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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Jackson (Guyana),
Vice-President, took the chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. PENJOR (Bhutan): In unanimously electing the President of the twenty-eighth session, the General Assembly has not only honoured a distinguished son of Latin America but also recognized his great skill and wisdom as a seasoned diplomat. My country has always had admiration for the friendly peoples of Latin America, and I wish to assure the President of our fullest co-operation in the discharge of his responsibilities. We are confident that under his wise leadership, we will be able to accomplish the tasks we have set ourselves.

2. I should also like to take this opportunity of associating my delegation with those who have expressed their appreciation for the patience, devotion and the great ability with which the outgoing President, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński of Poland, guided our deliberations during the last session.

3. We are happy to welcome in our midst today the representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. Bhutan believes in the universality of the United Nations and we are convinced that the admission to the United Nations of these three States will mark an important step towards making our Organization not only more representative but more effective. The Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic

Republic, with their great economic strength and impressive record of post-war achievement, are bound to play an important role in the United Nations. The newly independent nation of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas will undoubtedly bring to bear its healing touch on the problems facing the world body.

4. We look forward very much to co-operating with the delegations of these States both within and outside the United Nations. However, let me hasten to add that the process of universality of the United Nations will only be complete when all countries are represented in this great Organization. We hope, therefore, that the General Assembly will be able to act in a similar manner when dealing with the admission of other States to the United Nations.

5. We in Bhutan are just recovering from the irreparable loss we suffered last year in the demise of our great King, His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck. We were indeed fortunate in having a person of his wisdom and vision to guide the destiny of our country at a momentous juncture in our history. Our present King, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, has reiterated his firm resolve to continue the great task started by his late father to build a modern Bhutan in which the people will enjoy social justice and economic prosperity. As we end the official period of national mourning for our late King, we realize, with even greater urgency than before, the unfulfilled tasks to which we have to address ourselves. We are, however, determined to forge ahead and complete the task of building our nation. In the external sphere we are convinced that a policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence based on friendship with all countries is the only practical policy for Bhutan.

6. We, therefore, have become a member of the non-aligned group during the recent Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers. This, however, does not mean that Bhutan does not wish to play its rightful role in the comity of nations. Our policy of non-alignment is not a negative concept; it is in fact a policy based on the foundations of independence of thought and action. We believe this policy is consistent with the United Nations objectives of reducing tensions and building a world in which relations between countries are based on the principle of mutual respect, sovereign equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

7. Last year, in our statement before this Assembly [2053rd meeting], we had the occasion to welcome the signs of détente which had begun to emerge on the international scene. As we meet this year, we have reason to be satisfied with the hopeful change in international rela-

tionships between nations and particularly between the major Powers of the world. In this context we welcome the development of normal relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States. The normalization of relations between Japan and the People's Republic of China will, in our view, undoubtedly contribute to stability in East Asia. The visit of Mr. Brezhnev to the United States this summer is yet another milestone along the road of reducing international tension and promoting a better understanding between the most powerful nations of the world. We welcome as a constructive development the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the stabilizing agreements among Central European States. These are undoubtedly significant developments which have brought Europe out of the dark days of the cold war and also contributed substantially to promoting peace and harmony in Europe and throughout the world.

8. Unfortunately, the improved climate so noticeably visible in Europe has not had a comparable effect in Asia and several other parts of the world. Although the conclusion of the peace agreements in Viet-Nam and Laos is a major step, Indo-China is not yet completely free from war and its disastrous consequences. The aftermath of war is as terrible as the war itself, as it involves the enormous task of reconstruction and the rehabilitation of the people in Indo-China which we hope will gain the co-operation of all the peace-loving nations. We therefore hope that the peace so assiduously achieved in Laos and Viet-Nam will be an enduring one and that it will be extended to Cambodia, too, by peaceful negotiations between the parties concerned.

9. My delegation welcomed the promising signs of dialogue and understanding between the representatives of North and South Korea last year and we expressed the hope that that dialogue would lead to an understanding between the two Koreas for the eventual reunification of that country. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that both North and South Korea will continue their efforts to arrive at an amicable understanding so that the people of that peninsula will be able to devote their energies to the more pressing tasks before them. Bhutan fully supports the aspirations of the Korean people for reunification of their desire to live in peace and harmony, and hopes that the dialogue and conciliation between North and South Korea will be further promoted.

10. Nearer home to us in Bhutan is the situation on the Indian subcontinent. The agreement on resolving the humanitarian problems flowing from the 1971 conflict, signed recently, clears the way for giving shape to the hopes of peace upheld in the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972. We in Bhutan welcome that agreement between India and Pakistan with the concurrence of Bangladesh as a vital step for bringing about the much desired durable peace on the subcontinent. The parties concerned have indeed shown a great sense of urgency, accommodation and understanding for the solution of the unfortunate humanitarian problems.

11. In that spirit we hope that the reality of Bangladesh will also be recognized. It is a reality recognized by over

100 Members of the United Nations. If we sincerely subscribe to the principle of universality, then the doors of the United Nations cannot be kept closed to the 75 million people of Bangladesh. We hope that before long it will be possible for the representatives of Bangladesh to take their rightful place in this Assembly of nations as full members.

12. At a time when we welcome international détente and look with great expectation for a durable world peace it is unfortunate that armed conflict and hostilities have broken out once again in the Middle East. The underlying cause of that tragic event is, we believe, the continued occupation of Arab territories by Israel and the failure to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which formed the basis for a just settlement. It is, however, gratifying to note that the Security Council is mindful of its responsibility and its commitments towards international peace and security in general and the Middle East situation in particular. We sincerely hope that the Security Council will take all possible steps and effective measures for the restoration of peace in the region. My delegation also feels that it is necessary to recognize the legitimate rights of all the States in the region to their existence within recognized boundaries, in the interests of a just and durable peace.

13. One other area which continues to cause concern to my Government and to pose a threat to world peace and security is southern Africa. The people of Namibia have been denied the basic right to live in freedom and dignity. The policies of *apartheid* and racialism continue to be followed unremittably in South Africa, in violation of all canons of civilized behaviour. In Southern Rhodesia the minority régime continues to rule the majority population by force of arms. It is regrettable that the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia should survive, with the support of certain vested interests. We believe that all peace-loving countries which uphold the cause of justice, freedom and human dignity based on equality should accept and intensify sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The policy of repression being followed by the Portuguese Government in its colonies in Africa continues to pose a serious threat to peace and security. Bhutan supports the struggle for independence being carried on by the peoples of all colonial territories. We believe that the solution of those problems requires a determined international effort, and we for our part are ready to join with others in any practical action that the United Nations may pursue in that regard.

14. In the field of disarmament Bhutan welcomes the series of agreements reached between the United States and the Soviet Union, including preliminary arms limitation measures and the historic Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, signed at Washington on 22 June. We are convinced that those agreements will contribute greatly to peace and security in the world and provide a further impetus for progress in the direction of complete nuclear disarmament. We are hopeful that as a result of those agreements we shall be able to achieve the ultimate goal of the total destruction of all nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. In that connexion we reiterate our support for the convening of a world disarmament conference and express the

hope that the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference set up last year [*resolution 2930 (A VII)*] will be able to make sufficient progress so that such a conference may be convened at an early date.

15. Bhutan has always supported the creation of zones or areas of peace, and last year we had occasion to express our support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [*resolution 2382 (XXVI)*]. We hope that it will be possible for the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean [*resolution 2992 (XXVII)*] to complete its preliminary work so that the much desired consultations with the permanent members of the Security Council and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean may commence at an early date. It is important for the peace and security of the countries of the Indian Ocean area that the Indian Ocean be kept free from great-Power military rivalries and interventions. In this connexion it is also important that all foreign bases should be removed from the area. We for our part are willing to co-operate with the countries of the region to give practical shape to the proposal.

16. Bhutan is looking forward to the forthcoming Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea with great interest and expectation. It is the hope of my delegation that as a result of the preparatory work done by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction the Conference will be able to take a decision on some of the outstanding issues pertaining to the law of the sea. As a land-locked country, Bhutan has a vital stake in the resources of the sea. We believe that this common heritage of mankind must be so exploited as to give each one of us an equitable share. The potentialities of the sea, as yet unassessed, may prove to be of immense value to all countries, and more particularly to the developing countries.

17. When the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade was adopted in 1970 [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], there were great expectations that the Strategy would be fully implemented for the benefit of the developing countries. We are, therefore, disappointed that the commitments assumed by the international community are not being implemented fully. It is important to review the progress made in the implementation of the strategy so that the interests of the developing and, particularly the least developed countries, can be given consideration.

18. I cannot end my statement without paying a tribute to the work being done by our distinguished Secretary-General. During the short period that he has been in office, he has demonstrated beyond doubt his rare ability, capacity for hard work and devotion to duty. We wish him well and express the hope that he will be able to accomplish the great task before him. We on our part pledge our co-operation to him.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador) took the chair.

19. Mr. MACOVESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the high responsibility which has been entrusted to you as President of this Assembly, in

acknowledgment of your own merits which fully qualify you for this position, as well as the homage paid to your country, gives us the opportunity to congratulate you as an outstanding representative of Ecuador, a country with which Romania maintains cordial relations of friendship and co-operation. That was vividly brought to the fore on the occasion of the recent presence in Ecuador of the President of the Council of State, Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu, during his visit to several Latin American countries.

20. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, who directed with competence and distinction the proceedings of the last session of the General Assembly.

21. I take this opportunity to express again to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our sincere appreciation for his devotion to the cause of the United Nations, for his activity in the service of the Organization, for his endeavours to strengthen the role of the United Nations in international life. His visit to Romania—an event to which the Romanian Government attached great importance—enabled us to know better and to appreciate highly his preoccupations and efforts.

22. The present session of the General Assembly meets against the background of a process of *détente*, co-operation and rapprochement among peoples. That process is the result of the combined effect of a number of factors such as the social revolution which brought about profound changes in society, the technical and scientific revolution, as well as the desire and the determination of all peoples to live in peace, understanding and co-operation.

23. In the complex world of today, the will of peoples to be masters of their fate and to act as independent nations receives an ever stronger impetus.

24. Vitally interested in the expansion of international co-operation, the small and medium-sized countries, irrespective of their social and political systems, are carrying on a consistent activity and are determined to make their contribution to directing international life on the road of progress, co-operation and understanding.

25. A telling example in this respect was the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held recently at Algiers. At this Conference the top representatives of a large number of States playing an important part in international life were assembled. The Conference reviewed the essential issues of man's endeavours for co-operation and peace, and for the establishment in relations between States of the principle of equal rights and mutual respect, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and the right of peoples to decide their own economic and social development for themselves. Present-day developments in Latin America, Europe and other continents speak for themselves.

26. The rise and progress of the forces that stand for *détente*, co-operation and peace demand the development of inter-State relations in keeping with the realities

and requirements of the day, and the assertion of a new, democratic spirit in international life.

27. All this requires that the settlement of the great issues facing mankind should be the outcome of the active, direct contribution of all States, irrespective of their size, potential, level of development or social and economic system. The progress achieved in the way of détente in Europe and other areas of the world proves the significance of the role that all States should play nowadays, the necessity that they be able to voice their will and that the legitimate interests of all peoples be taken into account in the settlement of the vital issues of the contemporary world. In this lies the actual guarantee of the adoption of those solutions which would respond in the highest degree to the will and aspirations of all nations, to the cause of co-operation and peace. It is only thus that such solutions may prove their worth and durability.

28. As Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu, the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has stated:

“Drawing the right conclusions from the changes that have taken place and from the new balance of forces throughout the world, it is necessary to secure the participation of all States in the settlement of the important international problems. Life has demonstrated that nowadays no problem can be solved without the participation of all interested nations. Hence the need for the countries that have set out on the road of independent development, the small and medium-sized countries, to act in ever greater unity in order to play an increased role in international life.”

