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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. GUERRERO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of Nicaragua, I greet you and congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. In you, Sir, we greet a distinguished statesman of an outstanding nation, who, on many counts, is worthy of universal appreciation and respect. We understand the pleasure which the Republic of Indonesia must have when one of its most outstanding sons has assumed, amid the applause of the world, the severe responsibility of presiding over this session of the Assembly, as a recognition of your personal merits and civic virtues, and in honour of the devotion which your country has for the noble and just causes of mankind.

2. Through you we pay a tribute to all those peoples who have not yet achieved their freedom. Your high office, signifying as it does the greatest degree of equality, is the best guarantee which oppressed peoples have that the United Nations will be watching out for their rights.

3. We should also like to greet your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Edvard Hambro, who wisely presided over the work of the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session, and in so doing honoured his well-respected international personality.

4. This session marks 10 years of meritorious service on the part of Secretary-General U Thant. The most brilliant leaders of the world hold deep sympathy and undying gratitude for this man. His concerns and his efforts have led him to all parts of the world where there has been a need to be satisfied or a problem to be tackled. In Nicaragua we were also honoured to receive him as a messenger of peace. We are particularly fond of remembering his visit and our Head of State, President Anastasio Somoza, as well as all Nicaraguans, have special feelings of admiration, gratitude and friendship for him.

5. With gratitude and deep emotion, I must say that our country gladly goes along with the well-deserved tribute paid to U Thant by the nations on the eve of his voluntary retirement from his honoured post, a post which he honoured by his devotion. I think that the best tribute to his efforts would be to adopt resolutions that carry out the philosophy and guidance which he bequeathed to us in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/8401/Add.1].

6. It is our task to find a successor to U Thant who will be worthy of his dedication as a statesman, someone who, like him, will keep alive his faith and be willing to struggle so that the ideas and purposes of the United Nations might cover all parts of our globe with his mantle of peace.

7. During the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, when the President of my country made use of this forum to add his voice to those of the leaders of the world who were celebrating the great event, a question was asked of the Assembly: "... what would have happened in the world had the United Nations not existed?" And he told us:

"Let us therefore strengthen what cost so much sacrifice to create. Let us be untiring in our search for peace. Let us be understanding to realize that it must be based on justice. Let us build peace, devoid of prejudice and ambitions, a peace filled with understanding and good faith. . . ." [1881st meeting, para. 150.]

8. Prompted by the feeling of our President, who was expressing the faith which the world has in the United Nations, we think that the twenty-sixth anniversary is the proper occasion to repeat our faith in this world Organization, which has entered its maturity with new vigour and which is now enriched by new blood with countries which, after having achieved their freedom, are co-operating in the great task of furthering international peace.

9. Let us extend a welcome to Bahrain, Bhutan and Qatar, whose presence is a stimulus to the new nations which are coming to share the experiences and responsibilities of our

times in a common effort to preserve, for progress and freedom, the new generations of mankind.

10. Nicaragua is carefully observing what the big Powers are doing to solve, through mutual agreement, the problems of the world. The leaders of these Powers wish to shoulder the enormous responsibility of deciding the fate of millions of human beings who are today living and who will be living in the future.

11. The Government of Nicaragua, wishing, as it does, to contribute to this universal task, a task which cannot and must not be delegated to others, calls upon all the States Members of this Organization to take a more active role in its tasks so that we can share in this way the responsibility of determining our own destiny.

12. Our Government understands that the budgetary burdens imposed by our Organization on the big Powers do not give these Governments preferential rights and, as our countries progress, this economic burden should be shared by us.

13. The United Nations is a productive investment which goes beyond the ideals of peace and brotherhood. It has practical aspects of great value for our developing nations, which very often lack capital and the necessary technology to move ahead. Our Organization is bringing about the closing of this gap between the developing and the developed countries and producing sure benefits for those of us who are contributing to its maintenance and operation.

14. My country has received from the United Nations and its specialized agencies economic and technical assistance for the development of various programmes of public administration. This is assistance whose influence has been felt in a beneficial manner throughout the national economy. We have hopes that the request made for the competent organs to study the feasibility of channelling the San Juan River and its adjacent zones will make possible for the abrogation of the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty,¹ which marks an historical landmark in the relations between Nicaragua and the United States of America, and this will be not only a cause of patriotic satisfaction for our citizens, but would also make it possible to transform the San Juan River into a development project which would benefit the peoples of Central America and increase their opportunities of trading with the rest of the world.

15. This project for building a canal is part of the general programme which the Government of Nicaragua has for making the most efficient use of its water resources, a use which has begun with hydroelectric dams at the Tuma River and the growing use of the living resources of our seas.

16. On this last point my Government believes that the international community has an interest in two aspects of my country's position on questions of the sea.

17. In accordance with the fishing law of 1958, Nicaragua has for several years been exploiting the living resources of

the territorial sea in a zone 200 miles wide. In the same way explorations have been undertaken to determine the mineral resources of the continental shelf over which we have been exercising full and uninterrupted possession and sovereignty.

18. We shall be participating in the conference on the law of the sea with a realistic attitude and shall maintain our country's already recognized right of exploitation of an area of 200 miles in width and over the adjacent zone for reasons of health and defence which have been determined with the closest adherence to the practices which exist among States. We believe that the Geneva Conventions ought to be revised to fix the extent of the territorial waters and the continental shelf, leaving it up to the contiguous States to determine, through treaties, the corresponding marine borders.

19. The developing countries, as their technological capacity increases, must resort increasingly to the exploitation of resources of the territorial seas, and of the soil and the subsoil of its seas and oceans. Nevertheless, there will have to be readjustment between the desire to have wide areas in the sea and the continental shelves for strictly nationalist regions, and the demands of the international community, which has declared as a benefit and common property a zone of the sea and of its soils and subsoils the size and limitations of which have not yet been determined.

20. Nicaragua considers this action of the international community to be very hopeful. It will offer unsuspected possibilities for co-operation among States through a system of exploitation which will promote intergovernmental enterprises and will also make it possible for the international community to give justice to those countries which are less favoured economically through a fair use of the benefits resulting from exploitation under an international régime.

21. There exist at present among States situations of manifest and unjust inequality of opportunities which have produced extraordinary advances for a few sectors of peoples of the world and progressive under-development for the vast majority of its peoples. This is a situation which must be corrected. If the international régime over the seas does not incorporate the germ of a more just world order, it will make no difference whether it is 200 miles or nothing, since the same régime among States will produce the same inequalities.

22. The important thing is that the conference on the law of the sea should give impetus to the creation of an order of relations among States which will make a reality of the dream of development and offer a real equality of opportunity to the peoples of the world. Towards this pragmatic alternative all efforts of the Government of Nicaragua will be directed at the conference. We, as Nicaraguans, will try at that conference to see to it that these goals are crystallized through international action and by means offered by the United Nations as an institution which regulates relations among States, an institution which is supposed to avoid unilateral actions which have tended to defend special economic and social interests rather than the interests and needs considered vital to mankind.

¹ Signed at Washington on 5 August 1914.

23. Nicaragua has always based its international policies on a recognition of the same right in other States which we demand for ourselves. The tradition of Nicaragua of using peaceful means, arbitration and constructive dialogue goes back to the first years of our independent life. Numerous treaties and conventions have defined our jurisdiction and sovereignty, and there is not an inch of our territory which has been added through conquest, nor has there been arbitrary action on the part of our Government to the detriment of the interests and rights of other peoples.

24. Possibly it was in recognition of what I have just said that the States Members of the United Nations, with the invaluable support of the Latin American group, honoured Nicaragua with the designation of non-permanent member of the Security Council, the presidency of which it was thus able to assume in the person of Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, one of the most outstanding sons of our country.

25. Conscious of the great work of Ambassador Sacasa and the praiseworthy manner in which he has carried out his responsibilities in strict compliance with the legal traditions of our country and in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, my Government would like to pay public tribute to him in the same way in which he has paid tribute, so fittingly, to other great men who have made of their lives, as has Mr. Sacasa, living examples of dedication to justice and devotion to peace and total service to the good of all.

26. This is a good opportunity to pay a tribute, as the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, to the correct manner in which other members of the permanent mission of my country to the United Nations have carried out their own delicate tasks.

27. Our contribution to the efforts of the United Nations, to its aspirations and philosophy, has not been limited to words and actions in the international field. We think that justice begins at the level of States when we cause to flourish in them a just internal order and when we educate new generations in the principles of solidarity, equality of opportunity and co-operation among individuals. The international panorama reflects these actions and attitudes and the values by which peoples are able to live among themselves within the juridical framework of their own States.

28. Nicaragua therefore has maintained and does maintain in its full meaning the fullest observance of rights and the broadest civil liberties. Our respect for freedom of conscience, information, and the full exercise of civic participation of our citizens has gone beyond laws and is found in all forms of life. Reliable evidence of this fact can be found in the stability of our institutions and the free exercise of political interests and permanent dialogue, which we have instituted as a definite means to serve our own development.

29. In accordance with the pure ideals of the Charter of the United Nations, political groups in Nicaragua enjoy absolute freedom to join together in a search for their own goals, and dialogue and co-operation have been characteristics whose development we have stimulated since the

earliest days of our independence. The people of Nicaragua have favoured a two-party political system; nevertheless, our laws give the right to any democratic and peace-loving group to assist through its own philosophy in guiding and even reforming the development of national life. Examples of this assertion are abundant in our history, and on various occasions political parties have governed jointly in order to favour a climate of peace and co-operation among citizens.

30. Consistent with that tradition, the two major parties of Nicaragua recently signed a political convention before the diplomatic representatives of many of the world's nations. Their top leaders, the President of the Republic, Anastasio Somoza, as the head of the Liberal Party, and Dr. Fernando Agüero Rocha, as head of the Conservative Party, signed this convention, inspired by a desire to incorporate into our Constitution the most modern ideological currents and the most advanced principles of social justice in order to make a reality of the aspirations of the people of Nicaragua, not as a unilateral action of the party in power, but as a result of free determination and full involvement of the nation itself in deciding and achieving its own future, with all its hopes and ambitions.

31. Inspired by this desire to achieve and maintain the broadest participation of all our citizens, the parties signing the political convention, although together they include almost all our citizens, have made provision for safeguarding the participation of other political groupings in the coming election of deputies to the National Constituent Assembly, and have agreed to invite observers from regional organizations sufficient in number to enable the world to witness the purity of the coming electoral process.

32. My Government is pleased at the tendency of the other Governments in the world to make use of all possible means to decrease international tensions. The Heads of State and their cabinets have increased their negotiations and contacts in order to guide their peoples towards the desired goals of peace, freedom, justice and progress. The leaders of the great Powers and their diplomatic representatives have drawn closer together in attempting to resolve harmoniously the principal problems of the present world, particularly those separating their own countries. This is why we note with satisfaction such advances as the incorporation of the People's Republic of China into the international order, the rapprochement between the two Germanys, and the talks concerning Berlin, disarmament, the tensions in the Middle East and those in South-East Asia.

33. We have also been attentive and interested witnesses to the efforts being exerted by Latin American political leaders to strengthen the ties of friendship and co-operation among institutional orders inspired by a plurality of ideologies. That plurality, which we have respected, is revealing of the freedom that has been implanted in the American continent as the key to its progress and development, and of the observance of the principles of self-determination of peoples and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, both of which are cornerstones of the Organization of American States.

34. Loyal conforming to the political inspiration of our regional organization, the Government of Nicaragua has

striven to improve present conditions in the Central American Common Market by establishing numerous bilateral and multilateral contacts in which the leaders of the Central American countries have participated with praiseworthy interest. As a result, we have seen a lessening of the differences that had separated two neighbouring countries the contribution of which is essential for the success of our economic integration.

35. We have also greeted with profound sympathy the recent initiatives taken by the President of the Republic of Guatemala on the occasion of the sesquicentenary of the independence of Central America. My Government believes that positive steps should be taken to lay the groundwork for political integration of the Central American countries, as suggested by the President of Guatemala, because to do so would not only imply the satisfaction of a long-standing desire of our States, but would also establish the real basis for the final and successful outcome of the economic and social development of Central America.

