it by the United Kingdom Government and opposition parties and by the Government and opposition in my own country, failed as a result of a recrudescence of intransigence amongst the majority section of the Northern Ireland community. But we have not abandoned our efforts to secure a solution along these lines and to achieve acceptance for it amongst both sections of the community in Northern Ireland on a scale that will ensure its success. We have not been deflected from our efforts at conciliation by the rejection of the agreement reached at Sunningdale nine months ago. We remain convinced that the principal elements of that agreement are essential to any enduring solution. And, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we shall continue to pursue the path of conciliation in the cause of peace.

70. I know that in our efforts to resolve this problem within the island of Ireland, and in co-operation with the United Kingdom Government, we have the support of the world community.

71. I should like to end by referring to the question of human rights, including safeguards against torture, a problem which increasingly is attracting the concern of world public opinion. My country takes the view that human rights transcend all questions of national sovereignty. We formally reject the view that any country has the right to infringe on basic human rights, let alone use torture within its territory, or to be free from inquiry, from inspection, or from condemnatory action by the international community in respect of such breaches of the rights of man.

72. We ourselves accept the jurisdiction of the European Commission and Court of Human Rights in respect of such matters and have fully accepted

the obligation to justify our domestic actions before these tribunals. To the extent that the United Nations code of human rights is less effective than that of the Council of Europe, we would wish that it be strengthened and rendered less open to evasion, and more capable of protecting individuals everywhere from arbitrary acts by Governments.

73. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): The Philippines offers its warmest congratulations to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, on his election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. President Bouteflika's background is that of a revolutionary, and that is what the world needs right now—a dedicated revolutionary.

74. In the session just past, we depended on the ripe wisdom of Mr. Leopoldo Benites to guide us through a series of crises more formidable than many we have faced in previous years. Having succeeded in drawing up the firm guidelines for coping with crises, we must now lean upon the vitality, the energy and the strong convictions of this youthful new President of the Assembly to see us through the next, and even more difficult, stages of implementing agreements reached in principle.

75. We wish to congratulate at this time and to welcome into our midst the latest members of the United Nations, the new sovereign States of Grenada, Bangladesh, and Guinea-Bissau. Their presence here is another affirmation of the powerful tides of self-determination which began sweeping the world shortly after the end of the Second World War. It is to the credit of Portugal, and a stern warning to the remaining colonial Powers in Africa, that it has recognized and accepted the fact that the course of decolonization is irreversible.

76. We listened this morning [2242nd meeting] to the moving statement of the representative of Honduras. I hasten to assure him, on behalf of the Philippine Government, of our deepest sympathies for the tragic calamity which has befallen his people. I come from a country which is periodically buffeted by typhoons and often devastated by floods, and we in the Philippines understand the suffering of the Honduran people. We feel for them deeply.

77. The accession to the presidency of Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika is appropriate and timely in a very important sense. The world is in the midst of an economic dislocation so grave that its repercussions are bound to be felt far into the future. While all nations are in the grip of these dangerous economic trends, it is the developing nations which today feel its effects most strongly. Indeed, many of them are on the brink of economic collapse.

78. As a recognized leader among the developing countries, our new President can be expected to provide profound insights into their difficulties. At the same time, he is in a position to moderate what we most wish to avoid, namely, the degeneration of the understandable conflicts of interest between the rich and the poor countries—conflicts inherent in the present economic system—into bitter and frustrating confrontation. The future of mankind, both of its affluent and of its disadvantaged segments, lies not in confrontation but in co-operation based on equity and justice.

79. Addressing the Governing Council of UNDP at its eighteenth session held in Manila earlier this year, the President of the Philippines called strongly for the immediate implementation of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and of its accompanying Programme of Action. He was the first Head of State to do so in an international forum. Recalling the debates during the sixth special session of the General Assembly—an historic special session—he said:

“[The] concern [of the sixth special session] was not with the past but rather with the present and future. Historical injustices were recalled, not to be exacerbated but to be redressed and transcended. The challenge presented to the rich, industrialized countries was not to irreconcilable conflict but to a massive joint commitment to fashion together a more rational and equitable relationship.”¹

80. The grim prospects confronting the developing countries emphasize the importance of institutionalizing this new type of relationship as promptly as possible. Time has made their economic problems more acute, with further deterioration in sight in the coming year. Nor can we overlook the possibility of political and social upheavals in the wake of irresistible inflationary pressures coupled with worsening shortages.

81. The encouraging rise in commodity prices has now reached a peak and will soon decline. Only a quarter of the considerable gain in commodity prices went to the developing regions, and of this gain the bulk was negated by the steep increases in the prices of food grains and fertilizers.

82. Furthermore, the developing countries experienced sharp deficits in trade in 1973, with every prospect that the deficits will increase this year.

83. Few aspects of the world-wide economic upheaval cut closer to the bone than the food crisis. What was once viewed as an unfortunate but temporary state of affairs is now correctly regarded as a chronic condition which will grow worse in time unless concerted international action is taken promptly.

84. As long as their vast food resources remain untapped, because of understandable deficiencies in capital and in technology, the developing countries will continue to be the victims of hunger and malnutrition. On humanitarian grounds alone they deserve assistance from the more fortunate industrialized countries, for the toll in human lives now and in the years ahead can well exceed our most pessimistic calculations. And its effects on world stability, on peace and security should be obvious to all.

85. Solving the problem, of course, is not easy. A rising population, competition for sources of food, the ever-present possibility that food assistance will be subject to narrow political ends rather than broad humanitarian objectives, the growing food requirements of the affluent societies themselves—these admittedly complex factors should not deter us from confronting the very real dangers posed by hunger and famine.

86. The Philippines would therefore favour the establishment of a world food reserve in order to ensure assistance to countries suffering from food shortage regardless of the amount of surplus among donor countries. To this most basic of human problems the principle of special preferences for needy regions should be applied.

87. In the long run, expanding the world's food supply is a fundamental consideration. But in order to do this, greater assistance to the agricultural sectors of developing nations would be required. Dwindling food stocks, even in many industrialized countries, make this step even more urgent. Beyond the immediate needs of food, improving the level of agriculture is a fundamental contributory factor to the national development of countries in the developing regions.

88. The Philippines attaches great importance to the forthcoming World Food Conference, with the strong hope that it will be able to evolve a concrete plan of action without too much delay.

89. An integral part of the food problem is the hapless plight of an estimated 400 million children in the developing countries. At its fifty-seventh session, in its resolution 1880 (LVII), the Economic and Social Council endorsed the decision of the Executive Board entitled “Declaration of an emergency for children in developing countries as a result of the current economic crisis”, and made an urgent appeal to all Governments for increased contributions to UNICEF. It is, indeed, a sad commentary on the world's conscience that UNICEF, after almost three decades of quiet and dedicated service, has not received the adequate financial support it has always deserved. It is our hope that the 1974 United Nations Special Pledging Conference on UNICEF scheduled for November will elicit a generous response and demonstrate the anxieties and concerns of the international community over the world's suffering children.

90. It should be evident that the foregoing problems I have mentioned, being global in character, are susceptible only to collective measures on the part of the international community. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, the World Population Conference, the World Food Conference, and the projected seventh special session of the General Assembly constitute historic efforts to tighten the web of world-wide interdependence in order to solve the problems which impede development and endanger the world economy. They are important in still another sense, for they will be a test of whether we have developed in the United Nations the requisite political will to override narrow particularist concerns for the sake of the world community as a whole.

91. In this connexion, the Philippines hopes that the remaining difficulties with regard to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States could be resolved to permit the adoption of the Charter at this session of the Assembly. We feel that adoption of the Charter would be an indispensable step towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

92. I have spoken of the profound interest of the President of the Philippines in a new international economic order. Committed as we are to expanded development and focusing all resources on the achievement of this objective, the Philippines under the New Society has been inevitably affected by the world-wide economic upheavals. Only through the most strenuous efforts has it been able to approximate the dramatic improvements achieved through drastic economic restructuring in the first year of our New Society. Our stake in the improvement of the world economic climate is therefore great, for it can be of decisive importance in our pursuit of the accelerated time-table for national development.