29. A strong influence on international life is exerted for the growth of the political consciousness of peoples and their responsibility for safeguarding peace. The broad masses of the people are nowadays more active than ever. Human solidarity, complex in form and broad and profound in significance, now prevails over force. Public opinion has become a factor that everybody should take into account.

30. A great contribution to those processes has been made by the socialist countries, the working class and the progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces all over the world.

31. As is proved by the latest developments, and particularly by the resumption of military hostilities in the Middle East, the new trend in international life, which responds to the aspirations of all peoples, does not assert itself spontaneously.

32. At the same time, one must not ignore the fact that in the world today there are still reactionary forces hostile to co-operation and détente and to the establishment of new principles in the relations between States—forces that conduct a policy of domination of some States by others. The existence of such forces requires continuous vigilance, intensification of the struggle of the broad masses of people everywhere and of all anti-imperialist forces, so that the new reality may grow into a lasting reality in our world.

33. The United Nations has an important role to play in furthering all progressive trends, in asserting the new course in relations among States and in introducing new principles into international life.

34. It is in the context of these important shifts and of the changes taking place in the international political arena, and in the light of the role our Organization should play, that I should like to deal with some of the problems of concern to the Romanian people and its Government.

35. The period that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly has been characterized by a multiplication of contacts, exchanges of views and negotiations between various large, medium-sized and small States, by a normalization of relations among a great number of States and by the conclusion of important agreements on co-operation in various fields. It is the desire of Romania that these agreements may bring about concrete results in promoting peace, security, co-operation and friendship among all peoples. For its part, Romania, too, has embarked on such activity.

36. As a socialist country, Romania has expanded and deepened the relations of friendship and multilateral co-operation in the political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields with all socialist countries and is acting to strengthen and further promote new kinds of relations among them.

37. We attach particular importance to the broadening and strengthening of our relations with the countries that have embarked upon the path of independent development, on the basis of the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Romania maintains good relations with those States and will also expand them in the future, doing its best to forge links of co-operation that rest upon mutual advantage, and to ensure the general progress of each country and the increased well-being of each people.

38. Continuing the contacts made in the past few years with a number of States in Africa and Asia, the recent visit of the President of the Council of State, Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu, to six Latin American countries is a telling proof of our State policy of developing and strengthening multilateral co-operation with all these States, and gives a new impetus to the expanding course of bilateral relations. Following the visit to the Latin American countries, the foundation for lasting co-operation has been laid, and we have come to the conclusion that we should add the new relationships to the age-old traditional relationships that bind our peoples of Latin origin. We realize also the necessity of strengthening our solidarity in the common struggle for economic and social development, in support of independence and sovereignty, for a better and more righteous world, and for friendship and peace among all the peoples of the earth.

39. Tangible progress has been made also in Romania's relations with the Western European Countries, the United States, Canada, Japan and Australia, which were conducted in the spirit of active peaceful coexistence in the mutual interest of our peoples.

40. A concrete token of my country's preoccupation with contributing to the process of détente, to the promotion of

the new course in international relations and to the establishment of inter-State relations on a new basis is the wide-ranging international activity pursued by the President of the Council of State, Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu, and the solemn joint documents signed by him on the occasion of the exchange of visits with the highest representatives of over 20 countries in all continents. In those documents the respective parties expressed their common will to base their bilateral relations, and their relations with other countries, on the democratic principles of international law and justice required by the present and future realities of international life, as well as to affirm their commitment to develop and deepen the co-operation between themselves, and with other States, in the interest of peace, understanding, détente, co-operation and friendship among all peoples.

41. Romania highly appreciates the development of bilateral co-operation, between all States. The wider and closer that co-operation becomes, the more lasting will be the peace and the more difficult its violation. Such co-operation also causes reason to prevail in international relations.

42. But, as we have already stated, issues of general interest cannot, in our opinion, be solved bilaterally, within a narrow framework, but only by the participation of all States and the taking into account of their individual viewpoints. Any obstacle preventing States from exercising their right of contributing, on an equal footing and in keeping with their own interests, to the settlement of these issues should be eliminated.

43. The United Nations is the universal forum that, under present circumstances, can offer the most suitable framework for the fulfilment of these requirements. In Romania's view, universality does not mean only that the Organization should include all States as its Members, a goal which has been almost achieved; it also implies the submission of international issues to the Organization, their examination and the search for their solutions with the participation of all the countries concerned, as well as the observance of the same rules and principles with respect to all members of the international community, at all times and everywhere. Such universality is a prerequisite for real co-operation, as required by the purposes of the Charter.

44. The firm establishment of relations among all States of the world on a new basis—that is, on full equality of rights—requires the strengthening of international rules of law, the key-stone of which is respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of the use or threat of force and the right of each people to decide its own fate by itself. Nowadays, those principles acquire ever greater strength and ever wider recognition in the international arena. That is precisely why firm steps should be taken for their implementation so that they may become constant guidelines for the conduct of all States in their mutual relations. Any violation of those principles, any interference in the domestic affairs of another State, should be considered an act against peace and humanity and an assault on the cause of international co-operation.

45. The United Nations, which has made a noteworthy contribution to the progressive development and codification of international law, could, as a natural development, promote the implementation of the declarations, resolutions and other documents adopted in this field by giving them compulsory force.

46. The elimination of the use or the threat of force from relations among States necessarily implies the duty of States to settle their differences by peaceful means only.

47. Adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter in the implementation by the Organization of its main task—that is, the prevention of conflicts—involves full use by States of United Nations machinery and of the peaceful means provided by the Charter for the settlement of international disputes.

48. The new trend in international life makes it imperative that all vestiges of the system of relations founded on political and economic subjection and discrimination should be wholly and urgently extirpated.

49. The United Nations, which has made an important contribution to the process of decolonization, must act more vigorously and firmly for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the programme of action adopted at the twenty-fifth session [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*] as well as the other resolutions concerning the liquidation of colonialism and the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. It should take effective measures for multilateral and direct assistance to the national liberation movements of colonial peoples.

50. In full accordance with the sense of history and the general goals of the United Nations, the Romanian Government upholds the necessity of international recognition of the national liberation movements in colonies—including bilateral acts of States—as the only legitimate and authentic representatives of the peoples concerned. They should be granted a status enabling them to be directly represented in the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international forums in order to defend and promote the rights of their peoples.

51. Romania extends material, political and diplomatic assistance to the liberation movements in African countries and considers that the conditions exist for the liberation struggle in those countries to be successful in the years immediately ahead. Significant for Romania's stand is the signing on 27 June 1972 of the joint communiqué on the occasion of the visit to our country of the delegation of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [*PAIGC*—the first international document signed by that party. Amílcar Cabral emphasized its historic importance as an act of recognition of his party in the international arena.

52. That is why we experience a feeling of sincere satisfaction at the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Romania has recognized that State, and we take this opportunity to reaffirm our determination to expand and deepen the relations of solidarity

and friendship with PAIGC, to lay the foundations of wide co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and to continue to support on a multilateral basis the righteous struggle for the liberation of the Republic's whole territory, for the independent economic and social development of that country, for the quick elimination of the consequences of colonial domination.

53. In the year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights we cannot but reaffirm our profound adherence to one of the Organization's aims—that of promoting and encouraging respect for human rights. The significance and the topicality of protection for human rights is emphasized by the fact of their wide-scale violation. We strongly condemn the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination pursued by the racist minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

54. The campaign of repression and persecution of the progressive and democratic forces, the violation of constitutional rights and freedoms and fundamental human rights in Chile give rise to deep concern. We express from this rostrum our solidarity with the progressive forces and the Chilean people, and we are confident that it will succeed in re-establishing the constitutional and democratic order and in imposing its will.

55. The President of the Council of State of Romania sent messages to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the heads of State of many countries of the world calling for their intervention as quickly as possible with the authorities in Chile so that the lives of Luis Corvalán and the other Chilean fighters for progress and democracy may be saved. We are grateful for the widely expressed manifestation of human solidarity aroused by President Ceaușescu's message and believe that the General Assembly could adopt a resolution calling upon States, taking account of their obligations under the Charter and in the spirit of humanity and respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms and in keeping with the progress of history, not to resort to repression against persons struggling for progress and democracy, for peace and co-operation among peoples.

56. It is the Romanian Government's view that the continuation of situations and sources of conflict and tension, of opposing military blocs, of huge arsenals of weapons, is incompatible with the requirements of the democratization of international life, of the elimination of war from relations between States, of securing peace and security in the world.

57. We are deeply concerned about the outbreak of military hostilities in the Middle East, which inflicts great loss of human lives and material damage, aggravates the tense situation in that area and gives rise to further dangers to general peace and security. The present developments prove that continuation of the occupation by Israel of the Arab territories seized by force is a source of permanent tension, posing an endless danger of the resumption of military hostilities.

58. The seriousness of the situation prevailing at present requires the cessation of the military hostilities forthwith and the restoration of peace in the area. Romania consistently stands for the settlement of the conflict in the Middle East by political means, on the basis of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), so as to bring about the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and the establishment of a fair and just peace which would secure the recognition of the right to sovereign and independent existence of all States in the area; the problem of the Palestinian population should be settled in accordance with its own national interests and aspirations.

59. It is the Romanian Government's view that all nations throughout the world have the duty and high responsibility to act firmly in suppressing the hotbed of tension in the Middle East and for a quick settlement of the conflict there, in conformity with the supreme interests of the peoples, the principles of international law and the interests of international peace and détente.

60. World public opinion has welcomed with unanimous satisfaction the cessation of the war in Viet-Nam and the conclusion of the Paris peace agreements, as well as the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos. The Romanian Government is of the opinion that everything should be done to put an end to foreign intervention in Viet-Nam and all over Indo-China, so that the Viet-Nameese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples, which experienced great hardships because of the war, may devote all their power to reconstruction and to their independent economic and social development.

61. The political initiative taken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made possible the conclusion of agreements that pave the way for the normalization of relations between the North and the South of Korea. The Romanian Government has warmly welcomed the new proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which provide measures designed to contribute to rapprochement between the North and the South, to prevent the division of Korea, and to ensure the fulfilment of the lawful aspirations of the Korean people to live in a single State set up through the efforts of the whole nation, by peaceful and independent means, with no outside interference. We believe it is the duty of our Organization to take into account such positive developments and to give them its full support. The United Nations should uphold the idea of Korea's national unity, since that unity is a factor of economic, social and political progress, of peace and understanding among peoples. This requires, first of all, the renunciation of institutions which, under the aegis of the United Nations, make possible the continuation of a situation at variance with the interests of the Korean people and prevent that people from deciding upon its own fate in accordance with its own will.

62. We therefore support the principled stand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the creation of favourable conditions for the acceleration of the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea, which is an item on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly [*item 41 (b)*].

63. As the representative of a European country, I cannot but take the present opportunity to express the Romanian Government's satisfaction at the positive trends now prevailing on our continent, reflected also in the admission to the United Nations of the two German States, an event which we welcomed a short time ago.

64. The idea of convening a general Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe—which was launched seven years ago, in the Bucharest Declaration by the socialist countries of Europe, including Romania—gradually gained the adherence and approval of the States and Governments, of public opinion and of the peoples of the continent; following intense and successful preparation this Conference has become a concrete reality of historic importance for the political life of Europe. A remarkable victory of the European peoples and, indeed, of the peoples all over the world. The general European Conference—whose first stage, at the Foreign Minister level, was completed successfully—provides an appropriate political framework for an approach by the representatives of all participating States, on the basis of the full equality of rights and the sovereignty of all nations, to problems of major importance for the consolidation of détente, understanding and co-operation among the peoples of the continent, in order that lasting security may be guaranteed.