36. The economic and political integration of the Central American countries should arise out of the awareness of our peoples themselves. The efforts and intentions of our leaders could very well be hindered if there has not been a previous decision on the part of the citizens of Central America. Each and every Central American should have a clear awareness and a firm will to join his efforts and aspirations within a single nationality. It is essential that we strengthen the Organization of the Central American States as a nucleus and driving force for the political unity of the isthmus, and formulate a concrete plan so that in the five countries it will be the people who will put into effect this new attempt to set up the Federal Republic of Central America.

37. With a less ambitious purpose but with no less sincerity, the Government of Nicaragua has been trying to strengthen and multiply the ties that unite it to our sister Republic of Mexico and to the entire Latin American community. To that end, the President of Nicaragua accepted the cordial invitation extended to him by Mr. Luis Echeverría, the President of Mexico, and together with members of his Cabinet and distinguished representatives of private enterprise in Nicaragua, he recently visited our sister Republic, laying the groundwork for profitable agreements for co-operation that will be reflected most certainly in benefits to our own development.

38. In essence, the Government of Nicaragua, within the context of the Latin American community, has joined in positive fashion in the political life of the continent. It has done so with full awareness of the necessity for harmonious co-operation among peoples and persuaded that violence from the right and the left must be eliminated through democratic processes, nationally as well as internationally, because we have proscribed all use of force as an instrument of policy. We firmly believe that the doctrine that seeks to make of the continent of Colombia a continent for its own inhabitants and one which will be a repository for the hope and faith of the world, is today more than ever the collective responsibility of all our peoples, one that we must carry out with prudence and firm will.

39. The Government of Nicaragua notes with satisfaction the initiative of calling a conference on European security.

In these times in which the security of every nation is closely tied to that of other nations, it is necessary to speak of world security. Any other conception of security would be restrictive and not in accordance with the facts of history.

40. One of the essential foundations of security is that it must not depend solely on the control of offensive and defensive weapons, but rather on the establishment of a just international order and of equally just national orders. We must wipe out poverty, disease and inequality of educational and economic opportunities, and guarantee for every human being the satisfaction of his fundamental needs and the full development of his individuality. Such an order can be established only with the disappearance of all forms of domination by force or by economic and technological supremacy. Otherwise, unless such injustices are removed, it will not be possible to speak of the security of any nation, because the only permanent foundation for security is the one that results in justice in relations among individuals and among States.

41. My Government wishes to take this occasion, when the representatives of the world's Governments are gathered to make history, to make an appeal to all Members of this Organization, urging them to solve the old problems that afflict present-day society and that demand prompt and energetic action.

42. The problems existing on the African continent and in Asia, the proliferation of micro-States, the worsening of economic inequalities among nations—all these can be the spark igniting a holocaust which it is our duty to prevent. Let us prevent it by carefully paying due attention to the principles of coexistence among States and to the right of every human being fully to enjoy his own resources and to decide his own future.

43. Freedom cannot continue to be the privilege of nations which have been able to achieve it, but a right, consecrated and assured to all nations of the world. There is no human or divine justification for some countries to enjoy this freedom whereas others are kept in a state of complete deprivation of this fundamental need of human beings.

44. Universality within the United Nations can be achieved only through these means. It is not enough that new countries or old States come into the United Nations but are left out of the responsibilities and benefits. If the incorporation of the People's Republic of China, with millions of people and the immense potential of its age-old culture, is justified by the principle of universality, if that same principle also justifies the permanent membership of free peoples, such as the people of Nationalist China, whose permanence in our Organization ought to be ensured, the achievement of this principle of universality justifies acceleration of the process of decolonization, so that new peoples having received international recognition of their right to be free and sovereign can become members of the universal concert for which we are working in order to bring about the rule of freedom and justice in the world.

45. Freedom alone can ensure progress and full self-realization for mankind. The misery which now affects

millions of human beings in the Middle East and in Pakistan, as well as in many other areas in the world of which we know, is the result of a social order which we have set up and which requires careful and well-defined reform.

46. The United Nations has appointed a commissioner for Palestine refugees, who is administering and co-ordinating international assistance. We are convinced that a similar post should be created for the millions of Pakistani refugees who also deserve the protection and assistance of our Organization.

47. But those measures are insufficient. Human suffering bears witness that we are living in an insecure world. There can be no security if we persist in maintaining a social order which provokes such suffering, a fact which is clear evidence of the need to rectify the situation. Security ought to be universal, and must be achieved by strengthening the United Nations and by the realization of its principles and ideals as instruments which will be of its own making and which will strengthen and make more universal its scope of action. To act in any other way would be tantamount to a death sentence for the greatest Organization which man has created for the achievement of happiness for mankind and would make of the collective responsibility, which we have all freely sought, a partial decision of a group of States which has been set up outside our world Organization and the beneficial influence of the human community.

48. In the firm conviction that we are acting under the inspiration of the purest humanist principles, and hoping to see justice and reason prevail over ambition. I should like to raise my prayers to the God of Nations so that as a result of our deliberations, we may show a capacity to give future generations the hope, justice and security which we desire for ourselves.

49. Today's world, our own world, is facing a situation which requires serene action and the broadest spirit of co-operation among individuals and States. We are facing it with only the arms of a fretful human spirit. We are facing a situation of change, as seen in the irrepressible progress of new values which are creating a new awareness in the world. We do not believe that by isolating ourselves or raising protective barriers, material or spiritual, we will find solutions adequate to our task. Better interaction, better co-operation, better understanding and growing solidarity are the tools which we will have to use to produce a change towards real bases of happiness, freedom and justice as the common heritage for all human beings.

50. Mr. GUTIERREZ GUTIERREZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I take pleasure in congratulating you upon your well-deserved election to the presidency of this Assembly, and I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Edvard Hambro upon his successful tenure of office at the previous session.

51. To U Thant, on behalf of the Government of Bolivia, I should like to express our sincere appreciation; he has earned the confidence of many nations during his long tenure of office, in which the destiny of humanity has wavered between uncertainty and hope, and he has measured up to his task.

52. My welcome goes to the young countries of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar on their democratic entry into the United Nations. They will surely contribute to our cause with their force of spirit and their creative energies.

53. I bring to this Assembly a message from a country situated in the centre of South America, from a people great in terms of its virtues and sacrifices, a people which has been able to overcome, worthily, many misfortunes and from a nation which emerged at the dawn of time with the appearance of our original races and which married the Spanish conqueror and then gave birth to the Republic. That was a social compact to which we in Bolivia pay homage and because of which we cannot strike out about 500 years of history; we can deny neither the motherland of Spain nor the motherland of our own native soil, which brought us their faith, their beliefs, their traditions, their culture and their languages in harmonious combination, making of the New World, together with its prodigious natural wealth, the hope of the human race.

54. My country has undertaken structural changes, from 1952 on, in order to liberate the common people from feudalism and to attenuate the rigours of plutocratic exploitation. The dispossessed of the countryside have ceased to be slaves and the tin which brings income into our Treasury no longer benefits its former possessors. Such are the virtues of the agrarian reform and the nationalization of mines.

55. Petroleum, gas, zinc, gold, timber, sources of water—all our natural resources form part of the heritage of the nation. In my country it is no longer possible for an economic super-State to arise which would challenge the State itself.

56. Revolution is proceeding now in Bolivia on the basis of a unanimous consensus and long the glorious path of full nationalism. It will always be welcome in America, as elsewhere, so long as it preserves its autonomy and the hallmark of genuine authenticity. When the revolution tries to transfer its own sovereignty it becomes anti-national and hence anti-American.

Mr. Molina (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

57. This is precisely what happened in Bolivia under the former administration, which relinquished control of events to outside influences and permitted itself to pervert freedom and to prostitute justice and to cover up political crimes, to make the law its tool, to disregard institutions and deny democracy. All this was done to replace the national sovereignty with another sovereignty and to raise up petulant popular assemblies which were made up of false representatives appointed arbitrarily, and was done by setting up irregular courts designed to imprison free citizens and to consign the opposition to the firing squad, all of which was openly avowed with unwonted arrogance.

58. We are all aware of the principles of America which proclaim justice, which we all admit and we are all accustomed to defend with a certain readiness and boldness. But no one can ignore that these also compel the countries of America to preserve human and civil rights, to preserve their independence in the face of all forms of

outside interference in their internal decisions, and to repel jointly any kind of aggression.

59. Yes, we have been able to carry out this sacred task imposed upon us by the revolution and the free and civilized conscience of America.

60. In order to save the freedom of our country, which was on the point of being alienated by outside forces, in our policy we have applied the maxim of "help yourself".

61. In order to obtain this, Bolivians have been inspired by lofty sentiments, as, for example, in Colombia where liberals and conservatives joined hands and forgot their old quarrels in order to serve their country better. Our two great rival parties, the Bolivian Socialist Falange and the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, both with popular and nationalist roots, both equally pugnacious, have decided to join forces in the face of the danger threatening Bolivia. And this political instrument, forged with such detachment and grandeur, has served the armed forces of the nation to rise victoriously, hand in hand with the people and under the leadership of Hugo Bánzer Suárez, leader of the Nationalist Popular Front, which governs my country.

62. Contrary to false and self-interested versions alleging non-existent fascism and a reaction which no longer is active in Bolivia, the new Government is inspired by profound democratic faith and by the conviction that it is preferable to run the risks of liberty. As soon as the circumstances of the political crisis which now confront us have been overcome, the powers of the nation will be established through the free exercise of universal suffrage. Parallel to this psychological preparation of the Bolivian people for the ennobling exercise of the ballot box, we are seeking a beneficial counterweight to control of the public sector by the State through incentives to private initiative and proper guarantees for foreign investments. Bolivia is a country which requires capital for its development and needs currents of immigration which will help it to grow. Social achievements such as the trade-union movement and workers' movements are being maintained unchanged. National universities have been suspended until next March while we undertake their restructuring on a modern basis, as has been done in other American universities. The reforms of 1930 are outmoded, anachronistic and inadequate. These reforms did not include in higher learning the new disciplines which are indispensable in our day. Economic and social development, the investigation of local realities and the training of medium-level scientists and technicians were not part of its objectives. In order to bring up to date our institutions of higher learning what we will need are sustained efforts, apart from the necessary resources and technical assistance from international organizations.

63. It is all very well to say that there exists a third world made up of developing nations or by nations considered to be backward and dependent, including Bolivia. My party, the Bolivian Socialist Falange, 30 years ago, at the end of the Second World War, spoke of a third point of the triangle, a third position distinct from the exploiting right and the anarchistic left. Today we are pleased to observe that our idea has been implanted democratically in the

conscience of the countries which do not have the power of decision in world politics and need the understanding and solidarity of the strong and powerful States.

64. In the process of development, of industrialization through international co-operation, the concept of a third world distinct from the major Powers in conflict is naturally proper. At a time of definitions, at the supreme moment when the destiny of man and the fate of nations will be at stake, among the opposed and hostile forces which "third worldism" presupposes, each country is faced with a critical choice. There is no room for neutrality in the great historical contests. A sexual indeterminacy of certain species does not permit biological transformation neither can there be in social terms a fruitful conciliation of the neuter with well-defined and categorical characteristics.

65. Quite a few members of the third world are considered to be non-aligned countries. This non-alignment is more apparent than real. Listening with due attention to the magnificent speeches which have been made in this hall at this present twenty-sixth session, it has been possible to observe that the Governments of our respective countries are in fact clearly aligned in taking a stand on each of the great subjects which perturb mankind today, and, even in dealing with specific problems of each nation, we observe a well-defined position which indicates a certain philosophy and a camp in which action is taken. The results of the final votes will show us better than anything else that we are all aligned in one way or another.

66. Some people involved in the atmosphere of "third worldism" have unfortunately been given to violence, to terrorism and to urban and rural guerrilla warfare. These people confuse the moral and the economic posture of the countries of the third world, a posture which should be understood in a constructive way with a facile and convenient appeal to subversion and disorder for criminal ends.