93. Like most developing countries, the Philippines has been affected by the sharp increases in import prices, raising the probability of a deficit in our balance-of-payments position. Inflation, though our rate is among the most moderate in South-East Asia, has prevented further improvement in living standards without, however, causing a real decline.

94. Despite the expected difficulties, however, the gross national product of the Philippines increased by 5.8 per cent in the first eight months of 1974, a figure which is higher than in previous years, with the exception of 1973. Last year the Philippines was in the upper third in the roll of developing countries which exceeded the target growth rate set by the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)] in the field of manufactures.

95. As a result of measures taken to prevent massive rice shortages caused by typhoons, the Philippines increased its grain production by 12 per cent, short of self-sufficiency, but enough to avert widespread shortages in the event of expected natural calamities.

96. Overall food production, however, is at a record level, the Philippines being one of only four Asian countries to show this remarkable performance in a year of falling production in most developing regions.

97. In another field, the Philippines is among the fortunate few to exceed the amount of \$200 million in gains in international reserves.

98. But the Philippines is under no illusion that its present generally favourable situation will persist if the world-wide economic situation continues to deteriorate. Nor can it dissociate itself from the plight of other, poorer countries which are now rapidly approaching the point of irreversible descent into anarchy and chaos caused by extreme poverty. Whether we wish it or not, their fate instils an awful sense of foreboding in the entire human community.

99. It is in this context that we view the arms race and the ever-increasing amounts wasted in its pursuit as a terrible comment on our sense of human values. It bespeaks a deadening of the finer impulses of man that he should place the development of weapons of destruction on a far higher scale of priority than the fulfilment of his most basic requirements.

Mr. Macovescu (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

100. Nor is this race for weapons confined to the great Powers, for the supply of arms to the smaller Powers has increased at an unprecedented rate, thereby increasing the danger of conventional wars which nevertheless always carry the risk of involving the great Powers.

101. An equally disturbing development is the dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons. The capability for manufacturing them is no longer the exclusive monopoly of the rich, industrialized countries. This suggests that the threshold of nuclear danger has been lowered to a degree that may in the near future prove dangerous to world peace and security. That there should be nations whose populations are starving and afflicted by famine but that are producing nuclear arms is indeed a sad commentary on the world today.

102. In the light of the foregoing developments, the United Nations should begin seriously to consider fresh initiatives to moderate the runaway arms race, halt nuclear proliferation and ban test explosions completely.

103. These matters acquire particular significance at a time when the Middle East problem still carries the potential for renewed conflict and at a time when agreement has yet to be reached on the tragic war in Cyprus. On the Middle East question, we of the Philippine delegation reiterate our view that a just solution should be based on the relevant United Nations resolutions calling on Israel to withdraw from all occupied territories.

104. Another important aspect of the Middle East problem, which is basic to its solution, is the question of the Palestinian people. Having no wish at this time to reopen a generation-old debate, I shall confine myself to quoting my original intervention in the Assembly on the same subject in 1947, when the sessions were being held at Flushing Meadows. I said then:

"We have assessed the legal arguments and found that they are not the decisive factors in shaping a just and practical solution. Whatever the weight we might choose to assign to the arguments of the one side or the other, it is clear to the Philippine Government that the rights conferred by mandatory power, even if subsequently confirmed by an international agreement, do not vitiate the primordial right of a people to determine the political future and to preserve the territorial integrity of its native land."²

105. Continuing, I said that the issue was primarily moral and that the enforcement of the partition policy was—and I quote again—"repugnant to the valid nationalist aspirations of the people of Palestine".²

106. Because the shape of the problem has been modified in the intervening years, the Philippines shall, against this background, speak on this subject again at an appropriate time in this Assembly.

107. Turning to our part of the world, the spirit of the Shanghai communiqué is alive in Asia, and a rearrangement in the balance of forces on its basis has ensued quietly and without fanfare. The apparent stability in the region has encouraged diplomatic activity tending further to cement existing relationships. Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan visited South-

East Asia, and Prime Minister Whitlam of Australia made a similar tour earlier this year.

108. The pursuit of normalized relations between the People's Republic of China and South-East Asian countries continues. In mid-1974, Malaysia established full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic, and trade and cultural missions from Peking and various South-East Asian capitals have exchanged visits—visible evidences of a more relaxed relationship between them. At this very moment, Mrs. Imelda Marcos, wife of the President of the Philippines and his designated envoy, is in Peking on a goodwill mission and has been very well received there.

109. Behind these activities lies the hope that the new balance of power will be a force for constructive changes on the basis of complementary interests, not alone among the big Powers with interests in the region, but also between them and the smaller Asian Powers.

110. However, the problem of stability and security in the region remains the principal responsibility of the nations of the region. Among the six member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], the first large step in enhanced economic co-operation was taken this year when active negotiations began on the implementation of industrial complementation projects and on the establishment of a free-trade zone in the region. An expanding web of relationships has also begun to develop between the ASEAN member countries and other countries and organizations, with, among others, Australia and New Zealand, and with the European Economic Community.

111. Much, of course, remains to be done to ensure the security of the region. As long as the Paris agreement remains unenforced—and apparently unenforceable—the situation in Indo-China will continue to be a threat to the general security of South-East Asia.

112. In the Khmer Republic, an unprecedented situation has emerged, raising political, legal and moral questions of great complexity. Last year the Philippines opposed the "back-door" grant of recognition to the rival Sihanouk "Government", which would give it the right to represent Khmer in the United Nations. We will continue to oppose this move, in the belief that the people of Khmer should be free to decide their own political future and to adopt the economic and social system of their choice without interference from any outside sources.

113. On the question of Korea, the peaceful reunification of the divided halves remains our objective, and we are prepared to lend our support to mutually acceptable means of reaching this goal. Provided it is acceptable to both the Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of Korea, we shall support the admission to the United Nations of both those States in the hope that this would provide an additional avenue for reaching agreement on reunification.

114. Let me touch on other items on the agenda that are of particular interest to us. My delegation feels that the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is one of the most significant endeavours of the world Organization. The objective of developing a progressive international law based

on equity and social justice in order to bring about peace and stability in the oceans and to permit the full utilization of the vast resources of the sea for the benefit of all mankind cannot be long deferred. Moreover, we cannot ignore the possibility that an area comprising two thirds of our planet will, unless agreement is reached, become yet another focus of intense rivalries dangerous to the peace of the world.

115. From the particular point of view of an archipelagic State like the Philippines, the Conference has given us and similar States an opportunity never before provided us to secure recognition of the unique problems arising from our geographical configuration.

116. Although we cannot, in complete candour, say that we were entirely satisfied with the result of the session held at Caracas, we feel that it has generated a momentum which should be maintained. It is our view, therefore, that no time should be wasted in permitting the Conference to continue its work. For this reason, the Philippines will support the recommendation that another session be convoked in Geneva from March to May 1975.

117. Our traditional respect for human rights and the fundamental freedoms remains undiminished. Indeed, our recent experience has given us a deeper insight into the nature and meaning of human rights. We realize today with special force the truth of the observation that the achievement of economic and social rights through accelerated national development is an indispensable requirement for the exercise of civil and political rights. Without the effective enforcement of law and order and without a sound economic base, respect for human rights remains at best theoretical. In this connexion, I am pleased to inform this Assembly that the Government of the Philippines deposited with the Secretary-General on 7 June 1974 its instruments of ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*].

118. At this session we shall support all measures which assist in advancing the cause of human rights throughout the world. And we shall continue to give the most vigorous support to the struggle against racist policies of all varieties and against all efforts to segregate peoples on the basis of colour and race from the mainstream of their national life.

119. As a nation which by tradition has held women in high esteem, the Philippines favours the prompt elimination of discrimination on the basis of sex. Women in my country are the full and equal partners of men in national development; we look forward to the day when this practice is made universal. The observance of International Women's Year in 1975, for which the Philippines has already made preparations, is a timely reminder of the need to integrate women, who, after all, constitute half of the world's population, into the total human resources available for national development.

