



Monday, 7 October 1974,
at 3 p.m.

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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

In the absence of the President, Mr. García Robles
(Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. GUZMÁN SORIANO (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to state that it is a signal honour to address the Assembly from this rostrum—the highest expression of world thinking—where illustrious statesmen from the most distant corners of the world have come to carry out a dialogue, which is a means of understanding *par excellence* between peoples and between men. This is possible because of the growing universality of the United Nations, which at each session of the General Assembly enables us to greet new States that have joined the system.

2. On behalf of my Government and my people, in our language which is a language of peace, I greet all the nations represented here. We wish to practise friendship without reservations or exclusions. We are a developing country, a part of the earth which shares the limitations, hopes, disappointments and impatience of those countries which earnestly seek their progress in an atmosphere of stable peace, based on the broadest co-operation.

3. I wish to express to the President of the Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the eminent statesman from Algeria, our most cordial greetings and our best wishes for his success. To the outgoing President, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, and to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we express our appreciation of their unflinching work for world peace.

4. I also wish to extend a brotherly welcome to the new Members of the Organization, the States of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. As my country has from the outset maintained cordial relations with Bangladesh, we can only rejoice at its entry into the United Nations. The same holds true in respect of Grenada, a State which is also within the

American region, thereby making its presence in the United Nations a twofold source of very great satisfaction to the Latin American group of States. As regards Guinea-Bissau, we again have many grounds for satisfaction in view of all that its presence represents.

5. The General Assembly heard with deep consternation Mr. César Batres, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Honduras [2242nd meeting]. His words brought to us the tragic confirmation of the gravity of the disaster which has struck his country. He made us feel as our own the pain and devastation which the Honduran people have been suffering. We know that there are tragedies in respect of which words are meaningless. But we know too that the ideas transmitted in this august Assembly are the expression of an international solidarity profoundly moved and stimulated by the marvellous sense of human brotherhood, a brotherhood which in the midst of pain, and perhaps because of it, will bring spiritual comfort, moral encouragement and material assistance to the sister State of Honduras, with which the Government and the people of Bolivia feel a deep sense of solidarity in these moments of sorrow and affliction.

6. As I was saying, every year we meet here—countries which are united and separated for many reasons quite apart from geographical distances. We come here seeking a pledge, bringing our concerns and our hopes. This is the most eloquent proof that our faith in the supreme world body has not faltered. We believe in the ideals and postulates of the San Francisco Charter, which was masterfully conceived 29 years ago.

7. These principles have not lost force with the passage of time, and they are as valid today as they were then in promoting an international conduct designed to enable mankind, threatened in so many ways, to follow a road leading to the attainment of a destiny of happiness and prosperity.

8. The items to be debated in the Assembly are many and complex. Among them there is no order of priority with which to determine their importance. All, every one of them, are intimately connected with the lofty purposes of the United Nations; but it is quite true that some are of greater concern to us.

9. Accordingly, I shall refer only to some of the items which, in our opinion, require priority attention and immediate action by the States Members of this Organization so that through adequate adjustments we may promote success in the great tasks which the international community seeks to complete.

10. At this stage in our civilization, when man, through his inexhaustible ingenuity, has solved the mystery of outer space, mankind cannot consider wars to be inevitable. There is therefore no acceptable justification for mass destruction.

11. For this reason, from this rostrum of peace, where we nobly endeavour to arrive at understanding and friendship among peoples, my delegation wishes to express its most earnest hope that the efforts of the Security Council will strengthen peace on Cyprus and that the international community will endorse the initiative of the Secretary-General to bring comfort to the populations affected by the conflict.

12. But the aims of peace cannot be secured except by political action designed to prevent possible confrontations. At present, the elimination of world tension must be sought, basically, in a frank and determined co-operation for development, which will make it possible to establish a just order in economic relations among States in the knowledge that external aid and co-operation have ceased to be an act of philanthropy and have become a duty which the most advanced countries can no longer shirk.

13. These motives gave impetus to the drafting and implementation of a major effort—the international development strategy for the First United Nations Development Decade. We recognize, in all its auspicious intention, the essential achievements of that programme, even though it must be pointed out that they were not sufficient to solve the complex problem of underdevelopment. This circumstance led to a feeling of frustration which, with the useful lessons learned from the earlier attempt, we must try to dispel and overcome. The desire to achieve the advancement and prosperity of peoples is a goal which, despite frustrations, cannot be abandoned. The will of nations must persist in its purpose to achieve those aims. Were this not to be so, we would be committing a blunder with unforeseeable consequences for the future of mankind.

14. With these irrenunciabile aims still in view, the Second United Nations Development Decade was started in a spirit of renewal. The responsibility shouldered by the international community is greater at this stage than in the past because new expectations and prospects are being nurtured. These must be satisfied lest our peoples become inevitably exposed to a crisis of confidence in the mechanisms of world co-operation and in the very system of international economic relations.

15. It is not our intention to encourage pessimistic prophecies, but if our peoples have to continue to bear fresh disappointments the consequences will doubtless be catastrophic. Faith will have been weakened, and we shall have further removed the goal of progress to which the most numerous part of mankind aspires for its complete fulfilment.

16. For these reasons, my delegation feels that it is both desirable and urgent that the industrialized countries and the developing countries replace the present state of near-confrontation by a broad and constructive understanding so as to arrive at an economic alliance through the same channels which made it possible to reach a political *détente*, designed to create a sound and lasting world understanding.

17. My delegation wishes to reiterate its complete endorsement of the principles, objectives and policies contained in the basic documents adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly. We consider

that they faithfully reflect the interests and aspirations of the economically backward countries.

18. Hence, we not only appeal for understanding from the industrialized nations but we also require their dynamic participation in this undertaking, through generous and concrete expressions of their political will, with a view to establishing a more balanced and just economic system.

19. There is clearly the threat of a world-wide economic dislocation. It is a time of trial and of urgent decisions. Joint action and solidarity must go beyond simple statements. Positive attitudes conceived of with imagination and executed with boldness are what is needed.

20. It is of the utmost importance that we obtain a progressive revaluation of the exports of the developing countries. But we believe that this will only be possible if we adopt an appropriate mechanism which will link and automatically adjust, starting with equitable levels, the evolution of prices of the exports of the least developed nations with the manufactures of the industrialized countries.

21. It is also of priority interest to strengthen the organs for these purposes so as to achieve a greater transfer of financial and technological resources for the benefit of States which seek to develop.

22. Another legitimate means to prevent any possible crisis might be found by the international community if, with a criterion of equity, it agrees to promote and facilitate the processing of natural resources in the regions where they are found, that is to say, for the benefit of the soil itself where nature placed these riches. It is also important to assist in the process of regional and subregional integration.

23. Another chapter which deserves our attention is the one regarding a draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

24. We should like to make it possible, in brief, that through joint efforts, as the original element of the voluntary act, the intelligence of man may conceive of and apply a system whereby the growing prosperity of the richer nations does not become a threat of greater poverty for the small nations. The entire effort represented by the Second United Nations Development Decade would not be effective, however, unless we promote with like interest and will to act the Disarmament Decade. It is of the utmost importance that substantial resources previously intended for destruction now be used for work that will raise the well-being of all peoples.

25. On the other hand, we were justly alarmed to hear some expressions here in regard to the rising prices of raw materials and energy supplies, which augur an escalation of confrontation in world trade. We trust that, with the creative capacity of man and a predominantly just spirit, channels of understanding and balance will be found. Thus, we shall serve the aspirations to well-being and, above all, solidarity among nations.

26. Another item which is current in the common concern of mankind for maintaining peace refers to the quest for an adequate conciliatory formula so as to finally remove the violence of the convulsed regions of the Middle East. The Government of Bolivia

is sensitive to the suffering of the Palestinian people. Therefore, we express our most whole-hearted hope that the negotiations started in Geneva will prosper and be consolidated. We believe that, in order to achieve genuine peace in the Middle East, the parties to the conflict must continue effective negotiations, covering the interests of all, without outside interference or impositions.

27. Let us encourage what is constructive. We believe that the quest for peace requires many sacrifices. The situation in the Middle East, therefore, calls for the most serene reflection and requires that we pave a smooth way for the negotiators.

28. My country, which traditionally has opposed colonialism in any form, wishes to greet with satisfaction the fundamental changes in attitude which are taking place in this field. These are not isolated successes but proof of the ability to adjust to the new moulds of history. It is, in brief, a triumph of the international community.

29. In this way, the first step has been taken for new States to come into being and they, we are sure, will enter the international community to practise the principles advocated by the Charter of the United Nations, which places the ideals of peace above any resentments of the past.

30. This year has been a period of doubts and achievements. There have been frustration and also hope; and the hope for a new era more just and in accordance with the concerns of our peoples is shown precisely in the context of America. The widespread acceptance of dialogue, resulting from understanding, has enabled us in America to break the lack of communication and has made it easier to seek joint formulas for an effective coming together on a basis of complete solidarity. Tlatelolco and Washington, and shortly Buenos Aires, are landmarks of a new policy and of an edifying example. Developing countries and one of the world Powers, on a footing of equality, decided to review their relations in every sphere so as to reconcile interests and, what is more important, to establish mechanisms of co-operation which will give content to the ideals of solidarity.

31. We, the Latin Americans, believe that the roads are free and clear and that a future of happiness and understanding depends, then, on our ability and imagination and the vast scope of common objectives. Dialogue is again a synonym for understanding.

32. America, too, looks for justice. America has taken a historical decision to apply solidarity. America is resolved that on its soil sterile confrontation should end, giving way to harmony and mutual co-operation among its peoples. Finally, America has united its will and launched the challenge in Atlanta, at the Fourth regular session of the Organization of American States (OAS): conflicts do not contribute to well-being, and their solution is an imperative of our times. To do away with suspicions, to defeat acceptance of injustice, it is recognized "that hemispheric solidarity constitutes one of the essential foundations of the inter-American system", and we declare, with the unanimity of causes of noble origin, "that it is of fundamental interest for the continent to solve the problems which disturb solidarity, lessen co-operation among the American nations or threaten peace, and represent barriers to their economic and social development".

33. My Government has thus brought to Atlanta its words of peace for the solution of the injustice arising from the geographical enclosure to which my country is confined. In this world society I must reiterate it more broadly, together with our willingness for a constructive dialogue. The solution of the land-locked status of Bolivia is a continental problem. It is a challenge to America which wounds the spirit of understanding of just men and peoples. The return of Bolivia to the sea is the most deep-rooted feeling among its citizens. We trust that we shall not witness the centennial of our enclosure, because we see the foreshadowing of fruitful understanding free from formalisms and with a profoundly practical sense. America has so decided.

34. With these same principles, full of the vocation for peace and progress, the Nationalist Government, under the presidency of General Hugo Bánzer Suárez, has continued the task of national reconstruction. For the past three years Bolivians have enjoyed the benefits of stability and order and have found that it is possible to build their own historic destiny, through the genuine national entity. The task has been an arduous one, and we still foresee a stage of work and sacrifice.

35. The Bolivian nation faces many problems—among them, strengthening its economy and its political system, which embraces both the nation and the people, and institutionalizing its republican life. But our will is strong. With the help of all Bolivians, we shall overcome and lay the foundations that will enable future generations to have a free country, a country that is just and full of opportunities.

36. I would not wish to end my statement without reiterating the faith of the people and Government of Bolivia in the United Nations. At this General Assembly session we again express our hope that mankind, here represented, will engage in a more vigorous quest for the happy future we must seek, as the result of the construction of a truly integrated international society.

37. There are, to be sure, many problems facing the contemporary world. But I am convinced that if we exert all our efforts, and with the sincere purpose that guides our peoples, we shall find the right path that will lead us to universal brotherhood.

38. The very fact that more than 130 countries come together in this ecumenical gathering to express their hopes and aspirations and to reaffirm their faith in peace confirms our conviction that mankind is moving towards systems of loyal communication, solidarity and shared effort. That is faith in our destiny. That is support for harmonious coexistence. That is, finally, the certainty that in this changing world, where man himself is astonished by his accomplishments, ways to happiness can be found.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.

39. Mr. CISSOKO (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to tell you how justly proud my delegation is to see one of the valiant sons of Africa and the third world presiding over the work of the Assembly's twenty-ninth session.

40. Our continent is of course honoured by your election, but my country, Mali, takes particular sat-

isfaction in participating in the international consecration of the former Commander Si Abdel-kader El Mali, that intrepid fighter who won those glorious titles on the Algerian-Malian frontiers in the heat of the liberation struggle of his country.

41. Mali, which at that time still had only internal autonomy, was already committed to Algeria's struggle. That prestigious *nom de guerre* "El Mali", which your comrades-in-arms borrowed from my country and gave you, awakens deep memories in us.

42. In other words, Mr. President, for the people of Mali, among whom you so worthily represented the National Liberation Front, you have remained our brother and friend, an ardent patriot.

43. Your past as a fighter, your eminent qualities as a statesman and your brilliant political career predestined you for these lofty functions. There can be no doubt that you will be able to give our work the same mark of faith and dynamism that characterizes the foreign policy of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, with which Mali enjoys solid relations of friendship and solidarity forged throughout centuries of common history and life.

44. In offering to you, through me, its warm and fraternal congratulations, my delegation wishes also to take this opportunity to express its sincere thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, on the remarkable way in which, with so much competence, he conducted the proceedings of the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session, which was devoted to the problems of raw materia's and development.

45. We wish also to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has spared no effort in fulfilling as satisfactorily as possible the extremely heavy and difficult task that we have entrusted to him.

46. We should like to associate ourselves with the many messages of sympathy that have been addressed to the delegation of Honduras, a country which has been ravaged by a terrible hurricane. We extend our friendly sympathy to the people of Honduras and its Government, and we express our deep condolences to the Honduran nation and the bereaved families.

47. The admission to the United Nations at this session of the fraternal States of Guinea-Bissau, Bangladesh and Grenada is an important milestone on the difficult path to the universality of the Organization. My delegation extends its fraternal congratulations to the representatives of those new States and wishes their people much success in the difficult tasks of national construction awaiting them. The admission of each of those three States is in itself a historic event of great significance.

48. For the People's Republic of Bangladesh, it represents the crowning of long and patient efforts undertaken, with the assistance of the international community, by Pakistan, India and Bangladesh itself to put an end to the painful crisis that had torn the Indian sub-continent apart in 1971. In this respect, we cannot pass over in silence the historic Simla Agreement of 1972, on bilateral relations between India and Pakistan, which laid the foundations for that settlement.

49. For Grenada, admission to the United Nations has put an end to more than 200 years of colonization in that West Indian island.

50. For the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, this extremely happy event is both a fruition and a beginning. It is a fruition because this 138th Member of the Organization has thus been given international recognition after so many years of heroic struggle under the banner of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC]. It is a beginning because the process of decolonization begun by the new Portugal has only just got under way. We would therefore express the hope that that process will be pursued so that the representatives of peoples still under Portuguese colonial administration who are engaged in the same kind of liberation struggle will very soon be able to take their places among us here.

51. We cannot talk of the independence of Guinea-Bissau without paying a warm tribute to all the freedom fighters, to the martyrs of the PAIGC and the glorious action of its leader, Amílcar Cabral, that outstanding figure of fighting Africa who fell on the field of honour.

52. Last year, after having set forth at the twenty-eighth session the views of my Government on the international situation and having defined its position with regard to the problems of survival facing our society, I concluded my statement by saying that "we have no choice but to work jointly for the coming into being of a new international order based on justice and equity." [2145th meeting, para. 145.] Such a choice requires from us, above all, courage and political will to discharge fully our responsibilities before history. It cannot, therefore, be reconciled with bad compromises and inconsistent agreements which only skim over the surface of the vital problems of our times. Nor can it be reconciled with colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, which are still rife in the world.

53. In spite of certain developments in the field of decolonization in the territories under Portuguese administration, since the *coup d'état* which, in Lisbon, on 25 April 1974, overthrew the Fascist régime of Caetano, the spiritual heir of the dictator Salazar, millions of people still remain deprived of their freedom. And while we welcome the agreements concluded on 7 September 1974, at Lusaka, between the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] and the Portuguese Government, we are nevertheless apprehensive about the future of Angola and the other territories under Portuguese administration, because of the unsuccessful *coup* of the white extremists in Mozambique and the most recent crisis which erupted within the new régime in Lisbon. Those events should, in our view, prompt the Portuguese Government to act more quickly and firmly in carrying out its programme of decolonization and to apply the agreements already concluded or about to be concluded with the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

54. The State of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands must, without further delay, recover its national unity and territorial integrity.

55. The United Nations, for its part, must remain vigilant and assume its responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the peoples of the territories under Portuguese administration. It cannot recover from a further affront of the kind inflicted on it by the rebel Ian Smith régime.

56. While decolonization has made some progress in the territories under Portuguese administration, we cannot say as much for the rest of Africa. Indeed, apart from the undertaking of the French Government to give independence to the Comoro Archipelago in 1975, with respect for its territorial integrity, we have seen no encouraging sign for the other territories under colonial domination.

57. We will venture to hope that, in their awareness of the irreversibility of the course of history, the other colonial Powers will emerge from their immobility and, in accordance with the provisions in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], will promote the decolonization of the last remaining territories under their domination.

58. This is the place to make an urgent appeal to Spain to put into effect as soon as possible, and in consultation with the sister States of Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria, the relevant resolutions adopted by the various bodies of the United Nations on Spanish Sahara.

59. On the question of the Comoro Archipelago, we have no doubt that the French Government will associate itself fully, in the consultations which are to lead to the independence of the Territory, with the *Mouvement de libération nationale des Comores* [*MOLINACO*] and with all the political exiles of the country, in accordance with the recommendations in the decision adopted by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on 6 September 1974.¹

60. With respect to Southern Rhodesia, the white usurpers continue to defy the United Nations, with the complicity of the administering Power. The people of Zimbabwe, who in 1972 rejected the Anglo-Rhodesian proposals for a settlement,² once again demonstrated its standing as a great people by refusing this year to lend itself to the electoral masquerade which was organized on 30 July by the Salisbury rebels.

61. The repugnant and criminal theory of racial superiority has been reflected in Southern Rhodesia in the deprivation of the political and civic rights of the black majority, the proliferation of homelands, which are nothing but concentration camps, and the recrudescence of political assassinations. The manhunt organized against the inhabitants of Musiwa last February, and the ensuing summary and public execution of the leaders of that village give us, if there is any need for it, some idea of the sufferings the people of Zimbabwe have endured for more than 10 years.

62. The United Kingdom bears responsibility for this and should follow the example of Portugal, which, although it did not enjoy the same degree of military or economic power, nevertheless succeeded, early in September, in crushing the revolt of the white extremists in Mozambique and in establishing law and order.

63. The United Nations has tried in vain to exert pressure against the rebel Salisbury régime. The most recent to date, that is to say the economic sanctions decreed by the Security Council, were breached by some of its most influential members. For our part,

we have in any case never believed in the virtues of those sanctions.

64. The Assembly should learn the proper lessons from this and prevail upon the administering Power to discharge all its responsibilities towards the Zimbabwe people, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and the resolutions adopted on the question.

65. Although primary responsibility for the Rhodesian crisis falls to the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, responsibility for Namibia, on the other hand, a territory under the trusteeship of the international community, lies entirely with the United Nations. Unfortunately, the United Nations finds its actions thwarted by the allies of South Africa, that is to say the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] Powers.

66. The racist régime in Pretoria has naturally taken advantage of this situation to extend its authority to that territory and install and reinforce there its odious policy of racial segregation. Patriots are persecuted, citizens relegated to homelands, while the white settlers who have come from South Africa and the representatives of foreign interests are engaging in a systematic plunder of the country's resources.

67. The Secretary-General himself recognized this in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, when he says: "It is with regret that I report that there has been no improvement in the internal situation in Southern Rhodesia, while in Namibia conditions continue to deteriorate." [*A/9601/Add.1, sect. IX.*]

68. The appointment, in December 1973, of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia has not brought us any closer to a settlement of the question, except for the attempts at dialogue which had previously been made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. The Organization must get out of its rut and assume with more determination its proper responsibilities in Namibia, the very responsibilities derived for it from the Charter and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the question.³

69. The panorama of white power in southern Africa would not be complete if we did not give some account of the repugnant policy of *apartheid* which overshadows and casts opprobrium on the régime of Pretoria. This Power, which has been placed in the dock by the international community for more than a quarter of a century, has recently been associated with an influential member of the Security Council in carrying out military manoeuvres in the Indian Ocean. This is the same Power that some members of the Security Council, heedless of the appeals of the international community, are enthusiastically arming against the defenceless populations of Azania, with the secret ambition of turning that country into a bulwark of their wars of colonial reconquest.

70. It is for all those reasons that the Assembly, by its resolution 3207 (XXIX), wisely rejected the credentials of the representatives of the racist régime of Pretoria and called upon the Security Council to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation

by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

71. The conflagration ignited in southern Africa by the partisans of racism will not, of course, consume that part of the world alone, for the events in the Middle East have dismissed the very carefully thought-out theories on the localization of conflicts. Indeed, the world found itself last October on the brink of world war because it allowed injustices and acts of gratuitous provocation to pile up over the years in the Middle East. Instead of trying to bring about a general settlement of the Middle East crisis, we have, since 1967, been content with provisional solutions which, far from creating the essential conditions for lasting peace in that part of the world, have led to a situation of stagnation: neither war nor peace.