67. Violence, and there is no way of denying it, is the great midwife of history. But violence is legitimate and proper when it is exercised by the weak against the strong, by the exploited against the exploiter, by slaves against their masters. Blind violence through motives of revenge or resentment or as reprisals for a defeat which has been sustained, or the expression of impotence with regard to fighting openly is reprehensible and cowardly and deserves the most energetic condemnation.

68. A political doctrine which practices organized criminality and for this purpose resorts to anti-social elements is not of course something which reveals the virtue of its principles, but a diabolical spirit which is intrinsically anti-natural and perverse, that of the Cains who swarm over the face of the globe and who will never be able to raise the standard of human hope.

69. Along with the terrorism which is practised as a political system, we find this tendency to intervene in the internal policies of other countries. Bolivia has been a victim of this kind of foreign aggression with the guerrilla fighters in Nancahuazú. The death of their leader in La Higuera attests to the fact, and attests to the violence done

to the American principles of self-determination and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

70. During the last attempt to "Viet-Namize" Bolivia, there was public incitement to revolt from foreign rostrums. Well-known guerrilla fighters from another country have made their headquarters in the Gabriel René Moreno University in the east of Bolivia.

71. Our case is not an isolated one. Among other countries, Guatemala, as we have been told here by its Foreign Minister, has also "suffered from an intensive divisive campaign, inspired and supported from outside the country, which afflicted the country with ways of violence and subversion by extremists and clandestine factions". [1947th meeting, para. 92.] He concluded with the justified complaint that "the measures adopted [to prevent and punish acts of terrorism, kidnapping and violence] have not been as efficacious as we have hoped", a situation which, in his judgement, "threatens international peace and security" [*ibid.*].

72. In the noble and democratic American community there is no place for ignoring anyone except States which exclude themselves by their own actions in promoting, in defiant ways, the undermining of public order in other countries. The right to the recognition of one's own personality begins with respect for the free determination of other peoples and the right to govern themselves in conformity with their own will.

73. That the leaders of independence of America intervened in our countries is not historically true, nor does it fit the present situation. Bolívar and Sucre, San Martín and Artigas, just to mention four of our distinguished liberators, belonged to one and the same country, which was able to preserve its unity but which, for the good or ill of our continent, split up into various countries. These republics today constitute different countries which have agreed in embracing certain principles and whose violation is a grave condemnation of the country which commits them.

74. Happily, the United Nations cultivates the same extremely noble and basic ideals as America and is determined to preserve human freedom, the security of nations and universal peace. Within its competence also we find the promotion not only of economic development but also of social development of countries struggling with an overwhelming scarcity of resources due to their situation of producing only one product, countries which are lashed by the scourge of evils which sow fear and give us this lack of confidence in the future.

75. No less important and significant is the task which the United Nations has assumed of stimulating the processes of integration. This phenomenon, which is characteristic of the time in which we live, is due to the growing interrelationship between States and a growing interdependence which requires dialogue and a positive policy of international co-operation. There are attempts to integrate in Europe as well as in Asia, Africa, Oceania and America.

76. In South America there is a problem which affects Bolivia and Chile and which has effects also on the policy for development and integration of the Andean Group. The

land-locked situation of my country is well-known, as well as its historical background, so that it would be redundant for me to dwell upon this. It would be better to approach this question in the light of the integrationist thought which concerns us all in more or less degree in accordance with the standing of our countries and the nature of the problem.

77. Chile is facing a difficulty that has its origins in the capricious insular nature of its territory, which is isolated from the continent by the Andes. With a coastline of more than 4,000 kilometres it has a reduced territorial mass and its extensive northern area is desert. That is why it is interested in geographical factors which Bolivia might offer to it in guaranteeing not only the security but also the flourishing of regions which lack natural resources. The fresh water of the *cordillera*, the petroleum of the eastern part of Bolivia, the flow of trade in the departments of Oruro, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, are "non-territorial compensations" which their statesmen and strategists have been thinking about since 1930.

78. Bolivia, on the other hand, is an enormous continental mass of more than a million square kilometres, an area which is greater than Chile, without a single centimetre of coast on the Pacific. It is obvious that a country with such an unusual geography must seek out its own supplementary maritime facilities.

79. It would seem that Chile had found the means for solving this difficult situation in its provinces in the north by means of integration with Bolivia through the Andean Group. Possibly it thinks that this is a way to help it to achieve its objectives. Bolivia, on the other hand, by integration merely through the ways of development which it has been using, will not be able to satisfy its urgent need for rounding out its development through a sovereign access to the sea. The principal leaders of the Andean Group have a very heavy historical responsibility which is related to the future of our sub-region and the peace of the southern part of the continent.

80. Furthermore, as far as Bolivians are concerned, our incorporation in the western ocean is more pressing since the sea is considered now to be an inexhaustible emporium of food reserves and of staggering natural resources. This wealth is even more abundant since the territorial sea has been expanding to a width of 200 miles and the world is also beginning to legislate concerning the sea-bed as a common and universal dominion.

81. Making this approach more specific, we can say that the sea for Bolivia and the non-territorial geographical factors for Chile, will make it possible for the Andean Group to bring its far-seeing policy of integration to its fullest and happiest conclusion.

82. Next, I should like to express my concern about the stability of the United Nations; in other words, the life itself of the Organization. This stability rests fundamentally on the prestige which the Organization can achieve, based on its fidelity to principles which it has proclaimed and the unswerving correctness of its conduct and the efficacy of its decisions.

83. Once the prestige of the League of Nations was compromised, the League came to an end without sorrow or glory. As a healthful exercise, let us refer to some of the efforts which contributed to that dissolution. In that way we will see to it that the United Nations, which raises greater hopes, in spite of the scepticism of some of its Members, is able to meet its grave historical responsibilities.

84. One of the faults of the League of Nations was the withdrawal of the United States from it, after it had sponsored its creation in the Treaty of Versailles. This event came on top of the previous isolation of Germany and Russia, which were the big Powers of the time. Today the United Nations counts on the active participation of the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as new Powers, although others of undisputed importance are being ignored.

85. One thing which weakened the League of Nations morally was the institution of an International Court of Justice which could apply an optional arbitration without mandatory force. This implied an abandonment to the stronger countries of the solution of conflicts between the weaker countries, since the former did not have to use the arbitration of the Court. In our Organization some of this is occurring on some levels and it is endangering its effectiveness.

86. Universal disarmament, in order to achieve peace, stumbled over insuperable obstacles in the League of Nations and its results, of course, could not prevent countries from arming themselves and from preparing a new war. Then we spoke simply of the "manufacture of arms and munitions" and the "reduction of arms". Our generation is alarmed to see the production of nuclear weapons and the massive destructive power which they have. To limit and to dismantle this apocalyptic race towards a catastrophic extermination of men and nations is an unavoidable duty which cannot be escaped by the prominent Members of the United Nations.

87. The Foreign Minister of Peru referred [1947th meeting] in detail to the risks of pollution of the atmosphere and the waters of the seas as well as the insecurity which is involved in atomic tests. In so doing, he was wise to emphasize the great urgency in adopting means to avoid proliferation of these deadly tests and in having an improved convention banning thermo-nuclear weapons. We might note, in this connexion, the reassuring words of the representative of France, a country which however is not the only one carrying out this research.

88. The image of the League of Nations was affected also by the process which was followed in the admission and rejection of new States. Some were rejected, others were accepted, and this was based on discrimination which was often not well founded. The rejection of Armenia had special characteristics which we ought to recall.

89. The case of Armenia was debated, and it was said that the League of Nations ought to support a new State whose existence was being threatened. All the members of the Assembly agreed that this step ought to be taken, but they found that the League did not have the weapons, armies or funds to do so. Later on, when the recognition of Armenia

came up again, the League of Nations, in a contradictory manner, decided to reject it, and in that way it wounded its own authority and prestige.

90. In looking at this background we can see the negative influence which might be exercised in the United Nations if we are to accept and expel Members, to say that there is protection and not to bring about that protection because of insufficient means or operative inefficiency. That is why the Foreign Minister of Spain hit the mark when he said that the United Nations ought to find out whether constitutionally it is able to meet the challenges of the present time [1949th meeting, para. 13].

91. These references, as illustrative examples, strengthen our conviction in saying that the admission of the People's Republic of China ought to take place both in the Assembly and in the Security Council, and that the Republic of China ought to be kept in the Organization. There must be discretion in the acts of the United Nations if we are not to commit the mistake of harming its moral vigour and detracting from its political authority.

92. Let us not regret the delay in the necessary incorporation of the People's Republic of China into this world Organization. The fact is that we are proposing it today as a matter of justice in the face of the principle of the universality of nations, which has been invoked by so many outstanding speakers and because of what might be called the doctrine of realities. Continental China is a country which cannot and should not be ignored because of the size of its territory, its enormous population, the strength and expansion of its economy and because it is an organized State. Bolivia is especially interested in speaking to China, about the production of antimony, wolfram and tin, and about the whole policy of prices.

93. At the same time and using the same principles and reasons, we can in no way reconcile this with the expulsion of Nationalist China from this great amphitheatre of peace, progress and solidarity of nations. A State which has 14 million people, a flourishing industry with exports of about \$4,000 million a year, which is the same as the exports of the People's Republic of China, with a high cultural and technical level and which is in a position to give valuable assistance to other developing countries, cannot be refused, as Armenia was in the past, without the Organization compromising its serious purpose, and even less so now when the country involved has been one of its principal Members from the very outset.

94. If, at the beginning, in the opinion of some, Formosa was a "fictitious State", at present the Republic of China shows the attributes of a modern State and is an example to others with its virtues of organization and its historic will to exist and to nourish lofty and constructive ideals.

95. There might also be an impression that, if we were to abandon the island of Taiwan, there would be a hidden intent to allow that State to become the victim of the use of force. The reconquering of territories is a dangerous precedent which might be transformed into a terrible boomerang for the United Nations, some of whose Members might find themselves in similar situations. This risk flows from the words of one head of a delegation,

when he said that Taiwan should be recognized as part of China and that representatives other than those of continental China should be expelled.

96. With respect to the conflict in the Middle East, the framework of which is the Arab-Israeli conflict, this is a matter which should be duly sorted out and properly settled. Two principles should be pointed out here, the importance of which cannot be doubted by anyone and the rational application of which might lead to the result which we all desire. These are the principle of dialogue, which is a worthy means of human understanding, and the principle of non-recognition of territorial acquisitions resulting from armed conflict.

97. Both doctrines form a single whole for Bolivians. Direct conversation, enlightening dialogue—these are unchanging policies which Bolivia wishes to cultivate with Chile in solving its own problems and which it would like to see applied now in controversies such as the one which exists between the Arab States and Israel. The non-recognition of territorial annexations through the use of force has always been the key position of the Government of my country, and now we are pleased to hear this from the Minister for Foreign Affairs for Chile, when he says that Israeli troops should be withdrawn from the occupied territories and that any attempt to annex territories should be condemned, under Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which embodies this principle and which is to be found in international public law in Latin America as one of its guiding doctrinal concepts [*1948th meeting, para. 168*].

98. No less censurable would be an attempt to bring about the destruction of Israel as a State. Even though Israel is a young State, it belongs to an old nation, whose origin goes back to biblical times and the beginning of man on earth. Israel in its short life as a modern State has astonished the whole world by its extraordinary capacity to organize itself, to preserve its independence and to advance resolutely forward along a broad road towards progress and the structuring of a just society, one which favours science, the arts and letters.

99. To guarantee the security of Israel would seem to be just as important as to guarantee the territorial status of the Arab countries. Let reason and prudence, the mother of wisdom, and equity, upon which rests the theory of balances, of the "golden mean" spoken of by the ancients, let these, rather than the clouded intellects and frustrated wills of sectarianism, say the last word in this controversy between nations worthy of admiration and respect.