120. Let me reiterate that this Assembly is faced with global problems which demand global solutions. Those solutions can be achieved only through greatly enhanced international co-operation. In turn, co-operation of such scope and depth requires the

full use of the United Nations in the entire range of human concerns.

121. As the problems become progressively more acute, the need for effective solutions becomes more urgent. Some of the sense of urgency and the strong feeling of interdependence assured by the sixth special session of the General Assembly last April still remain. Our task is to maintain the momentum generated by the special session and to continue to foster the spirit of interdependence arising out of the very seriousness of the problems which confront us.

122. But a fundamental element seems to be missing. In a rare note of pessimism, the Secretary-General predicted that perhaps the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be in the grip of a crisis of helplessness. A deficiency in determination, a lack of political will, delays the Assembly from taking the required courses of action that could lead to firm decisions. I suggest that this deficiency may also arise from the shortcomings of the Charter itself—a Charter which, as I shall presently explain, contributes to a sense of division rather than of harmony in the context of today's realities. My delegation therefore welcomes the recommendation of the General Committee that item 95 entitled "Need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General" should be retained on this year's agenda.

123. Over the past 30 years, events and long-term developments have imposed the conclusion that the structure and processes adopted at the end of the last world war by the victorious allies very quickly lost their relevance and validity. I speak as one of the original signatories of the Charter in 1945 at the San Francisco Conference. The ideological confrontation destroyed the possibility of unanimity among the five permanent members of the Security Council, and their veto power was transformed from a guarantee of international unity into an instrument for the protection of national interests.

124. It is needless to review, for all of us remember, the various conflicts, large and small, brief or protracted, for which the Organization, under its present Charter, was unable to find a solution, much less to enforce one. More and more often, solutions have been sought, and sometimes found, outside the framework of what was originally conceived to be the unchallengeable arbiter of the world's disputes.

125. Perhaps the original ideal was impractical, beyond the possibility of realization in a world of sovereign States. All the more reason, then, to undertake a serious and continuing review and revision of the structure and procedures of the Organization. The last of the Western colonial empires is now in liquidation; the emancipated nations have almost tripled the membership of the United Nations, while the former metropolitan Powers, which could formerly presume to represent their millions of subjects, can now speak only for themselves. On the other hand, it is perhaps understandable that they should seek protection against what may appear to them to be the tyranny of numbers at a time of a proliferation of States in various stages of develop-

ment but all equally jealous of their equality in the vote.

126. Few will deny that the United Nations has devised ingenious procedures to overcome the inherent limitations of the present Charter. It has broadened the scope of its activities to cover a wide spectrum of issues which the founders of the Organization never anticipated. Still, for our time, the Charter fails to reach the heart of the matter, which is the disturbing division between the developing and developed countries, or, to put it more bluntly, the few rich and the many poor. Never in the history of the United Nations has that division been more apparent than it is today.

127. The paramount need of the United Nations is a Charter which provides the institutional means for reconciling the two sides, for bridging the gap between them, and for inducing them to co-operate, instead of deepening the distrust in which they hold one another. On these terms alone, if no other, there is, I submit, little to be lost if we place the provisions of the Charter under continuing review, to study how they work and have worked in the past and, above all, to explore the possibilities of bringing them more in accord with present realities.

128. It is disheartening to see the United Nations unable for all these long years to put an end to the Palestinian problem, to the *apartheid* régime in South Africa, to the illegitimate occupation of Namibia, to so many other situations that haunt session after session of the General Assembly like ghosts that can neither be buried nor forgotten.

129. It is disillusioning to see the United Nations playing no direct part in reshaping the international monetary system.

130. It is deeply dismaying to realize that the United Nations, for all the bright promises of its Charter and declarations and proclamations, is unable to do more to protect the human rights of millions of human beings. No doubt, there are serious legal and political difficulties to be faced in any study or revision of the Charter. Such a revision might even entail its renegotiation. Any fundamental change is painful and calls for much thought and heart-searching; but when change is needed for survival, it is inevitable.

131. Allow me to illustrate this with an example from our own national experience in the Philippines. Two years ago, almost to this very date, the President of our country placed it under martial law. It was within his constitutional powers to do so, as the Supreme Court of the Republic decided only last week; but it was also a very drastic, even revolutionary measure, for it meant a fundamental change, a radical revision of our political and social structure and institutions which had been part of our way of life since the proclamation of our independence in 1946—almost the same length of time as the United Nations has existed—and, indeed, for about 40 years before that.

132. The change was a shock; it was agonizingly painful to many; but it worked, and it is working. It forestalled a revolution that, after all, sought only the same goals; it staved off financial ruin; it restored peace and promised social order. Above all, it worked because it brought the constitutional and govern-

mental structure and processes into line with the political, economic and social realities in a nation that had been groping for the true balance between them for more than a quarter-century.

133. We in the United Nations, I dare to suggest, have also been trying to strike that true balance for almost the same measure of time. To find it now, when it is so needed, if not for survival, at least for significance and effectiveness, we must, I suggest, be equally bold after long patience; we must be persistent with long deliberation and unafraid of radical departures when confident of our ultimate destination. For that reason my delegation will support, and indeed sponsor, any initiative to establish a continuing or permanent group to study the revision of the Charter and submit recommendations thereon.

134. Two years ago, at this same forum, I made the observation that radical changes had overtaken the world. How profound these changes were we now fully realize. The *détente* begun in Asia and subsequently followed in Europe has, for all practical purposes, revised the structure of international relations. The beginning of concord and harmony in the political field, despite temporary set-backs, has become visible, and our hopes are buoyed by the rich possibilities of peace and security for all mankind. We fully expect it to create the environment in which we can pursue with greater vigour the progress and development of nations.

135. Today, we are at the painful beginning of that search for progress. Because we view the problems at such close range, we tend to be traumatized by their immense difficulties. The danger is that this should lead to a fatal paralysis of will, leaving the problems unsolved and worse than they were before. I venture to say that in the midst of difficulties we have learned the lesson that today, more than ever, we must shed parochialism, discard selfishness, and dismiss the narrower demands of sheer self-interest. Never before has this thought emerged with greater clarity and force: if our society is to survive, we must accept collective responsibility for its well-being. Interdependence has ceased to be a mere pious wish. Inevitable, indeed inescapable, it is the very basis for the continuation of the society of man in the twentieth century.

136. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):* Mr. President, permit me to reiterate before this forum my congratulations to the Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria on his election to the high office of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly and to state in the name of the German Democratic Republic that this is a tribute to the high prestige of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria in the world. We wish him much success in his responsible function.

137. Complex are the events which bear on the international situation and the destinies of entire peoples. But the essential thing is that it has been possible, despite powerful counter-efforts, to advance international *détente*. This has not happened of its

own accord. The efforts for the elimination and prevention of international conflicts, the cessation of the arms race, the liquidation of all forms of oppression of peoples, and the development of relations of peaceful coexistence need to be resolutely promoted.

138. The German Democratic Republic joined the United Nations one year ago. As a Member of the United Nations and as a State of the socialist community, it has been making every effort, in its bilateral relations, at the regional level and also in multilateral organizations, to help carry out the peace programme of the socialist States, which also is in harmony with the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and takes account of the interests of all peoples.

139. The foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic is aimed at safeguarding international peace and security, practising solidarity with the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation, and making peaceful coexistence prevail between States with different social orders.

140. In conjunction with its allies, the German Democratic Republic works for the fruits of *détente* to be shared by all peoples. Therefore we support all efforts channelling conflicts towards a political settlement. The peoples desire the attainment of durable settlements of those problems which are poisoning the international climate and threatening peace and security. Hence one should not be content with what has been achieved. On the contrary, *détente* must be consolidated and extended to all regions of the world. This is, in the view of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, an extremely important and equally pressing task for the United Nations and one which the German Democratic Republic will help to carry out.