65. The Romanian delegation to the Conference has been instructed to act consistently for a greater contribution by Romania to the success of the proceedings of the Conference, to obtaining good results in the settlement of the vital problems of the continent, to promoting the trend towards détente, co-operation and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

66. European security is not an end in itself; it is part and parcel of the general effort of setting up world security, an aim which will also be attained as a necessity; that is why it is not directed against anybody.

67. We express from this rostrum, too, our satisfaction at the good relations Romania has with all the Balkan countries, and we reiterate Romania's desire to ensure the turning of the Balkans into a zone of good-neighbourliness, co-operation and peace, free of nuclear weapons; of particular importance for the attainment of that end would be the holding of a meeting of the representatives of the Balkan States, in which other interested countries may also take part.

68. A matter of the greatest importance for the future of human civilization is that of freeing mankind from the burden of armaments and the nightmare of a nuclear war.

69. The two reports prepared in the last few years by the United Nations, namely *Economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures*¹ and *Disarmament and Development*,² emphasize the enormous waste of human values and material assets, which amounted in 1971 to \$216,000 million, and also the serious danger represented by the arms race for the peace and

security of all peoples. At the same time, the talks on disarmament have not achieved results commensurate with the urgency of that question, nor have they met the expectations and hopes of the peoples.

70. The United Nations, the most representative international forum, has, along with the heads of all States and all political leaders, a great responsibility to the peoples for halting the arms race. The United Nations, in the spirit of its own resolutions, including the one proclaiming the decade 1970-1980 as a Disarmament Decade [*resolution 2602 (XXIV)*], should play an effective part in the negotiations on the halting of the arms race and of military expenditure, in the working out of a concrete programme for the reduction of those budgets, starting with the heavily armed countries, and of effective measures for disarmament and, above all, for nuclear disarmament.

71. It is from this angle that we approach the recent proposal of the Soviet Union [*A/9191*] as well as other similar proposals on the reduction of military budgets; they confirm the need to consider and take concrete actions towards that end which could be a start to measures for the reduction of military budgets.

72. It is imperative that a firm beginning should be made in the banning of nuclear arms and all other weapons of mass destruction, in the cessation of their production, the reduction of the existing stockpiles and the elimination of the whole arsenal of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and other weapons, towards the attainment of the final goal—general disarmament.

73. In order to continue the intensive negotiations within the United Nations, the Romanian Government supports the idea that the United Nations Disarmament Commission should be reactivated.

74. The waste of huge human and material resources for military purposes appears even more irrational when related to the economic and social situation of the world, dominated as it is by the dramatic widening of gaps, by the persistence of under-development in wide areas of the earth, which in itself also affects international security. The economic and social purposes of all nations is indivisible and constitutes an acute requirement for the stimulation of the trend towards détente, rapprochement and understanding among States.

75. Romania itself follows the process of developing and modernizing its national economy. The Romanian people make consistent efforts for the building up of a multilaterally developed society through the more effective use of the country's human and material potential for the acceleration of the development and modernization of the productive forces, the improvement of the management and organization of the society, the deepening of democracy and the laying of new premises for raising the standards of life and civilization of the whole people.

76. Romania, a socialist developing country, stands for the intensification, widening and diversification of international economic, industrial, technical and scientific co-operation, through the system of the United Nations

¹ United Nations publication, Sales No.E.72.IX.16.

² United Nations publication, Sales No.E.73.IX.1.

as well, with the aim of accelerating the economic and social progress of all countries and, first of all, of the developing countries.

77. The Romanian Government conceives of co-operation as an essential means for strengthening international security and securing the economic and social progress of all peoples.

78. Increased attention will have to be paid to the expansion of co-operation in particularly important fields, such as energy resources, raw materials, environment, outer space, the sea-bed, information systems and electronic computers, so that all nations may be able to benefit from the epoch-making achievements of modern science and technology. It is necessary that the United Nations should undertake concrete measures in favour of developing countries in the fields of transfer of technology, know-how and patents, the training of specialists and the creation of the structures needed for the development, assimilation and application of science and technology at the national level.

79. The United Nations has a vital role to play in harmonizing assistance activities in support of the efforts of all developing countries to accelerate their economic and social progress, strengthen their economic independence and bridge the gaps existing in the world. That is why the Organization should activate the whole machinery at its service for the total implementation of the projects and measures in the field of development, among which an important place is held by the programmes of technical co-operation of this Organization. It is also absolutely imperative that the resources at the disposal of those programmes, which nowadays represent only an eight hundredth part of the expenditure for military purposes should be substantially increased, particularly by the most developed countries. Those resources should be directed to the implementation of complex projects bound to promote directly the economic growth and social progress of the developing countries.

80. It is also necessary that international co-operation for social development be expanded. The Organization should permanently focus its attention on the complex problems of the younger generation, and the necessary framework should be created for young people to make an effective contribution to the people's progress towards peace, understanding and well-being, under conditions of greater freedom.

81. The United Nations is nowadays faced with a great number of complex and complicated problems to which it is called upon to offer solutions.

82. The strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of co-operation among all nations and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between States, is a primary preoccupation of the whole international community. The examination of that problem at the last session on the initiative of Romania and the adoption by consensus of General Assembly resolution 2925 (XXVII) show the urgency and importance of this problem, which

should become a constant concern of the Organization. In the view of the Romanian Government, it is an objective necessity that all States act to implement the provisions of that resolution and contribute to the identification of the ways and means likely to permit a strengthening of the role of the United Nations. Of particular importance for the discussion of that item on the agenda [*item 25*] are the final document of the Algiers Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [*A/9330 and Corr. I*] and the ideas contained in the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*A/9001/Add. I*].

83. The strength of the United Nations and its potential for action undoubtedly reside in its capacity to adjust to the realities of the contemporary world. That is why we share the view expressed by the Secretary-General that:

“If the United Nations is to become the organization which the Governments and peoples of the world require and which their problems demand, we have to make a continuous effort to assess the challenge of the radical changes in the world, to make the necessary adjustments and, where needed, to develop new machinery and methods.” [*Ibid. p. 2.*]

84. It is inconceivable that the United Nations should not keep pace with the progress of mankind and should not reflect and support the positive processes in international life.

85. It is in this spirit that we support the need to secure an increased participation of the small and medium-sized States in all the activities of the United Nations. That means, for instance, giving the plenary body of the Organization, the General Assembly, a role corresponding to its representative character, making a reality of its competence under the Charter to examine and settle the major issues of international life in the interest of all peoples. The United Nations is by no means the only possibility in the struggle for peace, co-operation, progress and understanding among peoples. But we have to acknowledge that it is only in this forum that the great fundamental issues of the world, of international relations, facing all the peoples of the five continents, can be discussed and settled, with the participation of all Member States and of all interested parties.

86. Experience shows that attempts are sometimes made to avoid the United Nations or that decisions taken here are not implemented. The time has come for us to examine in a responsible manner the activities of this Organization, to strengthen its role in international life, to make the provisions of the Charter a reality. The time has come for all the major problems of today's world to be debated here by all the Member States, and the solutions adopted should represent everybody's contribution and express the will and the interests of all Members of the United Nations.

87. The efforts we are making are aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations, reinforcing the purposes and principles of the Charter, making fuller use of its resources in order to adapt the Organization to the requirements of the day, bringing it into the process of

détente, co-operation and democratization of international life as a fundamental instrument at the disposal of the forces of peace and progress able to repel any manoeuvres of the reactionary and imperialist forces—in brief, to enable the United Nations to fulfil in the world today the mission entrusted to it by the peoples.

88. Voicing the will and aspirations of the Romanian people, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania will make an active contribution, in the future as in the past, to strengthening the capacity of the Organization to fulfil the purposes of the Charter. It is our profound conviction that, by acting in this manner, we shall contribute to the strengthening of peace all over the world and to international security.

89. Sir Harold WALTER (Mauritius): Mr. President, I wonder whether I should congratulate you or sympathize with you in the onerous task ahead of you? Although, in electing you President of this session, this august Assembly has shown due recognition of your skilful diplomacy and high appreciation of your deep erudition—qualities which your country and the United Nations have had the privilege of enjoying in the most altruistic way. But, Mr. President, “uneasy lies the head that wears a crown”. I bring you warm and fraternal greetings from my Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the Government and the people of Mauritius.

90. The outgoing President, Mr. Trepczyński, deserves our thanks and appreciation for his leadership and service during his tenure of office.

91. We are meeting at a very grave moment in the history of the United Nations, when three Member States which have pledged to abide by the United Nations Charter are at war. We members of the developing world have always dedicated ourselves to the cause of freedom and peace, and in such a spirit we pray and hope that wisdom and peace, justice and equity will soon prevail in the Middle East. It cannot rain all the time.

92. We warmly welcome the new Member States: the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas.

93. Here I would like to pay a special tribute to my friend and distinguished colleague Comrade Willy Brandt for his perseverance, dedication, conviction and positive approach to a delicate, if not at that time a thorny, situation. All his noble and persistent efforts are now happily crowned with success in bringing about the close association of both Germanys. I am sure that the pages of history will record his far-sighted vision and cool patience since his accession to power and in making his latest hope a reality with an enduring reconciliation.

94. We are indeed gratified to underline that, in admitting these new States, the United Nations is steadily progressing towards the desired goal of universality. It is only by becoming truly universal that our Organization can fully achieve the aims so clearly defined in the Charter. That is why we sincerely hope that those States which are still outside the United Nations—by choice, for political or any other reasons—will be willing to join us in the

near future and will not hesitate to take their rightful places in the family of nations.

95. By the admission of the two German States to the United Nations as sovereign States, we have accepted prevailing realities of today with the concurrence of the two Governments concerned. But we trust that the present ideological differences between the two States will not prove irreconcilable as to render the gap unbridgeable—for, in our opinion, such differences should not divide, but should allow mutual tolerance to sustain peaceful coexistence.

96. It is in the same spirit that we view the problems concerning the Korean people. Mauritius maintains friendly relations with both South and North Korea and would support their dual representation in the United Nations, thus paving the way for the creation of favourable conditions for the reunification of the country with the mutual consent of both parties. How rightly can I say here, quoting the words of Saint Francis of Assisi:

“O Lord, give me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can and the wisdom to know the difference.”

97. My country welcomes the agreement reached between India and Pakistan for the peaceful settlement of their neighbourly differences. May we hope that Pakistan and Bangladesh resolve the outstanding issues so as to enable this new sovereign State to become a Member of the United Nations at this session. Bangladesh is a sovereign State, which Mauritius recognized as such as early as February 1972, and it is noted with satisfaction that the majority of Members represented here have given due recognition to this fact. We should encourage India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to continue their efforts, by direct negotiations, to achieve peace and harmony in the region and the cherished universality that we all desire.

98. Ever since we joined the United Nations, we have noted that, session after session, Assembly after Assembly, the Organization has considered the same problems under different guises, without apparent positive results, thus causing stagnation. No communion of people can progress if it does not move with the times. The process of decolonization is at a standstill. In southern Africa, millions of people who are looking to us for assistance and help to exercise speedily and peacefully their fundamental rights to self-determination, freedom and independence are forced to resort to armed struggle against their oppressors.

99. I shall deal with the relevant issues later, but let me say here that the basic problems concerning disarmament have not been settled, and hopes that a great number of countries had placed on the Second United Nations Development Decade are now being disappointed.

100. It follows that more co-ordinated efforts and concerned action are essential, made in a spirit of good faith and brotherly understanding. It is in this respect that I welcome the détente between the great Powers. This reduction of strains and tensions will allow the great Powers to concentrate on the United Nations and co-operate with the whole membership to enable the Organi-

zation to achieve the goals laid down in the Charter. So, in commending this détente in so far as it creates an atmosphere conducive to a more effective United Nations, it should not be a mere *entente* between those concerned for the sake of narrow and selfish interests. We are convinced that this détente in which Mr. Brezhnev, President Nixon, President Pompidou, Mr. Chou En-lai and Herr Willy Brandt have contributed, is certainly not at the expense of the developing countries. On the contrary, I hope it will enable the latter to develop their resources and channel their energies in peace and freedom, without becoming the victims of one super-Power or another. We pray and trust God that, for the sake of mankind, nuclear weapons should never be allowed to be utilized whatever may be the reason.