100. The armed struggle in Indo-China has not only become unpopular, as all wars do which become prolonged, but it has become a blind and irrational fact which is incomprehensible for most men. This conflict has incorporated a new term in the human lexicon—the idea of "Viet-Namization" as the division of countries through ideological motivations. The threat of "Viet-Namizing" Bolivia or dividing it if necessary was made by a labour union leader from the grounds of our legislative palace which was converted into a sort of Paris commune, but not to bring about a revolution in favour of the Bolivians, as was carried out in France in favour of the French, a

revolution which was made on the march, a nationalist, realistic and profound revolution, but one which was intended to yoke the Bolivian State to foreign Powers, forgetting that America must become leader of its own destiny. The inclusion of the People's Republic of China in this Organization might constitute a decisive factor in favour of re-establishing peace in Viet-Nam. The present Government of the United States of America, in turn, with its comprehensive and constructive attitude, might win the palm of victory in this manner. It would be a victory for the cause of peace, which is so deeply yearned for by the long-suffering people of Indo-China, by United States citizens and by the citizens of the entire world.

101. Among the main problems before the world is the question of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, into which the Third Reich was divided after the last war. In the territory of the old Germany, which was unified by the Iron Chancellor new European borders were laid out separating the leading Powers of the world. Some favour the admission of both Germanys as Member States of the United Nations. Actually, I would say that each Germany—West Germany and East Germany—deserves a seat in this great Assembly. We are pleased in this way to pay a tribute to a hard-working nation whose industry and human intelligence have contributed to progress and the ideological orientation of mankind.

102. It would possibly be better to leave it up to the Germanys to settle their big problem now or in the future. No one could agree more than the Germans that they are a single nation which has been temporarily divided into two States because of transitory differences and that foreign interests have raised between them a wall of hateful connotations. This is a wall which, because of human comprehension and the transcendent unity of a people, will no doubt be demolished to give rise to an active and fruitful understanding which will prepare for the future the reunification of the German nation in a single State, with the democratic understanding of the great Powers.

103. It would be premature to arrive at conclusions on the various items concerning the problems of the seas to be considered by the plenipotentiaries who will take part in the conference on the law of the sea to be held in 1973.

104. In the broad field of the law of the sea, the problems of land-locked countries have relatively little meaning for the international community. Nevertheless, they take on vital characteristics when the interests of States lacking a sea coast are at stake, as in the case of Bolivia.

105. Of course the right of free access to the sea is given to land-locked countries. In this connexion, I should like to point out that the improvement of this law, which is a matter of concern to my country, does not mean now, nor will it ever mean, giving up the rights that are helping it to hold its own sovereign rights in the seas of the world.

106. There is another aspect which should be pointed out. The universality of the law for the use and the exploitation of the sea, which the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly proclaimed in a solemn declaration of princi-

ples,² would be partial and incomplete if it were applied only to coastal States and if the legitimate rights and aspirations of land-locked countries were to be forgotten.

107. The international community began to confirm and to codify in 1958 various principles relating to the right of access to the sea, in the Convention on the High Seas³ as well as the Convention on the Transit Trade of Land-Locked States.⁴ In addition, there are hundreds of bilateral agreements in this field. This matter has been the subject of special studies carried out by the Secretary and by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD].

108. As UNCTAD has quite correctly pointed out, land-locked status is one of the factors which ought to be taken into account in identifying the characteristics of countries having a relatively lower degree of development. It is obvious that, as is the case in the Andean Group, account should be taken of the fact that there are not only countries having a relatively lower degree of economic development but also land-locked countries that are less developed, and those countries ought to be accorded a doubly preferential treatment.

109. In the organization of international machinery to administer the exploration and the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed, consideration should be given to the fact that the recognition of preferential rights for coastal States over extensive areas adjacent to their coasts, would automatically transfer to land-locked States access rights to the deepest and most inaccessible ocean trenches, thus making such rights purely hypothetical ones. Such a situation would become even more absurd if it were established that land-locked countries have no right to the living resources even of the adjacent sea.

110. At the end of this month and at the beginning of next month there will be a ministerial meeting in Lima of representatives of the Group of 77 to prepare a joint plan of action to guide their deliberations during the third session of UNCTAD to be held next year in Santiago, Chile.

111. Bolivia will be present at both meetings and will deal, with a special interest, with the important problems that concern the developing countries in their permanent relationship with the highly developed countries. I should add to this that Bolivia has complete solidarity with the views expressed by the Group of 77 in favour of co-operation for development, balanced and just international trade, the transfer of technology, special measures in favour of the relatively less developed countries and the special problems of land-locked countries, in order to comply with the objectives of the International Development Strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)].

112. Without going into further analysis I wish to add at this point that Bolivia will give its support to improving

regional organizations, the expansion of the number of members of the Economic and Social Council and, if necessary also to modifying some of the present characteristics of that body which do not correspond to the demands of our time and, finally, to examining closely the conditions for implementing the Second United Nations Development Decade.

113. The Bolivian delegation has maintained and will continue to maintain its systematic and consistent attitude against all forms of colonialism and against racial and religious discrimination which are still afflicting various peoples of the world.

114. Furthermore, my country reiterates its concern at the situation in Belize, the Malvinas and Gibraltar, which is of interest to Guatemala, Argentina and Spain and which endangers relations between those countries and the United Kingdom. The same thing can be said for the Canal Zone, whose recovery is being sought by Panama.

115. Among the interesting matters before this body is the Convention of the Central American Community, which this Organization ought to welcome with great pleasure. This event shows us that Bolívar did not plant seeds in the desert. Bolívar's ideal for an American union, proclaimed in the amphictyonic Congress of Panama and in the Treaty of Confederation of 1848 in Lima, is being brought back to life and is gaining a new expression with the new Central American Community.

116. Five nations of the same origin and the same destiny in the continent, tied by the same tradition and similar ideals, have manifested their desire to band together to create a Central American Community of Nations. Let us hope that such a generous effort will reach a definite crystallization for the good of America and the general fate of the world.

117. In 1907, at the beginning of this century, an outstanding Brazilian jurist, Ruy Barbosa, the father of the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, defended in The Hague the principles of the juridical equality of States, which has become the corner-stone upon which this modern edifice of great international organizations has been raised. With the welcome passage of time, we now see the forming of a corollary doctrine, the idea of the economic equality of nations in international co-operation for development.

118. The first thesis has led us to the concepts of regional and world security, as well as of the recognition of the rulers of self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

119. This second thesis must lead us to the establishment of sure markets and stable prices for the raw materials of the developing countries. At the same time, it should make it necessary for us to safeguard freedom of trade and the stability of currencies.

120. All that can be possible if we faithfully follow the international rules which we accepted and if, at the same time, we reject movements for hegemony in the eager search for a great universal concert of nations.

² Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (resolution 2749 (XXV)).

³ Signed at Geneva on 29 April 1958.

⁴ Signed at New York on 8 July 1965.

121. Science, technology and the great processes of industrialization today should not be used for destruction and death. We are facing a great challenge to man: a new and great adventure for his intelligence. That will be what will make it possible for us to become aware of and to dominate the forces of nature in the service of mankind and not of war in order to bring about the miracle of the realization of our ardent desire for justice, progress, universal peace and a better knowledge of the mysteries which the universe holds.

Mr. Malik (Indonesia) resumed the Chair.

122. Mr. GALLIMORE (Jamaica): We are met together in this Assembly in a further attempt to resolve some of the issues which continue to militate against the progress and prosperity of nations great and small. Indeed, many of these issues have been on our agenda since the inauguration of the Organization. Frustrating as that may be, we must continue to apply ourselves to the task in an endeavour to find solutions to these problems if we are to save mankind from self-destruction.

123. It is against that background, Mr. President, that you have assumed the presidency of this twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, and my delegation extends to you sincere congratulations on your election and pledges to you its full co-operation. We take this opportunity also to express our appreciation to Ambassador Hambro of Norway, who so ably guided the deliberations of the Assembly's twenty-fifth session.

124. Three newly independent nations—Bahrain, Bhutan, Qatar—have now become members of this Assembly. Jamaica extends to them a hearty welcome, feeling sure they will play their full part in the deliberations of this Organization.

125. Once again the time seems to have come when the United Nations must find itself a new Secretary-General. It appears that we must take as final our Secretary-General's pronouncement that he will not be persuaded to accept an extension of his term. At the appropriate time my Government will wish to have the opportunity to place on record an expression of our appreciation of the contribution U Thant has made to the cause of world peace, our awareness of the delicacy and inherent difficulties of his many responsibilities, and a sense of our indebtedness and that of all humanity for his distinguished service. For the present, however, it appears that the United Nations must now address itself to the task of selecting his successor. In that connexion, there is one thought I would wish to leave with my colleagues.

126. Whenever a change in the office held by the chief international civil servant is contemplated everyone succumbs to the temptation of proceeding to define the almost superhuman qualities of mind of heart a United Nations Secretary-General must bring to his task. In that respect we are all no doubt quite right. Seldom, however, do we, the Member countries of the United Nations, pause to remind ourselves that there are obligations which we owe the holder of that post and which have probably not been discharged with sufficient concern for his effectiveness.

127. In the view of my delegation a special responsibility devolves upon the smaller Powers of the United Nations to make the effectiveness of the office of Secretary-General their particular concern. It is in the interest of the smaller Powers that the United Nations should grow in strength and prestige. It is in our interest that this trend towards the removal of world issues from the United Nations forum should be reversed. It is we who mainly stand to gain from an effective Organization; it is primarily our interests that are damaged when the United Nations fails. And to strengthen the hand of the Secretary-General is to strengthen the whole United Nations.

128. My delegation would urge that, as we go to the selection of a new Secretary-General, we should pledge that we will together provide our Secretary-General in the future with the unswerving support he will need for the effective discharge of his onerous duties.

129. Looking now at the background against which the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly is being held, my delegation must express its deep concern at the global financial crisis that has greeted the opening of the Second United Nations Development Decade, a crisis which has been highlighted by the announcements of the President of the United States on 15 August.

130. In many an international forum the issues raised and the problems posed to the international community by these recent measures are being actively debated, and it would be inappropriate and no doubt impracticable to debate this range of issues here in this Assembly. Speaking, however, as one of the developing countries of the world, it is our view that the present international monetary crisis can be traced to the trading, financial and social policies of the developed countries. Their unwillingness to open their markets to the developing world or to accept restrictions upon their manufactured goods hinder the attempts of the less developed countries to industrialize. Those policies, linked to the poor flow of aid tied to their source, have worked to create a level of international conflict, misunderstanding and economic autarchy that has produced the present crisis. If conditions of trade which for us are normal can be rapidly restored, we shall see the upward movement of our economies continue, but if they are not restored, we shall soon find that a dramatic reversal will take place in the upward movement of our economies and in the already inadequate increases in our living standards. Unemployment will grow, and so will its well recognized and inevitable consequences.

131. Although the great trading nations have commendably decided that their response to the events of 15 August will be an attitude of understanding and offers of co-operation—and we commend them highly on that—we must remind both them and the United States that the present uncertainties in matters of trade cannot be allowed to continue. We are in grave danger of inadvertently creating a global contraction in trade that in turn will mean a dramatic fall in the total living standards of all mankind.

132. It is here in this Assembly that the political decision should be urged upon the major trading nations not to permit such a contraction of trade. The disastrous consequences it would inflict upon the living standards of us all are well known.

133. In 1970 the over-all development progress of the developing countries achieved a growth rate of 5 per cent. That was also the average growth rate of the 1960s—a rate not regarded as satisfactory by the countries most concerned. The developing countries are conscious of their own problems: rapid population growth; rampant unemployment; haphazard urbanization; inadequate housing; undiversified and meagre diets; insufficient facilities for health and education. They can and are tackling those problems by their own efforts and with outside help when it is available. But they suffer greatly from other problems not of their making and outside their control.

134. This globe is but a small world. Economic impulses are transmitted from one country to another almost immediately. Inflation in one country is quickly exported to another, and the more powerful the inflation-producing country, the more widespread the havoc. It is obvious that the main responsibility for finding solutions rests with those that possess the greatest economic strength. An orderly economic expansion of the rich countries is vital not only for their own benefit but also for the progress of the developing countries, which depend on the delicate links of international trade and finance for the wherewithal to meet their own development ambitions.

135. Bearing that in mind, Jamaica believes that, should the enlargement of the European Economic Community come about, due consideration will be given in the formulation of its future plans and policies to the needs of the developing countries—and, in particular, those whose economies will be seriously affected by the merger.