141. In May 1975 it will be 30 years since the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition, and primarily of the Soviet Union, liberated the peoples from the cruel terrorist rule of German fascism. In those days of 1945 began the longest period of European peace in the history of this century. This fact corroborates the reality of a policy aimed at maintaining peace. To enable future generations also to live in peace, it will be necessary to further the *détente* initiated with the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin and with the treaties concluded by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany. Inviolability of the territorial *status quo* and of existing borders, respect for the sovereignty of States, renunciation of the use of force and prohibition of interference in the internal affairs of other States should be normal and self-evident standards of conduct among States with different social systems in Europe. In this context it is imperative to implement this set of treaties and to defend it against those forces which tried to prevent the conclusion of the treaties and are now obstructing their implementation in letter and spirit. With the expansion of bilateral relations between States, the foundations that have been laid for *détente* can be broadened and reinforced. I need not emphasize

* Mr. Fischer spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

that the German Democratic Republic is ready, now as before, to play its part.

142. From their experiences in the Second World War, the peoples have learned the lesson that it is only by way of equal and growing co-operation among all peace-loving nations that mankind will be able to achieve its loftiest aspiration: to maintain a secure and lasting peace. A post-war settlement along anti-Fascist and democratic lines was the hard core of the decisions and agreements reached by the principal Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition. On behalf of the German Democratic Republic, I can state here our view that with the great system of treaties that has come into being since 1970, a post-war settlement has been agreed which makes possible good co-operation among the States and peoples. The decisive pre-condition of the progress which was reached on the road to *détente* in Europe and hailed by the peoples of the world was the definite recognition in terms of international law of the results of the Second World War and of post-war developments. Therefore, demands based on wishful thinking and reflecting outlived and yet dangerous ideas for changing the map of Europe are not at all helpful to European and international security.

143. As far as the national question on German soil is concerned, history settled it long ago. Freely exercising their right to self-determination, the people of the German Democratic Republic have once and for all chosen the socialist system of society. Today there are on German soil a socialist State, the German Democratic Republic, in which the socialist nation is developing, and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany, in which the capitalist nation exists. Between socialist and capitalist States there can only be relations of peaceful coexistence, the principles of which can safely be assumed to be known everywhere.

144. The historic chance of living in peace is becoming more real with the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. An early and good conclusion of that Conference would therefore be in full harmony with the legacy of those who fought against fascism. In the light of present-day realities this would be the best contribution all European States could make, as the Charter of the United Nations says "... to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind ...".

145. Despite artificial obstacles, *détente* is being advanced also in other parts of the world. The German Democratic Republic pays a particular tribute to the growing role the non-aligned countries have played, both inside and outside the United Nations, in removing international conflicts, strengthening international security and enforcing the right of peoples to self-determination. We are very happy to note that our traditionally friendly relations with those States are growing in strength.

146. *Détente* creates more favourable conditions for the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to gain national freedom, strengthen their political independence and achieve their economic independence. This is borne out by developments.

147. The admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, a country with which we maintain friendly ties, is a clear indication that the situation on the subcontinent has improved.

148. The withdrawal of the foreign troops from South Korea as urged by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is in the interest of the Korean people and would have a favourable impact on security in Asia.

149. We are resolutely opposed to the permanent violations of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam by the Saigon Administration and its foreign backers, and demand that it be strictly observed. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam is an equal party to the Paris negotiations and therefore has the incontestable right to participate without any discrimination in international co-operation, and this also within the framework of the United Nations.

150. The national liberation movement, supported by the solidarity of the socialist States and democratic forces all over the world, has achieved great success in liquidating the remnants of colonialism. It is in this sense that we view Grenada's admission to the world Organization. Another case in point is the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations. Bonds of friendship and active solidarity link us with the people of Guinea-Bissau. The overthrow of the Fascist régime in Portugal and the new Government's commitment to the right of peoples to self-determination should make it easier for this session of the General Assembly to adopt effective measures aimed at eliminating all forms of colonial and racist oppression.

151. During the session of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* held in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, last May, the States of the socialist community, their citizens and mass organizations convincingly manifested their firm determination to strengthen their solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa. An end must be put to racist terrorism in all its forms. Acting in this spirit, the German Democratic Republic signed and ratified the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex] immediately after it was adopted.

152. It is gratifying to point to the substantial progress in creating a more healthy international climate. But the opponents of *détente* are far from laying down their arms. While they could not reverse the trend, their incessant attempts to create new hotbeds of international tension and maintain existing ones, to fuel the arms race and defend colonialist and neo-colonialist oppression require not just close attention but resolute resistance on the part of the United Nations also.

153. Is not the attempt to abolish the sovereignty of Cyprus a very striking example?

154. Together with the other socialist States and the non-aligned countries, the German Democratic Republic stands for vigorous action by the United Nations to maintain the non-aligned status of Cyprus, to restore constitutional order, to have all foreign

troops withdrawn and to establish an effective system of guarantees.

155. If effect were given to the proposal of the Soviet Government to convene an international conference within the framework of the United Nations,³ in which Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and all States members of the Security Council would participate, and in which other countries, specifically non-aligned countries, could also be involved, this would be the best way of achieving a settlement satisfactory to the vital interests of the Greek and Turkish population of Cyprus and the security requirements of all peoples. In accordance with the primary responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace, these States should—as contained in the Soviet proposal to convene the conference—provide the required guarantees of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and of compliance with the decisions the planned conference on Cyprus will be taking.

156. Despite growing protests by world public opinion, the military junta in Chile is carrying on with the cruel suppression, tortures and assassination of upright patriots, in brutal violation of human rights. It has so far ignored the appeals of the Secretary-General and the President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Its actions create a dangerous source of tension in Latin America and challenge international public opinion as a whole. This twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly should vigorously demand the restoration of human rights and democratic freedoms in Chile.

157. The settlement of the Middle East conflict is now sought by political means. The German Democratic Republic welcomes this. But, unfortunately, a durable peace settlement is still outstanding. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is in favour of the immediate reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East so that a stable settlement of this issue on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) can be achieved. The German Democratic Republic has always supported the Arab peoples in their struggle against the permanent Israeli aggression and its consequences and will do so in future.

158. The German Democratic Republic comes out in support of securing the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. My Government supports the demand of the Palestine Liberation Organization and of the Arab States that the question of Palestine should be considered at this year's session of the General Assembly.

159. The relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are of particular weight in international affairs. The Soviet Union has set in motion the reshaping of the Soviet-American relationship, and has thereby made the decisive contribution to ending the era of "cold war" and confrontation.

160. Those who invented the theory of the so-called super-Powers have, from generally known selfish motives of great-Power chauvinism, given the Soviet Union's relations with the United States an arbitrary interpretation of their own. But nobody

can deny the plain truth that the evolution of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the basis of peaceful coexistence is essential to the maintenance of world peace and hence serves the interests of all peoples. The period of the "cold war" and the imperialist strategy of "war brinkmanship" have not fallen into oblivion. It is the fundamental improvement in international relations which highlights the specific weight of the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

161. Conditions have improved for the United Nations to work in the interest of international security, disarmament, the liquidation of colonialism and racism, of international co-operation among States on a basis of equality. At the same time, the activities of the opponents of *détente* underscore the need for the United Nations to make a greater contribution to the normalization of the international situation.

162. Is it not a proved practice to make regular reviews of how decisions that have been taken are carried out? The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would therefore be in favour of a thorough analysis of how the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted in 1970 [resolution 2734 (XXV)], is being implemented. This would also meet the demand for the increased effectiveness of the work of the United Nations.

163. It is the policy of the German Democratic Republic, just as it is of many other States, to promote *détente* in Europe, to urge that it should be extended to the whole world and be complemented by military *détente*, and to demand the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations among States with different social orders. Should it not be a paramount aim for this General Assembly to adopt further measures to fulfil the Declaration of 1970? As is known, the socialist States proceed from the fact that effective measures towards military *détente*, armaments limitation and disarmament are indispensable to promoting political *détente*, and vice versa. Arms expenditures are an unbearable burden on the working people. In many countries the corporations producing arms exacerbate the effects of the objective crisis. Vast human and material resources in science and technology are withheld from peaceful, productive work for the benefit of the people. Scientists in the German Democratic Republic have estimated that almost 50 per cent of the scientific and technological intelligentsia in the principal countries of NATO are directly or indirectly engaged in the development of weapon systems. The arms race, that material preparation of war, is threatening international *détente*.