101. In our part of the world, decolonization and the elimination of racial discrimination are problems that are not yet resolved. We have on record all the resolutions made in this respect indicating very clearly what action should be taken to tackle those evils effectively. What is lacking therefore is the political will on the part of the great Powers, and here I indict the permanent members of the Security Council; only they can help the Council to take positive action to enforce those resolutions and thus compel South Africa to respect the political and human rights of that country's non-white majority and abandon the evil policy of that system which is not to be named among civilized people: *apartheid*. This Assembly has declared that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. At its last session, the Commission on Human Rights adopted for the consideration of this Assembly a draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [item 53 (b)]. Mauritius, as a multiracial country, abhors racial discrimination and supports this draft convention. We trust that the right-thinking members of this august Assembly will rise up to the occasion. We believe that effective measures to eradicate *apartheid* will still be needed to give effect to our solemn declarations and other pronouncements concerning *apartheid*. Let us here remember that the white notes of the piano alone will never give us the symphony we desire if the black ones do not participate too.

102. The case for effective action is clear, is very clear, as far as Namibia is concerned, in view of the special responsibility of the international community towards the people of that country. The Secretary-General has told us that his contacts and efforts in this direction have not produced the desired results. We concur with him when he says:

“... it is important that the competent organs of the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, should continue to seek effective approaches in their endeavour to bring about a solution based on the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination, national independence and preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.” [A/9001/Add.1, p.4.]

103. The United Nations decided to take endorsement action for the first time—I am referring to the sanctions against Rhodesia—but the results have not been conclusive. This is a sad reflection on the first positive stand.

The fact that some countries can break the sanctions imposed by the United Nations against the illegal, unlawful and self-imposed régime of Ian Smith, shows that the United Nations should show more determination in taking endorsement action. This colonial régime in Salisbury should not be allowed to continue to defy world opinion any longer.

104. The question of disarmament will no doubt constitute one of the most important issues before the Assembly. It is obvious that the prevailing détente has not had any bearing on the attitude of those whose co-operation is needed. Military expenditures are increasing steadily and nuclear tests are still being conducted. We believe that a comprehensive test-ban treaty and general and complete disarmament should be the ultimate goals. It is regrettable that the Special Committee on the World Disarmament Conference set up by the Assembly at its last session [resolution 2930 (XXVII)] has been unable to function. We sincerely hope that it will be possible to find other ways and means of making some headway. It is noted with great interest that the delegation of the Soviet Union has proposed a new item entitled “Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries” for the consideration of the Assembly [A/9191].

105. We propose, and we pledge ourselves, to support that positive action. In this connexion I should like to refer to the Conference of the International Monetary Fund held last month in Nairobi, at which Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank, laid emphasis on the economic situation of the developing countries and went on to say:

“Despite a decade of unprecedented increase in the gross national product of the developing countries, the poorest segments of their populations have received relatively little benefit.”

“Nearly 800 million individuals—40 per cent, out of a total of 2 billion—survive on incomes estimated at 30 cents per day in conditions of malnutrition, illiteracy and squalor. They are suffering poverty in the absolute sense. That absolute is no abstraction here.”

106. The high hopes which the developing countries had placed in the Second Development Decade are fading fast, but we believe that new ones will grow. This session will achieve much if more importance is attached to the economic and social progress of those countries. Is not the time opportune for us to give serious thought to the proposal of the President of Mexico for a charter of economic rights and duties of States?

107. Those are some of the points to which I wanted to refer, but before concluding may I state that my Government welcomes the peace agreement on Viet-Nam.³ However, that will not be complete until the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Viet-Nam is allowed to pay its proper role as agreed at the Paris Conference.

³ Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet-Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973.

That alone can bring about “durable peace”, to use a phrase of President Nixon, in that part of the world.

108. I reiterate the support of my Government for the liberation movements of Africa, which deserve all our encouragement and praise in their valiant struggle. My Government will give positive effect to the request of President Gowon, as President of the Organization of African Unity, with regard to the recognition of Guinea-Bissau as a sovereign and independent State.

109. May I say, as I said once before in another international forum, that it is not what we achieve which matters but the efforts we make to achieve it. To quote the words of Browning:

“This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.
That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred's soon hit;”

[*The speaker continued in French: interpretation from French*]

110. Mr. President, I wholeheartedly trust that where there is war peace will return, and where there is hatred understanding will prevail.

111. Mr. HUERTA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This is the first opportunity that the present Government of Chile has had to state from the highest world rostrum the background and the facts that led the armed forces and police to take control and establish a régime of national restoration and dignity. I shall deal at some length with this subject, although I am aware that one of the fundamental principles of the Charter is that the United Nations shall not intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of States. That principle, which also governs bilateral relations among members of the international community is one to which I will refer more especially later.

112. However, because of the events that have taken place in Chile, a campaign that is so false, so malevolent, so vicious, so well orchestrated has been launched, with the intention of distorting the facts and the intentions, that I felt it both fitting and proper to refer to those events, even though I firmly contend that no State, and no international organization, has the right to meddle in or judge what has taken place in my homeland.

113. I understand that the events in Chile have not left world public opinion indifferent. Although many countries, in the most varied regions of the world, year after year for different reasons undergo changes in their political and social life, the case of Chile is a very special one, for two reasons.

114. The first reason is that my country, after more than a century and a half of independence, has stood as an example of civic life and has never tolerated dictatorships, racism or totalitarianism and that our eminently apolitical and professional armed forces have been an example to the world. We who wear the uniform are proud of that tradition.

115. The second is that Chile, having agreed to the establishment by democratic means of a Government imbued

with foreign doctrines, loyally collaborated in the search for a socialist direction compatible with our own national reality and our traditions of freedom, justice and dignity; so much so that, at the beginning of the socialist experiment, the political parties unanimously supported the Government, as in the nationalization of the copper industry, and likewise the armed forces, when called upon in moments of grave crisis, accepted upon their shoulders the burden of heavy responsibilities.

116. But these generous, democratic and selfless attitudes proved futile, since they were able only briefly to contain, and not to stop, the disastrous course along which the Unidad Popular, in its eagerness to consolidate a tyrannical power, was forcing the country. Chile, alone, without the help or inspiration of any, its patience exhausted and drawing on the courage, drive and inner resources that are a feature of our people, was able to react and put an end to a totalitarian system that has subjugated so many countries of the world, before it was too late.

117. I shall refer to what happened in my country three years ago. In September 1970 Chile was confronted with a procedure that was normal in our history of democracy: a presidential election was to be held. On 4 September the candidate representing the Unidad Popular won 36.2 per cent of the popular vote in a free, democratic election, precisely in keeping with the historic traditions of Chile.

118. This triumph was a surprise and upset to the majority of the people, since the ideology professed by the winning candidate made many of my countrymen fear that the country might adopt a course very contrary to the tradition and history of Chile.

119. Under the political Constitution of the State, the election had to be ratified by the National Congress, since none of the candidates had obtained an absolute majority of the popular vote. The political parties that had supported the Marxist candidate were a minority in the Chilean Congress; consequently, interpreting the national feeling, the majority political parties made the confirmation of the candidate who had obtained a relative majority conditional on solemn respect for the provisions of the Constitution, supplemented by a special Statute of Guarantees.

120. From the very dawn of our independent life, Chile has been careful to preserve, both in reality and in our fundamental Constitution, the basic human rights of the individual and respect for the common good. In the case of the Unidad Popular candidate, the majority parties insisted that these guarantees must be more precisely confirmed, even in specific matters, through the supplementary Statute to which I referred earlier. As a result of this requirement on the part of the parliamentary majority, the National Congress unanimously, and with the favourable vote of the candidate himself, approved constitutional reforms intended primarily to reaffirm the independence of the armed forces and respect for their professional function. This stood in the way of the creation of military groups outside the Constitution and the law. The reforms would also reaffirm the freedom of the information media, the political rights of citizens and the gains achieved by the workers in organized labour and

ensure the participation of professionals, technicians, employees and workers in the process of economic development.

121. It was only after the approval of this Statute of Constitutional Guarantees that the congressional majority, which, I repeat, had opposed the posture of the Unidad Popular candidate, agreed to confer upon him the presidency of Chile.

122. The Chilean political system is based upon the absolute independence of the public authorities and upon their unlimited mutual respect. The President of the Republic, the National Congress and the courts of justice have rights and powers specifically defined in the political Constitution of the State, which also defines the way in which they shall relate to one another.

123. Furthermore, there must be added the fundamental role played in the Chilean legal system by the Comptroller-General of the Republic, since his decisions and rulings determine the administrative process of the nation.

124. In other words, when the legitimately elected President took over the highest office in Chile, he swore to respect the independence and authority of the other organs of the State. He committed himself to respect the legality of the Chilean State, the heritage of the people, which over the years has been moulded to reflect the basic consensus enabling them to live together. Any assault on legality is, therefore, not only a destruction of the cultural and moral heritage of the nation, but also a denial of any practical possibility of democratic life.

125. In a veiled and surreptitious way at first, but quite openly later, the Government entirely ignored the basic principles that I have enunciated here and, what was even more serious, repeatedly violated the constitutional provisions that the National Congress had demanded as a guarantee after the elections of September 1970. The cynicism with which the Government was acting was amply demonstrated when the head of State later made known in a press interview that he had accepted the Statute of Constitutional Guarantees as a tactical necessity to assume power, and that what was most important at that moment was to take over the Government.

126. Under the tolerant eyes of the Government, the media of the free press were harassed and, instead of implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law drawn up by the previous administration, a system of illegal take-overs were established. Authorities arbitrarily took over small, medium-sized and large industries; politicians, villagers, students and representatives of law and order were murdered with impunity. Labour leaders and union representatives who did not support the Government were persecuted and imprisoned, and an attempt was made to impose a totalitarian educational system on all Chilean children.

127. I think a separate mention must be made of the Government's attitude towards armed groups of civilians. It not only permitted them, but openly encouraged them and thus illegally allowed the entry into the country

of foreign agitators and weapons. By 11 September this year, more than 13,000 known foreigners, most of them extremists, were known to be in the country in an illegal manner. Their sole mission was to set up a parallel army to oppose the regular armed forces. Representatives in the Assembly can well understand what that number of persons could mean to a country with 10 million inhabitants. But the conduct of those foreigners went even further. They took over management positions in the public administration, in illegally sequestered factories and in the direction of the national economy. We saw, with shame, how foreigners became part of Chilean delegations entrusted with the task of negotiating international agreements.

128. To all this must be added the inability of the Government to draw up an economic plan that would meet our real national needs, and this failure led to a catastrophe from which Chile will not recover for many years. The economic experience of Marxism in our country, because of the damage it has done, will be difficult for my countrymen to forget.

129. Let me cite a few figures to support what I am saying.

130. According to the latest official statistics of the Government of the Unidad Popular, agricultural production dropped by 20 per cent last year, industrial production by 9 per cent, and mineral exports, the fundamental mainstay of our economy, by 28 per cent.

131. In 1970, the total currency in circulation in Chile was 12,114 million escudos. At the end of this year, according to projections, the currency in circulation will be at least 23 times greater.

132. In 1970, Chile's external debt was \$2,630 million. By 31 December 1973, that debt will have reached \$3,450 million. And, to make things worse, this increase in foreign indebtedness was due primarily to the import not of capital goods destined to increase production, but of food and other perishables which the Marxist economy had been unable to produce inside the country.