136. My delegation welcomes the progress made at the fifty-first session of the Economic and Social Council in the area of global and regional co-operation. At that session a genuine effort was made to reorganize the functioning of the Council, which is the main policy-making body of the United Nations system in the economic and social fields. A standing committee on matters relating to the transfer of operative science and technology to the developing countries was established by Council resolution 1621 B (LI), and we welcome the recognition by the Council of the increasing role which regional economic commissions should play in the advancement of the interests of the countries which they service.

137. We look forward with high expectation to the forthcoming meeting of ministers from the developing countries to be held in Lima, Peru, and to a successful conclusion of the work of the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which will be convened in Santiago, Chile, in 1972. In the midst of all these preparations, it is hoped that there will be an early resumption of confident trading on the international, financial, commodity and other markets. That return to confidence is necessary for trade amongst developed and developing countries, for the promotion of East-West trade and for trade among the developing countries themselves.

138. The application of science and technology to development is a question which historically has not been given great attention in the developing countries. Many of those countries have achieved their independence without having inherited the scientific institutions and technological infra-

structures that would allow them to implement adequate development policies. We are thus faced with the double task of training manpower while at the same time establishing institutions and carrying out development plans.

139. Jamaica therefore welcomes the United Nations World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development and expects to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in that regard. If, by the misapplication of science and technology in the past, the developed countries have polluted the atmosphere and the oceans, and if the problems of health and poor living conditions in the developing countries have remained unalleviated because of a lack of science and technology, then that is all the more reason why all countries, both developed and developing, should co-operate with the Secretary-General so that his world plan will contain a co-ordinated set of ideas which can act as a guide to their Governments in implementing their particular national strategy.

140. The link between environment, development and technology is too obvious for any Government to ignore. It is no longer necessary to impress upon representatives or upon the public at large the dangers inherent in the present ecological state of affairs which have been brought about by one-sided development and the ruthless exploitation of natural resources.

141. The United Nations system now offers us a new opportunity for global planning and for future development which we cannot but grasp willingly. Relative to our resources, the correction of past mistakes can be costly, but let me here and now emphasize that, from the preliminary research which has so far been done, it is becoming quite obvious that development planning which takes account of environmental factors need not be more costly than development planning which ignores the environment. Let us not be deterred by the larger number of inputs required for environmental planning. The fact is that even in the short-run the outputs from this type of planning can be much more comprehensive, useful and economic than from *ad hoc* decision-making.

142. We recognize that waste should not be regarded as an inevitable nuisance. We now recognize that noxious gases which have been released and which pollute the atmosphere can be a source of valuable raw materials. We now recognize that with environmental planning natural resources need not be wasted, and that through environmental planning techniques investments made at a particular point in time can be saved from obsolescence for a much longer period.

143. Bearing all those considerations in mind, my delegation expresses the hope that this session of the General Assembly will take measures to ensure that each and every country on earth will have access on an equal footing to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, to be held at Stockholm in 1972. We cannot expect to have the world half polluted and half clean.

144. Jamaica attaches the greatest importance to the activities being pursued under United Nations auspices regarding the law of the sea, the utilization of the resources of the sea, and the preservation of the sea as a clean,

healthy and natural resource for the benefit of all mankind. Delegations from Jamaica have actively participated in conferences and seminars sponsored by the United Nations on these questions. We look forward to an early agreement on the establishment of a new international régime for the seas and oceans. However, we cannot but feel some disquiet over the reticence on the part of some Powers to recognize that the time has come when no nation can seek to capture for itself, and exploit in a haphazard manner, the resources of the sea-bed and of the ocean floor.

145. The changes and turns of history have given a few great Powers the technology necessary for such exploitation. Their technological developments in ocean-floor exploration and utilization are proceeding, but these seem aimed at selfish national advancement. Do the great Powers really imagine that they can now carve up the ocean floor among themselves in the same way as they previously carved up the land into colonies?

146. While there might have been an excuse in earlier centuries for a chauvinistic approach to the exploitation of those natural resources not yet belonging to any individual or group of individuals, today we have adequate machinery within the United Nations to ensure that a peaceful and harmonious development of the ocean floor takes place in a manner consistent with the over-all needs of all countries, large and small, developed as well as developing.

147. The fishing rights of the developing countries in their off-shore waters should be preserved. The technologically advanced nations cannot hope to squander their own fishing resources and mercilessly exploit the off-shore fishing of other countries and appropriate to themselves the resources of the ocean floor. The Government of Jamaica looks forward to a sane and humanitarian approach to the settlement of these problems in the future meetings and conferences of the various bodies within the United Nations system, and in the forthcoming conference on the law of the sea.

148. Last year in his address to the General Assembly my Prime Minister underlined the necessity for us to relieve the United Nations of the burden of responsibility for the exclusion of the People's Republic of China [1875th meeting, para. 49]. He also noted, however, that the principle of universal membership and simple realism called for a solution which would recognize that the millions of people in Taiwan *de facto* stand outside the political authority of Peking.

149. The present session sees us actively seeking a solution to this problem, with which the international community has grappled for some two decades. My delegation feels that a new sense of reality has been brought into this Organization by the increasing recognition of the fact that a quarter of the world's population cannot remain unrepresented in these halls. But we also note that there are certain realities in the situation in east Asia which need to be borne in mind: *de facto*, the Government of Taiwan has exercised effective control over that country for over two decades. By any accepted concept of international law, this would normally constitute a right to separateness—a separateness which the international community should be willing to recognize. We neither assume nor believe that it is beyond

the bounds of present-day diplomacy to find a formula which could give to the People's Republic of China its United Nations representation, including a permanent seat on the Security Council, and a seat in the General Assembly to Taiwan.

150. Is the time not right for all the so-called divided States which *de facto* have operated for two decades or more as separate entities to be given their rightful voices in the world forum? Such a global solution of these problems which have been the accidents of war could surely be designated a great leap forward by the United Nations. Whether or not a decision on the representation of China is finally taken at this session, my delegation expresses the hope that the Assembly will be able to turn its attention this year to the problem of the divided States and their admission to the United Nations. My delegation will co-operate with other Member States in appropriate initiatives which may be taken to that end.

151. It is with regret that the question of the Middle East, far from being settled, is regarded by many as one of the intractable problems of the world. My delegation once more expresses its heartfelt sympathy to all those persons who have been uprooted from their homelands and to their offspring, who have never known a home. A solution must be found whereby these unfortunate people can be made to feel that they have not been swept aside by the tide of history and that the world community will never refuse to recognize their claim to a just settlement. It is still the view of my delegation that the issue of resettlement still holds the key to the solution of the Middle East problem.

152. We appeal to nations not to use the Middle East as a pawn in the game of power politics. It cannot be in the current interest of the great Powers for things to remain as they are. The situation continues to be a strain upon commercial relations between the countries of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans and represents a financial burden upon the international community. Again, my delegation would urge that this Assembly establish a new commission to seek and find solutions for the plight of the refugees and to prepare proposals for their resettlement and compensation.

153. As if the long-standing problem of the Palestinians was not enough, this year has seen a sudden increase of many millions in the world's refugees as the domestic disagreements of the people of Pakistan have spilled over national boundaries. When all the possible exaggerations and overstatements have been allowed for, the present situation and the plight of the refugees still remain a human tragedy of monumental proportions. There is no State Member of this Organization that is not moved by the immensity of the misfortune and would not help to find solutions if it could.

154. The political dispute is indeed a domestic affair of the sovereign nation of Pakistan and as such is not a matter of international concern; but the possibility always exists that external involvement could make it a threat to international peace and security. Apart from this possibility, however, my Government is concerned primarily with the humanitarian problem of the refugees. Jamaica supports the United Nations efforts made so far to gain access to the refugees, to ascertain the facts concerning

their condition and to appreciate the circumstances in which their return to their homeland might be made possible. In the same way my Government supports the United Nations efforts to restore basic infra-structure, repair roads and bridges, reopen waterways and otherwise assist in restoring the normal life of these communities.

155. We know that many distinguished individuals have offered their good offices in this tragedy. Many governments are quite willing to do the same. We can only hope that a way will be found by which this willingness to help might be converted into effective help.

156. The situation in the southern countries of the African continent continues to be a cause for grave concern. The Territories over which the Government of Portugal still exercises colonial control are in turmoil, with the tide of rebellion and depression sweeping backward and forward across the face of the land. Under *de facto* illegal régime, *apartheid* moves gradually into all aspects of the social and economic life of Rhodesia. No amelioration of this policy of *apartheid* is in sight. Only in Namibia is there a ray of hope.

157. At last year's session of this Assembly my Prime Minister urged the United Nations to go to the rescue of the people of Namibia [1875th meeting, para. 66]. Since then, by majority vote, the International Court of Justice has rendered its advisory opinion on the legality of the South African presence in Namibia.⁵ We have been told that no legal basis exists for that continued presence. A foundation has been laid for such action as the United Nations might choose to take within the limits permitted by the Charter to remove that South African presence. The Jamaican delegation supports the initiative taken by a number of Member States in urging the Security Council to give practical effect to the legal opinion. In my country's judgement, the international community has a solemn obligation which it should no longer postpone.

158. Let us continue to address ourselves also to another decolonization problem: the fate of small unviable colonial and Trust Territories. In this connexion, I repeat my Prime Minister's proposal of last year that a Committee should be set up to study possible terms of their association with the United Nations.

159. In closing, I should like to express the gratitude of my delegation to the staff members of the United Nations for their untiring service in the cause of peace. In particular, I wish to place on record the high appreciation of the Government and people of Jamaica to Dr. Ralph Bunche, who, for the first time that I can recall in these many years, is not with us in this hall. His dedicated and imaginative contributions to the improvement of the lot of the world community have received international recognition and have brought prestige and honour to the United Nations.

160. Solutions to the many difficulties which beset international relations and answers to the intractable

problems of peace and want, can emerge only out of the continuing spirit of co-operation and the realities demanded of all of us here. The future of the Organization and the realization of the ideals expressed in its Charter rest squarely on the international community. Jamaica will continue to fulfil its responsibilities to this end.

161. Mr. KHALID (Sudan): Your election to this office, Mr. President, is a tribute to your distinguished self, a man of purpose and integrity; to your great country, a country to which mine is related by faith and heritage; and to the whole of the non-aligned family. The Sudan wishes you success in discharging your onerous task and steering this session of the Assembly to a happy completion of its agenda in the best tradition of your predecessor, Edvard Hambro of Norway, an erudite scholar and a finished diplomat.

162. The Macedonians earned Plutarch's description: "... rude and uncivic", because, in his words, "they call a spade a spade". All societies have their established sense of decency. A departure from the beaten track offends that sense. But tradition need not be preserved to the point of polite sterility. So, in departing from the beaten track in this general debate, I hope that I will not place myself in the category of the uncivic.

163. Last year we came here to celebrate, in solemnity and dignity, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. The gathering was impressive. The deliberations were serious and dignified. The mood of the world was one of stock-taking and self-examination. The United Nations, to the world, was meant to achieve a new heaven and a new earth. It failed to do so. The imperatives of the new era were peace, freedom and progress. But in many parts of the world, our part of the world, peace is still remote, freedom denied, and progress unattainable.

164. That session ended with a happy tone. The President of the General Assembly chose to call it a session "... of hope and of commitment to the ideals of the United Nations from all geographical groups, across political, philosophical and ideological boundaries" [1933rd meeting, para. 381].

165. We have solemnly handed down to the world two historic documents that were painstakingly elaborated: the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], and the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)]. A year has elapsed since those solemn declarations on peace and friendly relations and on development were adopted. It will be an indulgence in self-delusion if we say that the world today is better off because of adherence to them.

166. On peace and friendly relations, satisfaction was expressed here, and by many a speaker, over recent achievements in the direction of peace. The satisfaction is indeed justifiable and we share it: satisfaction over achievements in Europe, in the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and its East European neighbours: the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, signed

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

at Berlin, on 3 September 1971, and the preparation for an all-European Conference; satisfaction over the glimpses of hope in Asia, discerned in the peace proposals of Hanoi, which might lead to a breakthrough, if only foreign aggression abates. All those are hot-beds of trouble where nasty and brutish confrontation rages or its danger looms large.