164. There is still time to halt that disastrous development. There are constructive proposals to this end. We second the initiative of the Soviet Union to request the inclusion in the agenda of the item entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health". The draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union on this item [A/C.1/L.675] has the undivided support of the German Democratic Republic. It is of great im-

portance in both its current and future relevance. We must not allow the achievements of science and technology ever to be used again for the physical destruction of human beings and material resources. We hold that the Soviet proposal is realistic and directly combines measures for international security with action to protect man and his environment.

165. For a long time there has been an urgent need to convene a world disarmament conference. This twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly could very well proceed from the results so far reached and begin speedy preparations for the conference. We cannot agree with the unsubstantiated argument repeatedly put forward by some States that the time is not ripe for such a conference.

166. Progress in the fields of disarmament and arms limitation is indispensable to remove the sword of Damocles of a nuclear world war, to strengthen the mutual confidence of States in declared peaceful intentions, and to give all States the opportunity to participate in the solution of a fundamental question of international development affecting their vital interests. In this connexion, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic wishes to recall the urgent need to implement the resolution adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*].

167. It is in the very nature of things that the ever greater expenditures for military purposes stand in the way of solutions to pressing economic and social problems and also affect economic, scientific and technological assistance to the developing countries.

168. As we did at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, we point once more to the resolution on the reduction of military expenditures of the permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent which was proposed by the Soviet Union and adopted at the past session of the General Assembly [*resolution 3098 (XXVIII)*]. We reaffirm our opinion that the resolution should be speedily carried out. The position of certain forces which refuse or delay the implementation of that United Nations resolution is, to say the least, highly regrettable.

169. The lofty aims of the Charter of the United Nations are international law. The Charter constitutes a stable foundation for developing peaceful, good-neighbourly relations between States. It has stood the test, not least as an instrument of the peoples' struggle against imperialist and colonial oppression.

170. Important social changes have taken place in the world in the 30 years since the Charter came into force. International relations have been reorganized for the better. Yet the purposes of the Charter are far from being fulfilled. From all this we believe one can draw but one conclusion: that it is necessary to ensure that the principles of the Charter become fully effective in international affairs. In particular, the fundamental principle of the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council has proved to be an instrument of the necessary constructive co-operation of the States concerned in

the interest of peace. Do we have a right to do away with reliable instruments? The growing normalization of the international situation and a closer co-operation among States of necessity increases the interlacing of political, military, economic, cultural and scientific problems of an international character. From this angle, too, proved instruments of international co-operation are indispensable.

171. To develop fully and intensify such co-operation is possible only on a solid political foundation. That conditions of international *détente* are propitious for tackling burning questions of global interest has been demonstrated by the sixth special session of the General Assembly, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at Caracas and the World Population Conference at Bucharest. In this connexion, we believe the power of the United Nations lies, above all, in its contributions towards a strict implementation of the Charter in all spheres of inter-State relations.

172. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order makes clear the close interrelation between the strengthening of international security and the development of economic relations between States on a basis of equality. We welcome the fact that the Declaration has reaffirmed the obligation to respect strictly the principle of the sovereign equality of States and their right to dispose of their own natural resources without external interference as much as we are pleased that it has endorsed the right to nationalize such resources. We think it is fully justified and appropriate that the activities of transnational corporations should be brought more into the limelight, since they not only make enormous profits by exploiting other peoples but also interfere in the internal affairs of States and consequently create international conflicts.

173. The German Democratic Republic has always conducted its relations with the developing countries on the basis of the principles specified in the aforementioned Declaration. It has been a guiding rule of its foreign relations to have regard to the developing countries' needs as widely as possible. Therefore, the German Democratic Republic is orienting its growing trade with these countries towards encouraging imports of raw materials and finished and semi-finished products from them.

174. As far as its exports to those countries are concerned, the German Democratic Republic gives priority to the delivery of complete plants, efficient machines and agricultural equipment which aid the process of industrialization and raise the efficiency of agricultural production. It seeks a rapid and continuous growth of its trade turnover with developing countries. And, by delegating experts, advisers, specialists and instructors, we want to contribute towards the implementation of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

175. If we take a look at international economic relations as a whole, the alarming developments—which were also emphasized in the recent *World Economic Survey, 1973*⁴—are only too evident. The trend towards a deepening structural crisis in the capitalist countries which the survey has noted affects, above all, the developing countries. This is

why the delegation of the German Democratic Republic is in favour of effective measures to combat this crisis.

176. By contrast, economic integration within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is developing expeditiously and becoming increasingly effective for the individual members of the Council. This evolution has a bearing on high increases in labour productivity and continuously high rates of growth of production and secures price stability. This is what makes the external economic relations of these countries so dependable and stable.

177. In a few days' time, the people of the German Democratic Republic will be celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of their socialist State. The viability of the German Democratic Republic was frequently questioned. However, thanks to its close co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other States of the socialist community, and thanks to the industrious and creative work of its people, the German Democratic Republic has been and is successful in building socialism.

178. These 25 years have, at the same time, been the contribution of a quarter of a century to the struggle for the strengthening of international security, solidarity with the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation, and active support for peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems.

179. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Erich Honecker, recently stated that our foreign policy has always been and will remain a policy in support of all those who strive to strengthen peace and of all peoples fighting for their freedom and independence.

180. In this spirit the delegation of the German Democratic Republic is going to contribute to the successful course of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

181. Mr. ANDERSSON (Sweden): On behalf of Sweden, I wish to join in the congratulations that have been addressed to Foreign Minister Bouteflika on his election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The high responsibilities entrusted to him testify to the important role of Algeria in international politics today, as well as to his own outstanding qualities as a statesman. The excellent relations that exist between Sweden and Algeria are an added reason to express pleasure in seeing him occupy this distinguished office.

182. Let me take this opportunity also to thank Mr. Leopoldo Benites for his outstanding work as President of the General Assembly at its last two sessions.

183. Since last year's general debate important, often dramatic, events have occurred which clearly have influenced relations between countries and groups of countries. Those events have illustrated both the possibilities and the limitations of our Organization.

184. Since this is the first time that I have spoken before the General Assembly, let me confirm the determination of my Government to support, as before, all efforts to strengthen the authority of the

United Nations and its capacity to further the aims of the Charter. At the same time, Sweden consistently pursues a policy of non-alignment in peace aiming at neutrality in time of war.

185. These two principles in Swedish foreign policy have the overwhelming support of public opinion in Sweden. They supplement each other.

186. We are deeply aware of the connexion between peace and security in Europe, global *détente* and disarmament, a more just relationship between rich and poor nations, and respect for the right of all peoples to decide their own future. We have found that the aims of our foreign policy, as I have described them, give rise to expectations that Sweden should make active contributions in these various fields. At times they may also give us special opportunities to act.

187. The Organization should be a forum where all peoples can present their policies and defend their interests. That is also what we need in order to tackle the immense problems which now confront us and which concern all human beings. In this spirit I wish to welcome our new Members, Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau.

188. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and development, became a milestone in the history of the United Nations. It stressed the increasing interdependence between all countries. It made clear that co-operation on equal terms between developed and developing countries is a necessary condition for the progress and development of the world community. This is also true for the fight against world inflation.

189. The gap between rich and poor nations is widening. The world's resources are unequally distributed. They are scarce, and tend to become even more so, in relation to a growing world population that expects at least satisfaction of basic needs for food, housing and employment. A more just world economic order must be created, where the rich countries show restraint in the use of the world's resources. We must be aware of the limits of what the human environment can bear when the world's resources are being exploited at a rapidly increasing pace.

190. The World Population Conference in Bucharest emphasized, in its Plan of Action,⁵ the relationship between, on the one hand, population trends and, on the other hand, economic and social conditions, as well as the distribution of the world's limited resources.

191. Today millions of people suffer from hunger. If we do not succeed in solving the problems of food production, we have to reckon with the fearful prospect of new millions being condemned to malnutrition and premature death. The World Food Conference in Rome must be followed by concrete measures and commitments.