133. In 1970, Chile's trade balance showed a surplus of \$78 million. Thus far this year, it shows a deficit of \$438 million; and to this must be added the fact that, under the management of the Unidad Popular Government, the country lost its entire reserves of foreign exchange, which in 1970 had reached \$448 million.

134. In 1972, the deficit in fiscal expenditure amounted to 40 per cent of the total budget. For this year, it is estimated that the deficit will surpass 50 per cent of total public expenditure.

135. All these economic facts caused the country to sustain the highest inflation rate in the world: 323 per cent over the last 12 months.

136. In March of this year, under the control of the armed forces, as required by law, normal parliamentary elections took place, although it was later discovered that the registers of voters had been very cleverly altered and tampered with.

137. Nevertheless, those elections clearly and precisely confirmed the fact that the Government of the Unidad Popular could count on the support of only a minority in the country. The opposition parties obtained a large majority in the Senate and in the Chamber of Deputies.

138. Even so, the Government refused to alter its line of conduct and, ignoring the will of the people, formed a bellicose Cabinet that intensified its assaults on the lawful structure of the State. This forced the other public institutions to assume a daily more energetic defence of institutionality in the country.

139. The Government was careful to demonstrate apparent respect for the judicial branch for the benefit of the outside world. It is true that it took pains not to interfere visibly with the structure itself; but it drew upon all sorts of resources in order to undermine the hard-won prestige of the judiciary as the guardian of civic rights. It had no compunction about carrying out defamatory campaigns; its officers indulged in all sorts of disrespectful acts, and judgements were deprived of all meaning, being disregarded whenever it suited the partisan interests of the Government of the Unidad Popular. Moreover, the authority to grant pardons was abused in the most inconceivable manner and the courts were denied the use of police power to enforce their decisions.

140. Time and again, the Supreme Court entered its protests, but the Government, far from changing its mistaken plan of action, pushed harder and harder, until the Court ultimately, in communication with the President of the Republic, felt obliged to denounce these events as conducive to "a crisis in the legal system about which this Court cannot keep silent". The abuse of the law became worse and worse until, last May, in a note to the head of State, the Supreme Court stated publicly something that was even more serious: namely, that the country was faced with "a peremptory and imminent breakdown of the legal system".

141. And yet, the Government continued with its policies, and the head of State even tried to justify them by instigating a public polemic with the Supreme Court, which only succeeded in reinforcing the Court's original position.

142. But the judiciary was not the only institution that had to try to defend the public interest and to point to the serious misdirection of the Government: the Office of the Comptroller-General of the Republic was also the object of increasingly inflammatory attacks and repeated slights. The Government abused the instrument of "mandatory decrees", thus implementing a ruling system bypassing Congress; and the President of the Republic even went so far as to ignore the opinion of the Comptroller-General when it came to the promulgation of a constitutional reform approved by the parliament, which the Executive proposed to enact only partially.

143. After fighting hard to find a political way to protect the national interest, the parliament itself finally assumed a position comparable to that of the judicial branch and of the Comptroller-General of the Republic. Even the possibility of submitting the Government to a

plebescite had been rejected by the Unidad Popular, thus proving its lack of democratic support even more openly.

144. On 22 August last, the Chamber of Deputies, which is the controlling branch of Congress, clearly and energetically denounced the Government's headlong path to destruction. By 81 votes to 47, the Chamber adopted a very important resolution, the main points of which I should like to quote.

145. To begin with, the resolution pointed out that sovereignty is vested essentially in the nation, that the authorities can only exercise powers delegated by the nation, and that a Government, by assuming rights not conferred by the people, is liable to charges of sedition. The resolution went on to declare:

"It is a fact that the present Government of the Republic, since its inception, has been engaged in the conquest of total power with the obvious intention of subjecting all persons to the strictest State economic and political control in order thus to achieve the installation of a totalitarian system absolutely opposed to the representative democratic system established by the Constitution."

And, it added:

"To accomplish this objective, the Government has not violated the law and the Constitution in isolated instances; rather, these violations have become permanent policy, to the extreme of systematically ignoring and encroaching on the power of the other branches of government, continually violating the guarantees that the Constitution assures to every inhabitant of the Republic, and allowing and sheltering the creation of illegitimate parallel powers that constitute a grave danger for the nation, all of which has led to destruction of the basic elements of our institutions and of our government of law."

146. The Chamber of Deputies also indicated that the Government had committed *inter alia* the following violations and abuses:

"It has usurped the principal function of Congress—that is, to legislate—by adopting a series of highly important measures for the economic and social life of the nation, which are indubitably a matter of law, by mandatory decrees abusively issued or by simple administrative rulings based on legal loop-holes. It must be stressed that all this has been done with the deliberate and acknowledged purpose of changing the nation's structures, recognized by the law in force, by the sole will of the executive, with absolute disregard for the will of the legislative branch.

"It has continually mocked the functions of control of the National Congress by depriving of all real effect the congressional power to dismiss from office cabinet ministers who violate the Constitution or the law or who commit other crimes or abuses specified in the Constitution. And, what is most serious of all, it has done away with the high function of the Congress as the constituent power by refusing to promulgate the constitutional reform covering the three areas of the economy which was approved in strict accord with the rules established by the Constitution."

147. The resolution of the Chamber of Deputies did not stop there. It went on to enumerate the Government's principal abuses of the fundamental guarantees and rights afforded by the Constitution and, furthermore, added:

“In this breakdown of the rule of law, the formation and development of armed groups under government protection is especially serious since, apart from being a danger to the security of individuals and their rights and to the internal peace of the nation, such groups are intended to confront the regular armed forces. It is also especially serious that the police force is kept from performing its most important functions in the face of criminal attacks perpetrated by violent groups supporting the Government. Because of their grave importance, notorious and public attempts to use the armed forces and the police force for partisan purposes cannot be passed over in silence; neither can attempts to break down their institutional hierarchy and politically infiltrate their ranks.”

148. For the benefit of the Executive, the Chamber of Deputies' resolution closed with a description of the serious breakdown of constitutional and legal order that confronted the Republic and the need immediately to rectify precisely defined situations and facts, the urgency of channeling the actions of the Government in a lawful direction and the need to ensure constitutional order in Chile.

149. As I have already pointed out, there was a long and patient wait by the citizenry and the other branches of government, which were always ready to facilitate solutions to the situation. As I have mentioned, the armed forces also loyally and professionally collaborated with the Government. Their mission was stretched beyond the limits of their vocation, since a number of times they were required to assume responsibilities with serious political consequences. Thus, in October 1972, confronted by a tenacious civil strike and in order to calm public opinion and guarantee parliamentary elections scheduled for six months later, representatives of the Chilean army, navy and air force assumed cabinet posts. I myself acted as Minister of State at that time and bent every effort loyally and efficiently to fulfil the mission entrusted to me by the President of the Republic.

150. We ministers who were members of the armed forces repeatedly tried to convince the head of State of the need to adopt measures that might change the course of the nation. We did achieve some revisions, but everything was erased once our mission of ensuring fair and honest elections had been accomplished and we left our cabinet posts.

151. After the elections of March of this year, and in order to comply with our sacred duty to preserve the democratic system, we repeatedly tried to convince those in charge of the country of the extremely dangerous path they were following. We were answered with promises that were always broken and with assurances that bore absolutely no relation to reality. While astute campaigns were organized to prevent a possible civil war, surreptitiously professional agitators, weapons and other highly

destructive elements continued to enter the country with the specific purpose of preparing for the bloody *coup de grâce* to our democratic system. I shall not tax the patience of the Assembly by describing the entire background that proves this. The caches of weapons and explosives; clandestine hospitals and blood banks; plans for violence, assassination, sabotage; the division of the armed forces and the organizing of mercenaries and guerrillas—all showed us that the abyss towards which our country was heading was even deeper than we had discovered when we adopted the historic resolution of 11 September.

152. It was not only the knowledge of those threatening plans that moved the armed forces and the police force in Chile to take the decision imposed upon them by their oath to protect the homeland.

153. With the public demoralized by so much abuse and so many threats upon their lives, humiliated by so much illegal and discriminatory rationing, and ruined by a black market directed and organized by government supporters, a strike erupted in one of the great copper mines. It lasted 74 days, and was followed by a civilian uprising of vast proportions. The truckers' union, the professional associations, retailers, large groups of craftsmen, workers and labourers, still not intimidated by foreign slogans, joined to protest with the only weapon they still possessed: the paralysing of the country. And in that historic uprising of the civilian masses, noble and true to their traditions, the long-suffering Chilean women and large groups of young students were in the vanguard.

154. The situation was becoming extremely dangerous and the Government, incapable of solving any problem and basically oriented towards the seizing of total power through violence, once again resorted to the patriotism of the armed forces and the police force of Chile. Once again those of us in uniform gave generous assistance by assuming cabinet posts. From the vantage-point of our high offices, we were very soon able to confirm the speed with which the country was heading towards total chaos. We noted the deep deterioration of national security. The irritating injustice of a régime that called itself “popular” while its leaders lived in ostentatious luxury, outraging the people who had to form long queues for food, was brought home to us. We could prove, too, the extremely dangerous level of foreign intervention in our affairs, as well as the way in which bands of actual criminals were preparing to administer the final blow to all those who were not already unconditionally enslaved.

155. Crime increased from day to day. One high naval officer, aide-de-camp to the President, was the fatal victim of a nefarious attack; a young army officer was assassinated by a foreign extremist; military intelligence services uncovered criminal acts of subversion within the ranks of the Navy, instigated by important members of the régime, including the Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, to which the President himself belonged.

156. Our final effort to participate in the Cabinet of the deposed Government did not successfully prevent the avalanche of events. Civic protest did not cease; the danger of a confrontation between the majority of the

unarmed citizens and the strong paramilitary cells organized by Unidad Popular, which had drawn up a plan to assassinate civilian and military authorities and thus assume power completely, made it imperative for the armed forces and the police force to carry out their fundamental obligation and save the integrity of our nation.

157. On 11 September we acted, guided only by the oath we took many years ago, to defend our country and combine our efforts to preserve Chile as a sovereign nation, prosperous and free. We acted in concord with the immense majority of our countrymen, who, in fear and desperation, saw how an ideology alien to our history was cleverly taking advantage of our legal structure in order to impose upon us a totalitarian régime. We acted as institutions, without the influence of any leader. The Government junta that currently presides over Chile, with the support of the nation, is made up of men who do not seek power and who lack personal ambition. They are one body, patriotically united, that has taken on the immense but inevitable responsibility of restoring our homeland.

158. I must draw the attention of representatives to the resolution adopted by the full Supreme Court of Justice two days later, on 13 September, whereby the highest court of the Republic, recognizing the intention of the new Government to respect and implement the decisions of the judiciary without prior administrative review of their legality, ordered the nation's courts to continue their work, certain that the administrative authority would guarantee the normal discharge of its obligations.

159. The present Government has sought and immediately received the patriotic co-operation of professional people, technicians, workers, employees, businessmen and craftsmen. The Government has emphasized that its basic purpose will be the implementation of effective social justice, which will never be achieved through deceit, easy promises, bribery or the criminal division of our people. Rather, it will be done through honest work, a common dedication and community of interest. The present Government is not the return to a recent or remote past. The workers have fought far too long and far too hard defending their legitimate rights for that. The armed forces are a part of this noble people and we shall never betray those who, like ourselves, have dedicated their efforts to returning Chile to the place history has reserved for it.

160. We maintain our traditional respect for and hospitality to foreigners; but we shall be very careful to avoid a repetition of the reprehensible acts of foreign intervention that have caused the country so much suffering. With the assistance of everyone, we shall rebuild Chile.

161. The armed forces and the police force have assumed the task of redirecting the country along the path of liberty and law. Once we have achieved our goal, we shall not hesitate to withdraw to our barracks and to our ships. The time it takes to return to normality will be as brief as possible and will depend to a large extent upon the efforts of all Chileans dedicated to that noble end.