72. We needed to await the Israeli-Arab confrontation of October 1973, and the fears to which it gave rise, in order to make some progress towards a final settlement. Apart from the opening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East this year, other developments included the signing by Egypt and Israel on 18 January⁴ and by Israel and Syria on 31 May⁵ of agreements on disengagement of forces. A few rays of hope have thus emerged, but they have been rapidly stamped out because of the expansionist designs of Israel, which continues to occupy Arab territories and to deprive the Palestinian people of its homeland.

73. The just and lasting peace the international community would like to see established in the Middle East cannot come about until all the Arab territories have been evacuated by Israel and until the national fundamental rights of the martyred people of Palestine have been restored.

74. The Palestinian problem is not one which presents itself in humanitarian terms, which is how it has been represented for more than 30 years now, but rather in political terms, because it relates to the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination.

75. No definitive solution can be found for the Israeli-Arab crisis without the effective participation of the Palestinian people in the search for that solution. The Palestinian problem, as we see it, is at the very heart of the Middle East tragedy. The delegation of my country has had occasion to make that point in all the international bodies that have dealt with the question from 1967 until this very day. That is why my country takes pleasure in today seeing the General Assembly sharing its views and finally embarking upon the course that should lead to the final settlement of the Middle East crisis. The inclusion in the agenda of this session of the question of Palestine [item 108] should be understood in that sense.

76. This year, the Mediterranean, at another of its nerve centres, the island of Cyprus, has been the scene of distressing events. We have followed very closely and with great concern the development of that crisis, because Cyprus and Mali both belong to the third world and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

77. The Cypriot State, composed of two communities of Greek and Turkish origin, respectively, has ceaselessly struggled to reaffirm its national independence and identity. The fragile equilibrium that had been

maintained with the support of the United Nations was abruptly broken by the *coup d'état* of 15 July, fomented by imperialism—a *coup d'état* which entailed unutterable suffering for the Cypriot people.

78. Through those developments, the crisis called into question the very existence of Cyprus as an independent State. It must therefore be the task of the Organization, which has the question before it, to work above all for the safeguarding of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that Member State. It must require and obtain the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed on the island of Cyprus. Any attempt to solve the crisis which fails to take account of those fundamental facts is doomed to failure.

79. Although, in the last year, the Organization has had to its credit the settlement of the grave crisis in the Indian sub-continent and the bringing about in Laos of national concord, it is nevertheless a fact that the picture in Asia is very dark indeed.

80. While the war in South Viet Nam and Cambodia continues with disturbing ferocity, foreign intervention continues to maintain the Korean crisis, with everything that implies as a threat to peace.

81. In spite of the efforts of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the hopes born of the conclusion, in 1973, of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam vanished as a consequence of the repeated violations by the Saigon administration and its imperialist masters. The International Commission of Control and Supervision has in fact been paralysed.

82. In its diversionary attempts, the Thieu régime is multiplying its provocative acts against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, is violating its airspace and exerting pressure along its frontiers.

83. In Cambodia, the Lon Nol régime has, for more than a year, been kept inside its capital by the patriotic forces of the Royal Government of National Union, which controls the whole country, apart from a few pockets.

84. In Phnom Penh itself, in spite of an infernal machine of repression elaborated by the régime, the opposition is maintaining a climate of constant agitation while the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, organizes the administrative, political and economic life of the liberated regions.

85. In Korea, where the General Assembly's dissolution, last year, of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [UNCURK] was welcomed as a first step towards normalization of the situation, the people are finding it harder and harder to tolerate the presence of foreign troops on the demarcation line.

86. The consensus on the Korean question, adopted by the General Assembly on 28 November 1973,⁶ far from having encouraged the Seoul authorities to resume negotiations with the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has, rather, encouraged them to adopt a negative attitude.

87. In Seoul, there is total insecurity. The administration resorts to repression in order to stifle the voice of the people, which is being raised to call for

the departure of foreign troops and the independent reunification of the country.

88. The puppet régimes established by imperialism in Saigon, Phnom Penh and Seoul constitute, as we can see, the main obstacles to the return of peace in Asia, and that is why they have been rejected by the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Korea. They owe their survival solely to the vast material and human resources imperialism uses in their countries to protect its interests in Asia.

89. It is certainly worth recalling that the covetousness aroused by the vast potential of the Gulf of Tonkin was behind the launching of the second Indo-China war, which is still going on.

90. The Organization cannot continue to identify itself with those régimes without renouncing its primary mission. It is therefore high time for it to meet the aspirations of the peoples of South-East Asia, which have not known the joys of peace for more than a quarter of a century, by calling on the Thieu Administration correctly to apply the Paris Agreement, by restoring to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia its legitimate rights in that country, and by withdrawing foreign troops stationed in Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

91. By leaving to the parties the task of settling their dispute free from foreign interference, we should at the same time be promoting a resumption of the peace process that was blocked in that region by traitors to their country, manipulated by imperialism.

92. Certain statements made in the course of the twenty-eighth session suggested that real progress would be realized in 1974 in the field of disarmament. In fact, one year after those proclamations, we are obliged to note that no substantial agreement on disarmament has been concluded and that, in fact, the arms race has intensified, the club of nuclear Powers has expanded and the rate of research on and development of nuclear weapons has accelerated. The two major Powers have passed from the second-generation nuclear arms, that is, the remote-controlled multiple-warhead missiles (MIRV), to the third generation, the "Tridents" (MARV), which are capable of evading the anti-missile missiles. More than \$200,000 million is swallowed up every year in the arms race, to the detriment of development. In such an atmosphere of unbridled competition, and given the mutual out-bidding of those States, the efforts of the international community to achieve general and complete disarmament can only be in vain. Intensive armament still seems to be the only guarantee of the security of States.

93. There is no doubt that this is where we find increasingly emerging the selfishness and vanity of man, when we realize that just one quarter of the sum of money spent every year on such arms and missiles could save more than 1,000 million human beings from poverty, hunger and disease. My delegation will go into detail on this distressing problem when the time comes. At this stage, we should simply like to express our total support for the proposals on the denuclearization of the Middle East and the Indian sub-continent proposed by the delegations of Iran and Egypt [A/9693 and Add.1 to 3] and of Pakistan [A/9706], respectively.

94. The discovery of the immense resources of the sea is opening up new prospects for our development—provided, of course, that this matter of the seas and the oceans can also somehow be removed from the sterile interplay of struggles for influence and policies of domination.

95. Although it did not live up to the expectations of the developing countries, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Caracas, nevertheless made it possible for the international community to clarify its positions on the major questions debated there.

96. The Government of the Republic of Mali would like, for its part, to reaffirm its attachment to the OAU Declaration on the Law of the Sea⁷ with regard to the exploitation of marine resources by land-locked countries, the right of transit and of free access of those countries to and from the sea, and the establishment of appropriate international machinery for the exploitation of the resources of the high seas.

97. We would venture to hope that, at the next session of the Conference, in Geneva, the political will to negotiate and to arrive at final agreements on the exploitation of the sea's resources for development purposes will be manifested.

98. Although there has been some progress towards *détente* on the European continent and beyond, particularly with the holding of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the beginning of a European-Arab dialogue, we cannot but recognize that a certain separation of States according to their economic power is now apparent between the northern and southern hemispheres—that is, between developed and developing countries.

99. Furthermore, the rich have been continuing to get richer, and the poor to get poorer. The affluent world, concentrating exclusively on its interests and trembling for them, has given voice to indignation and has uttered thinly veiled threats in the face of the rise in petroleum prices.

100. While the deterioration of the economic situation which is being deplored today goes back a long way into history, it did not hold the attention of certain affluent countries as long as it was the third world that was bearing all the costs.

101. The developing countries, however, harbour no illusions, knowing as they do that the struggle of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to affirm the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources is also their own.

102. The attempts made by certain Powers in their bitterness are doomed to failure.

103. The subtle theory of a "fourth world" or a "quarter world" invented by those same Powers in an effort to create a conflict of interests within the third world by trying to arouse the indignation of the least advanced among the developing countries is also bound to collapse.

104. In the current confrontation, the third world countries—which are the major exporters of raw materials—will close ranks around OPEC, because they are quite aware that the outcome of this trial of strength will decide the future of international economic relations.

105. Today, the offensive is directed against the oil producers. Tomorrow it may be directed against the producers of copper, bauxite, sugar, uranium or coffee.

106. The energy crisis thus calls into question the whole edifice of the present economic order.

107. The sixth special session, devoted to the problems of raw materials and development, after having highlighted the absence of an overall plan to integrate the economies of the developing countries within a coherent world-wide system of production and trade, adopted two documents of vital importance: the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*].

108. That Declaration and Programme of Action not only make an exhaustive analysis of the world economic situation but also indicate all the measures that should be undertaken in order to build a new international economic order.

109. What we have to do now is to work for the total implementation of the recommendations made at that special session. Only thus will we be able to contribute to the preservation and maintenance of international peace and security.

110. The year 1974 has been a trying one for the people of Mali because of the persistence of a drought which has beset the Sudano-Sahelian region for nearly seven years. Thanks to international solidarity and my Government's perfect organization of assistance, the worst has been avoided.

111. My delegation feels duty bound, therefore, to thank warmly the United Nations and its specialized agencies, friendly States and all donors, public and private, that have rendered their assistance to us in our struggle to limit the effects of this terrible catastrophe.

112. While we are about to attain this first objective, it is no less true that the problem itself remains, because the phenomenon is becoming chronic. That is why the last meeting of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, held at Ouagadougou, in Upper Volta, with the participation of representatives of international organizations and other sources of financing, worked out a medium-term and long-term integrated economic development plan that would make it possible finally to eradicate this evil. Inasmuch as the necessary funds for the implementation of that plan are well beyond our means, the delegation of Mali would like to associate itself with the other States of the region in issuing an urgent appeal to the international community to take part in our crusade against drought, that challenge of nature which threatens the very existence of more than 30 million people in the Sudano-Sahelian region.

113. We await with great interest the holding, next November in Rome, under the aegis of the United Nations, of the World Food Conference. We hope it will do everything it can to find final solutions for the distressing problem of hunger in the world.

114. As the survey of the international situation I have just undertaken has shown, the world is at a crossroads: while the old order based on imperial rights is disappearing, a new era of justice and effective solidarity can be glimpsed on the horizon. This historic

turning-point may mark either the breaking apart or the meeting of the two hemispheres.

115. Although it is always difficult to give up centuries-old privileges, we have no doubt that all sides will appreciate the danger of disintegration that threatens us and will opt for the second alternative—that of building a new international order in which problems will be viewed in a world context, as was recommended to us at the historic sixth special session of the Assembly. In so doing, we would be coming close to fulfilling one of the fundamental purposes of the Charter. My delegation would venture to hope that this twenty-ninth session will take a very big step in that direction.

116. Mr. WILLESEE (Australia): Mr. President, may I add my own congratulations to those that have already been extended to you by the Prime Minister of Australia when he addressed the Assembly [*2249th meeting*]. Your election as President of the General Assembly not only brings honour to you and to your country but enhances the stature of the office. Algeria is playing an important role in world affairs. You personally, Sir, have played a great part in that.

117. I should like also to welcome the three new Members of the United Nations. Bangladesh and Grenada are both, like Australia, members of the Commonwealth, and we have long-standing ties with both. The admission of Guinea-Bissau is highly significant as the first of the former Portuguese colonies to join the Organization as an independent State.

118. The Prime Minister of Australia, when he spoke here on 30 September, set out Australia's deep concern that continuing efforts should be made to advance world disarmament and arms limitation, and particularly that there should be no further proliferation of nuclear weapons and no additional nuclear Powers. He referred to some of the grave economic problems facing the world, particularly inflation, which is so internationally pervasive that no country can cope with it by its own efforts alone; and he referred also to the special problems of distribution, availability and development of natural resources. He spoke also of the approaching independence of Papua New Guinea, in a manner and with a timing chosen by the people themselves.

119. In my own statement, I wish to deal with a number of other matters of importance, as well as to develop some points that the Prime Minister was able to mention only briefly in his statement.

120. My theme is quite simple. Australia believes that, while the peace of the world must be our main concern, it will be a peace without meaning unless it embraces and assures the human rights of its citizens and a more just division of the world's economic benefits. If that theme is hackneyed, it is unfortunately still very far from redundant.

121. At the end of this year, Australia will leave the Security Council on completion of its two-year term as a member of that body. During our term, a number of questions of great importance to world security and human advancement have come before the Council. These include the situation in the Middle East, both in general and in relation to specific problems and crises; Cyprus; and problems in relation to southern Africa. The policy and approach of the Australian

Government to those matters has been made clear by our statements and voting in the Security Council, and I do not have to traverse our position at length today. I am therefore able to set out in very brief terms where Australia stands on the three matters I have mentioned.

122. The most encouraging development in the situation in the Middle East is the welcome fact that all the countries in the region are now involved in one way or another in discussions. It is the first time in 25 years that this has happened, and the grounds for hope are greater than ever before. Equally, the consequences of failure to make progress could be greater than ever before.

123. The existence of the State of Israel has to be accepted; that State has to have assurance that as a permanent condition of life it will be secure and accepted by its neighbours. Equally, the Arab States have deeply felt concerns about their own security and territorial integrity, and they have a particular concern—which must be a concern not only of those States but of us all—that the Palestinian Arabs should have proper treatment, permanent homes and secure hopes for the future. It will not be an easy matter to bring about the conditions for realizing all those goals, and we look primarily to the parties directly concerned to achieve them through mutual patience and goodwill.

124. In the case of Cyprus, it is again easier to state broad principles, on which there would be general international agreement, than to set out a position in detail. Indeed, those details—for example, whether there should be a federal form of government and, if so, with what provisions—we see as matters for negotiation and agreement between the parties directly concerned, primarily between the representatives of the two communities. Governments that are parties to the Treaty of Guarantee and the Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, signed at Nicosia in 1960, together with the Secretary-General and his representatives, may be able to assist in this process. Yet the ultimate choice must be for the communities to agree upon; it is not for outsiders to say what the people of Cyprus should choose. The Australian Government does say unequivocally that it fully supports the continued independence of Cyprus and that the solution of its problems must be reached without outside force.

125. One immediate and pressing humanitarian problem is that of the many thousands of refugees displaced by the violent events of the past two months. Australia has joined with other countries in making a special monetary contribution to assist these refugees, but the real problem is clearly a much deeper one than immediate relief and is entangled with the question of the political solution. For over a decade Australia has also contributed, and paid for, a contingent of police to the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. This we will continue to provide, along with the additional financial contribution we have also been making each year to the United Nations effort in Cyprus.

126. In regard to southern Africa, the Australian Government's position has been very clear. We believe that the Charter of the United Nations grants the peoples of colonial Territories the right of self-deter-

mination and independence if they desire it. This applies clearly in Mozambique and Angola, where the world is now seeing the new Portuguese Government itself taking steps to bring the two Territories to independence. This significantly changes the whole situation in southern Africa.

127. But Rhodesia still remains an unsightly blot on the picture and an affront to all we believe in. The régime in Salisbury is not only illegal but represents only a small minority. The Australian Government has never recognized it, and we apply and will continue to apply the sanctions called for by the Security Council—sanctions which we regard as obligatory on all Members of this Organization to enforce. The tragedy of Rhodesia is that in the last 11 years that country has moved backwards instead of forwards. It is ironic that, in seeking to protect the interests of the white minority by degrading the black majority, the illegal Smith régime has in fact created for that minority a much bleaker future today than if Rhodesia had continued to move towards majority rule and basic human rights for everyone in the country.

128. In the case of Namibia, Australia voted in favour of resolution 2145 (XXI), in which the Assembly declared that the Mandate conferred on South Africa was terminated because South Africa had failed to carry out its provisions and those of the Charter to bring the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence. I have to reiterate that what the international community wants, and what the Charter lays down, is full and genuine self-determination for all the people and for all the Territory. The United Nations Council for Namibia has been created by the United Nations to bring about independence in fact as well as in law. Australia would be honoured to take a place as a member of that Council. In doing so, we would hope to be able to play a constructive part in bringing about the transition of the Territory to independence. The South African Government should co-operate with the international community through the Council to ensure and to hasten this process.

129. The situation in South Africa itself presents many difficult problems, and I am sure that no one in this Assembly would deny or underrate them or expect things to change completely overnight. But the conscience of humanity cannot rest while there is no worthwhile movement forward from a society based on the doctrine of racial superiority. The need in every country is for basic human rights to be enjoyed by everyone. There has to be fair sharing of assets, of natural resources, of opportunities among all sections of the community. No country in the world can yet claim perfection in these respects, but South Africa demands the special attention it is receiving because the system it perpetuates is the most clear-cut, the most shameful denial on purely racial grounds of equal human rights and opportunities.

130. There is one other political question on the agenda of this session of the Assembly to which I would like to refer, and that is the question of Korea. There are today two Governments in Korea, the Republic of Korea, which exercises authority south of a border running roughly along the 38th parallel, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which exercises authority north of that border. The Australian Govern-

ment has had close and friendly relations with the Government of the Republic of Korea since its inception. Those close and friendly relations continue, and will continue. This year, the Australian Government also established relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and hopes these relations will develop further.

131. Australia believes that any realistic approach to the future of the whole of Korea has to proceed from a recognition that two separate entities at present exist, each being the lawful Government of that part of Korea where at present it exercises effective control. The unification of Korea should be achieved peacefully by agreement among the peoples of the whole of Korea themselves. There must be no resort to force to achieve it. Pending unification by peaceful means, the realistic course, and the just course, is for other countries to recognize and deal with each of the two governments in Korea as the Government of that part of the country which it at present administers. North and South Korea are both members of a number of United Nations specialized agencies. They should both be Members of the United Nations itself. If they were, it may be that an atmosphere would result in which agreement on some matters related to Korean questions as a whole could be more easily and more amicably arrived at than in the present climate of mistrust and acrimony.

132. Much has been said in the course of this general debate about the energy crisis and about the acute economic and financial problems that threaten us all, without exception. My Prime Minister gave some attention to these in his statement last Monday and I should myself like to develop several points of importance to Australia in this general area.

133. At the sixth special session, and in the Economic and Social Council, Australia has sought to promote "justice and peace and political and social and economic advancement". This is a commitment to the service of mankind which the Australian Government is particularly bound to fulfil, since these very words I have quoted form part of the platform on which our Government was elected to office. Our deep concern about inequalities in the world's economic and social order is manifest in the support we have given in our recognition of the need to devise machinery which will lead to an acceptable restructuring of that world order. Changes in the international economic order, if they are to be effective, must, in our view, be based on co-operation and understanding between developing and developed countries, and they must encompass the participation of all Members of this Organization, whatever their political ideology.

134. I was happy to be able to participate a few days ago in the Secretary-General's ministerial meeting of potential contributors to the emergency operation for the benefit of developing countries most seriously affected by economic crisis. My Government is allocating for the benefit of those countries 40 million Australian dollars (that is, over 52 million United States dollars). We have also this year substantially increased our official development assistance programmes, by over 30 per cent, in accordance with our commitment to reach the target laid down in the International Development Strategy for the Second

United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)].

135. There is no more fundamental question facing mankind than that of ensuring that the world's food supply is adequate to satisfy the demands of an expanding population. The world's population is increasing at a rate of close to 2 per cent a year, and repeated and severe food shortages in some countries have caused starvation conditions. For example, this year has seen devastating floods in Bangladesh far beyond the abilities of any one country to deal with, and the whole world also has been stirred by the drought over a large area in Africa. I therefore draw particular attention to the World Food Conference to be held in November and to the proposals which have already been examined in its preparatory committee.

136. As a major exporter of food, particularly grains, the Australian Government is acutely aware of the complexity of world food supply arrangements. It will not, however, be deterred from joining with others in attempting to find a solution to this vital problem. The World Food Conference will take up the question of food reserves, and we shall obviously need to devise an international reserves system supported by the world community, particularly the major grain-importing, -exporting and -consuming countries.

137. The General Assembly also has before it at this session the question of multinational corporations, and the drafting of a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and consideration of measures to ensure a greater degree of international scrutiny of corporations' activities. We have no doubts about the useful part multinational corporations can play in economic development. But we are also conscious of the way that, deliberately or unconsciously, they can affect national sovereignty by distorting development priorities, interfering with fiscal and monetary policies and intervening in negotiations related to wages and conditions of work. We would not want to overstate this situation. However, as the Australian delegation stated at the sixth special session [2224th meeting], we see a need for a code of conduct defining responsible behaviour and the obligations which should be accepted by these corporations and by Governments.

138. The Australian Government, in its dealings with multinational corporations, has affirmed its determination to achieve a higher level of Australian ownership and control, particularly of energy and mineral resources, and in setting fair and reasonable prices for mineral exports. Many other countries have the same objectives, and we are prepared to contribute our own experience to any United Nations consideration of the issues involved.

139. I reaffirm Australia's continued and special interest in international co-operation in science and technology, particularly in their application to the needs of developing countries. In recent years discussions within the United Nations system have emphasized the importance of facilitating the international movement of new technologies. Australia has been particularly associated with this in the United Nations since it first raised the question here in 1958, when we were associated with Romania in some initiatives. We welcome the adoption this year by the Economic and Social Council of a resolution on the

convening of a United Nations conference on science and technology [resolution 1897 (LVII)].