167. But in our effusive expressions of satisfaction, we failed to underline also the cardinal fact within our context here at the United Nations: the fact that in all those agreements, in all those cases, the United Nations remains on the periphery.

168. In the field of development we outlined a Strategy based on certain trends of international trade and development and adopted it. We emphasized, individually and collectively our will and commitment to implement those policy measures.

169. To us, in the developing world, who want to hurtle into the twentieth century, the task is impossible. United Nations statistics reveal to us grim facts: that only half of the children between 5 and 14 are at school, that 790 million people are illiterate, that 50 per cent of our labour force is under-utilized, that water supply is not available to 90 per cent of the people in our rural areas. My country, like many others in the third world, is suffering from these problems and deprivations.

170. I wish to dwell on one of those problems, the development of water resources, a problem which has reached disastrous proportions in my country. The figures are alarming. Our statistics tell us that the minimum water requirement for man and animal is calculated at 240 million cubic metres. Under our present scheme of things, only 60 million cubic metres are available. With an annual population increase of 2.8 per cent and an annual animal increase of 6 per cent, the basic total amount required in 25 years would be 670 million cubic metres. Given our present resources and ability, we need 69 years to meet basic needs for humans and animals. But if we have to irrigate and develop our arable land of 200 million acres with our present capabilities, we would need 1,000 years.

171. It is for this reason that my Government has launched a World Anti-Thirst Campaign, which was inaugurated in Khartoum on 20 February 1970 by Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia.

172. International assistance came from many countries, and to all of them we express gratitude. However, I wish to single out three of them as examples of solidarity with the less privileged nations: Sweden, which has shown and continues to show an ever-increasing interest in this serious human problem, Yugoslavia and Nigeria.

173. Going back to the world situation, grimmer statistics were also revealed: 7.2 per cent of the world's gross national product goes into military expenditure—exactly the same amount that is spent for health and education in the whole world—5 per cent for education and 2 per cent for health.

174. The world cannot, of course, be changed overnight. Efforts, both national and international, should not relent

and solemn pledges should be respected. However, it has taken only a decision of one State to disrupt the operation of the international monetary system, which has had serious repercussions on the pattern of international trade, the flow of technical and financial assistance, the balance of payments and the development efforts of all States.

175. Addressing this Assembly last year at the commemorative session [*1859th meeting*], we said that the United Nations remains on the periphery of events, be it in the field of peace-making or development. We said that, as long as the United Nations remains marginal in the great Powers' concept of foreign policy, the Organization will continue to be hindered from effectively discharging its basic responsibilities.

176. The attitude of the major Powers, both within and without the Organization, continues to be the most important—though not the only—erosive factor. The self-imposed policemen, the imperial outposts, the subversion of established Governments, the pre-eminence of national and strategic interests over international obligations, are all situations which are not concomitant with a world order.

177. In so saying, it is our intention neither to deny nor to undermine the power of the major nations inherent in the Charter. All that we call for is the realization on their part that power has its own compulsions and that it has to be exercised alongside a correlative sense of responsibility. One of the great masters of power politics of this country in which we are meeting, Theodore Roosevelt, said in one of his better moments: "I believe in power; but I believe also that responsibility should go with it."

178. And we smaller nations—where do we stand in the face of all that? Should we allow the strategic and national interests of the major Powers to continue to actuate their policies to the detriment of world order, the interests of the rest of the world, and, sometimes, the norms of international morality? Should we leave the destiny of our own peoples and continents to be determined by others? Should we allow ourselves to be passive pawns in an international game?

179. The non-aligned group—of which my country and yours, Mr. President, are founding members—was created because of our concern with the right of all our peoples to freedom and independence, their right to a free choice of forms and ways of internal development, their right to sovereignty, their right to territorial integrity, and their refusal to mortgage their independence at any cost.

180. The Conferences of Bandung, Belgrade, Cairo and Lusaka have asserted those principles. They have also marked our will to resist hegemony and designs to drag us into zones of influence and dubious alliances.

181. Within the United Nations, the non-aligned group this year—more than at any time before—is asserting its role and its place. Our family has been enhanced by the participation of the first Latin American country, Chile, with its great tradition of liberty and independence. And it is only through the unrelenting efforts to put an end to hegemony made by the non-aligned nations, together with

many of their friends of the third world which, for one reason or another, did not join our family, that a more balanced world order can be established. This effort must also take the form of completing the unfinished national revolution and I believe that there is more to nationalism than just a patriotic sense deriving from the possession of real estate.

182. Politically, the unfinished revolution has to be achieved by aiding our brothers and sisters still fighting for the attainment of their independence and basic human rights. It has to be achieved by stimulating national integration, often disrupted by the manoeuvres of some of the erstwhile colonial Powers. It has to be achieved by the completion of the transfer of the real centres of decision from the "metropole" to the homeland.

183. Culturally, the unfinished revolution has to be achieved by ending the alienation of our *élite*. It has to be achieved by acculturating our social and technical development. It has to be achieved through educating our illiterate masses. It is only through self-realization and the affirmation of cultural identity that we can contribute to the civilization of the universal. In many instances today we are only appendages, we are not an enriching complement.

184. Economically, the unfinished revolution in the third world has to be achieved through the inculcation of the principles of self-help in our people and in our systems, in accelerating the process of economic co-operation and integration in our regions and subregions, in diverting all our energies into the main task of development, and in reinforcing and furthering the principles of the Charter of Algiers and the second session of UNCTAD at New Delhi.

185. General Edgardo Mercado Jarrín, the Foreign Minister of Peru, had an important message to convey to us the other day when he said:

"... the true freedom of the peoples of the third world can only be achieved when they are able to free themselves not only from the economic and political control of others, but also from the cultural and ideological control of the great centres of power..." [1947th meeting, para. 9].

And General Jarrín could not have been more apt when he added that the emergence of the third world is one of the great revolutionary conditions of the day, both at home and internationally. It is internationally where the new image has to be more clearly reflected and amplified.

186. The polarization of the 1950s, within and without the United Nations, might well become a matter of the past on the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. We have noted with satisfaction the positive, though hesitant, steps taken by the United States of America this year towards a normalization of relations with that great country. But we have followed with concern the efforts of the United States in this Organization to introduce a new element that threatens to wreck all that was hitherto achieved.

187. As far as the Sudan is concerned, we wish to affirm that we shall fight every attempt through procedural

manoeuvres or constitutional artifice that would stop the People's Republic of China from joining our ranks here in this Organization. And we are determined to see to it that the question of the representation of China this year : 1 cease to be unfinished business on the agenda of the General Assembly.

188. To the third world the United Nations is essential. We do not want to erode its influence through actions that shake carefully established balances. But we do not want others, the major Powers, to corrode its influence, either through cynicism or through the undisciplined exercise of power. The late Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the General Assembly on the occasion of its fifteenth session, had this to say:

"The structure of the United Nations when it started was weighted in favour of Europe and the Americas. It did not seem to us to be fair to the countries of Asia and Africa, but we appreciated the difficulties of the situation and did not press for any changes. With the growth of the United Nations and with more countries coming into it, that structure today is still more unbalanced. Even so, we wish to proceed slowly and with agreement and not to press for any change which would involve an immediate amendment of the Charter and the raising of heated controversies. Unfortunately, we live in a split world which is constantly coming up against the basic assumptions of the United Nations. We have to bear with this and try to move ever more forward to that conception of full co-operation between nations. That co-operation does not and must not mean any domination of one country by another, any coercion or compulsion forcing any country to line up with another country. Each country has something to give and something to take from others. The moment coercion is exercised, that country's freedom is not only impaired but also its growth suffers." [882nd meeting, para. 111.]

189. Eleven years have since passed, during which the United Nations has grown, but the problems of the world have grown even more. But actions on the part of the major Powers—often the super Powers—continue to derogate from the authority of the Organization. Such a derogation is seen in the exclusion of the Organization from major policy decisions. It is seen in actions detracting from the initiative of its Secretary-General, an initiative inherent in Article 99 of the Charter. It is seen in pretexts for tax evasion, resulting in impoverishing the Organization's coffers, be they pretexts of bilateral commitments or the inadmissibility of responsibility for past ills.

190. This tragic financial situation cannot fail to have its political implications, as was aptly depicted by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

"It would cause me deep personal sorrow and regret if my service as Secretary-General were to end on this note. Unfortunately the tragedy far transcends any personal aspect: what is at stake is the Organization, for which we have all held, and continue to hold, such high hopes despite the fact that its credit standing and reputation have already been seriously impaired by its financial plight." [A/8401/Add.1, para. 122.]

191. And in this connexion, I wish to place on record the complete trust and confidence the Sudan has in U Thant. I wish also to express our sincere hope that he will, despite what he has said in the past, enable this Organization to continue to draw from his inexhaustible reserve of sagacity and patience.

192. I said that, where we in the United Nations are directly involved in peace-making, our credit side of the ledger is pitifully meagre. I would like to refer specifically to two areas of conflict: Africa and the Middle East. And I am not doing this only because the problems in those areas are nearer home.

193. In Africa, the unholy trinity of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia continues to persist in its crimes against humanity. This Assembly listened last year to the speech of President Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania [1867th meeting]. It has listened this year [1938th meeting] to the moving appeal of President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania. Both Presidents came here to mark the concern of Africa with this problem. President Nyerere came here to request that elementary justice to be done to fellow men. President Ould Daddah came here to appeal for a sacrifice, by the great Powers of the West, of short-term solidarity for a wider engagement in humanity.

194. For three weeks five African Ministers, speaking on behalf of the Organization of African Unity—Mr. Makonnen of Ethiopia, Mr. Grimes of Liberia, Mr. Arikpo of Nigeria, Mr. Hassane of Chad, and myself—have been here at the United Nations to deal with one episode of the southern African drama, the case of Namibia. And it is distressing to note that some people have given us the impression of being exhausted by what seems to be an interminable problem. The record of this Assembly's resolutions upholding the rule of law in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia is impressive. The constant urgings and advice of the Secretary-General—often unheeded—are gratifying. But it is regrettable that the only absentee from this honourable endeavour is the major law-enforcing organ of the United Nations, the Security Council. It is all the more regrettable that this inaction is generally prompted by considerations of strategic interests, inherited patterns of aid and trade, or, in some cases, the sheer reactionary lust of some private concerns which are powerful back home. Those who covet gold do not often sin by coveting honour.

195. In coming here we intend neither to engage in a sterile debate nor to force unrealistic decisions. At the same time, we do not intend to pace the carpets of the Assembly halls awaiting futile resolutions. Africa is impatient, and its impatience is legitimate.

196. In addressing themselves to us, some have chosen to urge moderation and dialogue. But in a state of desperation all calls for moderation are meaningless. And those who listened to South Africa, in the Security Council, exulting over its reactionary and racial policies, can well ask themselves how one can engage in dialogue with that country. South Africa is persisting in upholding the most pernicious and obsolete concept of the social order. Portugal is determined to fight to the last NATO gun to maintain a decaying empire. Africa appeals for action on

the part of the United Nations, especially the Security Council. But Africa also wishes to tell the world that African land south of the Zambezi represents the front line of its struggle for freedom and justice—and it is a struggle that Africa is determined to continue with unabated vigour.

197. In the Middle East a combustible situation continues to exist, with all the imponderables of sudden eruption. I wish here to say that the term "Middle East" is euphemistic; the problem at issue is Israeli occupation of Arab territories and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people—and the word is "people", not "refugees".

198. The incurable optimists were telling us that happy tidings were coming from the direction of Tel Aviv. It was for that reason that we listened with interest the other day [1946th meeting] to Mr. Abba Eban, the Israeli Foreign Minister. But Mr. Eban came here with an eloquent speech to embellish an old theme. He tried by words and wit to paint a picture of a new world of reconciliation and dialogue as evidenced by the European *détente* and normalization, as if Palestine were Upper Silesia. He also tried to chart what he described as a new road for peace. But Mr. Eban's endeavour was—and the words I am quoting are from *The New York Times* of 4 October 1971—"... an excursion into familiar byways" when stalled peace talks are desperately in need of new directions.