162. Now I should like to refer to the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of my Government.

163. As I reaffirm Chile's total commitment to its legally contracted international obligations and respect for its treaty obligations, which are the basis of world order, peace and security, I wish to state also that my country's foreign policy will be based upon its loyalty to the purposes and goals of the United Nations and to each of the provisions of the Charter. We signed the Charter in San Francisco and we have always co-operated not only with this institution itself but also with all the organizations directly or indirectly connected with it. You may rest assured that that traditional policy of Chile will not be altered in any way. In fact we shall emphasize, loyally and without excesses, our co-operation in the work undertaken by the United Nations. This Organization is the most effective instrument for the achievement of international peace and security, for the growth of friendly relations and for respect for the fundamental rights of States. We must all dedicate our political will to these endeavours and comply fully with the resolutions of the principal organs of the United Nations. We must act in good faith and recognize that progress in the organized international community is achieved mainly through compliance with the basic resolutions of the Organization, such as the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*] and the conclusions and recommendations of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. We reiterate our commitment to the principle of the universality of the United Nations and to the need to guarantee equal participation for all its Member States. The Organization should not be isolated from the mainstream of world events and, as the Secretary-General has said in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, it must be recognized that bilateral diplomacy and multilateral diplomacy are mutually complementary and that, therefore, it is necessary to explore all the paths that might possibly lead to peace.

164. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, on his strong leadership of the Organization. I should like to express our thanks for his constant concern for the problems of Chile and for the effective co-operation of the United Nations in our development plans. We have confidence in his ability to lead the Organization in new directions that will strengthen it as the main instrument for the achievement of international co-operation. We extend our best wishes for the success of his efforts towards peace in different parts of the world.

165. Another guiding principle of our foreign policy will be, as always, the principle of non-intervention in the domestic or external affairs of other States. But as we solemnly promise to respect national sovereignty, and therefore its obvious corollary, the self-determination of

peoples, so must I categorically declare that we shall never allow foreign intrusions in our internal affairs or in the conduct of our international policy.

166. To comply with this fundamental principle, one of our first acts was to sever diplomatic and consular relations with the present Government of Cuba. We have been able to prove that over the last three years there has been constant interference by Cuban agents, some official and some unofficial, in our internal politics and even in our foreign policy. When the break came, 42 Cuban diplomatic officials were accredited to Chile—as opposed to six Chileans in Havana—of whom only two belonged to the foreign service. Last September, 987 Castro Cubans were discovered to be illegally in my country. In the course of the present year, from 1 January to 31 July, 633 people came to Chile from Havana on diplomatic or official business. They intervened in every political, economic and functional organ of the State and, above all, in the presidency of the Republic. Instructors and top leaders of the paramilitary groups were either Cuban or had been trained by Cubans.

167. It has been fully proved that gun-running was systematically protected by the Government. For example, in March of last year, 13 cases were known to have arrived in Chile, flown in on a regular Cuban airline flight and intended for the purposes of the presidency of the Republic. Those cases did not go through customs, but were received directly by the Chief of the Chilean Political Police. When the Chamber of Deputies duly protested, the then authorities maintained that the cases contained “works of art sent as gifts by Prime Minister Fidel Castro”. Now we have learned what those “works of art” were: 13 cases containing 472 side-arms and machine-guns, two sub-machine-guns and 40,000 cartridges.

168. The weapons and ammunition thus far found in the hands of the misnamed “people’s militia” are not the type used by the Chilean armed forces, and their numbers are really surprising. They included not only side-arms and sub-machine-guns, but also heavy machine-guns, rocket launchers, anti-tank guns, 106 mm. cannons, as well as large amounts of explosives. This arsenal, brought into Chile principally from Cuba through the surreptitious procedures I have described, was mainly manufactured in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. What has been thus far discovered is enough to equip an army of 20,000 men.

169. I do not wish to go into details of this Cuban infiltration in Chilean internal affairs. But I should like to read out a hand-written letter from Prime Minister Fidel Castro to the President of Chile, dated 29 July 1973. In order better to understand its terms, I must recall that a short time before, in circumstances that are still mysterious, the aide-de-camp to the head of State, Commander Araya, had been assassinated. The reaction to that new political crime was so great in Chile that the head of State instituted a dialogue with the chief opposition party, the Christian Democrats. That dialogue turned out to be hopeless because the President’s desire was obviously to gain time and not arrive at any concrete solution. At that moment, Cuban Minister Carlos Rafael Rodríguez and the Chief of the Secret Police, Manuel Piñero, arrived in

Santiago, ostensibly to discuss the Algiers Conference of non-aligned countries. They carried with them the handwritten letter from Prime Minister Castro. I have a photostat of it in my hand and any representative who may wish to read it can ask for a copy from the Chilean delegation. I shall read out the contents of the letter; it is extremely important because of its implications. It reads as follows:

“Havana, 29 July 1973.

“Dear Salvador:

“Under the pretext of discussing with you questions concerning the meeting of non-aligned countries, Carlos and Piñero are coming to see you. The real purpose is to discuss with you your situation and, as always, to offer you our willingness to co-operate in the face of the difficulties and dangers which hinder and threaten the process. Their stay will be very short, since they have many pending obligations here, and it is not without sacrifice to their work that we decided that the trip should be made.

“I see that you are now taken up in the delicate question of the dialogue with the Christian Democrats in a serious atmosphere created by the brutal assassination of your naval aide-de-camp and the new truck-owners’ strike. I can therefore quite well imagine the great tension that exists and your desire to gain time, to improve the relationship of forces in case a battle breaks out and, if possible, to find a way to allow the revolutionary process to continue without civil strife, while protecting your historical responsibility for what might occur. These are laudable goals. But if the other side, whose real intentions we are not in a position to evaluate from here, should insist upon a treacherous and irresponsible policy that would exact an impossible price from Unidad Popular and the revolution, which is in itself quite likely, do not for one minute forget the formidable strength of the Chilean working classes and the strong support they have always offered you in your difficult moments. If you should call upon them because the revolution is in danger, they can paralyse those that threaten to overthrow the Government, preserve the loyalty of those who hesitate, impose their conditions and decide once for all, if necessary, the future of Chile. The enemy should know the working class is forewarned and ready for action. Their force and combativeness can tip the balance in the capital in your favour, even though other circumstances might be unfavourable.

“Your determination to defend the process strongly and honourably, even if it means risking your own life, will draw to your side all the forces able to fight and all the decent men and women in Chile. Your courage, your serenity and your daring in this historic moment for your country, and above all your strong resolve and heroic leadership, are the key to the situation.

“Let Carlos and Manuel know how your loyal Cuban friends can help you.

“Once again I send you the affection and unlimited confidence of the Cuban people.

“Fraternally,
“Fidel CASTRO.”

170. Now I wonder—do we need any more barefaced proof of intervention in Chilean political life? Can there be any doubt regarding the origin of the political directives and the support for illegality?

171. I do not need to take up any more time of the representatives here by describing the recent and absurd Cuban attempt to accuse Chile in the Security Council. It can only be explained as a futile and desperate attempt to cover up the seriousness of their intervention in the internal affairs of my country.

172. Chile, in line with the tradition that it has always followed, reserves the right to turn to the appropriate international organizations if and when necessary.

173. On the basis of the fact that we can maintain normal relations only with those countries which respect us, we also severed relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—after we were able to prove that there had been intervention in our internal affairs and an involvement of that country's diplomatic representatives in the training of guerrillas.

174. On the other hand, we wish to maintain diplomatic relations with all countries of the world, irrespective of their ideology or their political, social or economic systems. We believe that the diversity of governments has nothing whatever to do with relations among States. Ideological pluralism is and will be another element of our foreign policy. For these reasons we regret that certain Governments to which we had expressed Chile's desire to maintain relations on a normal basis have nevertheless decided to break off such relations with a curious uniformity and under the most varied and false pretences. We ask ourselves, what has happened to the principle of ideological pluralism, so often exalted by those Governments? In the future they will have to take the initiative of resuming diplomatic relations with Chile, since they have, again with surprising uniformity, stressed the fact that those ties are merely suspended. They will find no opposition on our part—so long as our future relations can be based upon mutual respect and non-intervention in internal and external affairs.

175. We are particularly interested in strengthening our ties with the Latin American countries. United as we are by a common origin, we face a common destiny, and to achieve it we must work together.

176. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your well-deserved election. My country feels deep affection and respect for yours, and our history has always been closely linked to that of Ecuador. For many years we have learned to appreciate your intelligent, active work in international affairs. Today these qualifications and this experience guarantee the success of your difficult task as President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

177. Imbued by that Latin American spirit, we shall fully support all the regional and subregional integration procedures that involve Chile, such as the Latin American Free Trade Association and the Andean Subregional Integration Agreement. We also support and endorse the

Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination as a basically Latin American Forum where our countries can analyse and adopt unified positions on matters of particular interest and concern to them.

178. The Chilean Government wishes emphatically to repeat its support of the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources of the earth, the sea, the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof for the economic development and welfare of the peoples of the world.

179. We also press most firmly for the right of nations freely and independently to dispose of their own natural resources. We unreservedly support all the principles, agreements and resolutions adopted within the framework of the United Nations and within the sphere of the regional and subregional Latin American organizations on this important subject.

180. We thoroughly support the efforts of the developing countries to gain approval for a charter of economic rights and duties of States that, once implemented, would establish the basic economic and social principles to govern the international community in these matters. This initiative of the President of Mexico has our wholehearted support.

181. Within the dynamics that govern international economic relations, foreign investments must be in harmony with the goals and programmes established by the host Government and must also reflect the welfare of that Government and that country. Just as we do not accept imperialism, so with the same emphasis do we reject economic imperialism, whether it comes from States or from great transnational corporations.

182. In the United Nations, Chile will fight against any form of colonialism or neo-colonialism. That policy was not, as some may have believed, an innovation by the Government of the Unidad Popular. It has been the traditional policy of my country for many years. It is the result of a deeply rooted feeling in our country's traditions.

183. The economic independence of developing countries has been, is and always will be one of the fundamental goals of Chilean foreign policy.

184. I wish to reiterate to representatives my Government's commitment to non-alignment, a position that reflects the aspirations of all countries which like Chile are fighting to obtain for their peoples true economic and political independence.

185. Within the strange tangle of falsehoods that have been spread abroad as a result of the events of 11 September, reports have been circulated that Chile would return foreign refugees from political, racial or religious persecution to their countries of origin. From the very outset I assured the Secretary-General of the United Nations—and I do so again from this rostrum—that such refugees who are in Chile legally and have not been implicated in any crime are fully protected, and that any others who are expelled will not be returned to their countries of origin but will be allowed to choose their

destination. After very pleasant discussions with the Regional Representative for Latin America of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees we have reached a general and entirely satisfactory agreement. We stated that we will accept his help when it comes to practical solutions that might affect refugees who have decided to seek Chilean hospitality.

186. The international negotiations regarding the law of the sea have proceeded to their decisive phase. The current session of the General Assembly will have to decide on a date for the already planned second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

187. Chile was and continues to be a supporter of this international negotiation, to which we attach the greatest importance. The future of the seas and oceans that cover more than two thirds of the earth's surface is extremely important economically, politically and even militarily. New legal provisions are being established and progressively developed; internationally accepted rules are being updated to conform with the economic, technological and political realities of today.

188. This new law should clearly cover economic development. It should set up an international régime for the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction that would give adequate expression to the fact that they are the common heritage of mankind. In treaty form it will have to express the natural right of the coastal States to dispose of the resources of their adjacent seas, specifically of the 200-mile zones which have an essentially economic meaning—a theory which is being supported by a large majority of nations today.

189. The statement of the representative of Chile has been lengthy and I must apologize for that. But I felt in duty bound to give a broad outline of the foreign policy of my Government and also to go into some detail regarding the events that took place in my country last month.