140. At recent sessions of the General Assembly there has been a lot of talk about environment and ecology. Comparatively little has been said about it at the current session, because speakers have been pre-occupied with other matters. That is why I single it out for remark today. International concern over the environment is not a fad or fashionable vogue that has had its day and has now been superseded by other developments. In tackling some of our urgent problems, it is important to keep firmly in mind the long-term environmental considerations. For example, in finding substitutes for oil in the current energy crisis, there has sometimes been a relaxation of standards on such things as pollution. Sometimes those relaxations are justified, because in ecological matters, as in so much else, one has to strike a balance and not be absolute. Similarly, in promoting economic development there is often a temptation to adopt a quick and cheap solution, regardless of damage to the environment. Here again, one has to strike a balance, because developing countries have a proper concern lest environmental considerations hold them in an inferior position to countries which are already further developed. But we have to watch lest a desire to solve immediate crises, or one's own special problem, is taken as an excuse for heaving a sigh of relief and proceeding without regard to environmental considerations.

141. I here affirm Australia's continued devotion to the cause of environmental protection, and our support for and full participation in the environmental work of international organizations. Indeed, I have myself recently visited the World Exposition in Spokane devoted to the theme of the environment, an exposition to which Australia contributed a substantial exhibit. My Government will participate in all aspects of the work of the United Nations Environment Programme on the international monitoring of pollutants. We will also fully support the Programme's emphasis on human settlements as its area of major concern.

142. I turn now to two matters on which the Australian Government has some specific proposals to put before this session of the General Assembly—diplomatic asylum, on which an item has been included in the agenda at the instance of Australia [item 105], and the peaceful settlement of international disputes, on which Australia will be making a proposal under the item concerning the strengthening of the role of the United Nations [item 20], initially proposed by Romania.

143. In keeping with our concern for humanitarian considerations, the Australian Government has secured the inclusion in the agenda of an item on diplomatic asylum, so that the Assembly may consider achieving international agreement on the applicable principles governing the humanitarian practice of diplomatic asylum.

144. Up to now general agreement on such principles has not existed. It is a fact, however, that diplomatic asylum has been granted by many States on a significant scale. The right to grant diplomatic asylum in urgent and exceptional circumstances is now well established. The doubt exists in the area of detailed

rules. Only recently some 25 embassies in a Latin American country granted asylum to about 7,000 political fugitives. Not all the States granting that protection were parties to conventions on asylum and only some of them belonged to the Latin American region, which has so notably developed the humanitarian practice of asylum.

145. Uncertainty about the universally applicable principles governing diplomatic asylum means that there is a serious risk of confusion and misunderstanding about the rights and duties of States, with detrimental consequences for the friendly relations between them and their co-operation in solving international problems of a humanitarian character.

146. The clarification and elaboration of those principles would be to the benefit of all the parties concerned. It would help the territorial State to which the embassy is accredited by laying down the conditions under which diplomatic asylum can be granted. It would help the State granting asylum, since it would recognize its right within international law to grant protection to political refugees and to arrange for the safe conduct out of the territories of the persons given asylum. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it would promote the international humanitarian protection in urgent cases of persons whose lives or liberty were threatened on account of their political views, race, religion or nationality.

147. Reaching agreement on this subject will prove difficult and slow. The discussions must be thorough and careful. Governments should have adequate time to formulate their policies on the important aspects involved. However, the final objective of reaching general agreement on how the humanitarian institution of diplomatic asylum should function will surely be worth all the effort involved.

148. The other item I mentioned relates to the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The present trend towards *détente* in relations between the major Powers holds out great opportunities for strengthening peace and the United Nations. All of us have an interest in enhancing the role of the United Nations in world affairs. Conditions are now opportune for us to re-examine the possibilities inherent in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

149. The Security Council, of course, has primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, and Australia would not wish to detract from it in any way. The Council has had heavy tasks in handling crisis situations in various parts of the world, and the time is ripe now to pursue the possibilities inherent in the Charter for the peaceful settlement of international disputes before they reach crisis proportions. Article 33 of the Charter offers a potential that has not been fully developed and used. It would be to the benefit of all member States to consider how that potential might be more effectively realized.

150. With that in mind, the Australian delegation will be introducing a draft resolution, under the item on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations, which we hope will prompt thought by Members on this important question and cause them to look again at the part the Organization might play in resolving differences between States by negotiation, inquiry,

mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement and other peaceful means. We have it in mind that the Secretary-General might be asked to review certain of the initiatives which have been taken in the past in those areas. In particular, it would be timely to review the scope for the use of United Nations machinery for good offices, fact-finding, mediation and arbitration, when the parties concerned are willing to do so. By those means, border and other disputes, which are often the legacy of colonialism, might be more dispassionately considered and, where possible, resolved.

151. It is not, I stress, our intention to call into question in any way the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of peace and security, nor the development, in regional organizations such as the OAU and the OAS, of means for resolving differences between Members—which Australia strongly supports and would like to see established on a wider basis in the Asian-Pacific region. Nor do we question the useful scope which exists for enlightened “preventive diplomacy” by the Secretary-General, as recognized under Article 99 of the Charter. Moreover, there already exist, under the Charter and the practices of the United Nations, a number of procedures for considering and resolving international disputes, notably through the International Court of Justice.

152. But with the growing interdependence of the world, and the extension of trade, resources, and technological interrelationships between States, we shall need, to an increasing extent, a range of flexible and readily available means for resolving differences between States. Australia hopes, therefore, that there will be a broad-based support for our initiative.

153. Much of what I have said above bears on that part of my theme that the peace we seek must be a peace which enhances and assures the human rights of the citizens of all countries. The Australian Government is determined to give effect to the great United Nations covenants on human rights—the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights [see resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex]. We have signed both covenants and will ratify both and put them into effect as soon as possible. Australia has also signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex], and we intend to ratify this Convention too as soon as enabling legislation has been passed. The ideals these embody were endorsed by the Assembly in 1948 [resolution 217 (III)], and the present Australian Government regards it as a matter of importance and of urgency that 25 years later they be given full and unquestioned effect in Australian law.

154. Concern with the rights of women specifically is a development which has come more recently to attention. Next year, International Women’s Year, presents each Member nation with an opportunity to gain an understanding of the economic and social conditions which determine the possibilities for women to participate in the economic, cultural, political and social life of a country. We must ensure that not only men are the beneficiaries of education, training, and social and economic modernization. We must ensure that our development programmes work to-

wards releasing the potential contributions, in employment and in other ways, that women have to give to a society. All too often in the past there has been unthinking acceptance of the disadvantaged position of women in nearly all societies, Western as well as others. It has been an unfortunate consequence of many development policies and programmes that women have been forced into a greater rather than a lesser dependence on men. The Australian Government is determined in the course of this year to involve Australian women in discussions and decisions about their own future and the future of their country. Our own programmes in this regard will form part of the Australian contribution to the International Women’s Year, and for this the Australian Government has allotted an initial sum of 2 million Australian dollars this year.

155. I have set out today some of the matters which are particularly in the mind of the Australian Government. They have covered a number of questions in the fields of international security, economic betterment and prosperity, and human rights. As my statement today will make clear, the Australian Government regards the Charter of the United Nations as its binding guide and safeguard, not only in relations between States, but also in human relations within our own State.

156. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): The pride and military superiority of some nations have led them not only to the conquest and domination of others, but also to the shameful exploitation of apparently defenceless people. But, in a resurgence of dignity and with a thirst for justice for all time, the peoples of the world, whatever their degree of development or their colour, have said no to the colonial yoke, and to injustice in all its forms.

157. From its very beginnings, mankind has known deadly wars because of men who place their selfish interests above those of the international community and who invent systems or régimes intended to perpetuate injustice in the world. Against those anachronistic régimes, people who love peace, justice and freedom must wage a relentless war so that man will be reconciled with man and all the peoples of the world be free and finally emerge from the nightmare of war, so as to devote themselves to the task of building a new society based on freedom and justice, in a world rid of colonialism and imperialism, the ill deeds of which weigh on international relations throughout the world.

158. In Africa, a large part of that continent, full of vitality and hope, is still plunged in a sombre reign of violence and exploitation of millions of human beings who are persecuted solely because of the colour of their skin. Under our eyes, and with our complicity or our complacency, the most elementary rights are trampled under foot by an illegitimate régime based on racism, *apartheid* and colonialism.

159. Not far from Africa, and with the blessing of certain Powers, signatories of the Charter of the United Nations, which declare themselves to be the defenders of freedom and dignity in the world, an entire peaceful people has been expelled from its homeland and lives without shelter. The Palestinian people, ever since the artificial creation of the State of Israel, has been living a tragedy which does not seem to prick the conscience of mankind at all. Some

people even deny them the right to come out in the open and to appeal to international solidarity. Yet oil causes a great deal of ink to flow and, it seems, deprives some of the great men of this world of some hours of sleep. The Middle East, the Mediterranean and Indo-China are still the scenes of wars created by the antagonisms of world hegemonies, which are responsible for much human suffering.

160. The military arsenals of the great Powers are competing in the stockpiling of weapons, while the States of the third world live in the fear of war; while they suffer shameful economic exploitation or live in the devastation caused by natural calamities, other countries toss into the sea the surpluses of their opulence.

161. The political and economic situation of the present world presents a spectrum which reflects broad and profound changes, the rays of which give rise to concerns but also to horizons of hope.

162. Despite the complexity of contemporary history, man intends to guide his course towards the total liberation of peoples which are called upon to act in concert in this era of interdependence. It is for this purpose that every year heads of State and Government, ministers, those responsible for administration, scientists, men of letters as well as other eminent personalities travel long distances and personally come to this most distinguished rostrum to denounce the current injustices in the world and to propose remedies to the present situation which bears the seeds of destruction but which also offers hope and survival because of certain victories at which we must rejoice.

163. The General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session, is called upon to deal with these various problems which I have mentioned—above all, decolonization, the war in the Middle East and in Indo-China, the economic crisis of which our States are all victims and, finally, the need for international co-operation to remedy present problems.

164. The international community is at an important turning-point not only because of the breadth and number of the issues to be dealt with but also because of the revolutionary determination of the peoples, who are prepared to fight and even to shed their blood to attain their independence and achieve their happiness by developing their own riches. To attain these objectives, the peoples represented in this forum needed a statesman who represented these ideals and who could guide and lead our work successfully. Aware of its responsibilities, the Assembly, at its present session, chose for its President a person who, because he is an undoubted international figure, has become the candidate of us all. The unanimous election of Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria for more than 10 years, is of the highest significance. It represents a tribute paid to the enlightened policy of Mr. Houari Boumediène, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and current President of the non-aligned countries. This happy choice is a victory for Africa and for the Arab world, for the non-aligned movement and for all the countries which love peace, justice and freedom. It is an endorsement by the international community of the brilliant qualities and the great competence which have always distinguished Algerian statesmen, and of their great experience, superior intelligence

and diplomatic skill in the conduct of international affairs. By the wise choice of this great personality, we have not only reflected the importance of the problems before this session, but we also wished to hail the highly positive record of the Organization, which has benefited from valuable co-operation from Algeria.

165. Allow me, therefore, to acknowledge the successes achieved by the Organization due to the foresightedness and contribution of our Algerian brothers and the enlightened direction of its leaders.

166. My country has inscribed in the annals of the history of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries the important decisions of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in 1973,⁸ which gave the non-aligned countries an economic and social charter which is at the basis of the declaration and the establishment of a new international economic order adopted by the sixth special session of the General Assembly, on the problems of raw materials and development.

167. The fact that the international community has become aware of the dangers for mankind of Israel's policy of aggression and annexation is, in our view, another important event in international relations.

168. It was with great satisfaction too that the Republic of Burundi welcomed the victories of the peoples of Indo-China, to which the non-aligned countries give unshakeable support against imperialist aggression and occupation.

169. How can we fail to mention the success just won by the people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola and even of Portugal against the Fascist, retrograde and colonialist régimes of Salazar and Caetano?

170. It is for all these reasons that in Burundi we consider Algeria not only a country which welcomes revolutionary ideas and men but also a symbol of the irreversible and final liberation of countries that wish to rid themselves of retrograde, Fascist, colonialist and imperialist systems. This is the sense which, Mr. President, we endeavoured to reflect in a previous message when we expressed our optimism concerning the success of the present session, as well as our unflagging support for your initiatives, and which the delegation of the Republic of Burundi has received instructions to bring to you, on behalf of Lieutenant-General Michel Micombero, the Secretary-General of the UPRONA Party, Head of State and Government and liberator of the people of Burundi, who, with his colleague and friend, President Houari Boumediène, has consolidated friendship and solidarity between Algeria and Burundi.

171. After such an eventful year, I shall acquit myself of a very pleasant duty by expressing my appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who guided the debates of the sixth special session with remarkable skill and whose activities were crowned with success.

172. I also have the privilege of paying tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his eminent qualities of a great statesman with a heart sensitive to human distress. On behalf of the President of the Republic and his Government, I wish to express to the Secretary-General our admiration for his great competence, his diplomatic skill and his de-

votion, his deep sense of international responsibility and his unshakeable faith in a better world where justice and not force will prevail. Africa will always be grateful for the efforts he unceasingly deploys to free the continent from the scourges which still plague it in southern Africa. We should also like to express our warm congratulations to him on the positive results of the Organization, whose prestige grows because of the personal action of the Secretary-General.

173. On 17 September 1974, the United Nations family welcomed the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, whose admission we welcome as an important event in the Organization, in its progress in the emancipation of peoples and in the consecration of its universality.

174. The Republic of Burundi most warmly congratulates the People's Republic of Bangladesh and Grenada and hopes that they will consolidate their independence in peace and friendship with the other States of the regions and will be prepared to co-operate. We declare ourselves ready to co-operate with these new States.

175. At present we wish to pay a particular tribute to the people of Guinea-Bissau, which, under the guidance of the great revolutionary party, the PAIGC, has, in the most striking and glorious manner, consolidated its past victories over colonialism. Burundi expresses its brotherly and most cordial congratulations to this avant-garde people, who, because of the revolutionary spirit instilled in them by the eternal hero, Amílcar Cabral, father of the free and independent country of Guinea-Bissau, accomplished a gigantic task which evoked the admiration of the enemy.

176. The first anniversary of the sovereignty of Guinea-Bissau, which we celebrated this year, was welcomed in my country as a reaffirmation of the principle whereby the revolutionary determination of a people does away with sterile negotiation so as to conquer by defiance that which was refused by selfishness and scorn.

177. I bow before the flag of Guinea-Bissau, which has been raised at the United Nations and which represents the glory of the freedom fighters of Guinea-Bissau. It flies to the honour of the Guinean people and arouses the warranted hopes of the other fighters in Mozambique, Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and southern Africa. We hope that the Government of this new State will find understanding and generosity in the international community so as to benefit from substantial aid and rapidly to rebuild that country, which was devastated by the war imposed upon it by colonialism. Thus, it will be able to consolidate its political independence and devote itself to the programme of economic liberation, together with the other revolutionary peoples of the world.

178. In Mozambique, we welcome the victories of the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, after centuries of implacable struggle against abject colonialism which caused so much innocent blood to flow. We also congratulate the FRELIMO leaders, who succeeded, to the astonishment of the world, in preserving the unity of their people in the revolutionary action which has just

been crowned with success by the signing of the agreements of Lusaka between FRELIMO and the Portuguese Government. We emphasize the clear-sightedness and political maturity of the FRELIMO leaders and of the new leaders of Portugal, who have succeeded in doing away with the barriers to the application of the Lusaka agreements. However, we wish to share with our brothers in Mozambique the experience of the Burundi people, which for years fought to safeguard its independence and the achievements of its great November revolution. Imperialism and colonialism are always hatching plots against revolutionary régimes and peoples, because they never admit defeat. That is why our peoples must always be vigilant. We also hope that no Power will obstruct the rapid accession to independence of that country, which is called upon to play an important role within the concert of nations, particularly on the African continent.

179. We are pleased with the assurances given by the Portuguese Government. The new Portuguese régime has given rise to hope that the people of Portugal are finally moving towards co-operation with the other peoples of the world, since it has committed itself totally and radically to do away with Fascist and colonialist régimes which have dominated the political life of that nation for centuries and alienated from it the friendship of the peoples of the world that love peace and democracy.

180. The people of Burundi assures the people of Portugal of its friendship, and the Government of the Republic of Burundi promises its full co-operation with the Government of Portugal as soon as the latter has proceeded to the transfer of the attributes of its sovereignty to Mozambique and Angola without any malice intended to undermine internal unity or promote civil war after the granting of independence.

181. In Angola, we welcome the victories won by that great people, which will reconquer its freedom as soon as possible so as to become the master of its destiny. The existence of several liberation movements in that country cannot in any way justify the creation of obstacles that would bar the way to the total liberation of Angola, which is committed to an irreversible process of liberation. Trusting in the wisdom of its leaders, the people of Angola will achieve its unity, which will enable it to continue its triumphal march towards the final victory of total independence for which so many sons and daughters of Angola fell on the battlefield of honour.

182. The international community must warn the multinational corporations which are greedy for the immense riches of that country and would not hesitate to think of the formula of Balkanization. All the peoples of the world who love peace and justice must destroy that Machiavellian plan, which is a genuine conspiracy against the unity of the Angolan people and the territorial integrity of that vast country.

183. We hope that Portugal, consistent with the commitments solemnly formulated from this very rostrum, will assume its responsibilities to eliminate such manoeuvres and transfer as soon as possible the attributes of sovereignty to all the territories still under its colonial domination.

184. While it is regrettable to have to recognize that incomplete decolonization leaves in the world strangle-

holds on freedom, it is still more painful to note that in southern Africa millions of human beings are maintained in the chains of slavery; the peoples of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe suffer treatment that is wounding to the dignity of man, and the most elementary rights are trampled underfoot, because in that region those who are called coloured people are victims of the most barbaric crimes.

185. South African racism is not directed only against black Africans. It does not spare any category. Coloureds, Indians and other Asians are equally victims of racial discrimination. This means that it is a problem which concerns all mankind and not only the African continent. This scourge of *apartheid*, the philosophy which feeds the ideologies of Pretoria and Salisbury, is the shame of our century.

186. In order to bring Pretoria to reason, international authorities have used persuasion, dialogue and other diplomatic procedures. These approaches should have led South Africa to reconsider, but it paid no attention, encouraged as it is in its criminal obstinacy by certain Western Powers which not only maintain economic, trade and diplomatic relations with the Pretoria régime but also support its war industries by means of massive investments.

187. States Members of the United Nations which condemn the *apartheid* régime should practise a consistent policy and refrain from any direct or indirect support of the Pretoria régime. The Republic of Burundi, for its part, is pleased to say that it has no commercial, economic or diplomatic relations with Pretoria or Salisbury. Although it is land-locked, Burundi refused to sign the air agreements which could have permitted aircraft to fly over our country *en route* to or from South Africa and Rhodesia. All merchandise produced in those countries is prohibited from Burundi territory. This policy may lead to sacrifice in many respects, but it is in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU which condemn the régimes of racism and *apartheid*.

188. If Burundi unreservedly applies the relevant provisions of resolutions in regard to southern Africa, *a fortiori* the great industrial Powers, and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, should take appropriate measures to put an end to these anachronistic régimes which, unfortunately, spread to other regions of southern Africa and, in particular, to Namibia, which should be directly under the authority of the United Nations after the revocation of the Mandate of South Africa, which has been guilty of the crimes of *apartheid* perpetrated in that Territory. We condemn the policy of bantustanization practised by South Africa in Namibia, intended to dislocate the Namibian nation.

189. If South Africa practises a policy contrary to the principles of the United Nations, then why have a dialogue with Pretoria or even maintain its status as a Member of the United Nations? It is high time we learned the lesson of the permanent violation by South Africa of the Charter of the United Nations and pronounced its expulsion from the Organization. Burundi is gratified at the General Assembly's decision not to allow the representatives of Vorster to speak, and hopes that that decision will be endorsed by other United Nations bodies, especially the Security Council.

190. If it is difficult to understand the behaviour and final aim of the Salisbury régime, it is no easier to understand the attitude of the United Kingdom towards the rebellion of one of its colonies. London is no longer disturbed about the Salisbury régime; indeed, it sympathizes with that régime, despite the fact that it still has the task of leading the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence.

191. The United Kingdom has not hesitated to put down rebellions when faced with similar situations in the past. In the case of Rhodesia, London's attitude can be interpreted only as complicity, which the people of Zimbabwe cannot tolerate any longer, for they are aware of their strength, which is being asserted more and more alongside that of the other revolutionary peoples of the world.

192. Salisbury and Pretoria should, while there is still time, review their policy and follow the example of Lisbon, which has just renounced its political and economic exploitation of African States and has become their privileged friend.

193. On this same subject of decolonization, we hope that Spain will grant independence to so-called Spanish Sahara.

194. We welcome the agreement between Morocco and Mauritania to request an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. That will enable all the parties concerned to reach agreement, before the granting of independence, on the future juridical status of the Sahara.