192. The next session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea must establish conditions for the exploitation of the oceans with a view to guaranteeing good management and fair distribution of their wealth.

193. The United Nations has to come to grips with the problems arising from conflicts between growing multinational enterprises and the legitimate needs and claims of individual countries.

194. The world conferences in 1974 and 1975, together with the review of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, provide a unique opportunity to work out an integrated approach to problems of global development. We regard this work as an indispensable part of the efforts to secure peace in a long-term perspective.

195. Of equal importance is the work of the United Nations to avert and overcome crises which constitute imminent threats to peace and security, and to create the foundation for lasting peace by means of disarmament.

196. The Charter of the United Nations places the main responsibility for peace and security on the permanent members of the Security Council. This assumes a willingness and ability on the part of the States to reach agreement. Two of them, the United States and the Soviet Union, have come to play a special role on account of their economic strength and their military resources, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons. All attempts to limit their immense armaments should be greeted with satisfaction. The results so far, however, have been quite inadequate. No efficient barriers have yet been created to halt the development of their most destructive weapons. The cessation of all nuclear testing still meets resistance. The unwillingness or inability of the leading nuclear-weapon States to live up to their commitments under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is one of the reasons why the Treaty has not gained sufficient support. The threat increases that nuclear arms may be produced by a growing number of countries. Six Powers have carried out nuclear explosions during the past year. A strengthening of the control of fissionable material is a matter which requires urgent international attention. The multilateral agreements which have so far been reached in the field of armaments are of limited value. The negotiations on a ban on chemical weapons proceed only too slowly. The efforts to prohibit the use of particularly cruel weapons have not yet resulted in any decisions.

197. States Members of the United Nations must raise their voices to make it clear that practical results are now needed in the struggle against war and the means of war.

198. The United States and the Soviet Union have tended to seek bilateral understanding also on other vital issues. The efforts towards *détente* by these Powers seem to imply mutual recognition of, and respect for, the interests of the other party as well as an understanding to follow closely and to attempt to limit any crisis which ultimately may lead to a major war. Agreements between them for these purposes are essential for lasting world peace. However, this policy also entails problems for States and peoples whose legitimate interests may not be duly taken into account. The policy of *détente* is incomplete as long as it does not tackle the basic political problems which create local tensions and conflicts.

199. The great Powers have in a number of cases been anxious to anchor their agreements in decisions by the United Nations. If other Member States are given reasonable opportunities to influence the final results of negotiations, such ratification by the world community is in the interest of all. Confidence in the United Nations is strengthened. All States are given joint responsibility for translating the agreements into practical action and for making them a basis for peaceful and permanent solutions.

200. There is anxiety in many quarters that States commanding superior resources may use them in order to influence internal political developments in smaller countries. The Charter of the United Nations as well as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV), annex] aims at establishing protection against such interference. The Declaration emphasizes that every State has the duty to respect the right of all peoples freely to determine, without external interference, their political, economic and social conditions. It is emphatically stated that no nation shall

“... organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State”.

Evidently those principles are as binding for great Powers as for small nations. No State may evade those obligations by referring, for instance, to interests of national security.

201. The tragic fate of Cyprus is a matter of serious concern for the United Nations and its Members. No one can deny that the crisis was triggered by the irresponsible policies of the earlier Greek régime. The dangers of expansionist dictatorship, lacking democratic support, have again been demonstrated. We welcome the fact that the people of Greece will have the opportunity to shape its own destiny.

202. The military intervention of Turkey in Cyprus could be viewed against the background of 10 years of unsuccessful attempts to regulate the relationship between the two population groups on the island and the situation that suddenly arose this past summer; but in the light of the Charter, the Turkish intervention is a matter for serious concern. Today there is an urgent need for clear confirmation that the objective of the intervention is restricted to maintaining the independence of Cyprus and protecting the legitimate interests of the Turkish minority.

203. In our opinion, any settlement of the Cyprus problem must provide guarantees for the independence and territorial integrity of the country. Independent Cyprus must also be enabled to continue its policy of non-alignment. Sweden does not try to persuade other States to adopt a policy of non-alignment but regards it as essential that such a policy, once freely chosen, be respected. Strategic interests must not take precedence over the right to self-determination of small countries.

204. In the other serious conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean, the United Nations involvement dates back to the role played by the General As-

sembly in the question of Palestine during the years immediately following the Second World War. Time and again basic United Nations principles have been violated in the tense situation that has since then prevailed in that area. Negotiations aiming at a peaceful solution did not prove possible. The way in which the great Powers pursued their interests, often in competition with each other, contributed for a long time to the aggravation of the situation. When they changed their policies in the direction of mutual *détente*, they left the Middle East problem as deadlocked as before. It was a tragic paradox that a new military flare-up became a pre-condition for the active involvement of the great Powers in bringing about negotiations which might open up prospects for a settlement. The world now waits with impatience for the parties to begin at last substantive negotiations in Geneva. It is obvious that the endeavours towards a lasting peace in the area must be based on certain principles which have gained widespread support among the Members of the United Nations. The acquisition of territory by war is not admissible. The right of the State of Israel to exist must be clearly recognized. All States in the area must be able to live in security. The legitimate interests of the Palestinian Arabs must be satisfied. The responsibility of the United Nations for any solution that may be reached must be clearly stated.

205. The United Nations has been kept out of the problems in a third conflict area, Indo-China; but important principles of the United Nations have been at stake in the Viet Nam conflict. Resistance to a necessary process of decolonization lay behind the many years of cruel and brutal fighting. The Paris Agreement put an end to the extensive and direct great-Power intervention; but fighting is still going on in Viet Nam, and tens of thousands of human lives are being sacrificed. This is because the fundamental political problems have not been solved in accordance with the Agreement. In particular it is obvious that the Saigon Administration has no intention of implementing the provisions of the Paris Agreement. A devastating war is driving Cambodia ever deeper into chaos and misery. The United States still bears a heavy responsibility for the absence of a solution to the problems in Indo-China. It should also be noted that the Paris Agreement provides for international machinery to be put into effect should the Agreement be violated; but this machinery has not yet been used.

206. The continuous debate and pressure of opinion within the United Nations led to the increasing international isolation of the former Portuguese régime and eroded the basis for its antiquated colonial policy. Within Portugal, strong popular forces carried on a courageous struggle against the dictatorship and its policies.

207. The liberation movements in Africa contributed to creating a new situation. Portuguese soldiers and officers who all too long had been forced to fight a meaningless war without hope decided one day to set their country upon the path of democracy and human rights. Thereby the road was cleared for negotiations on a peaceful liquidation of colonial rule. The new Portuguese Government has shown a constructive attitude which deserves the apprecia-

tion of the international community. The African States and the liberation movements have important tasks to fulfil in the final solution of the problems of decolonization. Guinea-Bissau has already gained independence. Mozambique has taken decisive steps in the same direction. In Angola, it is necessary to create appropriate and effective forms for the transition from colonial rule to true independence. Sweden has, within the framework of international law, supported and will continue to support the forces striving for decolonization.

208. Our Organization must now consider how to tackle the problems of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. Great vigilance is called for against any effort to secure or expand white minority rule. The sanctions against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia must be made more effective. The Smith régime has every reason to fear future developments. Nor can the white ruling class in South Africa remain unaffected by the ever stronger winds of change.

209. The United Nations must increase its efforts to make South Africa abandon its abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and respect United Nations decisions on Namibia. The non-white majority in South Africa deserves all possible support in its struggle for liberation. Sweden is prepared to make practical contributions to the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

210. When the United Nations was founded, problems such as *apartheid* were considered to be outside the competence of the Organization. Developments since then have meant the rejection of too narrow an interpretation of the expression, in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, "matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State".