199. The problem, as I said, is plain: aggressive occupation of the territories of Member States, which is condemned by all the world, including the United Nations. And occupation is occupation, and no stylist rhetoric can refine it.

200. Restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and calls on international charity may eclipse the facts in the eyes of the half-educated but will never extinguish the reality.

201. Even *The New York Times* was not impressed with Mr. Eban's vision of this problem. To the *Times*, Mr. Eban's statement on the Palestinian issue was "a detour leading nowhere as long as practically every country involved insists on treating the Palestinians merely as refugees and not as a nation stillborn, now already clamouring for life".

202. Mr. Eban is understandably not happy that the whole world does not share his vision of the problem. He has therefore chosen to engage in a dangerous role of disdain for the Assembly and its decisions. To him, our decisions on the Arab-Israeli problem represent a pre-ordained triumph of automatic majorities. This was indeed his mood even before addressing us. The *Christian Science Monitor* tells us, in its 9 September issue, that Mr. Eban, before leaving Jerusalem, had this to say:

"If the Arab States decide that the earth is flat and not round, they will immediately have some 50 votes in the United Nations to support such a decision."

But Mr. Eban knows more than anyone else that it was one of those so-called automatic majorities that gave birth to the State of Israel itself.

203. Mr. Eban also reserved a certain measure of contempt for the Security Council, where, according to him, decisions

are based on sentimental or ethnic predilections. The contemptuous and arrogant rejection by Israel of Security Council resolution 298 (1971) on Jerusalem is in consonance with this line of thinking. It would indeed be a sad world if decisions were to be taken in our Council on the basis of ethnic affinities or affiliation by pigmentation.

204. Mr. Eban, perhaps conveniently, saw fit not to pose a simple question to himself: why is the majority of the world condemning Israel? —the majority of the world, including some of Israel's traditional friends. A victory that leaves the victor lonely is a desolate victory, particularly if we look at it within a broader historical context.

205. The issues in the Middle East question are simple: withdrawal of foreign troops of occupation, and restoration of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine.

206. Mr. Eban has taken us on an excursion of wit, as far as metaphysical wit can fly. He does not answer the basic questions. The questions, as expounded in Ambassador Jarring's aide-memoire of 8 February 1971 [A/8541, annex I] are still open for an answer. Witty equivocation does not help; indeed, it can be an added stimulus to mistrust.

207. Let me close by saying that, to us in the third world, the United Nations, despite all its imperfections, will continue to offer the unique possibility for enlightened international action. Despite disappointments, our hopes for a better world order, though idealistic, shall not dwindle. For, in the words of Chesterton, to say that a man is an idealist is merely to say that he is a man.

AGENDA ITEM 69

Question of Oman: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/8456)

208. Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia), Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee: I have the honour to introduce the report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 69 [A/8456], which contains a draft consensus in paragraph 6.

209. When it decided to submit this draft consensus to the General Assembly, it was clearly understood by the Fourth Committee that, in view of the limited time available—which did not permit as wide a consultation as possible—and taking into account the circumstances which required priority consideration of the item, any Member States wishing to put forward their views on the matter would be given the opportunity to do so when the report of the Fourth Committee was placed before the General Assembly for examination.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fourth Committee.

210. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, who wishes to explain his vote before the voting.

211. Mr. ISMAIL (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen): The delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen has, on several occasions, made its position clear regarding the admission of Oman to membership in the United Nations and it wishes again today to express the same position in respect of the recommendation of the Fourth Committee on the question of Oman which is contained in the report now under consideration.

212. With due respect to the Fourth Committee, my delegation is astonished to see that Committee, which over many years has always considered Oman as a colonial issue, suddenly change its firm position and cede to the allegation of the United Kingdom that Oman has achieved the goals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

213. In fact, Oman has not achieved such goals and is still under colonial rule. No independence has been declared; nor has the British political and military presence been eliminated.

214. We still maintain our views. Thus our vote will be against the recommendation of the Fourth Committee—and we regret this—to “conclude consideration of the item entitled ‘Question of Oman’”.

215. We reserve our right to explain our vote when the next item, on the admission of Oman, is considered by this Assembly.

216. The Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, as he presented the report now under consideration, said:

“When it decided to submit this draft consensus to the General Assembly, it was clearly understood by the Fourth Committee that, in view of the limited time available—which did not permit as wide a consultation as possible”—

that means that consultation was not as wide as possible and that a consensus took its place.

217. We regret to have to ask for a recorded vote on this item.

218. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft consensus recommended by the Fourth Committee, which is contained in paragraph 6 of its report [A/8456]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon,

Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Cuba, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Abstaining: Saudi Arabia.

The consensus was adopted by 115 votes to 2, with 1 abstention.

AGENDA ITEM 25

Admission of new Members to the United Nations (continued)*

219. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has unanimously recommended the admission of Oman to membership in the United Nations [A/8449] and in this connexion the General Assembly has before it a draft resolution [A/L.636 and Add.1].

220. Mr. AULAQI (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen):⁶ Mr. President, may I congratulate you on behalf of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on your election as President of this Assembly. We consider this as a tribute to yourself and to the friendly people of Indonesia with whom the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen have been linked by bonds of friendship and co-operation for many centuries.

221. The delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen explained its position regarding the request for the admission of Oman to the United Nations in the Security Council at its 1587th meeting held on 30 September 1971.

222. Today my delegation wishes to explain the reason for its opposition to the admission of Oman to the United Nations.

223. The false declarations of independence of the Sultanates and Emirates in the Arabian Gulf do not change the state of affairs existing in the area. It is a well-known fact that those who have declared independence do not represent the people and their aspirations, and that they are totally under the domination and influence of the British advisers and the commanders of British military bases still existing in various parts of the Gulf area. According to the BBC, on 8 September 1971, a British company concluded a contract for the construction of a new naval base in Muscat, thereby making Oman a British military and naval base. In

addition, there are bases under construction in Salalah and Masira. From these bases British aircraft not only strike at the revolution in the area, but go further by committing continuous aerial infringements of the borders of our Republic. The most recent of these occurred on 17 September 1971, on the eastern border of the Republic, about which we have protested to the Government of the United Kingdom.

224. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which has brotherly relations with the people of the Arabian Gulf and shares a common history and destiny with them, cannot be convinced that this is a real independence.

225. Last year at its 1928th meeting the General Assembly adopted resolution 2702 (XXV), which emphasizes that Oman is still a colony. Paragraph 6 of the resolution requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to follow closely the developments regarding the colonial situation in the Territory and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session.

226. May I inquire about this report? Was it to be submitted by the Special Committee? How is it that Oman became an independent country so suddenly? To exchange Said bin Taimur for his son does not necessarily transform Oman from a colony to an independent country; and a declaration of independence by an Omani Sultan does not change the fact that Oman is a colony. Since the 1950s the United Kingdom has claimed that Oman is an independent State, but the United Nations has never accepted that claim. It has continued to consider Oman a British colony. What changes have now occurred to make Oman eligible to join this international Organization?

227. The United Nations is, under the circumstances, faced with two choices—either to stand by its principles and resolutions and recognize the Omani people and their revolution, or to stand against its values and objectives and consider an application for membership by Qabus, who is under British protection, ignoring the fact that he is not an independent Sultan and does not rule an independent nation. In the latter event the United Nations will be recognizing the membership of Qabus and the British air and naval bases.

228. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen regrets the recommendation of the Security Council to the General Assembly and feels the disappointment of the peoples of the area with regard to admitting Oman into this international Organization. We therefore urge the General Assembly to abide by the resolutions adopted in past years.

[The speaker continued in English.]

229. My delegation requests a recorded vote regarding this issue.

230. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/L.636 and Add.1.

A recorded vote was taken.

* Resumed from the 1934th meeting.

⁶ Mr. Aulaqi spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, People's Republic of the Congo, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Abstaining: Cuba, Saudi Arabia.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 117 votes to 1, with 2 abstentions [resolution 2754 (XXVI)].**

231. The PRESIDENT: I declare Oman admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of Oman was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

232. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I take pleasure in welcoming Oman to membership in the United Nations. I wish to extend to its Government and people my sincere congratulations on this great occasion and my personal wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

233. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Only a few days ago my Minister for Foreign Affairs welcomed from this rostrum the admission of Bahrain, Qatar and Bhutan to the United Nations [1934th meeting]. It is indeed a great occasion to welcome today in the name of the Emir, the Government and people of Kuwait, the sister State of Oman on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations.

234. Oman and Kuwait have a common history, tradition and culture. Side by side the Kuwaitis and the Omanis sailed through the turbulent waters of the Indian Ocean to the eastern coast of Africa and to the shores of Ceylon and India. They also dived together, searching for pearls in the deep waters of the sea.

235. The peoples of Oman and Kuwait share a common outlook, a homogenous way of life and entertain the same

hopes and aspirations. The Omanis have the indomitable spirit which braved the waters of the sea and carried the humane message of Islam to the shores of Africa. I feel confident that they will show the same high-mindedness and tenacity in serving the cause of peace and international security. I firmly believe that Oman will strive to promote the principles enshrined in the Charter and to uphold the rule of law. Its admission today will enhance the prestige of the United Nations and bring closer to realization the goal of universality of membership.

236. Kuwait, which has the closest ties with Oman, would like to proclaim on this happy occasion its firm determination to co-operate fully with the delegation of Oman in a manner worthy of our glorious history and the lofty ideals to which we are dedicated. We shall not falter in our common endeavour to make the United Nations the main instrument of peace, prosperity and justice.

237. Today is a day of rejoicing in Kuwait. I should like to express from this rostrum my heartfelt congratulations to His Highness the Sultan of Oman, his Government and people, and to wish them eternal success and prosperity. Indeed, those who had the exuberance of the past will unquestionably have the brightness of the future. The Omanis, luckily, have both.

238. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): On behalf of the group of African States, over which I have the honour to preside in the current month, it gives me great pleasure to welcome the new State of Oman to membership in the United Nations, and to extend our most sincere congratulations to the people of Oman on this occasion.

239. The admission of this new friendly Arab State is an important development in the long struggle of the colonial people for self-government and independence. As the 131st Member of the United Nations, Oman is an invaluable addition both to the family of nations and more particularly to the Afro-Asian family in this Organization, and we are confident that Oman will join hands with all of us in support of the great ideals and purposes for which this Organization stands. Important among these are the freedom and equality of all men, and hence we remain convinced that Oman will not hesitate to join the struggle in support of the full and complete liberation of all those still languishing under colonial subjugation.

240. I do not wish in this short address to dwell at length on the rich history of Oman. But I do wish to emphasize the long ties of friendship and co-operation that have always prevailed between the people of Oman and those of our continent, and more particularly the eastern part of Africa. We look forward to an era of greater co-operation and amity both in bilateral ties as well as in international forums such as this one. Like the admission of Bhutan, Bahrain and Qatar a few days ago, the membership of Oman in the community of nations today is a source of great satisfaction to the African delegations, and we wish our friends and brothers of Oman all success as they pursue their new international responsibilities.

241. The admission of a new Member to our Organization is always a solemn and happy occasion. But it is also an ideal opportunity for somber reflection—reflection on what

* The delegation of China subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

our Organization has been able to achieve and how much remains to be done. In this particular case it is important to bear in mind that, as we rejoice today over Oman's membership in our Organization, millions of our fellow men in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Rhodesia, Namibia, South Africa and elsewhere in the world are still languishing under colonial and racist domination. It is also important to reflect that the fact that this sad and anachronistic state of affairs is possible is due in no small measure to the inability of our Organization to act and act firmly in support of the just struggle of people for self-determination, independence and human dignity. The African delegations, therefore, fervently hope that, as we welcome the sister State of Oman to the United Nations, the international community will rededicate itself to a more vigorous pursuit of the goals which we all hold dear, the goals of freedom and human dignity for all mankind.