190. I understand the interest that these events have aroused in the world, even in countries distant from my own, countries which are relatively unfamiliar with our idiosyncrasies, our traditions, and the vigour of our people. There is no doubt that the so-called "Chilean experiment" of setting a course towards socialism aroused the curiosity and even the sympathy of many who saw in the example of the so-called Unidad Popular, a path worthy of imitation or at least of assimilation. But it is one thing to assess a foreign experience from afar, seated in comfortable armchairs or in discussion around a well-served table, and it is quite another thing to experience it.

191. Contrary to what the Chilean people themselves believed at first, it was not evolution or social progress that was taking place in Chile. There was simply a power machine being set up by which, through the use of legal loop-holes at first, and later through open and outright illegality, the country was being led to tyranny and consolidated totalitarianism.

192. The Chilean people did not deserve to pay such a high "cost of revolution", as some came to call the loss of

lives, suffering, discrimination, hunger and sectarianism brought about by the Unidad Popular. Worse still, my country, on the verge of financial and economic bankruptcy, plagued by misery and divided into irreconcilable camps, was on the point of falling into chaos and into actual dissolution of the nation. In a supreme effort, and after having exhausted every legal possibility, my country has been able to avoid the most cruel and brutal of civil wars and set its feet on the road to national reconstruction.

193. None of this could escape the uncommitted foreigners who live in Chile, much less the diplomatic representatives of friendly nations who looked on impartially, but with anguish, while the country disintegrated. Politicians and ideologists outside the country may of course have another view. I remind them of the words of Bossuet: "The worst aberration of the mind consists of seeing things as one would like them to be and not as they are".

194. Chile has now taken a different road. The new Government will not retreat one step from the victories won by the workers, or from its policy of absolute national independence. We will whole-heartedly defend the interests of Chile in the face of any kind of imperialism.

195. But it is not easy to rebuild out of so much rubble and debris. Nevertheless, we trust fully in the aid of divine providence and we know that, thanks to the spirit of sacrifice and patriotism of every good Chilean, there will be no difficulty that cannot be overcome.

196. The costly and painful experience we have suffered has left us something positive. We now know the lurking poison behind deceiving mirages. Suffering has brought the Chileans together, overcoming the selfishness of the powerful and the hate which the weakest had been led to feel. The country will not forget the lesson that has allowed it to recover self-confidence. Once again it has been proved that in the spirit of Chile there still flames the fire of those who created a free and independent nation, embodying in its history what Ercilla sang of our strong indigenous race: a nation never "mastered by foreign yoke".

197. Mr. CASTILLO-VALDÉS (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the delegation of Guatemala considers that the General Assembly was well advised to appoint you, since this appointment also represents twofold recognition of your standing as a jurist and of the personal qualifications that you have brought to the service of the United Nations, helping to maintain trust and to increase faith in the unchangeable principles and vital objectives of the world Organization. Our admiration and respect bespeak your success and guarantee you the the whole-hearted co-operation of the delegations present here.

198. I wish to thank you also for the special tribute that you paid to the memory of the late Guatemalan internationalist, Emilio Arenales Catalán, who preceded you in your high office.

199. I should like also to mention the ties and similar deep historic roots that link Ecuador and Guatemala. And I might refer to the fact that the greatest Latin American writer of fables, Rafael García Goyena, as a child, left his native city of Quito and while in my own country he contributed to the emerging national awareness and served the cause of the political emancipation of Central America through the press that he edited and that supported independence.

200. I must express the concern of my delegation at the exacerbation of the conflict in the Middle East.

201. This regular session of the General Assembly began with the promising prospect that the relaxation of great political differences and ideological controversies all over the world would make the road to the maintenance of international peace and security easier to traverse.

202. Such prospects have been seriously upset by the conflict in the Middle East. Since the United Nations was born out of the need of humanity for peace and for guarantees of the security of peoples, safeguarding mankind from the untold sufferings of war as our basic and primary objective, this conflict once again puts the United Nations on its mettle. It is a challenge to the political will of Member States to achieve a solution to the conflict and to follow up that solution in order to ensure peace throughout the region. We trust that the United Nations will live up to that mission.

203. It would be almost redundant for me to reiterate the adherence of Guatemala to the United Nations or even to try to list the fruitful achievements of the Organization. We should be better advised to consider the balance-sheet and then answer criticisms that have been made—some of them well-founded—which are the result of impatience and eagerness of many to revitalize the United Nations at a time when its purposes and directives have matured sufficiently to require greater achievements.

204. We are gratified that the application of the principle of universality is gaining ground and our international Organization is expanding and becoming stronger. We are happy to welcome cordially the representatives of the beautiful archipelago of the Bahamas and the admission of the two German States, whose renewed contact promises convergence in this climate of political détente, a convergence that Einstein entrusted to time, space and distance; this does not satisfy fully those of us who wish for a world that is united, yet this convergence will help us towards coexistence and human understanding. There are some very promising indications contained in the statements made by a number of Powers in this forum, confirming the fact that the United Nations inspires trust and leads to agreements. Thus, for example, the Soviet Union has revived, in concrete terms, a proposal, which the representative of the United Kingdom recalled here, on the reduction of military budgets in order that the resources thus saved might be diverted to international co-operation and to meeting the priority needs of the developing countries [A/9191].

205. The Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Willy Brandt, agreed in condemning violence

in any form and, furthermore, he denounced that defeatism which is confined to a bitter criticism of “an almost jubilant pessimism” in the face of the present complex problems, when people are dying of hunger as earlier they died in war [2128th meeting]. Therefore, as we seek peace we must revitalize the instruments of international co-operation and improve the living conditions of many peoples whose backwardness or poverty are the ingredients of domestic upheaval and threats to international security.

206. Surely this new atmosphere will be encouraged and promoted by the United Nations. It may be created by a convergence of fear and the memory of untold sufferings, but it is a climate which might be conducive to a disarmament movement or a change in individual and collective conduct that will turn sterile struggles into useful compromises, and to a search for peace and security through mutual understanding and co-operation.

207. My country does not need to reaffirm its traditional belief in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, which already in 1825 was the principle underlying the instructions that our delegates, Molina and Larrazábal, carried with them to the First Inter-American Conference in Panama, and that contribution to the rule of international law leads us today to advocate disarmament, and to condemn unreservedly the proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear tests that might shatter the radiation balance and be a grave danger to mankind. We are proud, in the Western Hemisphere, that the Treaty of Tlatelolco⁴ was created and signed by us.

208. In Guatemala our concern for development has been directed towards an over-all plan with a deep humanist underlying condition that calls for better standards of health, training and cultural activity so that, at least the greater number of our inhabitants, if not all, shall participate actively in the social and economic welfare and thus meet the imperative that “peace is the fruit of justice”. This is a guiding principle that has a deeply rooted tradition in the Guatemalans because in the *Popol Vuh*, the most important of pre-Columbian books, it was stated as follows: “Let all rise. Let all be called. Let there be no group, no two groups, among us that is left behind the others.”

209. The search for basic social justice as a means of promoting peace, security and the welfare of the nation is a matter for all of us, and our President, General Carlos Arana Osorio, has made appeals that go beyond party interests and *élite* groups, that we should all work together devotedly, sharing the sowing and the harvest and the enjoyment of the benefits, under the egalitarian inspiration of the Sacred Book of the Maya-Quichés in Guatemala:

“All the tribes climbed the mountain together to see the sun rise. They took with them their idols and their animals, their wives and their children, their chiefs and their servants; and the sun rose. And the tribes were not counted, nor the idols, nor the animals, nor the strong, nor the weak. The sun shone brightly on all.”

⁴ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, signed at Tlatelolco, Mexico, on 14 February 1967.

210. We have stressed the great responsibility for a national effort to achieve over-all development, but we do not in any way underestimate bilateral, regional and international co-operation freely agreed upon; at the same time, however, we must obey the integrationist mission of the Central American isthmus, which is geographically, historically, ecologically and culturally intended to combine natural and human resources to meet the requirements of a single, common destiny, as provided in the restructuring of the common market and in other aspects of the regional plan, aimed at benefiting the peoples of the region. A number of organs are working along those lines and important programmes are under way. If there were difficulties in the *Mercomún*—the common market—if a dispute has endangered the plan, the situation has now improved and the prospects for the coming year are eminently promising.

211. We know that the United Nations will through its specialized agencies give the necessary support, on conditions appropriate to our circumstances, within the framework of our own institutions.

212. With regard to the efforts being made by the Central American Governments to speed up their economic development, we believe it is indispensable for all developing nations to define the economic rights and duties of States in a charter in keeping with present ideas, but flexible enough to be adapted to future situations. The prompt adoption of such a charter by the international community would set the stage for an era of constructive calm.

213. Despite the fact that in 1970 the General Assembly adopted the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, many policy measures included in the Strategy have not been implemented. Furthermore, the world economy has suffered a series of grave upheavals, with particularly unfavourable repercussions on the developing countries. That situation surely calls for political will on the part of the developed countries to implement new forms of international co-operation that will cover global interests and treat common problems, without distinction, in the light of interdependence.

214. The United Nations and its specialized agencies, without doubt, in specific fields falling within their competence, have done praiseworthy work on the development of the less advanced nations, and yet bureaucratic and administrative problems hinder implementation of the United Nations Development Programme in some regions. In this connexion, it is suggested that international co-operation should make better use of available resources, since the balance-sheet of the first two years of the Second Development Decade shows that many problems persist. Some have become aggravated to the point where they even show signs of retrogression.

215. Trade negotiations started in Tokyo within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade also call for preferential treatment to be given to the developing nations. If this goal is lost sight of, and if multilateral negotiations are to be made subject to the interests of the economic Powers, or if they are limited

merely to solving their own problems, then irrecoverable ground will be lost in international relations.

216. Development is also linked closely to the problem of population. At round tables and seminars, in studies and speeches at national and regional levels, a preventive policy regarding the balance between population and natural resources is discussed and examined. We must recall the warnings of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations but must not go back to the simplistic Malthusian theory regarding world supply of food-stuffs. We must rather take into account the complexity of the socio-economic concept in which man is at present developing, since his destiny depends primarily on the family milieu. It is in order to ensure that every man has better and more resources, and can thus more effectively contribute to the collective welfare, that the United Nations has stressed the importance of population problems and has created a specific department to gather and disseminate information and, we might also say, keep its finger on the pulse of each country regarding reactions to the problem.

217. In my own country the demographic problem is not the determining factor governing under-development, nor is it of an alarming nature. Far from it; however, the authorities and society have both taken it into account and thus encouraged study of the problem and discussion of programmes for family planning. We can bring some of our experiences and experiments to the World Population Conference planned by the United Nations for 1974.

218. In a different context, we admit that the United Nations has been more than ready to assist areas affected by natural disasters. Thus, my delegation would be ready to advocate and sponsor the creation of a standing United Nations body, ready to give assistance and help to countries suffering natural catastrophes or calamities, which almost constantly beset one region or another of the world and which call for timely and ample assistance.

219. During 1974 the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is to be held. At that time, difficult problems will be raised, such as the different delimitations of the sea, especially as regards the utilization of natural resources as yet unassessed but whose importance is already known and planned on as vital sources and reserves for the economies of our peoples.

220. Some formula will have to be found that will guarantee the rational exploitation of the sea-bed without disregarding the preferential rights of the coastal States, linking the interests of more than 130 nations whose situations are very different. It will be a challenge to the negotiating capacity of diplomacy, it is true, but scientific precision and technical advice, as well as the new concepts of international law, must prevail. Thus it might be helpful if prior and wide dissemination were made by the United Nations of any information and data that will allow those problems to be placed within the framework of the coastal rights of peoples and nations and in the emerging interests of future generations.