195. In another region of the world, there is a tragic situation in the Middle East. The Zionist State of Israel has gone so far as to annex by force territories belonging to the Arab States of Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Jordan. That Zionist policy of annexation has deprived the Palestinian people of all its territory.

196. It is inadmissible in our times that a State should annex by force of arms the territory of another independent State, and thus remove that State from the international political scene. If there is one monstrous injustice in the world that the Organization cannot accept, it is the case of Palestine, for an entire people has been deprived of its home and thereby condemned to a condition of despair.

197. The most recent war, that of October 1973, while it had the advantage of destroying the myth of Israel's invincibility, did not however lead the Zionist State to seize the opportunity for negotiations to put an end to the Israeli-Arab conflict. If the Palestinian people and the other Arab States of Egypt, Syria and Jordan cannot recover their territory usurped by Zionist imperialism, there is a real danger that a new war, even more deadly than the preceding ones, will break out.

198. My delegation ventures to remind the Assembly that any solution of the Middle East problem that does not call for the restoration to the Palestinian people of its legitimate right to regain its homeland, with all the powers of sovereignty, is doomed to a total impasse.

199. My delegation is gratified at the inclusion in this session's agenda of the question of Palestine [*item 108*], to be discussed separately; that will allow us to examine the problem in more depth. In order to be able to discuss the Palestine question with a full awareness of

the facts, the Assembly should invite the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole legitimate and unchallenged representative of the Palestinian people. Indeed, it would be a paradox to try to settle the problem of the Palestinian people without having heard the party mainly concerned.

200. If the present chances for a settlement of the Middle East crisis fade, Israel will have to bear the responsibility.

201. The delegation of the Republic of Burundi wishes at this stage to express once again its unflinching support of its brother Arab States, and especially of the Palestinian people, which can count on us for fraternal and militant solidarity. My delegation proposes that the United Nations should take appropriate measures to compel Israel to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions, and to impose sanctions against the Zionist State if it refuses to do so.

202. The States Members of the United Nations should, individually or collectively, take concrete measures to make Israel respect the territorial integrity of the Arab States of the region, the freedom and self-determination of the Palestinian people, the Holy Places of Jerusalem, the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization's decisions. If the State of Israel does not yield to those imperative necessities, peace and security will remain seriously threatened and the present climate propitious to the search for a settlement of the conflict will, regrettably, be dissipated.

203. As I said earlier in this statement in reference to disarmament, the world is going through a period of great upheaval resulting from the wars of national liberation, particularly in Indo-China. Viet Nam and Cambodia are at present the most acute anti-imperialist fronts.

204. With regard to Viet Nam, my delegation would first wish to express its warm congratulations to the heroic people of Viet Nam on the striking victory which it has won and continues to win against imperialism and its puppets. The victories of that great people have proved to the world, and above all to imperialism itself, that a committed and determined people is invincible. We ask the international community to use its prestige and its influence to ensure that finally, after almost half a century, the people of Viet Nam may regain its lost peace and bind up the deep wounds left by the various wars imposed on it by imperialism.

205. My delegation urgently appeals to the signatory parties of the Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973, to respect all its provisions scrupulously. We demand that all foreign troops still stationed in Viet Nam, under whatever label, be withdrawn without delay, in conformity with the Paris Agreement. We condemn the Saigon administration, which obstinately continues its encroachment operations, in violation of the Paris Agreement.

206. Since the Paris Agreement recognizes three administrations in Viet Nam and since the United Nations has admitted the Saigon Administration as an observer, my delegation demands the admission of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam as an observer, particularly since that Govern-

ment is the valid representative of the South Vietnamese people.

207. There is another anti-imperialist front in the Indo-Chinese region: Cambodia. Following the plot hatched against Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the people of Cambodia, weapons in hand, began an all-out war for the national liberation of Cambodia, and in four years they have liberated almost the entire country. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, led by the the head of State, Norodom Sihanouk, has been recognized by more than 60 countries and continues to enjoy the support and assistance of all the peoples of the world who love peace and freedom. Last year, the Head of State of Cambodia, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, received a warm and enthusiastic welcome at Algiers from the non-aligned family. Recently, the Deputy Prime Minister, Khieu Samphan, visited several countries in Asia, Africa and Europe, and had great success everywhere.

208. The Lon Nol clique has dared in recent days to put forward some fallacious proposals for "peace negotiations". Those manoeuvres fool no one; indeed, they only confirm the precarious position of that puppet régime, which in no way represents the Cambodian people any longer.

209. Consistent with its policy, the Government of the Republic of Burundi once again states its support for the restoration to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia of its legitimate seat in the United Nations, and hence for the expulsion of the Lon Nol representatives.

210. There is another problem on the same continent which should be of concern to the Organization and on which we should take a decision.

211. At its last session, the General Assembly took a very important decision to dissolve UNCURK. At the same time, it confirmed the will of the United Nations to see Korea reunified peacefully and without outside interference.

212. My delegation believes that we must continue to go forward in the search for peace in the Korean peninsula. The two parties have begun a dialogue, and the only obstacle to constructive results remains the stationing of United Nations troops in the southern part of the country. My delegation demands the total, immediate and final withdrawal of all the troops stationed in Korea under the United Nations flag. The Government of the Republic of Burundi regards that withdrawal as an indispensable prerequisite to the reunification of Korea and, in our opinion, any attempt to admit the two parties to the United Nations separately is a plot to prevent the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

213. We have referred to the violence which prevails throughout the world, and particularly in the countries of the third world. We believe that the Organization should not only take note of all its manifestations, but also draw up a plan of peace for the world which would go to the roots of the evil.

214. The great Powers of the world should first of all renounce their policy of domination and hegemony, which is at the basis of the incessant arms race, whose aim is to eliminate the weaker States. It is no mere chance that all the conflicts and hotbeds of tension

are located not within the spheres of the super-Powers or of the industrialized countries, but in the developing countries. It therefore appears clear that the true victims of the arms race are indeed the countries of the third world—hence their interest in total and complete disarmament, because they would become the main theatre of operations should another world conflict occur.

215. The present approach of entrusting the question of disarmament only to the nuclear Powers, more accurately to the two super-Powers, must be rejected, because this question interests all mankind and must be dealt with by all countries, whatever their geographical size or whatever their power—hence the need to hold the World Disarmament Conference, the content and definition of which must be clear to all.

216. In fact, a certain confusion has been created by the two super-Powers. They intend, above all, to achieve a limitation of strategic nuclear weapons and a ban on the proliferation of atomic weapons. As we see it, this partial disarmament means maintaining the *status quo* while adopting minor arrangements among the super-Powers and continuing the arms race at a uniformly accelerated speed. The international community is being asked to confirm the monopoly of nuclear weapons held by the two super-Powers. Without questioning the good faith of statements made on the subject, we are nevertheless compelled to note with bitterness that at the very time when one hand offers us treaties banning the proliferation of atomic weapons, another hand is offering plutonium and factories for the separation of isotopes to Israel and to South Africa, although those countries are known for their policies of aggression and of violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

217. How can this be taken seriously? My delegation considers that the objective of disarmament is the total destruction of nuclear weapons. All nuclear Powers should first of all solemnly undertake never to use that nuclear arsenal against any non-nuclear country, to respect the denuclearized zones, and never to use those arms to commit aggression against other countries. In the next phase, the two super-Powers should carry out effective and controlled disarmament, because they are not threatened by the other Powers. At a third stage, disarmament should be generalized and complete and all countries should be called upon to join this process of disarmament and reduction of military budgets, which would preclude any further nuclear tests.

218. The Government of the Republic of Burundi is also in favour of dismantling all military bases on the soil of third-world countries, because they constitute a permanent threat to the stability and security of the States of the region.

219. Finally, the Government of Burundi is against the hegemony of the great Powers, whose military navies travel the seas and oceans, thus constituting a permanent threat to the coastal States and seriously hampering world peace and international co-operation.

220. According to the experts, the world spends \$250,000 million on the arms race, a sum which is larger than all the national incomes of the developing countries of Asia and Africa. This vast sum could relieve multitudes of poverty-stricken human beings if it were devoted to development purposes.

221. Since the last session of the Assembly, we have witnessed events of considerable importance and scope in international economic relations. All petroleum-exporting countries have adopted historic decisions and initiatives intended to ensure a rapid development for their respective economies and a constant improvement in the standard of living and well-being of their peoples, by a revision of their policy on the exporting and exploitation of their natural resources. The prices of certain other raw materials have also risen substantially. In the main developed capitalist countries, inflation and monetary erosion have become more acute, and there is no reason to expect an improvement in the situation unless leaders in those countries decide to take energetic measures to remedy the functioning of the mechanism of their respective economic systems.

222. This situation has gravely affected many countries of the world which have not yet started producing their own raw materials and whose means are scant because their economic development is slow. Thus, the overwhelming majority of the world's inhabitants view the future with a largely justified concern. It is the duty of the entire international community diligently to meet its responsibilities by seeking the most favourable, effective and just solutions to the grave problems of our time. Otherwise, peace, entente and concord among the peoples and nations which we represent here will be seriously jeopardized.

223. If we wish to establish, once and for all, balanced and harmonious international economic relations among all the partners, if we wish to solve the present economic crisis, we must first and foremost seek to identify its origins and roots. To that end, courage and clear thinking will be needed. There must be a real spirit of dialogue and tolerance. Above all, the rich countries must rid themselves of their complex of power and superiority and take up the discussion in a spirit of equality.

224. The sixth special session, which was convened on the happy initiative of Mr. Houari Boumediène, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, to whom we renew the expressions of our deep gratitude, was in fact intended, as we all know, to arrive at solutions acceptable to all and capable of overcoming the threatened breakdown of our respective economies. Today we find that, despite the goodwill and the spirit of concession of the developing countries at that session, we have not yet reached the end of our sufferings.

225. The cold, if not hostile, welcome among the developed countries to the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order augurs no good for the future.

226. Worse than that, certain rich countries, having failed to impose their views and solutions on the rest of the world, are now trying to find scapegoats for their problems, to reject their own responsibilities in the present crisis by laying them at the door of the countries that are producers of raw materials, to provoke and encourage the breakup of the "front" of developing countries. They even threaten to restore by force the old economic order which was characterized by the exploitation, pillage and shameless waste of the natural resources of the poor countries.

Such conduct is fraught with dangers for international peace and security.

227. My country believes that the industrialized countries, with the so-called market economies, should accept a major part of the responsibility for the present economic disorders. The editorial writer of a major newspaper recently wrote that if the present economic situation was out of control it was in the first place because the Western countries had long refused to control their currencies.

228. Contrary to what some would make us believe, everyone knows that inflation appeared in the developed countries in the second half of the 1960s. It therefore did not follow the rise in the prices of raw materials; it provoked it. As for the impact of the prices of raw materials on the acceleration in the rate of inflation in developed countries, I should like to recall that, according to a study undertaken in November 1973 by experts of a large Western Power, the doubling of the prices of all primary products could not at that time give rise to more than 4 per cent of the inflation. Since then, the prices of only an insignificant number of primary products have risen considerably. Under the circumstances, how can inflation rates of 15 per cent and more in the main industrialized countries be justified?

229. It is true that the quadrupling of the price of oil and its derivatives in the space of three months did create serious problems of adaptation for each of our economies, particularly the most fragile. It is also true that we are where we are because the developed countries have always received with indifference and contempt the many appeals addressed to them by the countries of the third world within the framework of UNCTAD and in this Assembly to improve the terms of trade of the poorer countries.

230. The cause of the generalized inflation from which we are suffering is to be sought in the very functioning of the economies of the developed countries. The world will never know a sound international economy as long as the rich countries refuse to face their responsibilities. The economic system whose merits and performance they have too often boasted of has been able to survive and prosper only because of the pitiless exploitation of the weakest by the rich and the unmitigated pillage of the wealth of the third world. It must be reviewed and adjusted to the needs, ideals and requirements of our times.

231. Although Burundi has seriously suffered from recent developments in the field of international economic relations, my country fully recognizes that the oil-producing countries were quite right to revalue their resources, and we support their struggle to improve the purchasing power of the products they export. Let us denounce manoeuvres of blackmail, intimidation and threats directed against them by certain of the wealthy countries. Through the countries members of OPEC, those threats are addressed also to other commodity-producing countries which might be tempted to follow a rational policy for the development of their resources in accordance with the general well-being and legitimate interests of the peoples for whom they are responsible.

232. Having said that, there is no doubt that a certain number of the countries of the third world need a great

demonstration of solidarity from the international community to guarantee for their peoples a standard of living that accords with the requirements of human dignity. In that regard, my country notes with satisfaction that certain oil-exporting countries have shown a great deal of understanding and a spirit of generosity in regard to the countries most gravely affected by the latest economic events. We hope the developed countries will soon reflect in concrete gestures the present attitude of compassion in regard to the disinherited peoples of the planet. However, the conditions some developed countries have placed upon contributions to the Special Fund, established by resolution 3202 (S-VI) lead us seriously to doubt their good faith and sincerity. The show of solidarity of which I have spoken must be spontaneous. It must not be bargained, nor can it depend on the attitude of a group of third countries, when the need and urgency are recognized by all because of the conditions of despair under which millions of human beings live.

233. To conclude this economic chapter, I should like to make one point clear. Rumours have been spread according to which the African States have severed diplomatic relations with Israel to ensure their supply of oil. It was further alleged that this was the only reason for their support of the Arab States. My delegation protests against such calumny, intended to break Arab-African solidarity.

234. Though it is among the States whose economies have been most affected by the rise in the price of oil, the Republic of Burundi wishes to make it clear that we severed diplomatic and other relations with Israel for no such reason. Militant and brotherly solidarity with the Arab peoples was decided upon by the Government of Burundi quite independently and in all sovereignty, without any bargaining. Burundi therefore considers that those divisive manoeuvres are devoid of any logic and should be ended so as not to lend substance to the slanderous attempts at blackmail to sow discord between the African countries and our Arab brothers.

235. Since the Organization came into being, eminent statesmen and distinguished diplomats have come to this rostrum to proclaim their faith in the ideals of peace, freedom and progress. The brilliant wars of national liberation against colonialism and for independence that have been waged almost everywhere throughout the world for nearly 30 years and continue in southern Africa, in the Middle East and in Indo-China demonstrate, should that still be necessary, that international peace will be precarious as long as a single people or a single nation is subject to domination, humiliation, exploitation and racism.

236. Today, because of the rapid development of mass communications media, the world has become smaller than ever, and each of its inhabitants is better informed on the conditions of life of his fellow men. International peace and security will always be threatened as long as millions of human beings suffer from hunger, malnutrition, disease and other scourges of mankind while a privileged minority wallows in abundance, waste and indifference.

237. All peoples aspire to live in dignity, freedom and pride. Every effort must be made, all energies and all resources must be mobilized so that all the peoples of the earth, and above all the most disinher-

ited, may lead a decent life, so that they may simply live with the hope of a better future. To that end, international solidarity and co-operation, of which we have said so much, must be reflected in concrete action.

238. In that context, we urgently appeal to the developed countries to honour the commitments they entered into freely and solemnly *vis-à-vis* the developing countries within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade. We also invite them to withdraw the reservations they have expressed regarding the results of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, on raw materials and development.

239. International relations must become democratic through the taking up of problems in equality and mutual understanding. International relations must be based upon concerted action, dialogue and a spirit of compromise, and no longer on force or diktat. While not losing sight of our own preoccupations and priorities, let us justly appreciate those of our partners. By acting thus, every country represented here will make a valuable contribution to the building of a more human world of greater solidarity and brotherhood in which we shall forever banish injustice, poverty, frustration and humiliation, to the greater glory and well-being of mankind.

240. Mr. UMBA-di-LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, in the name of my delegation and on my own behalf, I should like to extend to you my warm congratulations on your brilliant election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In the current world context, during this period of decolonization, it is of particular significance that the session is being presided over by a great son of Africa. Indeed, Africa is extremely proud to see that Guinea-Bissau has now joined the United Nations and that the decolonization process—as far as Portugal is concerned, at least—is accelerating and intensifying and is in the process of transforming our continent into a completely liberated one.

241. Moreover, your election, Sir, falls within the historical context of a process which is leading the world inexorably towards the total liberation of every form of shackles, enslavement, inequalities, injustice, discrimination, hunger and poverty. I am therefore convinced that your long and vast experience in international affairs, your valuable contribution to the African cause, your lucidity, modesty and firmness, not to mention the great services you have rendered to your own country, will all be of vital use to the Assembly in this crucial period for the international community and at a time when the word “crisis” is mentioned all around the world with alarming persistence.

242. In addition, your election follows the holding, last April, of the sixth special session, which dealt with the pressing issues of raw materials and development.

243. You are indeed the worthy representative of a sister State whose courage and determination were able to overcome a decaying colonialism. The blood shed by the Algerian people serves as an example and a symbol for all of Africa and for all those struggling for their liberation.

244. The presence in this Hall of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau—to whom, on behalf of my delegation, I extend a hearty welcome—is the tangible result of the armed struggle of the PAIGC against the forces of evil. It is also proof of goodwill on the part of the new Portugal since its change of Government on 25 April 1974, and gives the international community grounds for hope. The United Nations, which has always recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the Guinean nationalists, is thus reaping the fruits of that victory.

245. The Republic of Zaire, which made its full contribution to the struggle of the African liberation movements, is particularly gratified over this stunning success, all the more so since it was one of the first countries to recognize Guinea-Bissau's independence. We therefore welcome with open arms, to both the African group of States and the international community, this young sister State with which we shall be maintaining close relations of friendship, and developing intense co-operation in all fields.

246. May I also take this occasion to extend a warm and cordial welcome to the other new States just admitted to the Organization, namely, Bangladesh and Grenada.

247. On behalf of the Founding President of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and President of the Republic of Zaire, and on behalf of the Executive Council and in the name of my delegation, I sincerely congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his courageous efforts to hasten the liberation of territories still under colonial and racist domination. A great pilgrim for peace, the Secretary-General travelled to Portugal, where he made arrangements with the new Government of that country to advance the cause of those territories.

248. Although his mandate in regard to certain territories remains unimplemented, my delegation feels that the new steps taken by the Secretary-General should be encouraged, and supported by all States Members of the Organization, because, as was stated from this rostrum on 4 October 1973, during the twenty-eighth session, by the Founding President of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and President of the Republic of Zaire, Citizen Mobutu Sese Seko: “Africa today remains the only continent where colonization, racial segregation, *apartheid* and contempt of man because of the pigmentation of his skin persist.” [2140th meeting, para. 103.] Both for the honour of the Organization and for international peace and security, it is high time that this situation changed. Fortunately, the new Portugal has given us grounds for hope.

249. Indeed, we are impatient to see the former Portuguese colonies rapidly achieve complete independence, but we should also pay all due tribute to the new Portugal, which, itself emerging from the shadows and from fascism, has already begun the process of complete decolonization, at least for Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and we earnestly hope that this will be the case also with Angola.

250. To be sure, although we cannot overlook the particular situation in that territory in relation to the other Portuguese colonies, we have noted with satisfaction the repeatedly stated determination of the

new Portuguese authorities to initiate negotiations as soon as there is unity among the various liberation movements representing the fighters in Angola. The international community can but encourage and spur Portugal on to assume all its responsibilities towards that end.

251. While congratulating the new Portugal on the action it has undertaken, the Republic of Zaire nevertheless considers it premature to enter into diplomatic relations with Lisbon until it has carried out its decolonization task to the full.

252. Despite these bright promises, however, it must be noted that in many cases the world is still in total darkness. Such is the situation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania.

253. Portugal, which was formerly accused of obscurantism, is today carrying out a struggle on two fronts: on the one, to vanquish domestic fascism, and on the other, to liberate the territories still under its domination. To this end, it has not hesitated to crush the revolt of the minority settlers who were longing for the bygone era of colonialism; whereas the United Kingdom, under the same conditions, has sacrificed the interests of the Africans for those of a minority of colonists, for the most part, British.

254. The worst of it is that that country, acting wickedly and in very bad faith, has succeeded in hoodwinking international opinion, rocking it to sleep with lullabies about trumped-up sanctions, when in reality it has betrayed our black brothers into the hands of the minority in Zimbabwe. That country bears full responsibility for its defeatism—and I hope it realizes it. Taking refuge behind these trumped-up sanctions, the United Kingdom has the cynical presumption to go so far as to act as the policeman with regard to these measures and to accuse certain brother countries, mine among them, of violating the sanctions against Rhodesia.

255. As far as my country is concerned, this accusation is based on the fact that Zaire permitted an aircraft registered in Africa and trading with Rhodesia to land on its soil. But I ask you whether my country should have allowed an aircraft in distress and, what is more, of African registration to crash. If to come to the aid of an aircraft in distress is tantamount to trading with Rhodesia, we must frankly admit that we have here some rather curious reckoning which it can only be assumed is typically British.

256. All countries represented here are aware of Zaire's determination in the struggle for African liberation and none of them can doubt our will or determination to achieve the total liberation of Africa.

257. By those defamatory allegations, the United Kingdom Government is deliberately trying to mislead international opinion. The United Kingdom, curiously disguised in the cloak of virtue, pretends to forget that it is the cause of the daily tragedy of life for the black majority, oppressed by a white minority clique. Let it rather assume its responsibilities by following the example of the new Portugal and restoring order in its rebel colony instead of spreading servile and shameless lies. Zaire, for its part, will assume all its responsibilities and will not rest until peace and justice are established in Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom must intervene effectively to restore to the majority Zim-

babwe people their rights, which have been usurped by a minority of racist colonizers.