242. Mr. TRUONG CANG (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I am particularly happy to have the signal honour, as chairman of the group of Asian States for the month of October and on behalf of the delegation of the Khmer Republic, to bid a cordial welcome to the State of Oman to our community.

243. The admission of a new Member is always a happy and memorable event. It is eloquent testimony to the fact that the principle of self-determination and accession to independence are not mere words; it strengthens our confidence in the principles of the Charter of our great Organization, which in this way is proceeding towards universality.

244. We hope that the State of Oman will take an important place in the United Nations and will join its efforts with those that are working for peace, justice and progress.

245. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) (*translation from Russian*): On behalf of the delegations of the Byelorussian SSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian SSR, and my own country, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the people of Oman on the admission of their country to United Nations membership. The membership of Oman in the United Nations, after the League of Arab States had decided to accept it as a full-fledged member of the League, is the manifestation of a further step on the part of the peoples of the Arab peninsula towards self-determination.

246. The socialist States, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak, are proud of the fact that they have systematically supported the struggle of the people of Oman for its liberation from colonial domination. We therefore earnestly hope that, as a member of the League of Arab States and a Member of the United Nations, this brave people will use its membership for the elimination of the grievous consequences of its colonial past and for the all-round consolidation and further strengthening of the independence of Oman in the interests of peace and progress in the Arabian peninsula.

247. Mr. MOLINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today a new nation has become a Member of this Organization—Oman, which is to be found in the extreme south-eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Its 1.5 million inhabitants from now on will be represented here and that will constitute a new step towards the universality of the United Nations.

248. In the midst of the arduous and serious problems we are facing in the world today, it is a pleasant duty to welcome those who, upon their entrance into this Organization in faithful adherence to the principles of its constituted Charter, are reaffirming their faith in the fundamental rights of men, the dignity and value of the human person, the equality of rights of men and women and of small and large nations, and commit themselves to practise tolerance and to live in peace as good neighbours at the same time as they commit themselves to unite their efforts to achieve lasting security among nations and to promote social progress and to raise living standards within a wider concept of freedom.

249. Oman is coming to this world parliament at a time when we are reaffirming a need for dialogue to solve conflicts. It is only suitable that we should hear new voices to open new roads to us in the search for peaceful solutions of problems which for some time have been debated here and which we still hope can be solved peacefully.

250. On behalf of the Latin American group of States, which have always advocated the free determination of peoples, the elimination of all forms of discrimination, the liquidation of all forms of colonialism, the rule of law and the achievement of justice, I extend the most cordial welcome to Oman and send an affectionate greeting of peace and prosperity to its noble people and its Government.

251. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): It is New Zealand's privilege, on behalf of the Western European and other States, to congratulate Oman on its admission to United Nations membership and to extend to our newest Member a warm welcome.

252. With Oman's presence among us we have taken a further step towards fulfilment of the ideal of universality of United Nations membership. It is also the third occasion at this session that we have had the pleasure of admitting to membership a State from the Arabian peninsula.

253. Oman, a nation with rich traditions of civilization and culture, now stands at the threshold of a new and exciting era. On his accession in July 1970, the Sultan of Oman, His Highness Qabus bin Said, declared his intention to establish a modern Government and to end Oman's isolation. In accordance with these goals, the Sultanate is now pursuing with vigour new programmes of economic and social progress. The aim is to use Oman's resources to secure an improved and prosperous future for its people.

254. It is Oman's decision to take its place in the United Nations which illustrates most graphically its wish to end its isolation and to seek the friendly co-operation of all nations. We welcome this decision, we know we shall benefit from Oman's presence here, and we look forward

with pleasure to strengthening our present ties of friendship at the United Nations with our new, one hundred and thirty-first Member.

255. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (Egypt): Yesterday [1954th meeting] our Deputy Prime Minister welcomed the new Member States which have been admitted to the United Nations at this session as another step towards universality and equality among sovereign States. Today, speaking as the Chairman-for-the-month of the group of Arab States in the United Nations, my thoughts go back to the past, dwell on the present and try to probe the future.

256. In the past the question of Oman came to this Organization as a colonial issue. Oman was then the subject of repeated debates that were not too easy and at moments seemed to yield little hope for immediate success. Today we debate Oman not as a problem but as a State independent and welcome to the family of free, independent nations. We have just adopted the report of our Fourth Committee [A/8456], which yesterday decided to conclude its consideration of the item called "The question of Oman" and to take note with pleasure and satisfaction of the fact that the goals defined by the Charter have been fulfilled in this case.

257. Tomorrow is when the Omani people will have to redouble their efforts to make their independence real, meaningful and fruitful. Tomorrow is when the Omani people will have to build their nation on the basis of unity and harmony. Tomorrow is when the Omani people will have to assume their duties towards their immediate area, the greater family of the Arab world and all the world as represented in this United Nations.

258. For their past struggle the people of Oman have our deep appreciation. In their present moment of joy we are happy with them; we welcome their distinguished delegation to this hall. For the future, we pray that their efforts at nation-building will be crowned with success.

259. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): The United States is very pleased to join with others in warmly welcoming Oman to the United Nations. Our relations with Oman date back to the early decades of our country, for it was in 1833 that the first treaty between our two countries was signed. The United States maintained a consulate in Oman for 45 years prior to 1915, and in 1958 a new treaty was signed providing for trade, friendship and the exercise of consular rights. Our relations have been cordial, and, as the actions I noted earlier signify, they have been based on the recognition of Oman's independence, a position we have always maintained in various forums within the United Nations.

260. Our pleasure at Oman's entry into this august body is enhanced by the knowledge that the Omani leadership is devoting its resources to the progress and prosperity of its country. The development of Oman's school, transportation and health facilities has been dramatic and bodes well for the future.

261. And so we wish the people and the leaders and the Omani representatives here at the United Nations every success in their future endeavours.

262. The PRESIDENT: I take pleasure in inviting the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Oman, His Excellency Said Tarik Alsaïd, to address the General Assembly.

263. Mr. Tarik ALSAID (Oman): All members of this august Assembly who have made our membership in this Organization possible: I thank you on behalf of His Majesty the Sultan of Oman and on behalf of the people of my country.

264. The Sultanate of Oman, although it today becomes the youngest Member of this international body, has been in existence for 14 centuries and has never during its long history lost its sovereignty or independence. In becoming the one hundred and thirty-first Member of the United Nations, Oman has formally and permanently put an end to decades of enforced isolation and oblivion.

265. I have come here with the hopes of my people in this Organization and their belief that only through strict adherence to its noble principles can peace and friendliness be achieved among the nations of this world.

266. We are a small country, but we shall endeavour to contribute to the best of our abilities towards the realization of the principles and ideals of the United Nations. The unique importance of the United Nations makes it imperative that every nation should have the right to join it regardless of the nature of its system or its past. There can be no acceptable grounds for excluding any nation for the purpose of imposing the will of another upon it.

267. We have always closely followed the issues brought before this Assembly for its consideration and resolution. Often the effectiveness of the United Nations is minimized and its purposes defeated through the rejection by certain Member nations of its findings and their refusal to comply with its decisions. Here lies the greatest danger to this Organization and its very usefulness. We strongly believe that no nation should be allowed to challenge the will of the United Nations and that no nation should possess the right to veto its resolutions.

268. We are an Arab nation, and we stand solidly with our brethren in seeking justice for the Arab causes and especially on the question of Palestine. We sincerely hope that the shameful injustice that has been inflicted on the Arab people of Palestine will not remain a blemish in the annals of the United Nations.

269. In conclusion, let me assure you, Mr. President, of the full and continuous support of the Omani delegation in the execution of your duties.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

270. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, I shall call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

271. Mr. MAGHRIBI (Libya): Yesterday we heard the statement by the Foreign Minister of Chad [1955th

meeting. We had prepared a detailed reply. However, a few minutes ago an appeal was received through the Organization of African Unity from a distinguished African leader, President Hamani Diori of our neighbouring country, Niger, who wishes Libya to postpone its right of reply.

272. We have great respect for President Diori and appreciate his good offices in this matter. We believe in the principles of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity. We strongly believe that the efforts of the African States should be utilized and combined against the most inhuman injustices inflicted upon our brothers in Namibia and other parts of Africa. Our efforts should not be diverted from defending our brothers in Guinea, Senegal and Zambia against Portuguese aggression. We appreciate President Diori's efforts, and we reserve our right to reply at an appropriate time.

273. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): This morning [*1956th meeting*] the representative of Iraq thought it necessary to repeat in this Assembly the views of his Government on the question of Shatt-al-Arab. At the same time, referring to the Persian Gulf, he chose to distort a well-established geographical name.

274. The question of Shatt-al-Arab has often been discussed in this Assembly at other sessions. That is why we did not want to abuse the patience of the members of the Assembly by repeating the views of my Government in this general debate. However, the statement of the Permanent Representative of Iraq makes it necessary for me briefly to clarify our position once again.

275. The representative of Iraq said this morning that Iran had declared the 1937 Iraqi-Iranian Boundary Treaty null and void; but he omitted to mention the fact that for 32 years the efforts of my country to persuade Iraq to honour its obligations flowing from that Treaty have remained unsuccessful. By its refusal to apply substantial parts of the 1937 Treaty, it is in fact Iraq which has invalidated it.

276. With regard to the question of referring the matter to the International Court of Justice, my Government has repeated—particularly in a letter to the President of the Security Council, dated 2 September 1969⁷—that Iran would accept the decisions of the International Court of Justice in accordance with the recognized principles of international law and justice, and not on the basis of the alleged validity of the 1937 Treaty.

277. I must add that we have repeatedly offered to negotiate on the subject of navigation in the Shatt-al-Arab river. Unfortunately, the Government of Iraq has never responded to our offers.

278. May I finally assure the Permanent Representative of Iraq that we have absolutely no territorial ambitions with regard to any one at all, but that we are defending and shall defend firmly our legitimate rights.

279. Mr. EL-SHIBIB (Iraq). I am acutely aware of the lateness of the hour and that this Assembly has had a long

agenda today and has every right to conclude its business now, so I will try to be as brief as my Iranian colleague has been.

280. I should like to make one point extremely clear regarding the nature of the Boundary Treaty of 1937 between Iraq and Iran. That Treaty was concluded at Teheran on 4 July 1937 to define the border between the two neighbouring countries, and it has been in existence since 1937.

281. The Treaty included certain provisions for the regulation of navigation in Shatt-al-Arab—which is quite a different issue from defining the borders between the two countries.

282. Iran unilaterally abrogated that Treaty on some pretext. If we accept the principle that countries can unilaterally abrogate treaties defining their borders—treaties that have been duly ratified and in full force for a number of years—then not only the Middle East but the whole world will be thrown into the greatest crisis imaginable, and it will pose the greatest threat to peace and security. And what resulted from that act on the part of the Government of Iran has been extremely serious.

283. The representative of Iran just referred to a letter which was addressed to the President of the Security Council. May I also refer to the fact that at one time some very serious violations of Iraqi sovereignty took place: there was a massing of military forces which made us request the intervention of the Secretary-General to investigate the situation and determine the truth of the various allegations. We invited him to send a special representative to see who was massing the troops and who was carrying out acts of violation of sovereignty and who was using extreme self-restraint in that very serious situation.

284. Iran refused to comply with the request we had made. That is the first point.

285. Secondly, I was delighted to hear the representative of Iran say, before this Assembly, that his country has no territorial ambitions in the Gulf area. That statement, of course, is greatly welcomed by us, and it is heartening that it has been made in such an august Assembly and that it will be in the records of the United Nations. As I say, we welcome very much that statement by the representative of Iran.

286. The third and last point which I should like to make is this. This morning [*1956th meeting*] I explained very briefly, and I hope moderately, the nature of the dispute between Iraq and Iran. We called upon Iran to resort to the International Court of Justice regarding any dispute over a provision of the 1937 Treaty. That call was not new: members of the Assembly have been hearing it from Iraq for about three years; and it is the only logical, legal, reasonable course for States to resort to when they have a dispute. But to abolish border treaties unilaterally and throw the whole question of borders between States into critical confusion is a path that certainly will not lead to normal or good-neighbourly relations.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1969*, document S/9425.