211. In a similar way, the United Nations has demonstrated a growing interest in human rights, traditional civil rights as well as economic and social rights, which have a decisive importance for safeguarding human dignity and for offering a better life to all inhabitants of the earth. There are still no means available to induce Member States to respect those rights even when they are stipulated in conventions and solemn declarations. A wide gap often appears between legal documents and reality. But public opinion must constantly be mobilized in support of human rights. Non-governmental organizations have an important task to fulfil in this field. Commitments made by Governments must be observed. New commitments must be prepared. This work also serves the cause of peace and *détente*. Extreme violations of human rights evoke international tension. The campaign of protest against the brutal régime in Chile is a case in point. The new rulers of Chile must be reminded that the exercise of power based on brute force can only bring misery to the people and dishonour to the country.

212. Only through strenuous work for justice in relations among nations, as well as among citizens in any one nation, can the United Nations realize the ideas embodied in its Charter.

213. Mr. MONTIEL ARGÜELLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to begin my statement with congratulations, on behalf of Nicaragua

and of my delegation, and on my own behalf, to Mr. Bouteflika on his election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Mr. Bouteflika's distinguished gifts as a statesman and his prudent strength as a young diplomat assure us that he will fulfil his duties with skill and intelligence.

214. To his no less illustrious predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, I wish to extend, through our President, the expression of our deepest appreciation for the wise and effective manner in which he conducted the work of the General Assembly during the last two sessions. It brought great credit to his country, Ecuador, and to all of our Latin America.

215. I wish also to ask that our greetings be conveyed to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim. We have followed with interest all he has done for the cause of peace and co-operation among peoples, and his efforts to maintain the Organization at the service of the lofty interests of mankind.

216. The disaster that recently struck our sister Republic of Honduras, which also to a lesser degree struck Guatemala and my own country, prompt me to give public expression of our condolences to the delegation of Honduras. The thousands of victims who lost their lives in the fury of the hurricane, the tens of thousands left homeless, and the material damages that have already been estimated in the hundreds of millions of dollars, are for Honduras a most grave and distressing blow that can have very serious repercussions in the life of that Republic in the future.

217. In the area of Central America, there can be no country which appreciates better than Nicaragua the gravity of the natural disaster that our sister Republic of Honduras has suffered, inasmuch as in 1972 an earthquake destroyed our capital city, causing great loss of life and material damage and leaving behind it problems which even today we are still trying stubbornly to overcome. We have had two years of constant work by the National Emergency Committee and of exemplary dedication on the part of the present President-Elect of Nicaragua, General Anastasio Somoza Debayle. But in spite of everything and in spite of the efforts being made day after day by the people of Nicaragua to overcome such painful realities, the mark of the tragedy still remains present in the economic and social life of our people.

218. In keeping with the fraternal bonds that unite the peoples of Honduras and Nicaragua, the Government and the people of my country have mobilized their efforts—while attending at the same time to those parts of our own country that were affected by the hurricane—to bring our modest but relatively generous assistance to our brothers in Honduras. And in that task of assistance several heroic Nicaraguans have given their lives.

219. This new natural disaster that has struck the area of Central America brings out the special importance of the allocation to the Second Committee of the item entitled "Assistance in cases of natural disaster and other disaster situations" [*agenda item 60*], the humanitarian aspects of which could be considered by the Third Committee during its

consideration of item 12. Unfortunately, it would seem that the international community has failed adequately to understand the fact that the problem of natural disasters cannot continue to be treated as one involving only mercy and charity.

220. The concentration and the ever more rapid growth of population, the greater areas being brought under cultivation and incorporated in the economic life of communities, and the complexity of the economic and social system all mean that natural disasters produce massive problems which, through the disturbances and disruptions they create, affect not only the economic aspects but also the social, political and institutional aspects of national life.

221. Here we should like to refer to the third resolution adopted by the Committee of the Whole of the Economic Commission for Latin America.⁶ It was adopted at the seventh extraordinary session to consider what action should be taken to help Nicaragua after the 1972 earthquake. It recommended the preparation of a regional plan for Latin America that would promote effective and orderly action in dealing with the disruptive effects, over the short term and medium term, of natural disasters.

222. Those countries which are situated along the so-called volcanic chain of the Pacific, particularly those countries of lesser economic and social development, and those with coasts on the Indian Ocean and in the Caribbean, as well as the countries of the Sahel, have been hit by an awesome number of natural catastrophes and have shown great vulnerability to the social and economic effects of these disasters.

223. The delegation of Nicaragua, with conviction born of our own distressing experience, cannot be satisfied with mere expressions of condolences for Honduras; urgent problems of a humanitarian nature must be tackled. I wish today to appeal to the international community, and particularly to Latin America, to confront the problems of Honduras and promote a broad programme of reconstruction and development for the vast area affected; and I have instructed my delegation to remain open to whatever initiatives may be proposed to this end.

224. We also hope that the study of the item on natural disasters allocated to the Second Committee will lead to conclusions and positive action going beyond the mere passing expression of humanitarian sentiment.

225. There is another problem of ominous dimensions and serious consequences that directly afflicts societies whose land has been convulsed in the way described, although, perhaps, this problem is not limited only to them. I am referring to hunger, not to problems of nutrition, which can be an offshoot of affluence. I am speaking of the physical reality of eating to survive—the elementary problem of existing and not the qualitative problem of living humanely. Indeed, hunger is a daily reality for one fifth of the population of the world.

226. The secretariat of the World Food Conference has recognized that the present food crisis is the most serious that mankind has faced in the past 40 years. The immediate effects of this crisis have been shortages and higher prices of all food-

stuffs and increases in the costs of services necessary to produce and market food. To that must be added the growing seriousness of the situation of the workers, the sharpening of tensions and difficulties in society, and the growing, widespread inflation, with all the social problems that it entails.

227. The situation becomes a tragedy when one appreciates the fact that the sectors most directly affected are not the affluent, but rather the small advantaged, sectors in all political systems: less landowners, small farmers and those who rent land, the rural landless, the unemployed of the cities and the countryside, and generally those with the least buying power in society, including a high percentage of infants and children.

228. Here again, my delegation hopes that this session of the General Assembly will put forward effective recommendations and that it will talk about the causes of the problem, about which something can be done. We must not content ourselves with merely saying that the artificial increase in the prices of raw materials has led to the higher prices of fertilizers which are necessary to produce food; we must also take a hard look at scientific research which is focused exclusively on these two choices; moreover, we must think about the decision-making process which has led to that situation, and we must also consider the economic problems and the cultural climate that produced the consumer habits that have created the problem. Just as the consideration of what may seem to be the cause of the problem leads to its underlying causes, so it might well be that remedies for these underlying causes may prove to be the best solution to the problem itself.

229. We are all well aware of the fact that the world has been living through a period of economic instability with serious repercussions. The persistence of under-development and the growing gap between the wealthy and poor countries are a noticeable result. The interminable escalation and succession of crises in the political, economic and social areas are symptoms. The energy crisis is one of the most dramatic, and it has indeed become the new villain on which the blame for all the ills of the latter part of the twentieth century has been heaped.

230. In discussing this crisis it is also necessary to talk about all its components. On the one hand, it is not entirely true that the crisis is due to the fact that the oil-producing countries have created a bloc and have tried to impose their economic views by taking advantage of their monopoly on one raw material. On the other hand, it is not entirely true either that the main reason for the crisis is that the producing countries could no longer tolerate the constant deterioration in the prices of their basic raw materials in the face of the constantly increasing prices of products they were importing, and, therefore, had to take defensive action for which they are being blamed today.

231. To our way of thinking, other equally important aspects of the problem must be pondered. Throughout the decades, international co-operation has been such as to make petroleum a fundamental element of modern civilization, and the production of energy has been a sector requiring high concentrations of capital and technology. For some time now

we have been laying the groundwork for a very expensive monopoly, neglecting the development of alternative forms of technology that might use traditional sources of energy, such as hydraulic energy, which would have prevented a concentration of power in one sector where monopoly was possible.

232. In our view, alternatives to be sought in the future must not create an undue dependence on certain sources of energy that can be monopolized, such as oil and nuclear power; we must not concentrate on sectors requiring excessive concentrations of capital or technology. The important thing, however, is that we take an overall approach to the problem of development. At the sixth special session of the General Assembly held this year, the groundwork was laid for a programme of international action, and consideration was given to the problems of development and international co-operation. We must realize that a major effort must be made to create a radically new economic order.