258. Whatever may be the attitude of the racist minorities in southern Africa, we believe that the era of régimes of occupation, enslavement and domination has passed, because the international community is ever more aware of the absurdity of these régimes. They in turn, although they are now at bay, should still try to cure themselves of the political blindness that afflicts them and learn from the present situation.

259. My statement would be incomplete if I did not also speak of the situation of the Sahara still under Spanish domination, of Djibouti and of the Comoro Islands which France and Spain continue to keep under their yoke.

260. So far as the so-called Spanish Sahara is concerned, we are particularly gratified by the agreement reached between Morocco and Mauritania to submit the question to the judgement of the International Court of Justice. All the States Members of the United Nations should praise the wisdom of these countries and encourage them to pursue the peaceful road they have taken. In consequence, Spain must abandon the fallacious pretence of holding a referendum, because a referendum is not synonymous with decolonization and, in any case, as far as we know, Spain did not organize a referendum when it seized that part of Africa. The decolonization of Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau was not accomplished by means of a referendum. And, incidentally, we may ask why Spain has not applied the same principle of holding a referendum in the case of Gibraltar.

261. Despite the comparative relaxation of tension that can be observed in international relations and at which my country rejoices, new causes of tension are being added to the discontent, the frustration and the spirit of revolt that are the habitual source of the crises that continually threaten international peace and security. The rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the United States and China, on the other, is an important step towards the achievement of peaceful coexistence.

262. We have noted with satisfaction the efforts of the United States to find a solution to the Middle East problem, and we hope that more substantial results will follow the first steps that have been taken towards the achievement of a just and lasting peace in that part of the world. In any case, the Palestinian people is entitled to an existence worthy of that name and to a homeland. No definitive settlement of the Middle East problem can ignore the rights of that people. If the Israelis have a homeland, then it is essential to put an immediate end to the kind of Diaspora to which the Palestinian people seem to be condemned.

263. The forthcoming reopening of the Suez Canal will strengthen economic co-operation and trade between the countries of that region and of other regions. It should also create an atmosphere of confidence and make the Indian Ocean a true zone of peace.

264. The Korean problem must also be solved in a just and satisfactory manner. The Republic of Zaire recognizes both Koreas and maintains good relations with both. We consider that it is for the Koreans themselves first of all to find a peaceful solution to their

problem. Consequently, my country is at once in favour of accelerating the process of unification and opposed to anything that can hamper the achievement of the will of the Korean people.

265. The Paris Agreement of January 1973 has unfortunately not settled all the problems in Viet Nam. The parties concerned in the conflict must, therefore, continue their efforts to re-establish peace once and for all by eliminating all ambiguous situations.

266. With reference to Cambodia, Zaire denounces all foreign intervention. We believe that the efforts undertaken by the Government of Prince Sihanouk will achieve the complete reunification of the country.

267. Another conflagration has unfortunately erupted, this time in Cyprus. Zaire pronounces itself in favour of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and against all foreign intervention. The Cypriot problem must be solved by the Cypriots themselves, without any foreign intervention, within the framework of existing agreements and with respect for the rights of the communities involved.

268. Peace is one of the objectives sought by the Republic of Zaire in its relations with other States. Immediately after gaining its independence, my country suffered years of tragic civil war provoked by intervention on the part of foreign interests. We therefore attach great importance to the question of peace. The United Nations, whose main purpose is to maintain peace amongst nations, will find our country a steadfast ally. The people of Zaire are grateful to the United Nations for its contribution to the restoration of peace in Zaire.

269. Peace throughout the world—that is the objective of the United Nations. Unfortunately, however, we are compelled to recognize that since the inception of the Organization peace has not generally prevailed throughout the world; conflicts have erupted almost everywhere—in the Middle East, in Viet Nam, in Cambodia and, recently, in Cyprus.

270. The Organization has often been powerless to safeguard peace. This impotence is chiefly due to the fact that States Members—and those not the least among them—are very often in disagreement with the fundamental principles of the Charter. Various reasons have been advanced to explain the weakness of the Organization, whose structure, established in San Francisco after the Second World War, no longer suits the needs of the time.

271. The principles which govern decision-making in the Security Council, for example, by according certain States primacy over others, seem to us to contradict the principle of the equality of States. Those same States, moreover, have the right of the veto. Experience has shown that those privileged States in the Security Council have always used their right of veto whenever their own particular selfish interests were at stake.

272. The permanent members of the Security Council have an excessive advantage and they act accordingly by safeguarding their own prerogatives while preaching, of course, in their own cause. We can understand that these States are opposed to any revision of the Charter. But are we ready to make this forum the Disunited Nations or the United Nations?

273. We feel that the veto right belongs to another period, a period of the past, and should disappear from the text of the Charter. The Organization would thereby gain in prestige, and confidence in it would be renewed, because the maintenance of peace is no longer the monopoly of a few privileged States but, rather, a task incumbent on each Member State. It was on this basis that, in 1971, our country initiated the idea of revising the Charter. On 4 October 1973, before this very Assembly, the President of Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko, confirmed this suggestion [*ibid.*, para. 202].

274. Acting on the basis of the non-representation of the African continent at the time of the elaboration of the Charter at San Francisco in 1945, we can state that this is the time to revise the Charter. For indeed, out of 51 signatory States, only three represented Africa, whereas now, out of 138 Member States, 42 are African, almost a third of the entire membership. It seems to us that this important African presence in the Organization cannot continue to be ignored.

275. Lack of respect for the fundamental principles of the United Nations and the non-application of its recommendations and resolutions by certain States weaken the role of the Organization.

276. In violation of the principles of the Charter, the United Kingdom refuses to fulfil its obligations towards the black majority in Rhodesia, while South Africa persists in the implementation of its policy of *apartheid* and seeks to extend that ignoble policy to Namibia. Finally, certain States become the accomplices of those others by supporting the enemies of the Organization, thus sapping its authority.

277. Despite certain weaknesses of the Organization, Zaire is very gratified over its progress in safeguarding the cultural independence of Member States. Indeed, the recovery of their cultural heritage, which had been pillaged by the former colonial Powers, has made it possible for the third-world States to give effect to resolution 3187 (XXVIII), which deals with the restitution of works of art to countries victims of expropriation.

278. We are very pleased to pay tribute to the perspicacity of the United Nations and to the wisdom of certain countries which have begun to implement this resolution. This applies notably to Belgium, which, although it did not always have extremely cordial relations with Zaire, nevertheless has given a useful example. Even before the adoption of that resolution, Belgium recognized the legitimacy of our action and promised to restore our works of art. We believe that this example should be followed by countries which have expropriated the cultural heritage of other countries.

279. In April of this year, on the initiative of the President of Algeria, the sixth special session of the Assembly was held in this very room. That session dealt solely with the problems of raw materials and development, which are the main concern of all countries.

280. This awareness of world economic interdependence gave to the debates in this Hall an unequalled scope and depth. The special session was important both for the high level of representation at it and for

the quality and tenor of the statements made. The debates presented a striking picture of the world economic situation. The majority of the countries, after having recognized the fundamental injustice of the present international economic system, formulated an extraordinary number of constructive proposals which the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Programme, established by resolution 3202 (S-VI), must harmonize in order to transform them into policies and plans of concerted action to govern the new international economic order. That new order, based on equity, equality, independence, the common interest and co-operation among all States, will correct inequalities and remedy injustices so as to ensure, for present and future generations, harmonious economic and social development.

281. At the sixth special session, the Assembly prepared directives in the form of a general Declaration of principles and a Programme of Action. By laying down a line of action to be followed, the Assembly made an enduring contribution, because, from now on, economic relations will be viewed in an entirely new light.

282. The Programme of Action has provisions relating to the difficulties encountered in the field of raw materials and the field of commerce, development and financing, as well as in the monetary system, the transfer of technology, industrialization, and the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources.

283. Regardless of the results achieved, we can state that the session provided an opportunity to all States Members of the United Nations to realize the interdependence and complementarity of their respective economies, and demonstrated that each Member State has a voice in and a contribution to make to the development of the world economy.

284. There is a tendency to attribute the present economic difficulties solely to the energy crisis, whereas that crisis is the result of inflation which has been manifest for some years now. Naturally, the oil problem has aggravated the situation, particularly as regards the poor countries, but we must not forget that inflation preceded the oil crisis. Furthermore, owing to the fact that it has affected all the countries of the world, this crisis—which then seemed to be a necessary evil—is, in the last analysis, a good thing. Because it affected exclusively the under-equipped countries, the rich countries were pleased and they chanted the hymn of prosperity and invoked the laws of the market and other magic principles. However, it now appears that everybody is concerned, and we can only hope that more lasting solutions can be found, not based on intimidation or sorcery but within a large framework, with the good faith of everyone.

285. As to the oil-exporting countries, in view of the decisive role that oil plays in the world economy, these countries must bear their share of the responsibility in achieving a satisfactory settlement of the present crisis. We would therefore suggest that, at this session, the General Assembly give serious attention to this question and decide on the practical modalities for the application of the two important resolutions—the Declaration and the Programme of Action—adopted at the sixth special session.

286. The Republic of Zaire, under the leadership of President Mobutu Sese Seko, did not await recognition of the right of all countries to their own resources, because for some years now our people has been master of its own soil and subsoil. On 30 November 1973, nationalization measures were taken in order to complete our economic action programme so as to ensure for our people full enjoyment of its sovereignty over its natural resources and effective and complete control of its entire national production. Thus, after achieving political independence, Zaire has attained full economic independence.

287. As we can see, economic problems are of concern to most States, particularly the under-equipped countries. What we are demanding is greater justice in the field of economic co-operation with the developed countries, for any assistance given to the underdeveloped countries should contribute to their development and should not return in one form or another to the donor countries.

288. This well-known assistance for development is mostly a myth that is used to assuage the conscience of the rich countries. Not only is this assistance much too small to safeguard the standard of living of the recipient countries, but the instability of prices of raw materials and the scarcity of investments, together with the effects of inflation and the ever-rising prices for finished products, has kept the underdeveloped countries in a precarious situation, forever receiving assistance and up to their ears in debt. In these conditions, escape from underdevelopment is hopeless, and the haunting spectre of colonization or recolonization remains.

289. Zaire fully supported the proposal of the President of Mexico on the adoption of a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.⁹ Such a document would be a very important and historic contribution. In order to obtain the support of all concerned, the economic rights and duties of States must take into account the principles of equity and international economic justice.

290. The world community must call on science and technology in the service of all. The transfer of technology constitutes, for the underdeveloped countries, the point of departure for real and harmonious development.

291. The sea-bed and ocean floor contain vast riches and resources which could be put at the service of all mankind. The sea increasingly appears to be a source of food, energy and minerals which could make up for the exhaustion of the earth's resources. According to data issued by the United Nations, 15 per cent of oil resources is already being obtained from offshore exploitation, and that figure will reach 33 per cent in 1980. Sixty-five million tons of fish were harvested from the high seas in 1972. Furthermore, it has been estimated that certain mineral resources of the sea-bed are far more plentiful than those of the earth.

292. All that wealth must be shared, and to that end maritime frontiers must be defined. That has been done only imperfectly in the four conventions signed in Geneva in 1958, conventions which are today largely discredited. More than half of the countries of the world have refused to ratify them, considering them too much a reflection of the interests of the main maritime Powers.

293. That is why the controversy on the law of the sea has finally been seen as an essential element of the problems upon which depend the fate of humanity, and of the struggle against underdevelopment and against the hegemony of certain Powers which would like to see the sovereignty and jurisdiction of States strictly limited, so that they can freely exploit the natural resources of seas other than their own.

294. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which met in Caracas from 20 June to 29 August 1974, strikingly confirmed the antagonism existing between the developed and the poor countries, since no text was adopted by that Conference. However, Caracas provided an opportunity for the third world to make its voice heard and to clarify its position.

295. The exploitation of the mineral resources of the sea and the sea-bed must be carried out in an organized, rational manner, from the point of view of well-applied international justice and with the object of preserving and conserving those resources for future generations. It should not serve to provide advantages for some to the detriment of others, particularly by prejudicing the interests of the underdeveloped countries whose prosperity depends essentially on the exploitation and exportation of raw materials. In order to avoid wasteful exploitation of those resources, control measures must be adopted, with the firm application of the principle of complementarity between the resources of the earth and those extracted from the sea.

296. We hope that the Conference at its third session, which is to be held in Geneva from 17 March to 10 May 1975, will find equitable solutions so that the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction may indeed constitute the common heritage of mankind, as was stated in the Declaration of Principles on this matter unanimously adopted by the General Assembly [resolution 2749 (XXV)].

297. The new conventions on the law of the sea should not enshrine as a principle the right of the strongest nation or of the nation which can best exploit the resources. All countries, whatever their size or degree of development, are equally entitled to exploit the resources of the sea.

298. A few weeks ago, the World Population Conference concluded its work in Bucharest. Several tendencies were revealed during the debates, particularly concerning the delicate problem of the birth rate. It is the view of my country that priority should be given to economic development and to the fairest redistribution of wealth rather than to the reduction of the birth rate.

299. Although we recognize the relevance of a realistic and responsible policy on population, Zaire cannot support the Malthusian theses which make the limitation of the birth rate a goal and an end in itself. That seems to us a policy of expediency designed to divert attention from the real problem, that of the inequality and injustice of the present international situation. The problem of poverty cannot be solved by killing off the poor.

300. In our view, the population density per square kilometre is one of the determining elements in de-

termining on any limitation of births. Countries with a population density of 200-300 per square kilometre are faced with the problem of birth control, while those with a population density of less than 50 per square kilometre have no need to concern themselves with it.

301. Propaganda would have us believe that there is a "yellow peril", whereas the true peril is the "white peril". The demographic statistics of China, for example, show that that country has not yet reached the critical threshold of over-population. In absolute numbers, with a population in China of 800 million, in a country of 9.8 million square kilometres, the population density is only 80 per square kilometre, whereas certain Western European countries have a population density twice, or even three or four, times as high.

302. In the final analysis, economic development and the raising of the standard of living are the primary objectives, while control of the birth rate is a matter of principle whose application must be left to each country in the light of its own capacity to feed its population and of its economic perspectives.

303. The present international situation, characterized as it is by coexistence and harmony between the great Powers, as well as by the appearance of many centres of power in the world, is not simply the result of rapprochement between the super-Powers but rather is the result of a long historic struggle of forces, and of new social values that have appeared in the contemporary world. Those new social forces have put the established order in question and imposed as a necessity world coexistence and ideological pluralism.

304. The centre of gravity of international relations and conflicts, because of the joint struggle of the oppressed peoples to overcome their poverty, has shifted to the third world, which now carries real weight on the international scene, enabling the countries of the third world to play a new role in contemporary history.

305. The new historic stage in which we find ourselves calls for a new approach on the part of the industrialized countries, which must realize that relations between developed and underdeveloped countries can no longer be what they were in the past, with the dependence of the latter upon the former. They must rather be those of interdependence and a rich and dynamic complementarity.

306. Once again, the Republic of Zaire wishes to express its confidence in the United Nations, which seems to us, in spite of everything, to be the most appropriate organization for dealing with problems relating to international peace, security and co-operation, and the most appropriate framework for finding just and equitable solutions to the various disputes which arise between States.

307. I should like to conclude by expressing the most sincere congratulations to the President of the twenty-eighth session and of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador. The successful outcome of those two sessions was, in our view, the result of his ability and his great sense of duty.

308. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

309. Mr. SLAOUI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): On Friday, 4 October, the representative of Spain stated to this Assembly:

“My country would reaffirm yet again its support for resolution 3126 (XXVIII) for the decolonization of the Sahara, and in due course in the Fourth Committee, it will have an opportunity to enlarge on these statements and examine subsequent developments in the handling of this subject.

“Once again, I reiterate that Spain has no controversy on the question of the Sahara with any country, and I especially wish to recall that, with respect to the countries of the region, we maintain excellent relations with them and we are continuing to hold appropriate consultations for the decolonization of the Sahara.” [2257th meeting, paras. 217 and 218.]

310. Thus, the representative of Spain gives the impression that his country is simply engaged in applying the policy recommended and defined by the United Nations. To this affirmation, the Government of His Majesty the King of Morocco wishes to enter a most categorical denial, because, as a matter of fact, Spain is not implementing the resolutions adopted by the Assembly. Quite the contrary; it is in the process of setting up a political system conceived unilaterally and exclusively by its Government, hoping at the same time to receive the backing of the international community.

311. Indeed, this Assembly, like the adjacent countries, has simply been “informed” of what Spain has been good enough to bring to their knowledge. Thus, in his letter of 10 July 1974 the representative of Spain merely “informed” the Secretary-General of certain facts concerning the Sahara, *inter alia*, that:

“On 2 and 3 July 1974, the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs informed the diplomatic representatives of Algeria, Mauritania and Morocco in Madrid of the forthcoming publication of a Statute, the scope of which was explained to them and which looks forward to self-determination . . .” [A/9655, p. 2].

312. Moreover, in his letter dated 13 September 1974, the representative of . . . in conveyed to the Secretary-General those measures that his Government had taken with a view to self-determination. In that letter he said: “I shall in due course inform the Committee of 24 of the procedure which has been set in train for self-determination by the Sahara . . .” [A/9736, p. 1]. A little later in the text he adds: “If this should not prove to be possible, the delegation of Spain would inform the General Assembly” [*Ibid.*].

313. The Spanish Government seems to take the attitude of referring to various resolutions of the United Nations, and here we have to explain that Spain has systematically voted against them or abstained in the vote, except on a single occasion in 1967, and has always entered the most specific reservations, thus reserving for itself the possibility of continuing its unilateral policy conceived by the Government of Spain alone.

314. In due course, I shall make plain in the Fourth Committee what is the real content of Spanish policy in the Sahara, but I felt that concrete and specific points should be brought to the knowledge of the As-

sembly now in order to avoid any misleading presentation of that policy.

315. First, resolution 2072 (XX), of 16 December 1965, talks about negotiations with adjacent countries on the problem of sovereignty, and states in paragraph 2 that the General Assembly:

“Urgently requests the Government of Spain, as the administering Power, to take immediately all necessary measures for the liberation of the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara from colonial domination and, to this end, to enter into negotiations on the problems relating to sovereignty presented by these two Territories.”

Since 1965, Spain has never entered into any negotiations whatever on the problem of the sovereignty of the two provinces of the Sahara.

316. Secondly, all the resolutions dwell on the necessity to have the entire population of the Sahara participate in the referendum, especially through the prior return of all exiled refugees expelled by the Spanish military administration. These refugees number 20,000, or as many as the people now in a position to participate ultimately in a local referendum. No measure has been taken by Spain to permit the return of the refugees. Quite the contrary, Spain intends to confine the right to vote to those who are residents of the Sahara. Accordingly, during the twenty-eighth session, at the 2066th meeting of the Fourth Committee, held on 26 November 1973, the Spanish representative reaffirmed that only the native inhabitants of the Sahara who reside in the Territory should take part in a referendum on their destiny. Spain thus rules out all the refugees from the Sahara. On this important point, the Spanish Government has systematically ignored the resolutions of the United Nations.

317. Thirdly, all the resolutions stress the fact that the referendum must be carried out in a free, democratic and impartial atmosphere. However, Spain has, on the spot, an army of 70,000 men who administer or control a population of 20,000 to 22,000 voting inhabitants. This simple reminder makes it abundantly clear—if it were necessary to make this clear—that there will be neither freedom, nor impartiality, nor democracy in this referendum. Actually, the Spanish Government has chosen its men, whom it has set up in an assembly which is called “Jemaa”, and to which it has granted the right to speak on behalf of the entire population of the Sahara.

318. By way of example, I shall merely quote the newspaper *Pueblo*, of 25 September 1974:

“In the course of conversations with newspapermen, the leaders of the Sahara emphasized that they considered the referendum useless because they were very happy with the Spaniards. Moreover, they pointed out that with respect to the independence of the Territory they hoped that the Spaniards will remain there at least five more years.”

The newspaper agency *L'Agence France-Presse*, reproducing an article from *Informaciones*, wrote: “The Madrid daily *Informaciones* explains that the ‘Jemaa’, which met on Friday, 27 September, at El-Aaiun, said that it agreed that the Sahara should continue to be linked to Spain”. Those statements tell us a great deal about the true intentions of the Spanish

Government, statements which tend to perpetuate a neo-colonialist control over this part of our territory.

319. Fourthly, with respect to the alleged "appropriate consultations", about which we have heard some talk, I should like once more to offer the most formal denial of this. Spain, flouting the resolutions that were adopted, has never consulted Morocco; far less has it ever entered into any negotiations with us. Moreover, the representative of Spain knows that the Spanish Government barely deigns to inform us about the decisions that have already been taken by his country. We think that the international community cannot accept this blanket of mystery, much less give it its seal of approval.

Mr. Jankowitsch (Austria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

320. Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Those of us who represent Chile in this debate have a clear conscience. We know that we are serving the cause of truth and freedom, and we shall therefore not fall into incoherent demagoguery, insulting adjectives or hysterical outpourings.

321. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba this morning [2258th meeting] made a statement which, in so far as it referred to my country and also other matters, is nothing more than an empty repetition of charges which we heard earlier from other satellites of Soviet communism. Before taking up some of the falsehoods which today have been offered here, I should like to protest against the political use which the representative of Cuba tried to make of the attack which cost the lives of General Carlos Prats and his wife, which occurred outside of Chile. We sincerely regret that this happened—as Chileans and as Christians. Upon the instructions of my Government, and in accordance with the wishes of his family and relatives, the funeral for General Prats was held in Santiago, in the atmosphere of respect which is traditional in my country.

322. The words uttered by the representative of Cuba show us that he has not been cured of his bad habit of intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries. In 1963, Cuba was expelled from the OAS because it was trying to carry its revolution to other countries. Later, it organized guerrillas or terrorist groups. In Chile, it intervened in flagrant and unconcealed ways. Its leader, Fidel Castro, spent 25 days in my country in order to direct the revolutionary process. His agents insinuated themselves into our political affairs, into the economy and into the police; they used their ships and aircraft to bring in Soviet arms and to prepare for civil war. They now aspire to return to the fold of Latin American nations. But they have not yet learned to respect the principle of non-intervention. It is also clear that they have not drawn any objective lessons from their failure in all of the countries in which they have intervened.

323. The Soviet Union, in addition, uses the Cuban delegation to try to harm or destroy the prestige of other countries which it does not dare to attack directly because it needs to buy their food and have their technology transferred to them. Repeated reference to a presumed intervention by the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] in Chile seems to confirm this tactic. It has been shown and it is recognized by all delega-

tions that there is no relationship between the armed forces of Chile, or its present Government, and the activities that have been denounced. To bring this matter into the debate, rather than affecting the present Government of Chile, clearly reflects the purpose of involving other Governments or other countries.

324. In any event, it seems to us appropriate to restate our position on this matter. Chile now has a nationalist Government of renewal which, *inter alia*, has proposed to strengthen the independence and sovereignty of our nation. It therefore rejects any form of foreign intervention, regardless of its source. Practical common sense tells us also that intervention by some may be invoked to justify intervention by others, and thus the country would be transformed into a battleground of foreign interests.

325. We had thought that this was a good opportunity for the Cuban Government to give some reply with regard to the arrangements to release political prisoners under the protection of the International Red Cross, as we are doing with our detainees; but on this point it has remained silent, showing once again the hypocrisy of those who claim for themselves the right to defend freedom and human rights. Here, in this country, live hundreds of thousands of persons who suffered under the inhuman tyranny of the Castro régime; they are the best possible testimony of the cynicism and the actual low level of morality of the Cuban Government.

326. The struggle of the Chileans to free themselves from Soviet communism is an example and a warning that oppression is not irreversible. Stronger than that oppression is the national spirit of freedom and independence which motivates peoples and Governments wishing to build their own future. This is what the Soviet Union fears. That is why it and its vassals hurl insults at us.

327. We have seen how the whole chorus of infamy has been ordered today to attack Chile. We do not mind. The hapless countries crushed by Soviet communism and occupied by Soviet troops are compelled to serve such ignoble purposes. Chile is proud to be the object of hatred and vengeance on the part of the Soviet Union, because it proves that we have regained our independence and national sovereignty. We nevertheless deplore the fact that use of the United Nations as an instrument for this infamous campaign by the Soviet Union has trespassed upon the time and good faith of the representatives present here.

328. Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen): Referring to the statement made by my Foreign Minister in the course of the general debate [2251st meeting], the representative of Chile sought to defend [*ibid.*] the horrendous crimes of his Fascist junta by pretending that we did not know what had happened in Chile or even where it was geographically located. This is the story of the ostrich and the sand.

329. No doubt, for a decadent régime whose specialty is mass slaughter and disrespect for human worth, world public opinion is meaningless—let alone the views of States Members of this Organization, whose moral responsibility it is to defend and uphold human rights and the dignity of man.

330. True, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is not next door to Chile, but the revolutionary

leadership of Salvador Allende and his Government of Popular Unity, by rejecting imperialist hegemony, brought Chile and its valiant people close to our hearts. We shall remain true to them until they overcome.

331. It is absurd for the representative of Chile to attempt to cover up a bleak history of mass murder by resorting to empty rhetoric. Their hands stained with blood, the Fascist generals of Chile should be haunted by the daily reports of their repression and cruelty towards the Chilean people.

332. What about the deluge of revelations about the disruptive role of the ITT and CIA, their very partners and patrons, in overthrowing Allende and plundering the Chilean economy? Who needs talent and intelligence to discover their atrocities, their brutality and their total submission to imperialism?

333. My delegation humbly requests the Secretary-General to use his good offices to mitigate the suffering of the Chilean masses and to put an end to the tragedy in that country. For their part, the people of Chile will prove to the world that a reactionary Fascist clique, instigated and supported by the CIA and foreign transnational corporations, cannot withstand the revolutionary spirit of Chile. Their days are numbered, and when their dark reign comes to an end they will learn that the struggle of the Chilean people for genuine independence and socialism is much stronger than their quislings, even if it is now submerged by guns.

334. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly has once again witnessed the actions of a ventriloquist's dummy speaking on behalf of the United States delegation. This afternoon we were informed of a statement by Mr. Scali, circulated by the United States Mission to the United Nations, and a little later we heard a puppet come up to this rostrum to repeat, more or less, the same charges as those made by Mr. Scali.

335. We fully understand that the representative of the United States would not wish to come to this rostrum and repeat before this Assembly what has been alleged in a little piece of paper. About a year ago, he himself, in the Security Council, sought to conceal the participation of his Government in the plot against the popular Government of President Salvador Allende which was to culminate in the Fascist coup of 11 September 1973.

336. All of you who live in this city have undoubtedly had an opportunity to observe that such an affirmation by the representative of the United States can be interpreted only as meaning that as a diplomat he is a complete liar and as a journalist he is very badly informed. The United States press for weeks now has been continually echoing the revelations coming from the highest United States authorities explaining with a wealth of detail the interference of the CIA in the domestic affairs of Chile—its brazen plot against the Government of Popular Unity and its participation in the process that led to the heroic death of President Allende and to the establishment of fascism in Chile.

337. We quite understand, for that matter, why the authors of this little piece of paper, written with such a lack of inspiration and with such bad taste and mediocrity, preferred to use this person to defend the CIA. For our part, we have no reason to question what

has been recognized by the Director of the CIA and confirmed by the President of the United States and his Secretary of State.

338. From these statements and revelations it is abundantly clear that the Fascist junta of Chile is the result of imperialistic intervention; it is a by-product of the CIA. It received its baptism in the black waters of Watergate.

339. Those who created that hateful régime claim to be unaware of the universal rejection, reflected in many decisions of trade union organizations, associations of jurists, and religious and humanitarian organizations, of the régime set up in Chile as the result of foreign intervention. They claim to be unaware of the decisions of this very Organization—decisions of the Economic and Social Council, of the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, of the General Conference of the ILO and of the last session of the Trade and Development Board, and at the meetings of the non-aligned countries. All of those decisions—adopted unanimously, with only the puppet of the CIA and its offspring objecting—have condemned this Fascist régime and have called for international action to defend the Chilean people, engaged in a heroic struggle against that régime.

340. I come finally to what we have just heard from Mr. Huerta. Before he became a representative of the traitors, Mr. Huerta was a seaman; he roamed the seas, where the captain gives the orders, not the crew. I shall therefore not take up any of the statements he made here. Perhaps he comes up to this rostrum every afternoon because he feels that he has not been given a big enough share of the \$11 million. That is his problem. We are sure that he will be able to solve it in conversations with his friend, Mr. Scali, but there is no need to bother the Assembly with these domestic problems.

341. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): I have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of my right of reply because it is no longer possible to tolerate the demagoguery and slander of the representative of the Chilean junta, which are daily poisoning the atmosphere in this Hall and hampering our work.

342. In his numerous impertinent and hypocritical replies to the grave accusations made by the heads of a number of delegations, including that of Bulgaria, the representative of the Chilean junta has thrown down a challenge to the General Assembly and world public opinion by shamelessly distorting historical facts. He has done that in order to camouflage the junta's dirty conscience and to divert attention from the mass crimes committed by the junta.

343. On 4 December 1972, at the twenty-seventh session, we all listened with great attention to the hero of the Chilean people, President Salvador Allende, speaking the following words to this Assembly:

“I come from Chile, a small country, but one where every citizen is free to express himself as he sees fit . . . where universal suffrage and the secret ballot are the corner-stones of a multiparty system; . . . whose parliament has been active without interruption since its creation 160 years ago . . . and whose constitutional charter . . . has practically

never ceased to be applied.” [2096th meeting, para. 3.]

344. One year after those words were spoken, the sacred Charter of the Chilean people was burned by the junta and the legal President of the country was brutally killed. The entire country was bathed in blood. Thousands of Chilean Communists, social democrats, Christian democrats, intellectuals, workers and farmers were subjected to medieval torture. To this very day, there are five Gestapo-like police services committing atrocities in the country. The curfew has not been repealed, and the dossiers of innumerable political detainees have been accumulated.

345. All these new and revealing facts, which have been set forth in the press—and not only the press of socialist countries—have led the entire world to render a severe judgement on the Fascist junta. But the representative of the junta passes over all this in silence. He has not answered a single one of the concrete accusations levelled against the junta, concerning all the crimes that junta has committed and continues to commit in Chile. The representative of the junta had the audacity to describe those crimes as valuable experience for the entire world. The cries of suffering and despair were described by the former Minister of Justice of the junta, from this very rostrum, as an expression of the national feelings of the Chileans; and the flagrant violations of fundamental human rights in Chile were proclaimed to be a democratic concept. What a farce that these words should have been spoken by the former Minister of Justice of the junta from the very rostrum where the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed. The representatives of several developing countries have stated here, quite rightly, that they consider Chile's experience to be a dangerous attack on the policy of non-alignment as a whole; they have said that all the non-aligned countries and other peace-loving countries must react in the firmest possible way.

346. That is how the entire world views the experience and example of Chile. The representative of the junta spoke of a certain foreign intervention, a certain neo-imperialism that no one had ever heard of before in Latin America or anywhere else. But the peoples of Latin America are very familiar with the true imperialism, whose cruel history is very old. That imperialism has been reaping from countries profits that are five times greater than the sums it has invested. It has hidden and continues to hide behind the myth of the communist danger in order to persecute peoples, and not only those of Latin America.

347. But the representative of the junta forgot about that imperialism and, acting like an innocent angel, he preferred to speak about some kind of Soviet plan for intervention—a plan no one has ever heard of. Why did the representative of the junta say nothing about the well-known plan of some foreign corporations for economic suffocation, for diplomatic sabotage, for inflation which creates panic among the peoples, and for the establishment of a military dictatorship after the legitimate government had been overthrown? Was there such a plan or was there not?

348. Quite recently, another plan, more important and more costly, was referred to in an article written by Mr. Seymour Hersh and published in *The New York Times* on 15 September. The representative of

the junta did not comment on these plans. Perhaps he does not know about them. He would find in them a number of arguments to support his biblical tale of foreign intervention.

349. The representative of the junta spoke about propaganda directed against Chile. Is it propaganda that, according to the most conservative estimates of the newspaper *Le Monde*, the junta has shot between 50,000 and 100,000 people without any trial whatsoever? Is it propaganda, what has been reported in American newspapers concerning electric-shock torture, mass executions and the torture by starvation of thousands of innocent people? Is it propaganda, the repeated appeals made by the President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General and the telegram of the Commission on Human Rights calling for an immediate halt to the massive and flagrant violations of human rights and calling for the lives of Chilean patriots, among them Luis Corvalán, Clodomiro Almeyda, and other political prisoners, to be spared? Are the World Committee and the European Conference for the Defence of Chile, in Paris, propaganda tricks? Is it propaganda that the Governments of Sweden and Italy have refused to send ambassadors to Chile?

350. No, all this is not propaganda. These are undeniable facts, and we are convinced that these facts and this new danger threatening the lives of outstanding Chilean patriots will call forth an immediate and noble intervention on the part of the President of the twenty-ninth session and the Secretary-General. We call on them to take action in a most decisive way in order to protect the lives and rights of the Chilean patriots.

351. The whole world, including the United States and a number of Latin American countries, again are condemning the brutality and crimes of the junta. The Venezuelan newspaper *La Nación* recently wrote: “To condemn the Fascist crimes and combat them is a matter involving the honour and dignity of our country”. The Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights, the ILO, the International Committee of the Red Cross and many other governmental and non-governmental organizations, national and international, in all parts of the world have condemned the Fascist junta. In Chile itself, the junta is becoming isolated because of the resistance of the people. That explains the terror which the junta continues to maintain, and it explains the actions of its representative here at the United Nations.

352. Despite the fact that many Western European and other Governments have resolutely condemned the junta, its representative has concentrated the full squalor and slander of his so-called answers on the socialist countries. That is very easy to understand. Everybody knows that it was the socialist countries, the communists, who were and are the most determined adversaries of fascism, and the successors of fascism today fully understand this and fear it.

353. The representative of the junta went so far as to deliver a lecture on what fascism is. We do not need demagoguery here. The whole world knows what fascism was and what it is today. In 1923, the Bulgarian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, took part for the first time in an anti-fascist uprising. The struggle of the Bulgarian people against the Hitlerite occupiers lasted many years; it

caused endless suffering to the people and called upon them to make enormous sacrifices. It is a miracle that I myself survived after the brutal, medieval tortures to which we were subjected, we the Communists in the police jails and the Fascist prisons. In that heroic struggle against fascism, more than 100,000 Bulgarian lives were lost. Thus, one can gauge the zeal of the fascists in Chile today, who have executed as many people in just one year.

354. The Fascist junta will not succeed in misleading the entire world, or in concealing the truth. However many times the representative of the junta may take the floor here, whatever language he may use and however insolent he may be to try to justify the odious crimes of the junta, all he can do is prove that fascism remains what it is, ferocious and barbaric, as it was described in 1933 by the hero of the Leipzig trial, that standard-bearer in the fight against fascism, Georgi Dimitrov.

355. I should like to conclude by quoting the words pronounced by the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty:

“In their struggles, the people of Chile can and will count on the consistent support of the peoples of the socialist countries. Our States call on other States which cherish the cause of progress and peace in our world to defend human rights and human dignity in Chile. We appeal to world public opinion to launch a broad campaign of international solidarity with the Chilean people. Our countries express the deep conviction that the Chilean people will conquer in their struggle to restore democracy and for a truly independent Chile.”

356. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The cynical attempts of the representatives of the bloody junta to divert attention from their crimes against human rights cannot remain unanswered. World public opinion accuses the Fascist junta in Chile, which has overthrown the constitutional Government of the great Chilean patriot, Salvador Allende, and has set up a terrorist régime. They are accusing the junta of gross violations of the Charter of the United Nations and of the International Covenants on Human Rights, of crimes against the freedom, the lives, the rights and dignity of human beings.

357. The guilty party feels that perhaps those accusations will be attenuated if he states that the socialist States have launched a campaign against Chile. I should like to emphasize that our efforts are not directed against Chile; no, on the contrary, they are prompted by our concern for Chile, for the Chilean people, for the democratic freedoms and for the lawful rights of human beings in Chile. We are in favour of putting an end to the Fascist terror and of liberating the imprisoned patriots.

358. The consistent support of the cause of the Chilean people is a matter of honour for the socialist States and their peoples. I am proud of the fact that I, as a Communist, have always fought against fascism, and, as a representative of a socialist State which is celebrating today the twenty-fifth anniversary of its creation, I am proud to be speaking before the United Nations on behalf of the implementation of the anti-Fascist principles of the Charter of the Organization.

359. I recall how, at the time when the first report reached foreign countries about the crimes committed by Hitler's fascism, there were people who very sceptically shook their heads. Later on, many of those people had a very brutal awakening. Rather, in fact, some of them went to sleep for all eternity.

360. Fortunately, matters are quite different today. Outstanding international leaders are raising their voices in the various United Nations bodies. Bourgeois democrats are coming out in defence of human rights and human dignity. Various organs of the press located in the country in which the United Nations has its Headquarters, which certainly nobody can suspect of having communist sympathies, also have reported the shameful deeds of the Fascist régime in Chile. The truth is making itself heard.

361. The members of the junta will not be able to mask their true faces from world public opinion. New reports are coming in concerning the brutal persecution in Chile. Quite recently, a former general of the Chilean air force was brutally murdered. I am referring to Alberto Bachelet. His widow informed us how her husband had been taken nude, his hands bound, and had been subjected to torture for 36 hours before he was finally killed. General Alberto Bachelet had participated in the implementation of the socialist programme of the Allende Government, and to the very end he remained true to the Constitution. It was he who, upon the directive of the Allende Government at the time of the Fascist diversionist movement against the country, saw to it that each Chilean child received a free half litre of milk every day.

362. The well-known member of the Chilean Communist Party, Luis Corvalán, the representative of UNCTAD, Clodomiro Almeyda, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Allende Government and a member of the socialist party, were imprisoned under inhuman conditions. My delegation has received information according to which a large number of people were first imprisoned in the notorious Dawson concentration camp, were then sent to Santiago for trial, and have now been transferred to the Retoque camp, about 160 kilometres from Santiago, where particularly strict treatment is meted out to them.

363. A year ago, at the previous session [2138th meeting], the President of the twenty-eighth session was asked to appeal to the junta on behalf of Corvalán, Almeyda and other members of the Popular Unity movement. The Secretary-General was also asked to make an appeal. Despite all that, the junta continues its criminal activities. The United Nations cannot and should not resign itself to this situation. That is why I appeal to all present here to come out in defence of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of human rights in Chile.

364. I would request the President of this twenty-ninth session to demand that the junta put an end to murder and terror and liberate the imprisoned patriots of the Chilean people.

365. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate warmly and extend a fraternal greeting to the delegation of the German Democratic Republic, which is today celebrating the

twenty-fifth anniversary of the new socialist German State. Our links of friendship, which were tempered in blood in the struggle against fascism, give us reason to celebrate this anniversary with our friends in the German Democratic Republic.

366. As was stated by Comrade Brezhnev yesterday at the solemn meeting held in Berlin to celebrate the occasion, the enemies of socialism know full well what the unity of our countries means. It is precisely that against which they direct their main attacks. We know that the German Democratic Republic is located on the frontier between two systems and that it is subjected to particularly concentrated pressure by imperialism. The people of the Republic are daily bombarded with a flow of hostile propaganda in an attempt to foster doubts about the correctness of the Government's policy and the path chosen by the people, so as to alienate or separate the workers of the German Democratic Republic from the great community of socialist States.

367. This was the unsavoury mission entrusted to the agent of the criminal Chilean junta in the General Assembly. But he will not succeed in alienating the German Democratic Republic from the socialist community. Comrade Brezhnev said in this regard:

“Of course, this will fail. The workers in the German Democratic Republic are aware of what is concealed behind the slick propaganda of their class-conscious enemy. They are proud of their achievements and cherish them. They know full well who are their true and trusted friends.”

368. The very history of the emergence of the German Democratic Republic demonstrates with perhaps special clarity the importance of the international solidarity of socialist States in our times. We, the Soviet Communists, can with a clear conscience state that even in the most difficult situation, when matters result in a direct confrontation with the imperialists, we shall not hesitate to defend the interests of the brotherly German Democratic Republic. We, the Soviet people, realize that friendship between our countries has become an integral part of our policy of friendship with the German Democratic Republic. You can be assured, comrades, that the Soviet people holds these feelings towards you, our brothers in the German Democratic Republic. True to the principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin, we share with you feelings of friendship and fraternity. At any time, we shall be at your side. We are on the side of socialism, on the side of labour, peace and international solidarity among workers.

369. Turning now to the item before us, may I say that during this session we have frequently heard agents of the Fascist junta try, by repeated verbal sallies, to justify the misdeeds and terror perpetrated by the Chilean junta, and for this reason my delegation feels it necessary to make the following statement.

370. At last year's session of the General Assembly, we discussed the question of the flagrant violations of human rights in Chile. The President of the twenty-eighth session of the Assembly, Mr. Benites, and the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, in response to the urgent demands of a large group of countries and prompted by humanitarian considerations, appealed to the Chilean authorities to halt their reign of terror

and their persecution of Chilean democrats and patriots, liberate those who were imprisoned and permit those who so wished to leave the country. However, the Chilean military junta did not heed the voice of world public opinion and continued to ignore that demand.

371. Events of the year that has elapsed since the Fascist take-over in Chile have demonstrated the true depth of the tragedy that befell the people of a country which, up to September 1973, had been known for its democratic institutions and traditions. A Fascist dictatorship has been set up in that country; the Parliament has been dissolved; political parties and trade unions, as well as public organizations, have been prohibited. Elementary human rights and freedoms have been flouted, and a bloody terrorist campaign has been launched against patriots and democrats and those who support the Government of Popular Unity.