221. Finally, this year the United Nations will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Univer-

sal Declaration of Human Rights, with world-wide repercussions. In this matter the Government of Guatemala, whose Constitution includes each and every one of the human rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration, apart from having presided over the formation and development of our own Republic and being soundly rooted in the people, has adopted measures to ensure the widest publicity in which schools at all levels and many cultural institutions will enthusiastically participate.

222. This General Assembly has before it the problem of devising the programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Guatemala agrees openly with the objectives of that Decade and we are ready to support the elimination of any form of discrimination by following a crusade to defend the right which goes hand in hand with the very right to life, and that is life with dignity.

223. We believe that this readiness, which is unanimous in the Assembly, is the best framework in which to celebrate the anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, and our hopes are that the awareness of those rights and respect for their tenets will not only be set forth in a declaration but will be part of the mentality of future generations and be brought out in their conduct and in their acts.

*Tribute to the memory of Wilfred Jenks,
Director-General of the International Labour Office*

224. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is with regret that we have learnt of the death today of Mr. Wilfred Jenks, Director-General of the International Labour Office. Mr. Jenks was one of the most senior international civil servants. He joined the Office in 1931 and was elected Director-General in 1970. He was very closely associated with the beginnings of the United Nations in San Francisco, and particularly in negotiating the first relationship agreement, the one between the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation.

225. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to convey to his family, through the representative of the International Labour Organisation attending this session of the Assembly, our most heartfelt condolences. May I request representatives to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of Mr. Jenks.

The representatives stood in silence.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

226. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to recall that, in accordance with the decision taken at our 2123rd meeting, rights of reply during this session shall be limited to 10 minutes each. I shall now call on all those who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

227. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): While I have come to the rostrum to exercise my right of reply, I should like, in advance of my formal statement tomorrow, to extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on

your well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly.

228. The Assembly has listened to a traitorous ex-minister of the Government of President Allende and a sergeant of Goebbels. The mountain of lies, distortions, mendacity and adulteration of the facts in which he indulged has a precedent only in Nazi Germany, just as it is only in the countries occupied by the Nazis that we shall find precedents for the crimes, persecutions, tortures and murders that have been perpetrated and continue to be perpetrated by the fascist military junta that has taken over power in Chile by the most despicable and contemptible means.

229. Because of the very brief time available to me, I could not take up, one by one, and refute all those lies, ineptitudes and bare-faced distortions of fact; but I should like to refer to several very concrete points, since in my statement tomorrow I shall have the opportunity to dot all the i's and to cross all the t's, and, as long as my strength holds, to depict for you the true, terrible and tragic picture of Chile's life today; and one of those responsible for that nefarious situation is the traitorous vice-admiral and sergeant of Goebbels who has just addressed you. He tried to hide the crime of Araya, Allende's naval aide-de-camp, who was caught by the Investigation Service of his Government. He knows exactly who the murderers are; he knows that they are members of the "Lombrosiano" group "Patria y Libertad" (Homeland and Freedom), and of the armed forces. No wonder, therefore, that the Fascist junta did not lift a finger to capture and punish the perpetrators.

230. With regard to his allegation that my country smuggled arms into Chile, I must state categorically that the weapons my country sent to Chile were requested by the constitutional President of that country, Salvador Allende, who, furthermore, was the supreme commander of the armed forces. Major Fidel Castro, the Premier of the Government of Cuba, made President Allende a present of an AK rifle which was the gun he used against his attackers. I shall read out here what Premier Fidel Castro had to say on this point:

"They have even pulled out the rifle with which Allende fought, the automatic rifle that we gave him as a gift, trying to put it to a ridiculous and clumsy propaganda use. But events have proved that no better present could have been given to President Allende to defend the Unidad Popular Government than that automatic weapon. It was quite right on our part to give that rifle to the President, and it was an accurate premonition. Never did more heroic hands hold a rifle than those of a legitimate constitutional President of his country; never did a rifle better defend the rights of the humble, the cause of the workers and peasants of Chile; and if each worker and each peasant had had a rifle just like that one in his hands, there would not have been a Fascist coup d'état in Chile."

That is the great lesson to be learned from the events in Chile by the revolutionaries and progressive peoples of the world.

231. He also read out here the letter written by Fidel Castro to Salvador Allende a few days before the Fascist

coup d'état, as though he had made some enormous discovery, as if he had found an unbelievable treasure trove—as something clandestine. But that letter was published in my country, in Cuba, many days ago, and I have it here, in one of our magazines. That letter is a model of exemplary morality; it is a model of human consistency; it is a model of solidarity between the Prime Minister of a revolutionary country and the President of a country who was legitimately elected by the people. That letter was read to you here; there is no need for me to reread it. But that letter will for ever be engraved upon our memories, because in it are to be found the seeds of the tragedy that was subsequently to strike.

232. The Vice-Admiral, Goebbels's sergeant, and traitor to the Allende Government, had the audacity here to claim that the Fascist junta is non-aligned and, at the same time, anti-colonialist. I would ask you representatives, many of whom were in this room when he spoke, what he said in support of the struggle of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique or Angola; what encouragement he gave to the Arab countries that are today, at this very moment, trying to recover their usurped territories? What did he say about Panama and its struggle for the Canal? What did he say? Nothing. He is a perfect liar and a perfect crook, nothing else.

233. And yet it is true that he is from a non-aligned country. It is non-aligned with justice; it is non-aligned with liberty; it is non-aligned with dignity; it is non-aligned with the cause of the liberation of peoples. It is deeply enmeshed and viscerally aligned with imperialism, with colonialism, with neo-colonialism, with crime, with shamelessness, with knavery, with murder, with concentration camps, with the state of siege. It is perfectly aligned with all these monstrosities.

234. Furthermore, members will doubtless recall that he said the Fascist military junta would hold on to the natural resources of the country. If that is the case, why are they handing over the country's natural resources to the United States? Why are they ready immediately to give back the lands and the businesses that belong legitimately to the people? Why are they ready to compensate the United States for its many years of exploitation of Chile and the Chilean workers?

235. We must not lose sight of the fact that fascism has no future in Chile, and it can have none. Fascism, as all present know, is a system that existed 40 years ago and horrified the world. Its very essence is violence and terror. It is a shameful system. It is a system that violates the very essence of the human being. It is a régime of barbarism. It is a zoological régime. It is outside the pale of politics.

236. And that is what the Vice-Admiral, who is a traitor, an ex-minister of the Government of Allende and a sergeant of Goebbels, represents.

237. Mr. BAZAN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The so-called correction of the record we heard from the representative of Castroism differs greatly from his usual disquisitions. Normally, we see him as a consummate actor, vociferating and gesticulating without feeling what he is saying, moved only by the idea of impressing his audience.

238. This time, however, we have all seen that that representative is living a soul-searing drama, that his words are the expression of a very deeply felt tragedy that is consuming him.

239. He imagined that in Chile Fascist Castroism was at last going to achieve its expansionist dreams. It had failed earlier in Venezuela, in Bolivia and in a number of other countries. Yet in Chile for the first time they found the right moment. The Unidad Popular Government welcomed them with open arms, and Fidel Castro took advantage of the opportunity. He tried to transfer to my country his motley experiments. His diplomats not only promoted the adoption in Chile of many of the measures that led to the moral and economic chaos into which we fell; they also contributed to the training of guerrillas, to the organization of militia and to the dissemination of terrorist practices. Clandestinely, they introduced into the country—and this has just been admitted by Castro's representative—a varied and sophisticated arsenal that would very soon enable the Unidad Popular Government to strengthen its power and perpetuate itself by force.

240. They were just about to see their dreams come true when the Chilean people woke like a lion, overthrew their dark plans and evicted from the national territory all those activists Castroism had exported to us. That eviction has left them homeless in most of Latin America. A great statesman of the south has warned them not to try in his country what they tried in Chile, because they will be thrown out in the same way.

241. The idea of propagating in Latin America the teaching they nurtured for so many years is for the Castroites today a lost dream. They eventually broke their teeth and claws in Chile, and they cannot reconcile themselves to what has happened. That is the true drama underlying the words of the Castroite representative. His invective bespeaks his impotence and his failure. In his agitated voice there is a desperate cry of bitterness. He is spitting out the bile that envenoms him. It is an understandable and painful human drama that at times moves us to compassion.

242. It is easy to speak of crimes, of persecution, of tortures, of murders when those are the methods practised at home. And that is the formula that the representative of Castroism has used in order to accuse Chile falsely and unjustly.

243. We do not persecute anyone for political reasons in Chile. We have no tortures in Chile. We do not murder anyone in Chile. We have legal process against offenders, against those who are accused of crimes—crimes covered by laws that date back perhaps a hundred years, as in the case of our Penal Code.

244. And the Castro representative said that the weapons they brought into Chile had been requested by President Allende. They may well have been requested by President Allende. But they were brought into the country unlawfully, and not according to legal procedure. That is why nothing was said about them. No one hides if he is acting lawfully. In Chile, weapons can be imported only for the regular armed forces. That is why, knowing

full well that they were infringing the law, they had to disguise the cases of weapons as works of art, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile just pointed out.

245. The representative of Castroism is very hurt that Chile abides by its non-alignment. He is sad and heartbroken because we have not addressed ourselves to each and every specific case he saw fit to raise. But the truth of the matter is that if we define ourselves as standing in the group of the non-aligned our definition is already given on each and every one of the points the Castroite representative saw fit to throw in our faces.

246. Chile will remain in the non-aligned group—but in the true non-aligned group, not the non-aligned whom the representative of Castro wants to align around a Power completely alien to the ideals, aspirations and hopes of the non-aligned. Obviously, we are not aligned with Cuba among the non-aligned nations. We do not agree nor will we ever agree with the efforts of Castro to align the non-aligned according to Castro's definition.

247. Vice-Admiral Huerta is above all the vile and low attacks levelled at him. Vice-Admiral Huerta collaborated loyally with President Allende, while President Allende gave him a chance to do so. And if at a certain moment he changed his line of conduct it was because, rather than align himself with President Allende, he had to align himself with Chile. Chile owned his first loyalty. His oath was to ensure the safety of the nation, to ensure that Chile did not disintegrate and was not destroyed by a cruel civil war.

248. Many of the assertions of the Castroite representative are, as always, a model of falsehood and hypocrisy. He assumes that Chile will hand over the natural resources which it owns. That is a slanderous assumption. He assumes that the Government of Chile is going to give back to the corporations the natural resources that were

nationalized—nationalized, it must be said, by the unanimous will of the population of Chile, not by the will of a minority faction like the Government of the Unidad Popular. Therefore we maintain the Chilean line. We have not in any way changed the proposition of Chile regarding the natural resources of the country. No one in Chile has for one moment thought of giving back the natural resources which the country owns.

249. Fascism clearly has no future in Chile, none whatsoever. If there is no facism there now, how can there be any? If the régime is not fascist, then it is not a régime without a future. What clearly has no future in Chile—and I must stress this—is Castroism. Castroism was eradicated from Chile root and branch. It was a painful extraction, and the one who suffered the most pain was the last speaker. We Chileans know that Chile has paid a high price for its decision to cut out a cancer that was infecting the body of society. That action was necessary and could no longer be postponed. We know there has been suffering, but we are happy because we are now able boldly to view the future, and it will be a future that belongs to Chile alone.

250. Mr. ROA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have suffered no pain. Nor have I lamented. From this rostrum I have said that fascism is trying to drown Chile in misery, in blood, in barbarism and in darkness, and that it has no future. That, in a word, is what I have said here.

251. In your childhood reading you must all have encountered a wooden puppet called Pinocchio. That puppet has one problem: every time he told a lie his nose became longer. You also remember that the head of the Fascist junta of Chile is General Pinochet. Therefore I am not ready to waste another moment or to waste the time of the Assembly any further by replying to Pinochet's Pinocchio.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.