233. One of the corner-stones of such a new order, with which the Government of Mexico and the peoples of Latin America are so deservedly associated, should be the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which must enshrine norms and principles ensuring and orienting this new universal economic order: the integrity and inviolability of the physical and cultural heritage of peoples, effective sovereignty over national resources and economic development leading to tangible benefits for the people of the world; the regulation of foreign investment, particularly the investments of transnational companies, which must be a tool for co-operation and progress and not a means of domination; the banning of economic pressure as a political weapon to be used against the sovereignty of States; and the right of nationalization and expropriation of property existing on national territory, regardless of the nationality of the owner.

234. This is a difficult task. Let us have no illusions about what we can achieve at one session of the General Assembly. There have been few occasions in history so fraught with danger and challenges, but it is in the very nature of things that the United Nations should confront these situations, and no one expects it to act hastily. The interests at stake are great indeed, the consequences of failure are serious, and we must not act with undue haste.

235. A very telling example of all this is what happened at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. From the time it was convened we realized that the Caracas meeting would not be the end of the matter. We realized that it was not possible to reach decisions on substantive issues when practically 50 per cent of the participants had not taken part in the work of the Preparatory Committee, and the complexity of the task made it impossible for the Preparatory Committee to issue sufficient documentation and undertake the additional work of fully distributing it. However, there are those who clamour for speedy agreements and already speak in terms of the "Caracas failure".

236. I believe that it is appropriate to express here the gratitude of the Government of Nicaragua to the Government and the people of Venezuela for their invaluable efforts to create a propitious climate

for the important deliberations of the Conference, and to extend to its President, Mr. Amerasinghe, and the other officers of the Conference a vote of confidence and the congratulations of my country on the wise way the work was conducted.

237. It is my Government's firm belief that a mature approach, prudence and a knowledge of the facts alone can serve as the major elements in the work of reaffirmation and creation of law governing a more equitable international order. That is and was the framework of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It must promote the deliberations and efforts of the international community, which have already been begun, to regulate the proper use of the sea.

238. This cautious approach should not be abandoned in dealing with any of the other problems which beset mankind. The population problem is obviously a cultural problem which goes far beyond the sovereign authority of States and is closely related to individual human rights. International co-operation in this area must not be aimed at speedy results. While it is true that the immoderate growth of population creates economic and social problems which afflict our nations, it is also true that certain spiritual and political sectors say that not only should a brake be put on the growth of population, but its causes should be studied and uprooted and a more equitable order created.

239. International co-operation must not be aimed at perpetuating the *status quo*. It must be aimed at the genuine development of institutions. It must replace confrontation by procedures which will promote the action of the peoples of the world. After a quarter of a century of considering aggression solely in terms of military aggression, we now find that economic aggression and the attendant use of resources and financial institutions have moved to the forefront of international relations. There can be no doubt that, given its dangers and the risk of armed struggle to which economic aggression leads, the way to deal with it is not simply to define it but to proscribe the acts which express it.

240. That was, in fact, the course chosen by the major Powers in order to avoid the risk of armed confrontations among them. There were agreements such as those relating to disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear tests, increased co-operation in the peaceful use of a growing number of technological developments which had been used for the purpose of war. These are all practical measures which, while making it possible to avoid confrontation, created and strengthened a new sense of international morality which has become the hallmark of international relations.

241. There is no reason why the smaller countries of the world should adopt a different approach or different procedures. We must realize that confrontations have tended to shift to the smaller countries and have created an unnecessary market for armaments, diverting resources which are needed for the progress and well-being of our peoples and maintaining a climate of tension which in no way assists the principal tasks of development and progress.

242. The general situation in the Middle East deteriorated seriously last year with the outbreak of the crisis in Cyprus and the recrudescence of the Palestine question. My Government has always advocated a slow, cautious approach to the various points of view. We advocate careful negotiation and the use of peaceful procedures. In particular, in the case of Cyprus, my Government believes that the international community should do more than offer simple declarations of good will. Every aspect of the problem of Cyprus involves the risk of a confrontation and a violation of a basic principle of the Charter which cannot be ignored by our Organization. The right to self-determination, non-interference in the internal affairs of a country, territorial integrity, proper protection of minorities, and so on, are all principles which must be maintained and protected, and that is the view which we must firmly uphold.

243. My delegation has noted with pleasure that the number of countries which wish their areas to be nuclear-free areas has increased. We welcome pressure to prohibit nuclear tests. We welcome restrictions on harmful military activities or other activities which alter the climate or have an adverse effect on the quality of the environment. We share these hopes and fears and we are firmly convinced that the smaller peace-loving countries of the world must make a major effort to ensure that atomic power is not increased or used and that the nuclear Powers respect the firm determination of those countries which wish to proscribe its use and keep their areas of the world free from this terror.

244. In particular, we should consider the application of earlier resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the signing and ratification of Additional Protocol I of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), and we hope that all the nuclear Powers will respect the nuclear-free zone agreed upon by the countries of Latin America. Together with many other countries of our continent, Nicaragua has sponsored a draft resolution which will be circulated at a later date.⁷

245. This community of nations, with so many formidable challenges and opportunities ahead of it, has recently welcomed the new States of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. With their admission we have gained the enthusiasm and fighting spirit of new nations which have recently acquired statehood and have values that will serve to enrich the human treasure.

246. Particularly, we wish to welcome the delegation of Grenada, which has joined the family of Latin American countries. Grenada has been very much concerned to promote the development of our regional institutions. We believe that because of our common history and geography there will be many opportunities for us to co-operate and we extend our very best wishes to this new Member from the Caribbean.

247. Finally, may I express confidence in our President's abilities and skills and may I pledge to him the full co-operation of my delegation in the joint effort to see to it that this session of the General Assembly is productive and fruitful.

248. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Chile has asked to be allowed to exercise his right of reply.

249. Mr. DIEZ (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): After the attack made yesterday [2240th meeting] on the Government of my country by the delegation of the Soviet Union, we were not at all surprised to hear what was said today by the Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic; we expected the obsequious followers of the Soviet Union to continue these attacks.

250. However, while the Government of Chile has left its doors open to international committees—the International Red Cross or other committees of the United Nations and the Organization of American States—to move about freely in Chile, as they themselves have recognized, to listen to the Chilean people and to place advertisements in the press stating that persons may come to them to make denunciations with absolute freedom, we wish to call the Assembly's attention to the fact that we are being asked to show respect for human rights by the representative of a country which, while it may have accepted the letter of the Charter that should be our guide, has never acted in accordance with the spirit of that Charter, a country that has never allowed international commissions to verify the application of human rights on its soil.

251. It seems to us paradoxical that while in our country, after the new Government has been in office only a few months, thousands of persons have obtained authorization to leave Chile and go wherever they wish, in spite of the fact that there is no international treaty between the receiving countries and the Government of my country that obliges us to act in this way, the Government that has built a wall of shame and opprobrium calls upon us to act in a libertarian way.

252. While the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees recognizes that the Government of

Chile has co-operated in solving the problem of 14,000 refugees expelled from their country of origin—the majority of them having fled from that country because of extremism—the Government that has built a wall of blood and shame and despair cannot come here and call us, Chileans, enemies of freedom. While the Government of my country, only a few months after having avoided a civil war, a real Viet Nam, as the ex-President called it, is prepared to commute sentences, except for some very specific cases, so that detainees may leave the country, under the control of the International Red Cross, the country that constitutes a blot on human history, a country that is a permanent monument to blood and shame, cannot recommend that Chileans respect human rights and liberty.

253. Neither the heights of the Andean range nor the width of the Pacific Ocean can hem us in, because freedom is a part of our history and is enshrined in our spirit.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 2A, annex II*.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Plenary Meetings, vol. II, 124th meeting*.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974, document S/11465*.

⁴ United Nations publications, Sales Nos. E.74.II.C.1 and 2.

⁵ See *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3).

⁶ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 8A, part II, resolution 316 (AC.64)*.

⁷ Subsequently submitted as document A/C.1/L.686 and Corr.2.