372. According to the data supplied to the international commission of inquiry into the crimes of the military junta, in the past 12 months in Chile no fewer than 30,000 people have been murdered without trial, or have been tortured. According to official sources, between July and September 1974 alone, more than 21,000 persons were arrested in Chile. Moreover, they were detained without charge and no reason for their arrest was given. For more than a year, outstanding public leaders and political activists have been imprisoned: for example, the General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, Senator Luis Corvalán; the former Socialist Minister for Foreign Affairs, Clodomiro Almeyda, as well as other members of the Government of Popular Unity, and many other outstanding leaders of various political parties. Their lives are in mortal danger.

373. A pamphlet recently published in Santiago by the democratic forces assessed the situation in Chile in this way: “Murder, torture, the flouting of all human rights and freedoms: that is the true description of the Fascist junta in Chile”. That is a far from complete list of the misdeeds perpetrated by the Fascist clique which has betrayed the interests of the Chilean people.

374. In return for these bloody orgies and for murdering President Allende and executing democrats and patriots, the leader of the junta, General Pinochet, is receiving money from abroad; indeed, the junta is receiving millions of dollars for having overthrown the democratic Government of President Allende and for organizing the brutal repression of Chilean democrats and patriots and imprisoning outstanding leaders of the Chilean people, subjecting them to the same sort of brutal treatment as was meted out by the Hitlerites and the SS.

375. The massive repression by the junta in Chile has called forth the legitimate indignation of men of goodwill throughout the entire world; those deeds have been condemned by world public opinion. At the World Peace Congress, people of various convictions unanimously denounced the crimes of the fascist junta in Chile and condemned its campaign of terror. Moreover, many international bodies have denounced the junta: for example, UNCTAD, the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the Economic and Social Council, and the General

Assembly at its twenty-eighth session. All these bodies, outraged by the bloody terror in Chile, have demanded that measures be taken to restore fundamental human rights and freedoms and that the International Covenants on Human Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*] be respected. The junta's agent here in the Assembly is trying to camouflage and justify the misdeeds, terror and repression of the junta by launching slanderous attacks on other countries. However, no slander and no tricks can divert the attention of world public opinion or of the General Assembly from the crimes of the junta, which have reduced Chile to a Fascist-Hitlerite prison camp. The representative of the junta has resorted to slanderous attacks against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; but that is no new manoeuvre: fascism and the Fascists have always slandered socialism and the socialist countries. These pitiful efforts of the Chilean Fascists do not bother us; they only inspire our contempt.

376. The Soviet delegation appeals to the President of the twenty-ninth session, Mr. Bouteflika, and to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, to follow the example of the twenty-eighth session and issue a personal appeal to the Chilean junta to halt the terror to which it has subjected the best sons of Chile—those patriots who have languished for more than a year in Chilean prisons—and to release them immediately and allow them to leave the country if they so desire, and thus save many Chilean patriots, noble sons of Chile, from death.

377. Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Polish delegation cannot remain indifferent to the repeated and insulting attacks uttered during the current debate by the representatives of the Chilean junta against various countries, Poland among them. For this reason, we have asked to exercise our right of reply.

378. The representatives of the junta have assumed the role of interpreters of Polish history, giving a strange interpretation of the causes of the greatest tragedy our people has ever lived through in all its history—the tragedy of the Second World War and the Hitlerite occupation. It is not my purpose to enter into polemics with the avowed intention of falsifying history. The whole world knows that the Soviet Union played the most important role in the overthrow of German fascism and can claim great credit for the liberation of Poland and other countries of Europe. History has clearly evaluated the causes and the nature of the Second World War, and next year we shall be celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition.

379. The representatives of the junta tried to give lessons in morality to other States, while, at the same time, depicting an idyllic picture of Chile governed by the junta. However, world public opinion knows full well what is happening in Chile and it has a unanimous opinion of those developments. Any efforts designed to divert our attention, even with the support of the broadest possible gamut of distractions available, will be useless.

380. Some might ask why Poland, situated on another continent, is taking the floor on this matter. We consider it our moral duty to protest against such actions, which are similar to the sufferings we experienced

during the six years of Hitlerite occupation—the cruelty of the concentration camps and the deportation of helpless people.

381. The balance-sheet of the Chilean tragedy already shows thousands of dead and thousands of political prisoners, many of them brutally tortured. The international commission of inquiry into the crimes of the military junta in Chile, a body set up on the initiative of various sectors of the Scandinavian countries with the support of the official circles of those countries, has revealed, during the conferences at Helsinki and Copenhagen, the arrest and detention of women and children, who have also been subjected to physical and mental torture.

382. Legal political parties have been dissolved, and their leaders, among them Senator Luis Corvalán, have been persecuted and imprisoned. The trade unions have been broken up. The National Congress has been closed, and the universities are subject to military control. President Salvador Allende, who was elected in accordance with the Constitution and who two years ago addressed this Assembly, is dead. Clodomiro Almeyda, Minister for Foreign Affairs and President of the third session of UNCTAD, is still in prison despite many international initiatives to have him released. The junta has engaged in a reign of terror and declared a state of war against its own people. This work of the junta was described by the late Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Chile, General Carlos Prats, as “the greatest betrayal in the history of Chile”. Arbitrary detentions, concentration camps and arbitrary dismissals—that is the real picture in the Chile of today.

383. I belong to that group of people who have not only read about these painful facts but have also personally witnessed the developments that occurred as a result of the *coup* in September 1973. At that time, I was in Chile as the Ambassador of Poland.

384. In Chile, human rights have been blatantly violated. The Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights make it incumbent that the junta respect these rights. This constitutes a challenge to the principles of freedom and democracy.

385. Poland is linked to the Chilean people by traditional and cordial ties of co-operation, particularly in the field of science and culture. Accordingly, we were even more saddened to witness the destruction of cultural works in Chile, the burning of books, following well-known examples, the destruction of libraries and the persecution of progressive university professors. Pablo Neruda, an eminent son of Chile, a person known to all of Latin America and the world, winner of the Nobel Prize—who is dead today—did not escape the acts of repression.

386. This situation in Chile remains in flagrant contradiction to many resolutions of the United Nations and of other international organizations. The culture of every nation constitutes a part of the cultural heritage of all mankind, and the international community cannot remain indifferent when part of that universal patrimony is being destroyed.

387. It is true that the junta has repeatedly shown that it does not take any account of public opinion.

Yet, it would not be fair to underestimate the effects of the international campaign of solidarity to restrain repression and terror in Chile. In view of this and for profound humanitarian reasons, we have approached the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly and asked them to continue these worthy efforts and to take appropriate action in defence of human rights and democracy in Chile.

388. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Our delegation has, during the general debate [2255th meeting], already referred to the hysterical and demagogical nature of the statement made in the Assembly by the representative of the Chilean military junta, who was unable to refute the facts, known to the entire world, of the bloody crimes committed by his masters against the long-suffering Chilean people and is, therefore, trying to divert the Assembly's attention by slandering the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by distorting the facts.

389. Well, this is not a new manoeuvre. This method was used for his own purposes by Goebbels, and for that reason we are not surprised that the representative of the junta shows himself to be the true heir of the German Fascist propagandists. Our people endured great sacrifices in the last war at the hands of German, Italian and other forms of fascism, and we cannot remain indifferent in the face of the misdeeds of their heirs in the form of Chilean fascism.

390. The fact that the political régime in Chile is truly a Fascist, terrorist régime leaves no cause for doubt in our minds. All the attempts of the puppet of the Chilean junta to present the Fascist dictatorship in Chile in other than its true colours simply convinces us of the correctness of our own evaluation of the situation in that country.

391. We consider it our duty, on the eve of the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over fascism in the Second World War, to draw the attention of world public opinion to the problem of the Fascist danger that has appeared in Chile. The internal war that has been declared by the military junta from the very outset of its advent to power is carried on with such barbaric methods that it can be compared only with the crimes committed by the Fascist monsters during the Second World War. Whom can we compare with the black Chilean generals if not the Fascist criminals? We know that the direction for the investigation of communist activities is headed by V. Raouf, the SS monster who was chief of an SS section and who created the gas chambers and personally participated in the extermination of 97,000 people during the war.

392. For two years now, the Chilean people have been enduring indescribable sufferings; their finest sons have been thrown into prisons and concentration camps, where they have been inhumanly treated, cruelly tortured and annihilated. A country which had democratic freedoms and traditions has been plunged into an atmosphere of terror and violence. The scope of the terror, the repression, the unheard-of barbarism, the mass executions without trial of thousands of Chileans—all this demonstrates that the Fascist junta is trying to exterminate all democrats in Chile. A total of 30,000 people have been killed, leaving more than 22,000 widows and more than 76,000 orphans. These are the tragic figures resulting from the misdeeds of

the assassins who have taken power in Chile. Among the victims of the executioner Pinochet we can cite the names of more than 12,000 members of the Communist party and of Communist youth organizations of Chile, many of whom were tortured to death. Ministers of the Allende Government, members of Parliament, trade union leaders, militants, leaders of worker and farmer organizations, representatives of all political parties, people of various political convictions—all are in prison and subjected to torture.

393. In the declaration accusing the Chilean junta of its crimes that was prepared by the international commission, we find much evidence of the torture of patriots and democrats in Chile. Arbitrary arrests on a massive scale, execution without trial, violence, torture of prisoners, total abrogation of all political institutions, denial of political and human rights and freedoms, mockery of culture by the public burning of books—all this is typical of the political terrorism applied by fascism. Nothing remains in Chile of the small bourgeois democracy. Political parties have been prohibited and Parliament dissolved. All that function are the military tribunals, which pronounce sentences of death, trampling underfoot all human rights. At the same time, the representative of the junta tells us very cynically that freedom has been restored in Chile. The junta claims that there is a new economic policy now in Chile. But what does this mean? It means that the economic policies are being applied by the junta in the interests of foreign capital, which now sees all doors opened to it. The junta has removed all limitations on the activities of foreign monopolies and has guaranteed them the right to export 100 per cent of their profits. Moreover, more than 200 mines and factories have been denationalized and the social benefits of the workers have been cancelled, condemning thousands of them to unemployment and misery.

394. A wave of solidarity with the Chilean freedom fighters is spreading throughout the entire world. The crimes of the military junta have aroused the indignation of honourable men everywhere. Millions of people of diverse political convictions are demanding an end to the terror in Chile. They are demanding that the Secretary-General of the Chilean Communist Party, Luis Corvalán, the former Foreign Minister, Almeyda, and other outstanding patriots be immediately liberated.

395. The entire world is condemning the arbitrary acts of the Chilean junta, the persecution of democrats and the atrocities committed, which are in violation of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights adopted by the United Nations.

396. We are firmly convinced that the Chilean people will ultimately triumph in its struggle to restore democracy and true independence to Chile. We call on the United Nations to raise its voice on behalf of the Chilean patriots and to demonstrate its humanism by demanding an end to arbitrary rule and persecution of democrats in Chile.

397. Our delegation hopes that you, Sir, will use your high authority as President of this session of the General Assembly to find a way to make your personal contribution to this noble cause.

398. Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): For the nth time, the representative of the junta in Chile is presenting a farce in the Assembly by trying to whitewash the black deeds of his leaders. His language recalls the times of the Nazi propagandists and the cold-war type of slander. Slander and distortion of the facts constitute the main, but far from new, method used by the defenders of the crimes of the military Fascist régime.

399. However, it is quite obvious that attacks on those, including our own delegation, who have spoken in the Assembly and condemned the bloody repression of the junta, and demagogy will not conceal the true nature of the events occurring in Chile. The truth has been confirmed by facts and by the statements of eyewitnesses. And the truth is that the legitimate Government of Chile has been overthrown with assistance from outside, that a constitutionally elected President has been murdered and that thousands of communists and democrats have been thrown into prison and that their lives, including the life of the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Chile, Comrade Luis Corvalán, have been threatened.

400. We share the view that the misdeeds of the military junta represent a gross violation of generally recognized humanitarian principles and norms of international law, including the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the International Covenants on Human Rights.

401. The crimes against humanity committed by the military junta in Chile have caused profound anxiety throughout the world. The Governments of a number of States Members of the United Nations have condemned these acts. Many international organizations and public opinion throughout the world have also condemned them. All this shows how untrue are the assertions of the representative of the junta to the effect that the inhuman acts of the military junta in Chile are being condemned only by the socialist countries.

402. The Mongolian people participate actively in the world-wide movement of solidarity with the Chilean people, not, as the representative of the junta alleged, because it is a satellite of Soviet communism, but because this is dictated by our hearts and our souls and because we feel true sympathy with the Chilean people. And, despite the distance separating us, we are linked with the working men and women of Chile by fraternal ties of proletarian internationalism. It is no accident that the memory of Salvador Allende is perpetuated in our minds. A medical college has been named after him in the capital of my country. My delegation urgently appeals to the President of the General Assembly and to the Secretary-General to take new steps to ensure that the military junta in Chile puts an end to the violations of human rights, liberates political, public and other leaders in Chile and halts the inhuman repression of those who supported the Government of Popular Unity.

403. Mr. ŠMÍD (Czechoslovakia): In his repeated statements, the representative of the military junta in Chile, known all over the world for mass violations of fundamental human rights, dares to give us lessons in democracy and freedom. Using the practice of all Fascists and demagogues, he concentrates his attacks primarily on the socialist States, ignoring the fact that

the atrocities and the actual acts of genocide still being committed by the military junta are being widely condemned internationally, including in bodies of the United Nations. In doing so, the representative of Chile has several times mentioned, in particular on 1 October [2251st meeting], in a slanderous and offensive manner, my country, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In that connexion, he, to say the least, grossly distorts facts by attempting to compare the explicitly political means of solving the consequences of a social crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and 1969 with the continuing mass murders and reprisals against the people of Chile. To make such comparisons and, what is more, to make them in the way we have witnessed requires a great deal of cynicism.

404. The substance of the true development in Czechoslovakia, in all its aspects, has several times been elucidated in official documents of the Czechoslovak Government. Everybody has had the opportunity of learning the true state of affairs, and we know from experience that people who harbour sincere feelings towards our country have done so. They understand our efforts, as well as those of our friends, aimed at preventing the disruption of our country and maintaining and strengthening the socialist achievements of our development. The working people of Czechoslovakia are grateful and justly thankful to their class brothers in the countries of the socialist community for the timely assistance in stopping the counter-revolution in our country. In the words of the General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Mr. Husak, delivered at the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "This international assistance has saved our country from a civil war and from counter-revolution and has helped to secure the achievements of socialism".

405. It is evident to everybody that that assistance prevented in time the very development which in its final stage would have led to a horrible situation such as we are now witnessing in Chile. It paved the way to leading our country, in a short period of time, out of the crisis and into the paths of the further successful construction of socialism. As a matter of fact, this reality was recognized in time by our brothers in arms, the Communist Party of Chile.

406. The Czechoslovak people had very good relations with the Chilean people for many years. In spite of the fact that Czechoslovakia, as a consequence of the military *coup d'état* in Chile, during which the constitutionally elected President, Salvador Allende, was murdered, had to break off diplomatic relations with that country, our very friendly relations with the Chilean people remain unchanged. The Czechoslovak people hold in high esteem the glorious Chilean patriots, who have proudly held their heads high in the most trying times when protecting the principles of democracy and human freedom.

407. The present international situation is characterized by the general advance of the ideas of peace, democracy and progress and the strengthening of the forces struggling for *détente* and the sovereignty and security of peoples. For that very reason, the forces of imperialism and reaction are doing their utmost, as the drama of Chile demonstrates, to counter that,

using all kinds of methods. The nations must therefore remain alert and mobilized to defeat them.

408. The military *coup* in Chile is not an isolated event. It represents an attempt to punish and intimidate the people who have won or intend to achieve their total political and economic emancipation. We are convinced that in Chile, which today is stained with the blood of its best sons and daughters, democrats and patriots, will again lift the torch that has been trampled underfoot. Thus, the words of the great poet of the Chilean people, Pablo Neruda, will come true. He said that tyranny beheads those who sing but their voices will return to the surface; even from the bottom of wells and even in the darkness they will rise to the lips of the people.

409. In conclusion, I should like to join the speakers who preceded me in requesting that the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General take appropriate steps to end the continuing violations by the Chilean military junta of fundamental human rights.

410. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): Mr. President, I think one must crave your indulgence and that of members of the Assembly for speaking at this late hour, but it is not we who are to be blamed for that, but those who have daily been committing crimes in Chile, and continue to do so.

411. What we have heard, again today, in this respected forum from the mouth of the representative of the Chilean régime is further evidence that the usurping anti-democratic junta even has the audacity to use all sorts of lies and slanders. As we have already seen on many occasions, the spokesmen of Chilean reaction make desperate efforts to divert attention and try to conceal all the horrors which their masters perpetrate as, day after day, they trample fundamental human rights and democracy underfoot.

412. We all know full well the atrocities committed by the junta in Chile. More than one international conference has established and denounced the brutalities which arouse the righteous indignation of millions of honest people. And added to the mass atrocities is the volley of aspersions cast upon the socialist countries, but this will hardly hoodwink any of the representatives here. The imitation and methods of the advocates of today's fascism only remind us of bloody cruelties which we would do better to forget. But we cannot help it; we have to denounce them over and over again.

413. Eyewitnesses who have been in the hell of Chilean gaols and concentration camps stand before world public opinion to bear truthful testimony to the nature of today's ruling régime in Chile. The junta has transformed free, democratic Chile into a country of terror and suffering. The best sons of the Chilean people, including Luis Corvalán, Clodomiro Almeyda, members of the lawfully elected Allende Government, leaders of the democratic, progressive parties and trade unions, and many outstanding figures of the cultural and scientific life of the country are illegally imprisoned under inhuman conditions, and several of them are in immediate danger of their lives. The number of victims so far can hardly be concealed.

414. Fact-finding commissions of various international organizations have stated that the military

junta which overthrew by force the democratically elected Government of Chile disregards human rights and fundamental freedoms. The junta's representatives in this Assembly defy even the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principles contained in those two basic documents.

415. Nothing is more characteristic of the hypocrisy of the junta's representative than the fact that practically every day we have here to put up with his speechifying about freedom and the observance of human rights, although arrests, cruel tortures and illegal executions are a common occurrence in Chile. And who are the victims of this ruthless terror in Chile? Chile's hard-working people, desirous of freedom, who by electing President Allende chose the road of democracy, social progress and development. The only sin of the persons flung into prison and put to the rack or to death is their love of their country and their loyalty to the lawfully and democratically elected Government, their desire for democracy and freedom, and their wish to live as human beings should.

416. Anyone who speaks against the unbridled terror and for the release of the imprisoned Chilean patriots is branded by today's Chilean régime as a tool of Marxism and an agent of the socialist countries. This utter hatred and fear of socialism and of the socialist countries is not incidental. The reason for it is simple: the Soviet Union and the socialist countries were among the first to raise their protest in international forums, including United Nations bodies. They have demanded an immediate end to the executions and terror, the restoration of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the immediate release of those imprisoned in Chile for their political beliefs.

417. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic is of the opinion that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly and its elected officers, the President as well as the Secretary-General, have also to make it known in due form to the Chilean junta that the grave and continued violation of human rights causes the vast majority of Member States to adopt a condemnatory attitude and seriously endangers the aims in the interests of which we are discussing various issues.

418. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope and firm belief of my delegation that the time will come when the people of Chile will sweep away their Fascist butchers and we can again welcome their genuine representatives in this Assembly.

419. Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In his statement this afternoon, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zaire said that Spain should give up the fallacious pretext of a referendum, since decolonization is not synonymous with a referendum; he was referring to the Sahara.

420. My delegation would like to remind the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zaire that in paragraph 4 of resolution 3162 (XXVIII), the General Assembly:

“Repeats its invitation to the administering Power to determine, in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, the procedures for the holding of a referendum under United Nations auspices to enable the indigenous population of the Sahara to

exercise freely its right to self-determination and independence and, to this end . . .”.

Therefore, this is no fallacious pretext but rather a requirement of the General Assembly on this point. In this connexion, I would like to remind the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zaire that his delegation voted in favour of that resolution.

421. With respect to his reference to following the same procedure in the case of Gibraltar, I should remind him that in no way can people serving in a military base be subjected to a referendum on self-determination. In this connexion, I should like to call attention to the fact that in paragraph 2 of resolution 2353 (XXII) of 19 December 1967, on the question of Gibraltar, the General Assembly:

“Declares the holding of the referendum of 10 September 1967 by the administering Power to be a contravention of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2231 (XXI) and of those of the resolution adopted on 1 September 1967 by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples”.

422. That resolution is mentioned again in resolution 2429 (XXIII), in which, in paragraph 4, the General Assembly:

“Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to begin without delay the negotiations with the Government of Spain provided for in resolution 2353 (XXII)”.

423. The delegation of Zaire voted in favour of resolution 2429 (XXIII). Thus, I should like to remind the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zaire that it is the General Assembly, and not the Spanish delegation, which laid down the rules to be followed in respect of the decolonization of both territories.

424. My delegation would like to deal with another statement in exercise of the right of reply allegedly made by my delegation. My delegation has not made any statement in exercise of the right of reply to the delegation of Morocco. It made a statement, in exercise of its right of reply, concerning statements made by the representative of the Central African Republic.

425. The delegation of Morocco is apparently determined to start a debate on the question of the Sahara at this plenary meeting. I do not think that I shall follow him in this path. My delegation will abide by what was said on 2 October by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain [2253rd meeting]. In the Fourth Committee we shall expand and clarify this with whatever data may be required. I should, however, like to make the point that both the data on refugees and on military forces, as well as the number of inhabitants in the Sahara and other extremes to which the representative of Morocco referred, are neither accurate nor even close to the mark. My Government abides by resolution 3162 (XXVIII); in that resolution, we are made responsible for creating a favourable climate for the referendum to be conducted on an entirely free, democratic and impartial basis; my Government is invited to take all the necessary steps to ensure that the people of the Sahara exercise their right to self-determination and independence, and it is asked to receive a United

Nations mission and provide it with the necessary facilities so that it can participate actively in the holding of the referendum which will make it possible to put an end to the colonial situation in the Territory.

426. That is what my Government has said, and we are preparing to implement it. To aspire to act in any other way would, even now, be acting contrary to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, resolutions for which the delegation of Morocco voted.

427. The approximately 70,000 people of the Sahara are as worthy of respect as any other indigenous people in its own territory. Therefore, my Government has maintained close contacts with the Government of Morocco, as we have with the Governments of Mauritania and Algeria. We continue to maintain these close contacts, in compliance with resolution 3162 (XXVIII), always with a view to the decolonization of the Territory along the lines mentioned in the resolution to which I have referred so many times.

428. Of course, whatever any journalist or news agency may say is not my responsibility nor that of my Government; it merely expresses the opinions of the person who drafted the news report.

429. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): My delegation once again expresses its deep concern over the continuous violation of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms in Chile, which represents a constant challenge to the policy of non-alignment of the non-aligned countries and to the United Nations.

430. The position of socialist and non-aligned Yugoslavia on this question has been made known on many occasions in the United Nations—in the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights. Our position is firmly based on the Political Declaration of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.¹⁰ My country, in keeping with our tradition of true international solidarity and the provision of our Constitution, has granted asylum to many Chileans persecuted by the terror régime. The Fascist junta that overthrew the legal Government of President Allende and killed him, as well as many thousands of Chilean patriots, was part of the combined aggression of reaction and imperialism about which the non-aligned summit in Algiers warned.

431. The overthrow of President Allende's Government marked at the same time the beginning of the violations of the spirit and provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights. Since then, reports have been constantly reaching the outside world about serious and mass violations of human rights in Chile, particularly the violation of human and trade union rights, arbitrary arrests, torture, inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners, the existence and opening of new concentration camps, establishment of special courts, inhuman treatment for members of Mr. Allende's Government and of the former Parliament.

432. In the current debate in this Assembly, several participants from various parts of the world have voiced their concern over the situation in Chile. Today, the Yugoslav delegation is therefore of the opinion that the President of the General Assembly and the

Secretary-General should once more request the Chilean authorities to stop their terror against the Chilean people.

433. Mr. D'ÉZ (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Perhaps only a few times in my life have I felt prouder of being a Chilean than I have felt this afternoon, for I can, albeit for only a few minutes, give evidence and testify to what happened in my country. But before I do this, allow me to offer the Assembly a few observations about the strange phenomenon that we have witnessed this afternoon.

434. Why has a small country like Chile, in a far corner of the world, with a population of barely 10 million, become the centre of the attention of this Assembly and aroused against it the voices of Soviet communism and of all its obsequious servants? First of all, there are certain obvious conclusions. There is a common international policy which cannot be questioned and *vis-à-vis* which, in accordance with Brezhnev's doctrine of limited sovereignty, Governments have no independence of action.

435. All the representatives who follow Soviet communism have talked about the fact that they have a moral duty. Of course, it is the moral duty which was defined by Lenin: what is moral is everything that serves the Soviet revolution. But, in addition to these two general reasons, there are others which are specifically related to my country. The Soviet Union lost a very important base for ideological penetration in Latin America, a base which it had to have after Cuba's loss of prestige and its failure to penetrate our continent. The Communist parties of the free countries, after analysing the case of Chile, see themselves doubted by the public opinion of their respective countries about whether or not it is possible to have coexistence within a country when the Communists come to power.

436. For these reasons, our country has acquired an international importance which we never thought to attain, either because of our size or our weight in the world community or because of our economy.

437. Faced with these attacks, Chile draws a very clear distinction among the countries and divides them into two groups. There are certain countries which, because of their tradition and history and the wealth of their own cultures, have the right to concern themselves with human rights and they have the right to demand of us Chileans—who have been a democracy for 160 years and have a great humanist tradition emanating from our Catholic religion and the traditions of our Spanish laws—answers to their questions, and they will have our reply. But this afternoon we have heard the voices of those who have no moral grounds for doing this—those who have remained in the governments of their countries for decades or for almost half a century; those who have never carried out or observed any human rights prescribed by the United Nations; those who have hundreds of millions of men imprisoned within their countries; those who have never permitted the world to see what goes on behind their frontiers—for all of them we have only moral reprobation.

438. But we do not want to hide behind this reprobation and fail to give the world our reasons, since our moral teachings tell us that the deeds of both men

and nations are judged by the intrinsic good or evil that lies in them and not by the acts of other men or other nations. For them and not for the servants of Soviet imperialism, the Chileans are going to give their explanations.

439. What happened in Chile? The Soviets imagine that there can be no revolution except within the Soviet framework and that, therefore, revolution always carries with it thousands of dead, tremendous bloodshed, prisoners, torture, concentration camps, forced labour, closed frontiers, and organizations that cannot enter them.

440. In Chile we have had a revolution, but it is not a Soviet revolution, and nothing of that kind occurred in Chile. We have had a Chilean revolution brought about by the Chilean people through the intermediary of the executive branch of the armed forces, which, as Allende said, is the people of Chile. He did not dare to draw the conclusion that when he had lost the people he had also lost his armed forces.

441. A government can be democratic in its origins, it can be legitimate at the outset, but it can lose that legitimacy in its exercise of power, and this is what happened to Allende's régime. We do not say it, we who are here—the Supreme Court said it; the Comptroller General of the Republic said it; a majority of the Congress elected by the people, despite the electoral frauds of the Popular Unity, said it; 10 million Chileans suffered from it; the hundreds of those who died from the terrorist acts committed during the three years of Allende's Government, which went unpunished, experienced it; public opinion knows about the 7,000 criminals whose detention orders were not carried out by the Allende Government, despite the repeated requests of our authorities.

442. In view of all this, I should like to ask the Assembly to think for a minute and recall the words, perhaps the only true words uttered by the Soviet representative. Chile is a country of 160 years of democracy. Why did a country that is so democratic it can elect a Marxist, and can give that Marxist a budget, why did that country, with this vigorous democratic tradition, make the break it did? We Chileans do not even ask everyone to give us the benefit of the doubt.

443. I am not a military man. I have the honour of having been a Chilean parliamentarian for more than 10 years, and there are in our delegation four Chilean members of Parliament, representing all the democratic parties, who have come here to say that it is the Chilean people which is taking into its own hands the power to find its own way, its own destiny, free from the influence of blocs that today want to manage the world.

444. We ask the world to let us be ourselves and find our own path and our destiny. We reject all interference. We reject intervention by the CIA—to which reference has been made here—but we also reject the intervention of the Soviet imperialists that revealed itself during the régime of the Popular Unity, an intervention that not only took the form of the provision of funds but also consisted of modern automatic weapons of Russian and Czech manufacture brought into Chile by means of Cuban aircraft and ships. We do not need to prove it, because the Soviet Com-

munists, if one knows how to look for it, tell everything they are doing. In the *International Review* of September this year, which has just come out and which is the official organ of Soviet communism throughout the world, it is stated on page 86, with reference to criticisms of the revolutionary movements that charged the Soviet Union with having lost its revolutionary vigour and strength:

“As for the aid provided by socialist and other revolutionary forces, it is well known, almost too well known, for us to have to refute the defamations of these people. Fidel Castro gave a good answer to all those who criticized the Soviet Union, accusing it of having weakened in the struggle against imperialism. They need only ask themselves whence come the weapons used by the liberation forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America.”

445. With respect to the provision of funds, let us also look for similar evidence, not three years old but of now, of a few days ago. According to *Die Welt* of 1 October, there is a report from East Berlin that in a weekly called *Volksarmee* there appeared a statement of the Association of Free Trade-Unionists of the German Democratic Republic to the effect that it had contributed more than 200 million marks to the communist and socialist movements in various parts of the world. By September 1973, 30.8 million marks had been sent to the communist and socialist parties in Chile. Thus, in Chile we were witnessing not only a democracy being destroyed by Marxism but also a civil war which was encouraged by Powers in conflict at the world level. It was for this that the armed forces said, and rightly so, that their intervention was designed to put an end to the threat of civil war which was already on our doorstep.

446. In view of the situation revealed to us in the first months—the violence, the hatred, the arms distributed by the thousands—what did the Chilean Government do about human rights? It engaged in acts which only the prudence and professional traditions of the armed forces could suggest. First of all, we had a curfew for a few days, when no persons were allowed to leave their houses; as a consequence, vendettas aroused by political hatred were averted. The second measure of precaution was that any person who had weapons could hand them in at the churches. It was the various religious houses that gathered thousands and thousands of weapons which could have been used against our brothers.

447. When international organizations, recognized or not, asked us if they could enter Chile, we said; “The country is open. Let anyone who wishes come in and see. We Chileans have nothing to be ashamed of.” Can members of this Assembly really believe that in a city like Santiago more than 8,000 people could have taken refuge in foreign embassies during the first few days without the consent of the military Government? Can members understand this Government which, despite the passions of the first few days, co-operated and permitted more than 14,000 refugees to leave the country, with the help of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees?

448. Some of the reports mentioned here by the Soviet representatives contain statements made by some people during the first few days. For example, there is the statement of the committee of refugees

to the effect that it could not do its work because it could not find any housing for the people and, also, it did not know where some of them were. But what happened a few months after that? The Lutheran Bishop Helmut Frenz, who received an award from the Organization for having taken care of Chilean refugees, made the following statement when he accepted that award: “As we express gratitude to the institutions and persons who assisted us in this task, we cannot remain silent about the vital part played by the Government of Chile in the success of this programme.”

449. From the very first moment, the Chilean Foreign Ministry co-operated at all stages in a friendly and cordial way and with an attitude that went far beyond that of merely complying with international commitments.

450. We have talked about weapons; we have talked about refugees; we have talked about people who have been exiled. Let us now talk about prisoners. We do have people in custody in Chile in conformity with legislation that is in force. Indeed, that legislation dates back to 1874. But what has the Chilean Government said? The Chilean Government has said that, apart from exceptional cases, these persons can choose to go and live in some other country, to build the personal life to which every man is entitled—and in this case it may be a second opportunity we are giving these persons. The Chilean junta is complying with that principle, and there it has the co-operation and assistance—for which we are very grateful—of the International Committee of the Red Cross. From the moment that we arrived in this Assembly to the moment of making this statement, 378 Chilean prisoners have been given, thanks to the work of the Red Cross, the hope that they can start a new and better life.

451. I turn now to the two names that have been cited today—for I do not wish to leave any points unanswered. Those two names are, first, Corvalán and, second, Almeyda. The first name is Corvalán because for the Soviets not all lives have equal validity. The life of the head of the Chilean branch of the Communist Party has a different weight, and he has to be supported so that leaders of Communist parties in other countries will not become cowardly. Now, what has happened to Corvalán? At the previous session [2138th meeting, paras. 121 to 123], a point of order was raised in this Hall and we were told that Corvalán was going to be shot forthwith, that no time could be lost, that the junta was going to kill Corvalán that very day. Well, Mr. Corvalán is still very much alive. He has been visited by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which has not informed the Chilean Government of any complaints that Mr. Corvalán might have, nor has any petition been made to my Government. Mr. Corvalán will be tried, and we even know who is going to defend him. It is a Spanish attorney, Mr. Ruiz Jiménez, who was, I believe, a member of Franco's Cabinet and is a professor at the University of Madrid. He was a foreign attorney, but he is now a Chilean attorney; he has been recognized as such by the Chilean authorities. In order to be the attorney for someone in a country with old and proud traditions, it is necessary—as it is in England—for the person to be a member of the Chilean Bar Association. This Spanish attorney has become a member of the Santiago Bar Association in order to be able to defend Corvalán.

452. And what about Minister Almeyda? International organizations and the Council of the Chilean Bar Association have talked to Mr. Almeyda, because he is an attorney and a colleague of ours. Mr. Almeyda—and I am somewhat hesitant about saying this—is confronting not only problems of extremism and problems of complicity in the introduction of weapons into our country; he is undergoing a regular trial by an ordinary tribunal, because the Comptroller General of the Republic has filed charges against him regarding the administration of funds. He will have a fair trial and an impartial one, because it is our custom in Chile that no one can be condemned without having had the right to defend himself, even though he himself may not believe in the right of defence and even though his doctrine states that no one has the right to defend himself against the State.

453. We do not want to tax the patience of representatives here. International reports have been cited endlessly; we have heard contradictory figures about the number of dead and the number of prisoners. None of these international reports contain such figures. We hope that in the Third Committee, in a calm atmosphere, we can discuss these questions concerning a Government that is prepared to accept recommendations, a Government whose only desire—as we have said from the very beginning—is to rebuild the country on the solid basis of a Christian and democratic moral structure.

454. We have been told that the Government is going to turn over its economy to the transnational corporations and divest the Chilean people of everything they have gained by their struggle. That is just one more senseless statement. The facts are crystal-clear. The large copper companies are in the hands of Chileans. The mining of iron and steel is in the hands of the Chilean Government. That is true also of nitrates, of the small amount of oil we have, of coal, of the railroads, of the national airline, and of some banks. Those things were for the most part in Chilean hands long before the Government of Popular Unity came to power—that is, long before the Government of Mr. Allende.

455. I do not want to weary members by going on any longer, but I must make one last remark. I would invite the Soviets and those who follow them to allow the world to know what is happening everywhere. Human rights are never better defended than when world public opinion knows what is happening in each and every country. We want human rights to be defended in Chile, and therefore we have freedom in Chile. Let them also open their frontiers to the winds of freedom. Let the world know what is happening in their countries. Let them allow those who want to build their lives in other countries to leave. Inasmuch as we are approaching the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, let us implement Article 13, paragraph 2, which I have taught so many times to my students and which states that everyone has the right to live wherever he wishes to live on this earth which has been given to us so that we may perfect ourselves, here and in the other world—for those who believe in it. Let us ensure that something positive emerges from this debate. Let the world progress, even though it may be walking on its knees. From this exchange of views—I shall not say

“exchange of insults” because I have not insulted anyone—let the world say that we have advanced somewhat along the eternal path, that we have made some progress in the never-ending task of ensuring that human rights are observed. Therein will lie the true content of our life on this planet.

456. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Apparently a pause is required so that we can dispel the spirit of fascism, the odious Fascist falsehoods so familiar to those who fought against Hitler. Perhaps this pause will enable representatives and the interpreters, as well as the typists and stenographers and other Secretariat personnel, to dedicate themselves to the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations. This pause in my statement will be dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Fascist terror in Chile.

457. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, together with other representatives of States Members of the United Nations, condemns the mass terror in Chile and the persecution and execution of patriots carried out by the fascist military junta which is throwing down a brazen challenge to democracy and is trampling over the conquests won by the Chilean people, holding back social progress in the Latin American continent.

458. We state our full solidarity with the Chilean patriots and democrats. Nobody can take seriously the hypocritical utterances of the agent of the Chilean junta, who spoke about freedom and democracy, which allegedly prevail in Chile. In point of fact, the same kind of freedom and democracy prevails in Chile which is applied by Park Chung Hee in South Korea, by Nguyen Van Thieu in South Viet Nam and by Vorster and Ian Smith in southern Africa.

459. For over a year now we have received very alarming news from Chile, news which has called forth the indignation of all decent people. In Chile the very Constitution of the country has been flouted. Democratic traditions have been trampled on. Elementary legality has been forgotten. There have been firing squads. There is torture and barbarous terror. Books have been burned. That is the Fascist mask of the junta, which will not stop at the most heinous crimes in order to restore its privileges, despite the clearly expressed will of the Chilean people.

460. The Fascist clique that seized power in Chile by means of a military *coup* against the Allende Government has thrown the country into the abyss of a police State. Immediately after the murder of the President of Chile, Salvador Allende, a great Chilean who fought to the end for the interests of the Chilean people, the Fascist junta launched a mass terrorist campaign against the Chilean people. The international commission inquiring into the crimes of the military junta in Chile reports that in the past year more than 30,000 people have been executed without trial.

461. According to the French newspaper *Le Monde*, the junta is responsible for the 50,000 to 100,000 people who have perished or disappeared in Chile. The country is covered by a network of concentration camps. Tens of thousands of people are languishing in those prisons. Hundreds of thousands of workers have lost their jobs for political reasons. Not only are

members of the former Government of Popular Unity subjected to cruel repression, but also all those who are suspected, to the slightest degree, of opposition to the bloody régime.

462. Prisoners are tormented and tortured. The Chilean junta does not hesitate to perpetrate violence or to defend with cruelty the interests of imperialism. It is quite obvious that the obligations based on international law are being flouted unceremoniously by the Chilean junta. The junta is flouting such authoritative documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which was signed and ratified by Chile, and the American Convention on Human Rights of 1969. The lives of thousands upon thousands of Chilean patriots are being threatened. The United Nations and all freedom-loving people should therefore raise their voices to defend the Chilean anti-Fascists. Outstanding political leaders in Chile, leaders who for many years have fought for a better future for their country, are threatened with death. Among them is the Secretary-General of the Chilean Communist Party, Senator Luis Corvalán, the Foreign Minister of the Popular Unity Government, the socialist Clodomiro Almeyda, and many others.

463. In their own country, as well as in the entire Latin American continent, in fact throughout the entire world, the Fascist rulers of Chile are the objects of the contempt of the broad masses of people. In all continents, the movement to support the people of Chile is growing and expanding. In the countries of the socialist community, the movement of solidarity with the Chilean people has assumed very large proportions. The Byelorussian people participate in this movement and are carrying out mass campaigns in support of the struggle of the Chilean people for freedom and democracy and against the atrocities of the Fascist junta. The World Peace Congress, which was held in October last year in Moscow, the European Conference of Solidarity with the Chilean People, which was held in Paris in July of this year, the International Conference of Solidarity with the Chilean People, which took place in Caracas in August of this year, have all condemned the crimes of the military junta in Chile and the repression perpetrated by the junta against the Chilean people, and have demanded the liberation of Luis Corvalán, Clodomiro Almeyda and other patriots.

464. The military junta has also been severely condemned by the Commission on Human Rights and by its Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, as well as by the Economic and Social Council, the Trade and Development Board, and specialized agencies such as UNESCO, ILO and others.

465. A broad campaign of solidarity with the Chilean patriots has been organized in Latin America. Mass meetings of protest against terror in Chile have been held. A week of solidarity with the Chilean people has been observed in almost all Latin American countries. The people of Colombia have warmly supported the decision of their Government to recall the Colombian Ambassador from Chile and to reject the credentials of the ambassador of the junta. The Chilean junta and its policy of terror have been unanimously condemned by the Venezuelan Senate. The President

of Venezuela proposed that the question of political prisoners in Chile should be raised within the United Nations. One of the leading trade-union organizations in Latin America, the Latin American Trade Unions Centre, sent an appeal to all trade-union organizations in Latin America to strengthen their solidarity with the Chilean people. Many heads of delegations also have expressed strong condemnation of the Chilean junta during the general debate.

466. The repression perpetrated by the Fascist régime in Chile has been subject to condemnations from the bourgeois press, which has never shown particular sympathy for the Government of Popular Unity. The Fascist junta is supported only by extreme reactionaries, and with reason.

467. The preparation and implementation of the conspiracy against the constitutional Government was linked with the activities of international monopolies and imperialist forces. Quite recently, the press reported very convincing facts clearly demonstrating that, and, as if to thank those forces, the military junta in Chile hastened to restore to their former proprietors, including international corporations, 250 enterprises that had been nationalized by the Government of President Allende in the interests of the Chilean people.

468. Together with other delegations, our delegation considers that the authority of the United Nations and of the General Assembly could and should be utilized on behalf of the interests of the people of Chile. We therefore support the proposal that the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General should send a telegram to Chile demanding the liberation of political prisoners and the restoration of legality in Chile [*ibid.*, para. 255].

469. Similar action taken last year undoubtedly played a very positive role in staying the hand of the Chilean Fascists. We should now intensify this action. Allow me once again to emphasize that the Byelorussian people condemn most strongly the crimes perpetrated by the military junta in Chile and firmly demands the liberation of the patriots and the freedom fighters in that country.

470. We express our conviction that the fight waged by the Chilean people and the solidarity of all progressive forces will lead to the restoration of the rights of the Chilean people. The day will ultimately come when the Chilean people will regain their liberty and restore democratic freedoms in their country, and the true representatives of the Chilean people will again occupy their places in this Organization.

The meeting rose at 9.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 23, vol. III, chap. XI, sect. B.*

² *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971, document S/10405.*

³ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

⁴ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1974*, document S/11198, annex.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1974*, document S/11302/Add.1, annex I.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, item 41.

⁷ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. III, document A/CONF.62/33.

⁸ A/9330 and Corr. 1.

⁹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. I.A, part one (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.Mim.1, part one), p. 197.

¹⁰ A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 3.